Developing an Indigenous Research Tool to Explore the Effectiveness of

Community-based Tourism in Rural Papua New Guinea

Thesis submitted by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Commerce and Management

in the College of Business, Law and Governance

James Cook University

February 2020

Statement of Sources

I declare that the thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree. Information derived from both published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged through in-text referencing. A list of references is also provided.

Fiona Pisong N'Drower

February 2020

Signed

Acknowledgements

Last but not the least, I give glory, honour and praise to the Father Almighty for his countless blessings, so despite the challenges, this PhD journey has come to completion within the given timeframe.

Statement of Contribution of Others

Nature of Assistance	Contribution	Names, Titles
Intellectual support	Supervision, feedback, editorial advice and direction	Professor Gianna Moscardo and A/Professor Laurie Murphy
Financial support	Tuition fees Stipend support Research grant Living allowance	Australia Awards JCU College of Business, Law and Governance Divine Word University, Papua New Guinea
Well-being support	JCU International Student Support Office	Alex Salvador
Data collection	Research assistance and hospitality	Harry Gahare, Diocese of Goroka, Papua New Guinea Host family in Chimbu Members of the communities visited who took the time to spend with me.

Abstract

Papua New Guinea (PNG) is a country diverse in culture and biodiversity and is also considered a linguist's paradise with more than 800 languages and is home to 1000 plus tribes. Despite tourism's relatively small contribution to PNG's economy compared to the extractive industries, tourism is currently being promoted as a potential development strategy, especially in rural areas based on assumption that tourism has the ability to encourage sustainable development. This thesis sought to critically examine tourism development processes in PNG with a particular focus on rural community-based tourism (CBT) through the lens of a Melanesian Research Framework. The main goals of this research project were to:

- create an Indigenous research framework for PNG, referred to as a Melanesian Research Framework;

- use this Melanesian Research Framework to investigate Community-Based Tourism (CBT) in several traditional rural communities with the aim of gaining a better understanding of CBT in the PNG context; and

- evaluate the Melanesian Research Framework in terms of its usefulness in improving the understanding of community perspectives on CBT in PNG.

The research project was divided into two separate studies. The first study looked at developing an Indigenous research framework for Papua New Guinea (PNG). The second study applied this Indigenous research framework to examine community-based tourism in rural PNG.

In the first study, an Australian Indigenous Research Framework by Hornung (2013) was adapted to create an Indigenous research framework for PNG. Hornung's research framework spoke of the importance of being culturally connected to indigenous communities. Horning placed emphasis on: consultation and negotiation; engagement; cultural sensitivities; cultural

integrity; cultural approval and reflection/evaluation as important guides when researching with Indigenous communities.

Participants from five different villages in Madang Province were invited to share their experiences as either research participants or observers during previous research encounters. They were invited to tell their stories about how they felt towards research and what they thought should be improved, particularly the approach used by researchers. Madang was chosen because of its location, connecting the coast to the highlands of PNG, and its diversity of culture. Storytelling in the form of informal conversations was used as the medium for the participants from the villages to share their thoughts and perspectives.

Indigenous researchers from PNG were also invited to participate in study one via email. Open ended questionnaires were sent to those who accepted the invitation. The purpose for including the PNG Indigenous researchers was to gain an insight into how they thought research should be conducted in PNG by providing examples from their own experiences of conducting research among local communities. The main objective was to establish whether or not researchers should change or modify their research approach to suit the local context in order to encourage and enhance local participation, particularly in regard to the manner in which participants are approached to take part in research and the type of atmosphere that should be created to make the participants feel comfortable and willing to participate. This preliminary research identified effective communication, consultation, and the development of relationships and long-term partnerships between researchers and participants as key factors influencing the quality of research outcomes.

These key dimensions were incorporated in into a Melanesian Research Framework (MRF). The MRF emphasises effective communication which involves identifying the key people in the community or village. It is built, during the early stages of the process, on consultation about the purpose of the research, its aims, and the potential outcomes and benefits for the

community or village. All of these things must be embedded in a relationship that stems from trust, respect and friendship that allows for a partnership which is open to negotiation.

The second study involved applying the MRF to CBT in twelve rural communities/villages across four provinces. This analysis of CBT experiences and aspirations identified a number of main themes in participants' stories. Most of the participants became involved in tourism by observing other tourism operators. Tourism planning was mainly focused on marketing, accessibility, and the type of tourism products to offer, with little consideration of the elements linked to sustainable tourism. The majority of the interviewees consulted their elders before going into tourism. The few who didn't were those who had sole ownership of the land. It was apparent that the most of the tourism resource owners engaged in tourism without contact with government agencies, simply because they were not aware of the procedures involved in connecting with them and with whom to liaise.

The tourism sites visited expressed a deep desire to embrace tourism fully, despite the very low economic returns from tourism. Yet the economic benefits of tourism were still the main driving force behind their push for tourism. The participants reported only positive experiences of tourism, arguing that tourism gives them the opportunity to share their culture and traditions with the rest of the world. Arguably this reflected relatively low levels of tourism development and visitor numbers. Since members within the communities/villages are related through family ties, cooperation within the community/village is not a major challenge for tourism or other community initiatives. The communities/villages also understand that tourism alone will not maintain the economic status of their homes. Concerns were expressed about the control and actions of external tour operators. Overall, it appeared that the participants were using a type of informal sustainable livelihoods approach to tourism and did not actively seek growth in tourism numbers, but rather saw that benefits would accrue from removing external tour operators from the distribution and payment system.

Photo-elicitation was integrated into the newly created Melanesian Research Framework in the second stage of the research to enhance one of the themes of conversations – future plans and aspirations of the communities/villages in regards to tourism. In general, the future plans included facilities that blended in with the environment and would be safe and comfortable for tourists. It was apparent that the communities/villages were reluctant to have a tourism set up that they considered to be totally out of place with their way of life.

The final section of the thesis evaluated the MRF in more detail and specifically compared it to previous research conducted on CBT in PNG. This thesis discusses the development of an Indigenous research framework that could be applied to tourism studies in Papua New Guinea, in particular rural community-based tourism. Identifying a research tool to gather information becomes more challenging if the intended participants are not accustomed to the common, often Western, research techniques that are typically used by formally trained researchers. This thesis argues that the research tool used to collect data can have an impact on the participation level of informants and the validity of the information they provide. It also offers a framework to conduct more valid and culturally appropriate research in the PNG context.

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Acronyms

CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CHM	Chimbu Province
DMO	Destination Marketing Organisation
EHP	Eastern Highlands Province
JWK	Jiwaka Province
LLG	Local Level Government
MAG	Madang Province
MRF	Melanesian Research Framework
NCC	National Cultural Commission
NMAG	National Museum & Art Gallery
OTAC	Office of Tourism, Arts & Culture
PNGTPA	Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority
PTB	Provincial Tourism Bureau
UNWTO	United Nation World Tourism Organization
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
Word in Tok Pisin	**Meaning in English**
Bilum	Traditional hand bag
Bik sot	Someone who is considered to be an elite in the community, someone with acquired wealth and education.

Brus	Tobacco leaves
Kaukau	Sweet potatoes
Tambaran	Spirit
Tumbuna	Forefathers and mothers

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Reflecting on the work of Wilson (2008), Kovach (2009) and Chilisa (2012), I as the person intending to conduct research on, and with, non-Western communities deem it appropriate that I situate myself by way of an introduction and explanation of how I came to pursue this research.

I grew up in Port Moresby (PNG) where both my parents worked as public servants, but before moving to the city they had to leave their families, clan and village to travel long distances to obtain formal education whilst they were children themselves. My childhood was spent in Catholic schools, from pre-school to high school. Realising that English was an important language of communication in the modern world, my parents taught me whatever English they knew when I first learned to speak. I then learned Tok Pisin and eventually, in Year 12, I learned my mother tongue, which I am yet to speak fluently although I can clearly understand my native language spoken. Visiting my parents' village during the holidays (they both came from the same village in a different province to Port Moresby) gave me the opportunity to spend time with my grandparents and other relatives. My upbringing and experiences in life have moulded me to look at life from three different perspectives influenced by my Christian faith, my culture, and the Western way of knowing through more than 20 years of formal education. As a result, creating a common space where one perspective does not influence or impose on another is challenging. During my past experience as a research student, I had the opportunity to visit rural villages in PNG. It was during these visits when I realised that, while I was doing the interviews, those being interviewed and observed were also assessing me as the interviewer and researcher, and their responses were based on their assessment of me. After much contemplation, I concluded that there were two main

points I was being assessed on: connectivity and benefits. As a person was I able to connect with them, in terms of their way of life, their customs and beliefs. They were provoking my thoughts by telling stories about concerns that at first seemed irrelevant, but then they would slowly link these stories to the questions I was asking. It was a way, in my view, to also test my patience and hence whether I was genuine or not. Before engaging with them and apart from them signing the consent forms I, as the initiator of the research, performed some cultural protocols to signify that I came in peace and friendship in order to establish a positive rapport between them and myself. It is customary for many societies in PNG to use betel nut (nuts of a tropical palm) as a way to initiate discussions on various concerns or as a way of initiating rituals and ceremonies. Betel nut was also offered to the research participants during the course of the interviews where I as the interviewer and they as interviewees collectively chewed betel nut. It was also used to create a relaxing atmosphere; an environment the interviewees were accustomed to. For those who did not chew betel nut, I brought tea and sugar so we could have tea by a lit fire as we spoke.

These experiences have provided me with some insights which are useful and inform the present research. The experiences and observations acquired while collecting data for my Master's research project prompted me to relook at the way rural communities/villages should be approached during research or any other form of engagement. The uneasiness, discomfort and lack of trust both from the communities/villages and researcher were more prevalent during the research journey. Hence, this provoked me to consider alternative approaches to use within the Melanesian context when visiting the rural areas of PNG.

I have embarked on a journey of creating a research tool that will fit into the cultural context of PNG. This research tool will enhance both the research experience of the

communities and my own experience as researcher, creating a comfortable approach so all parties will be at ease when conversing; it will be a tool that will facilitate trust and confidence between the communities and researcher, and promote a relationship founded on genuineness. This has shaped the current research interest for my doctoral thesis.

This thesis, therefore, aims to create an Indigenous research framework for PNG and will then be applied to investigate community-based tourism (CBT) in several traditional rural communities with the aim of gaining a better understanding of CBT within the PNG context.

Smith (1999) argues that imperialism and colonisation have caused Indigenous societies to lose sight of their own traditional ways of living as a society. She also warns that globalisation can be a threat to the world becoming homogeneous politically and economically, implying that as the world becomes more standardised, Indigenous societies can become victims of another form of colonisation through neocolonialism. Indigenous research has the potential to mitigate misconceptions of Indigenous societies by other societies and vice versa. Indigenous research has the ability to bridge the gap in understanding both worlds to create a safe space for shared knowledge and information. As a paradigm in academia, Indigenous research allows the once colonised to represent themselves and tell their stories in the best ways they can and not be constrained by a Western or neo-colonial research paradigm. It allows Indigenous people to envision a new world with equal participation, without being dictated to by the old world, the colonisers. The research reported in this thesis seeks to develop an alternative or Indigenous research framework that is culturally sensitive and use it to conduct community-based tourism (CBT) research in rural PNG. It is also envisioned that other researchers will be able to utilise this new framework when conducting research in similar contexts, especially in in rural PNG.

Community-based tourism gained popularity as an alternative to mass tourism because of the negative impacts of mass tourism being projected on society (Brohman, 1996). CBT was also

seen as a tool to bring much needed development to communities in developing countries (Cater, 1993). It was seen as a tool for poverty alleviation (Zapata, Hall, Lindo, & Vanderschaeghe, 2011); socioeconomic development (Sharpley, 2003); and the preservation of cultural heritage and sustainable tourism (du Cros, 2001). Since the publication of the Bruntland Report, also called Our Common Future, in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) that introduced the concept of sustainable development, the concept of sustainable tourism has also gained momentum (Cole, 2011). Subsequently, CBT has been proposed as a way to promote sustainable tourism with the aim of encouraging community empowerment through participation in every stage of tourism development within communities (Tosun, 2006). The research reported in this thesis focuses on CBT because it has become an important policy option for tourism in PNG.

Tourism development in Papua New Guinea (PNG) has been described as slow compared to other Pacific countries. Basu (2000) labelled tourism as an under-exploited economic activity in PNG with lucrative possibilities. The regulating body for tourism, the Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority (PNGTPA) embraces the concept of CBT in promoting tourism in rural PNG as a catalyst to contribute to PNG's economic development in a more sustainable way. However, the success of CBT in PNG is still questionable. The research reported in this thesis aims to bring to light the enablers of CBT and the challenges faced by rural tourism operators pursuing this option.

The rest of this chapter will examine the context for the research by discussing PNG's tourism industry. It will focus on the key features of the research topic before concluding with a more detailed description of the research aims and specific objectives and an overview of the overall structure of the thesis.

1.2 Research Context – Tourism in Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea (PNG) is a country diverse in culture and biodiversity and considered a linguist's paradise with more than 800 languages and 1000 plus tribes. Before coming under the protection of Australia after the First World War, it was divided into two. The northern part was known as British Papua, while the southern part was referred to as German Niugini (Treloar & Hall, 2005). PNG occupies the eastern half of the second largest island in the world, New Guinea and has a total of 22 provinces including the Autonomous Region of Bougainville. The provinces are divided into four regions: Highlands, Momase, New Guinea Islands and Southern. As a result of its past influences, the country is a member of the British Commonwealth and follows the Westminster System of government. According to the 2011 National Population and Housing Census of Papua New Guinea Report by the National Statistical Office, the population is 7,275,324, an increase of 40% compared to the previous census in 2000 (http://www.nso.gov.pg/). More recent figures presented by the World Bank reveal that PNG had a population of 7.619 million as of 2015 (http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/png), of which it is estimated that 80% live in rural areas (http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asiapacific-15436981). PNG is one of the few places in the world that still has a vast majority of its natural forest intact. Being a tropical country, it experiences two weather patterns, wet and dry. The main language of commerce is English, while Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu are also spoken throughout the country. Hiri Motu is an Indigenous language spoken by Motuans while Tok Pisin is a hybrid language which originated from workers who were brought from all over PNG to work on plantations along the coast who needed a language to communicate amongst themselves and the Germans. Tok Pisin is a mixture of German, English and Kwanua, an Indigenous language from East New Britain Province which had the majority of plantations during the colonial era.

The country is identified as one of the poorest in the world (http://www.tradingeconomics.com /papua-new-guinea/gdp-growth-annual). Although it is rich in natural resources such as oil, gold

and copper, which contribute to 60% of the nation's gross domestic product (GDP), the inability of legal structures to perform as a result of corruption has caused the country's economy to deteriorate. Agriculture is also important as PNG has a dual economy system where the majority of its people still depend on subsistence farming. According to the Trading Economics website, PNG has an annual GDP growth rate of 9% and an unemployment rate of 2.5%. Forestry, fishing and tourism are also important to PNG's economy but make a much smaller contribution compared to mineral resources.

Despite tourism's relatively small contribution to PNG's economy compared to the extractive industries, tourism is promoted as a potential development strategy, especially in rural areas where there is much need for development since tourism has the ability to encourage sustainable development if managed well (PNGTPA, 2006).

Officially, tourism in PNG started in 1884 when a shipping company Burns Philp (BP), advertised a five-week trip to PNG via Thursday Island in Australia. Burns Philp had been given a mail delivery contract by the Australian administration to deliver mail throughout PNG. The company capitalised on the opportunity to include cruise tourism, as there was abundant space on the ship for passengers (Douglas, 1997). PNG was advertised as savage, exotic, and primitive by foreigners who had come to PNG for various reasons, as illustrated by the following quote from Burns Philp:

> *Nowadays, when every 'Arry has done what not so many years ago was known as the 'Grand Tour', when alligator shooting on the Nile, lion hunting in Nubia, or tiger potting in the Punjab can be done by contract with Cook's tickets; when the Holy Land, Mecca or Khiva are all accessible to tourists; when every mountain in the Alps has been scaled, and even the Himalayas made the scene of mountaineering triumphs, when shooting buffaloes in the 'Rockies' is almost as common as potting grouse on the moors; it comes almost with a sense of relief to visit a country really new, about which*

but little is known – a country of real cannibals and genuine savages... (Burns Philp,

cited in Douglas (1997, p.56))

Table 1.1: A snapshot of PNG's tourism history 1884 to 2009

Year	Event	Source	Year	Event	Source
Feb 1884	Advertisement by Burns Philp (BP) for a trip by boat to New Guinea	(Douglas, 1997)	1980	National Tourism Plan: A Summary released. Office of Tourism closed	(Douglas, 1997)
Sept 1884	Second advertisement by BP	(Douglas, 1997)	1982	PNG National Tourism Authority (NTA) established	(Douglas, 1997)
1886	BP published a book promoting South Pacific tourism	(Douglas, 1997)	1986	Tourism given official economic status by PNG government	(Douglas, 1997)
1899	BP published *The Handbook of information for Western Pacific Islands*	(Douglas, 1997)	1987	Second Tourism Act Five year development plan launched 1987–91	(Douglas, 1997)
1965	World Bank report highlights potential for tourism	(Douglas, 1997)	1990	Five-year tourism development plan launched 1990–1994 NTA becomes PNG Tourism Development Corporation (TDC)	(Douglas, 1997)
1966	First PNG tourist board formed	(Douglas, 1997)	1992	Steamships Coral Sea Hotels launched	(Douglas, 1997)
Jan 1968	Last passenger vessel by BP MV Bulolo	(Douglas, 1997)	1993	TDC becomes PNG Tourism Promotion Authority, (PNGTPA) statutory body Act of Parliament TPA Corporate Plan produced 1994–1996	(Douglas, 1997)
1971	First tourism statistic study	(Douglas, 1997)	2001	PNG Tourism Industry Association	(PNGTPA, 2001)
1972	Analysis of PNG tourist potential launch of Sepik River houseboats	(Douglas, 1997)		Lukim PNG Nau, PNG Tourism Expo	(PNGTPA, 2004)
1973	Air Niugini established	(Douglas, 1997)	2005	Tourism Policy	(PNFTPA, 2005)
1974	PNG Tourist Board becomes PNG Tourist Authority, then PNG Office of Tourism	(Douglas, 1997)	2007	Tourism Master Plan launched 2007–2017	(PNGTPA, 2007)
1975	First Tourism Act Melanesian Tourist Services largest inbound operator Tourism Advisory Council established	(Douglas, 1997)	2009	Office of Tourism, Arts and Culture enacted by NEC. Main function: Policy formulation and capacity building in HR PNG launched its Cruise tourism strategy	David Monai Senior Program Officer published on Youtube, 8 May 2014 (PNGTPA, 2009)
1978	International tourist investor, Port Moresby Travelodge opens	(Douglas, 1997)			

Table 1.1 provides a summary of historical events relating to PNG's tourism and highlights BP as the main force in introducing tourism into PNG. BP remained instrumental in promoting tourism until January 1968. Edwinsmith (2011) recounts the last passenger vessel voyage by BP as the MV Bulolo, originating from Sydney in December and passing through Brisbane before reaching PNG. The MV Bulolo, previously known as HMS Bulolo during WWII, departed Port Moresby just after Christmas to do its last mail run to Milne Bay, Lae, Madang, Rabaul and returned to Port Moresby for the last time in January 1968, as a result of the Australian Government withdrawing its mail contract from BP (https://asopa.typepad.com/files/the-last-voyage-of-themv-bulolo-2.pdf). While BP was sailing the waters of PNG, gold was being discovered in Wau Bulolo in the Morobe Province. According to Waterhouse (2010), mainland New Guinea was yet to be explored by the outside world but because of goldmining, mainland New Guinea led the world in the growth of commercial aviation. The rugged interior mainland of PNG made it difficult for vehicle accessibility and so planes were used to fly in equipment, supplies and labour to support mining operations.

PNG has a lot to offer in terms of its unique culture and biodiversity, both on land and at sea. Despite the magnitude of natural attractions and potential for tourism, the country relies heavily on its extractive industries such as gold, copper, logging and petroleum to generate revenue. The government's emphasis on tourism in PNG is weak compared to its neighbour Fiji (Pipike, 2012). According to PNGTPA, in 2014, PNG received a total of 191,442 international visitors (see Figure 1.1), with 34% coming to PNG for business purposes, 29% for employment and 27% for holidays, while the rest came either for educational purposes or other reasons, (Visitor arrivals 2014, PNGTPA, 2015). The World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC, 2015) reported that leisure spending amounted to 67.8% of tourism's contribution towards PNG's GDP compared to business spending of 32.2% in 2014 (see Figure 1.2) as cited by PNGTPA

(2015). The report also notes that foreign visitors' spending for 2014 was 0.4% while domestic visitors was 99.6% (WTTC, 2015). However, the domestic figures do not indicate whether or not expat mineworkers have been included. This particular group of workers follow a fly in–fly out system of working where they spend two to four weeks on site and two weeks break at home which is usually their home country. As seen in Figure 1.1, visitor arrivals steadily increased in the decade from 2005 to 2014.

Annual visitor arrivals trend (2005–2014)
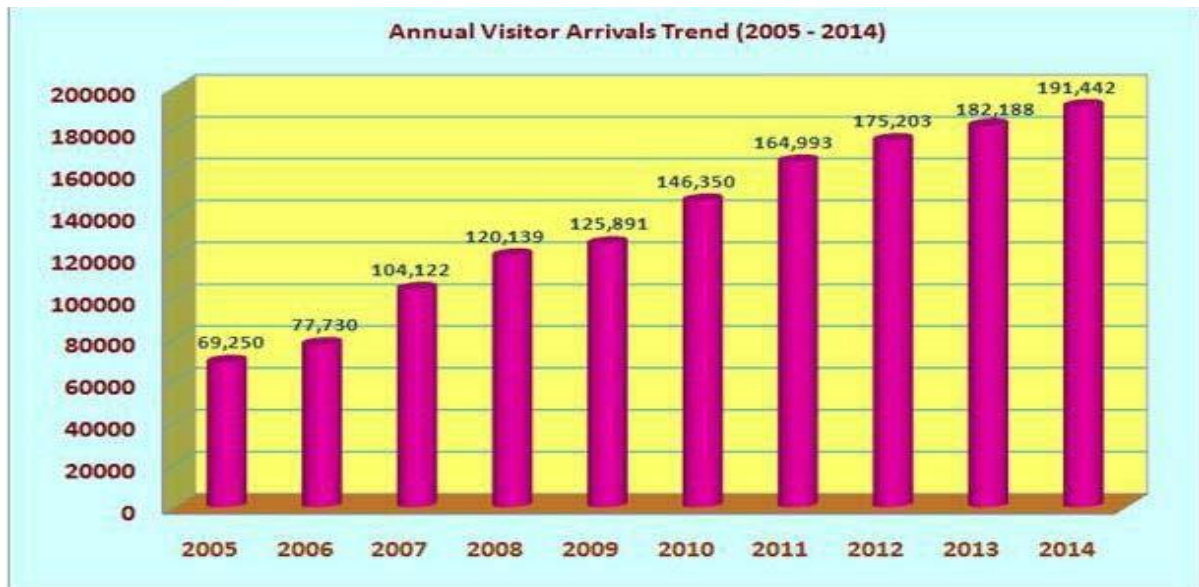
Figure 1.1: Annual visitor arrivals trend (2005–2014). Adapted from '2014 visitor arrival report' by PNGTPA, 2015, p. 15

Out of the 191,442 visitors in 2014, 27% of them took part in tourism activities which contributed K460,000,000 (AUD200,000) to PNG's local economy. Figure 1.2 shows that 2014 recorded the highest tourist expenditure over a ten-year period. This is an indication that tourism as an economic activity in PNG is increasing.

Tourists estimated annual expenditure (2005–2014)
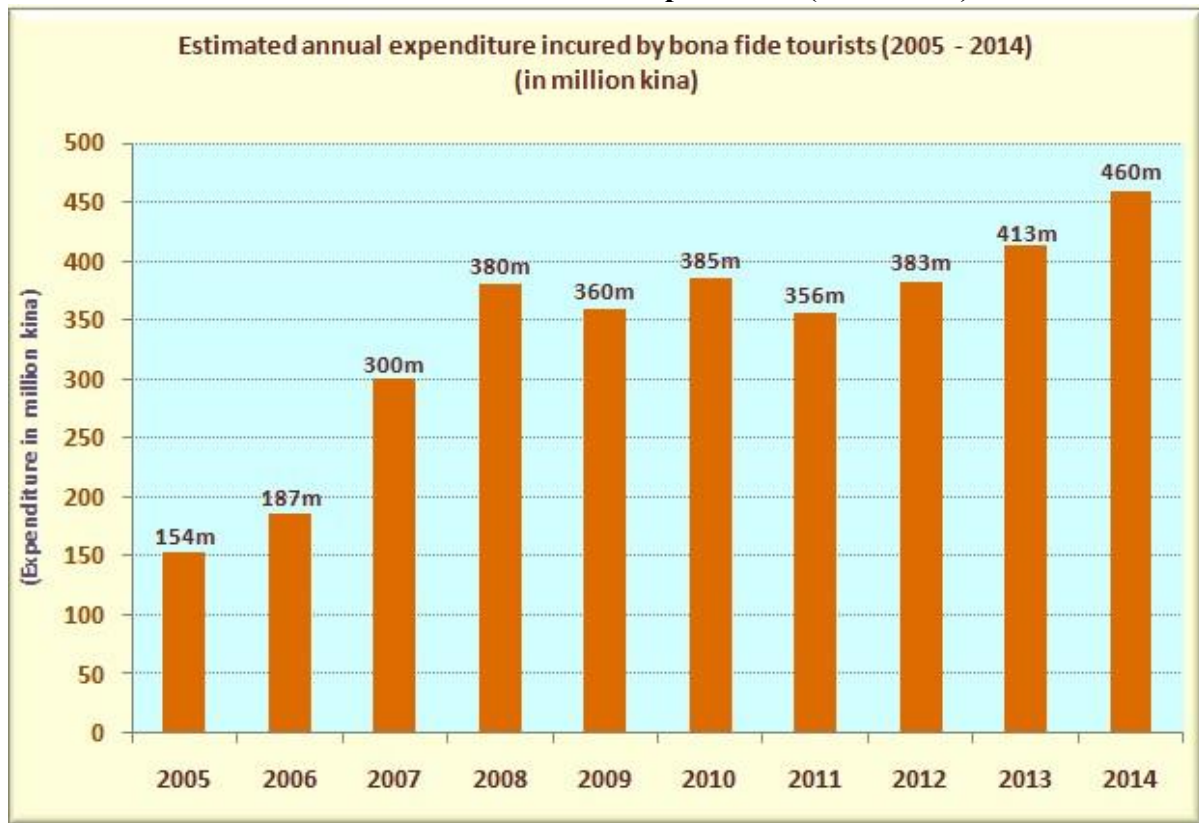
Figure 1.2: **Estimated annual expenditure incurred by tourists (2005–2014). Adapted from '2014 visitor arrival report' by PNGTPA visitor arrival report, 2015, p. 14.**

The tourism industry in PNG continued to grow at a steady rate from 2005 to 2014, as shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. What's more, tourism's future in PNG continue to look promising as reflected in the '2019 Visitor Arrival Report' by PNGTPA. According to the report, 210,000 international visitors visited PNG in 2019, after the country experienced a slow growth of tourist numbers in 2017 and 2018. Figure 1.3 shows PNG's visitor arrivals for 2019. The report also named the Kokoda Track as the most visited sight in PNG. The rise of cruise tourism in PNG also contributed to the increase in international visitor arrivals. The slow growth of tourism experienced in 2017 and 2018 can be attributed to the security concerns surrounding the national election in 2017 which negatively impacted the country's tourism industry.

PNG visitor arrivals for 2019
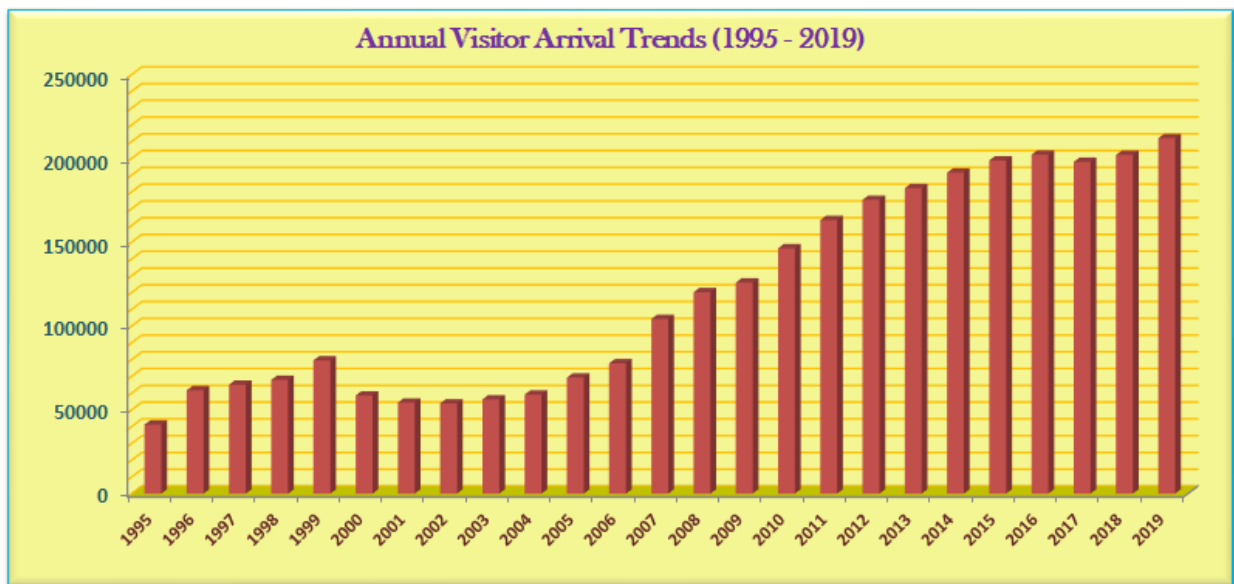
Figure 1.3: Annual visitor arrival trends (1995–2019). Adapted from '2019 visitor arrival report' by PNGTPA visitor arrival report, 2020, p. 14.

The increase of visitor arrivals in 2019 contributed K715,000,000 (AUD350,000,000) to PNG's economy which was almost twice the contribution from tourism in 2014. Figure 1.4 illustrates the monetary value of PNG's tourism industry as an important non-extractive economic activity.

Estimated expenditure incurred by tourists
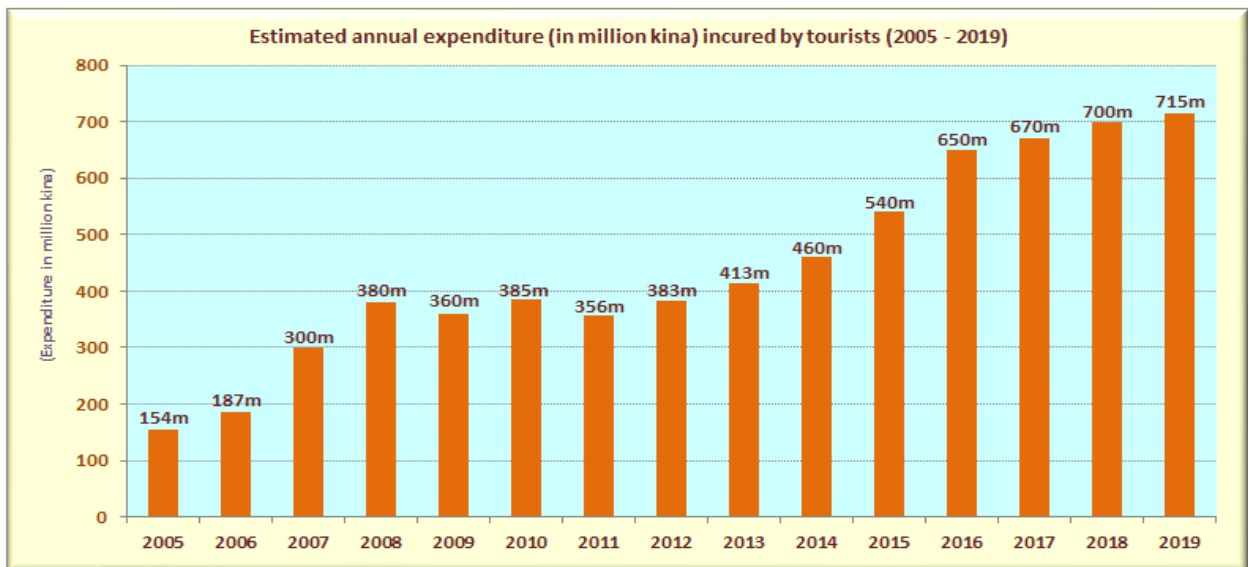
Figure 1.4: Estimated annual expenditure incurred by tourists (2005–2019). Adapted from '2019 Visitor Arrival Report' by PNGTPA, 2020, p. 12.

Nonetheless, tourism has the potential and ability to contribute to PNG's economy and it is vital that the industry is governed effectively.

Figure 1.5 shows the government tourism structure in PNG. The Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture is the overall regulator for tourism in PNG, and in 2009 the Office of Tourism, Arts and Culture (OTAC) was given the mandate to be the coordinating agency for tourism by the National Executive Council (NEC). There are three bodies that OTAC also helps coordinate: the National Museum and Art Gallery (NMAG), the National Cultural Commission (NCC) and the Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority (PNGTPA). In the provinces are provincial tourism offices and bureaus which the PNGTPA works closely with in terms of marketing. PNGTPA also regulates and promotes tourism industry associations.

PNG's Tourism Governance Structure
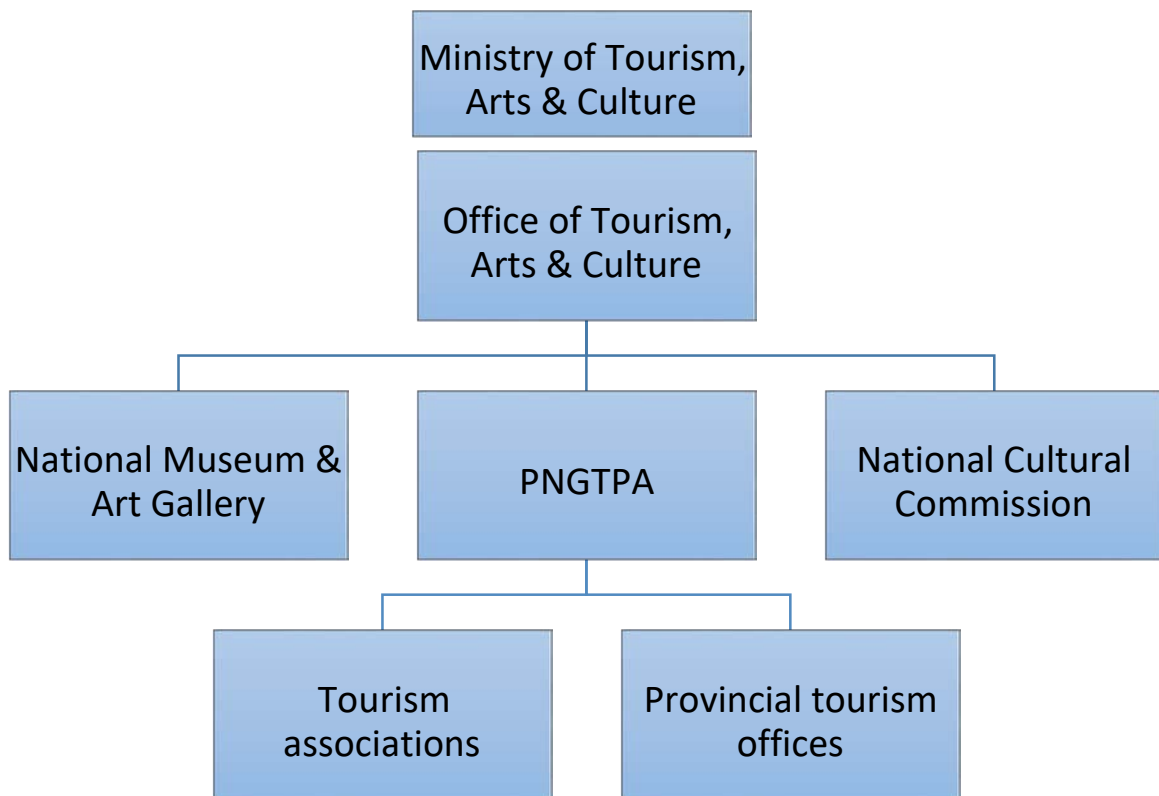
Figure 1.5: PNG's Tourism Governance Structure

The OTAC's mission is to coordinate the tourism, arts and culture sector by enhancing communication within the sector, establishing effective sector capacity-building, and implementing an institutional-strengthening programme. It also coordinates the planning, resourcing, implementation, and monitoring of the Sector Plan 2014–2018 in partnership with sector agencies, namely NCC, NMAG and PNGTPA together with the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture ([www.otacpng.org.pg)](www.otacpng.org.pg). The PNGTPA's mission is to enhance the development, marketing and sustainability of PNG Tourism in partnership with the industry, government and community ([http://www.tpa.papuanewguinea.travel)](http://www.tpa.papuanewguinea.travel).

The Visitor Exit Survey Report for 2011 by PNGTPA reported diving, trekking, cultural shows, forests/wildlife and relaxation as the main reasons tourists travelled to PNG. To fully indulge

in activities such as trekking, diving and nature based experiences tourists must travel to rural areas. Apart from surfing, as a new form of tourism in PNG, cruise tourism is also slowly growing, with Australia as the main supplier. Since the launch of its Cruise Tourism Strategy in 2009, PNG is tapping into cruise tourism (http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/analysis/cruise-tourism-docking-png). P&O Cruises, the largest cruise line operating out of Australia, visited five ports in PNG. In 2015, two more ports, Kavieng and Madang, were added. The company also operates four PNG-only excursions, departing from Brisbane, Sydney and Cairns. "P&O's return to PNG was possible because of the strong support of the national government and local authorities, particularly in relation to the provision of infrastructure to accommodate cruise ship visits," the CEO, told the media in May 2015 (https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/analysis/cruise-tourism-dockingpng). "As the Australian cruise market grows and matures, our passengers are keen to experience new destinations and culture."

It is not just Australian cruise lines that are adding PNG to their itineraries; other cruise lines that visit PNG include NYK Cruises from Japan, Holland America from Amsterdam, Paul Gauguin from French Polynesia and Princess Cruises from the US. In a collaborative effort by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and Carnival Australia, a report was launched in June, 2016 entitled 'Assessment of the Economic Impact of Cruise Tourism in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands'. The report stated that in 2015, PNG received a total of 136 cruise ships with an average passenger capacity of 705 and AUD5.9 million from cruise tourism, indicating a positive growth for this sector in PNG. However, the benefits of cruise tourism have a limited reach, restricted to coastal provinces accessible by sea, with no benefits to other areas.

1.3 Overview of the Thesis

This research project consists of two parts: creating an Indigenous research framework for PNG and applying it in rural PNG. Under the two main parts are six chapters.

Overview of the thesis
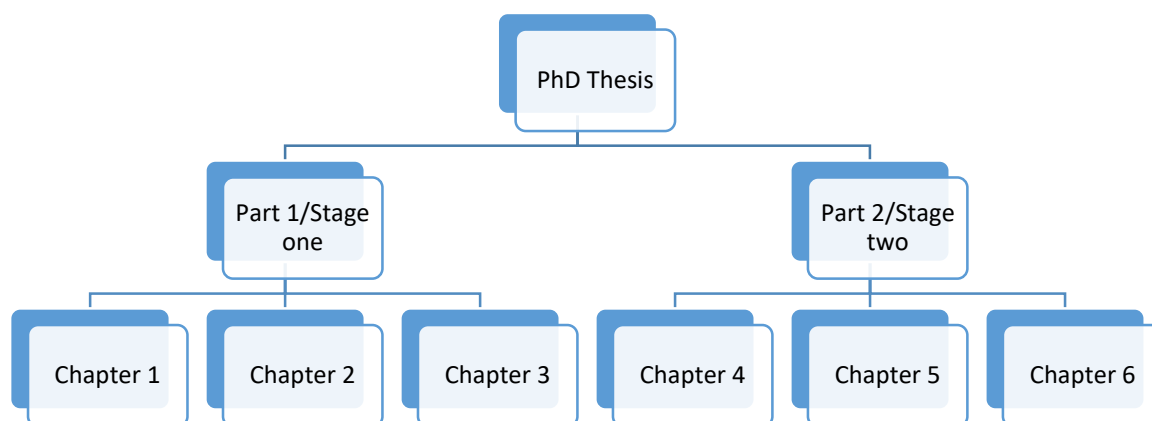
Figure 1.6: Overview of the thesis

The six thesis chapters cover the following topics: situating the research context, understanding, developing, applying and evaluating the MRF, followed by a conclusion and personal reflection.

Chapter 2 discusses other similar tourism studies conducted in PNG, in the Pacific and globally. It also reports on other studies that have employed an Indigenous approach and looks at other Indigenous methodologies. This chapter is important as it shapes the reader's understanding of the concepts of CBT and Indigenous research. The initial step in this first stage is to understand how research is currently being conducted in communities and to identify a suitable Indigenous method that will be employed in Chapter 3, to create a Melanesian Research Framework. Hornung's (2013) Indigenous research approach is adapted to develop a Melanesian Research Framework (MRF).

Chapter 3 completes the first part of the research and reports on developing a research framework for the second part of the study. A qualitative approach is used to facilitate the creation of a Melanesian Research Framework. Views from both Indigenous Papua New Guinean researchers and community informants are sought by the researcher to understand their perceptions and thoughts on how research has, or is, being conducted in their communities. Community informant interviews are facilitated through storytelling, which I discovered in my previous research experience to be suitable for both the research participants and me (N'Drower, 2014). Similarly, Sakata and Prideaux (2013) found storytelling to be more effective when conducting research on eco-tourism in a local village in PNG, as discussed in Chapter 2. Feedback from community informants' is examined to shed light on how communities would like to be researched and to provide feedback on developing an appropriate research methodology. The literature pertaining to various non-Western research methodologies is reviewed in order to develop two sets of broad questions. The first set of questions are in the form of a questionnaire of open-ended questions directed at Indigenous PNG researchers, while the second set of questions are used as lead questions during loosely structured storytelling-style interviews with the community informants. The process is guided by Hornung's (2013) Indigenous Research Framework.

Chapter 4 reports on how the MRF is used to explore the views of twelve rural PNG communities in order to understand how CBT is being introduced and managed in these non-Western communities. The main focus of this chapter is to describe how the MRF was applied and the participants' perspectives of CBT.

Chapter 5 reports on the evaluation of the MRF by comparing it to previous non-Indigenous approaches undertaken to analyse CBT in PNG by other researchers.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the main findings, overall conclusions and implications for future research. A personal reflection of the research journey is also shared in this chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Research into PNG Tourism

The PNGTPA website promotes diving, trekking, bird watching and nature based experiences as the common forms of tourism in PNG and, in an attempt to promote tourism in local communities, it has created guides in the form of booklets to encourage community-based tourism (CBT) of various types, especially among the local Indigenous communities. Table 2.1 provides an overview of research into tourism in PNG and as illustrated, a range of tourism activities that take place in rural communities have been studied from cultural experiences to surfing. Given the limited nature of tourism in PNG, it is not surprising to find only a handful of research studies have been conducted. Further, these have focused on the major elements of existing tourism and government policy foci including surfing, ecotourism and CBT.

2.1.1 Studies of surf tourism

O'Brien and Ponting (2013) researched successful surf tourism initiatives in some coastal villages in PNG. These surf sites formed clubs which, in turn, make up the Surfing Association of PNG. Through these clubs, locals are empowered to share their views on surf tourism and its impacts on their communities (O'Brien & Ponting, 2013; West, 2014). The clubs benefit from the association through the collection of reef fees from surfers who come to ride the local waves, as similar to traditional land, coastal clans also own reefs and claim ownership of fishing grounds. Through the surfing association and clubs, surfing instructions are provided for the youth and children within the communities by the surfers themselves and surfing instructors from the association. This has been seen as a positive influence on the community as it contributes to reducing youth law and order problems (West, 2014; O'Brien & Ponting, 2013).

Table 2.1: A Summary of Studies Focused on PNG's CBT and Village Tourism

Authors	Method	Main Conclusions
Martin (2008)	Qualitative Semi-structured interviews Observation	Culture not serving its purpose and used for economic gain. E.g., the *tumbuans* taking part in the mask festival
Silverman (2012)	Ethnographic fieldwork Film review	Cannibal tours silenced Indigenous agency; the film misrepresented the perspective of tourism by the inhabitants along Sepik River
Silverman (2013)	Ethnographic fieldwork	Tourism allows local people to artistically express messages about gender, identity and sociality in the Melanesian way post colony. Community greatly affected when tourism ceased; community understood tourism to be the life saver for its economic needs.
Wearing & McDonald (2002)	Exploratory research Informal conversations/ observations	Community-based tourism or ecotourism must strike a balance between conservation and development – between the old forms of knowledge and the new. Tourism control must lie in the hands of the communities.
Wearing, Wearing & McDonald (2010)	Field research Workshops conducted and social mapping used	Acknowledging power from below as resistance and renegotiation allows for the potential emancipation of underprivileged actors such as developing country destination communities. These underprivileged actors, including village communities, can then be considered a normal part of the daily flow of interactions, rather than standing in opposition to oppression exerted by the tourism industry
Guaigu (2014)	Case study Observations, semi-structured interviews Newspaper article review	Ecotourism venture was successful: Good network with urban tourism & hospitality operators Conflicts were sorted out using both customary and modern systems
Sakata & Prideaux (2013)	Qualitative Semi-structured interviews (story telling) one on one Observation	The community-based ecotourism initiative reflected a social enterprise indicating strong community agency
O'Brien & Ponting (2013)	Qualitative Semi-structured interviews Observation	Sport governing bodies can engage host communities in a collaborative framework to sustainably utilise sport tourism resources with: - a move away from Western business models; - formal, long-term, coordinated planning; - systematic attempts to foster cross-cultural understanding; and - village-level sport development encouraging community support
N'Drower (2014)	Qualitative Semi-structure interviews Observation	Sustainable practices are already embedded in the traditional way of life as such there is evidence that sustainable practices are being practiced in rural tourism.

2.1.2 Studies of ecotourism

Sakata and Prideaux (2013) describe the success of an ecotourism project using the CBT concept in Waluma, a village on an island in Milne Bay Province, which was treated as a social enterprise by the community. People in Waluma collectively supported the ecotourism project

through a community agency. Although it was managed by the guesthouse owner, tourism was not limited only to the guesthouse, with its benefits spread throughout the village. Villages in Milne Bay also understand that eco-tourism contributes to preserving their environment and culture, giving them a positive view of the future of sustainability (Bohensky, Butler & Mitchell, 2011). The culture of PNG enforces one asset that is often overlooked, social capital, which plays a role in facilitating successful community outcomes (Diedrich, Benham, Pandihau & Sheaves, 2019).

Zeppel (2006) describes eco-tourism in PNG as mostly small-scale communal projects by rural communities which are nature based with elements of culture. These projects are typically supported by non-government organisations (NGOs), such as the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and conservation international (CI). Ecotourism in PNG is usually associated with wildlife management areas (WMA) which are either protected or conserved and include both land and marine resources. NGOs have been the key players in negotiating and facilitating tourism projects at the grass root level (Zeppel, 2006; Wearing, McDonald, & Ponting, 2005).

In a similar study of a beach lodge in Mozambique on the south-eastern coast of Africa, Altinay, Sigala and Waligo (2016) discovered that relationship development and local community empowerment were essential for social value creation. However, in another example of social enterprise through a community-based ecotourism project in Gambia, Jones (2005) determined that social capital was not necessary for the success of the ecotourism project, rather the success was attributed to the community having as common goal the ecotourism project. Unified commitment by a community appears to be important for the success of any community project. This issue of social capital and community unity is an important one in the PNG context.

Guaigu (2014) also researched a successful ecotourism venture in a coastal village in Milne Bay Province, PNG that resulted from establishing a good network with urban tourism and hospitality operators, reconciling conflicts using both customary and modern systems and

support from the village community. Social capital, according to Coleman (1988), is not individually owned but available to a person depending on his or her surroundings and Lin (2001) asserts that social capital is deeply rooted in resources such as networks, the interconnected elements in a society. However, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) warn that, because social capital is strongly associated with networks, it could be used to prevent others from entering certain domains because of the idea of "it's who you know and not what you know". Gilberthorpe and Sillitoe (2009) asserted that the dynamics of PNG's culture and economy is changing as a result of capitalism from the West. This view is shared by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) who stated that capitalism from the West is slowly creeping in because of the market-based economy manifested in the extraction of natural resources. In this emerging system, individuals linked to the area use their networks (those with stronger ties) to disadvantage others, causing fragmentation within communities.

Traditionally, communities in PNG thrived on bonding capital because of strong kinship systems that formed homogeneous groups that collectively promoted, protected and sustained themselves as a community or village. However, since the introduction of education and technology, community structures in villages have changed. Clans that once stood together and fought together as a tribe are now competing against each other over resource ownership and economic development in their villages. Clans with more educated and skilled members are collectively negotiating and leaving out other clans that may not have the knowledge and financial means to forge their way towards development and economic advantage. Economically better off clans are now using social capital to link with other societies outside their traditional ties to continuously elevate themselves and, as a result, the gap between the haves and have nots is widening, causing fragmentation and disputes (Gilberthorpe & Hilson, 2016; Nanau, 2011; Banks, 2005, 2008).

2.1.3 Studies of CBT

Not everyone is welcoming of tourism in PNG. Martin (2008) tells of clans in East New Britain Province (ENBP) who oppose the idea of showcasing their clan identity in the form of *tumbuans* (masked men) during the annual mask festival in ENBP organised by the National Cultural Commission, saying the *tumbuans* only come out for specific reasons and that is to perform their traditional duties within their clans. In another case, Silverman (2013) reveals the high expectations of tourism held by villagers in villages along the Sepik River in the East Sepik Province. Craftsmen in these villages expected that, by selling their carvings and through cultural performances, tourism would lead them to prosperity like the tourists who visit them. When tourists stopped visiting, the village economies almost became non-existent because the villages were centred around tourism. Misunderstanding of tourism has caused a few villages to distance themselves from the industry because it has not fulfilled their expectations and, as result, they have turned their attention to other economic activities, some of which threaten the natural environment.

Basu (2000) notes that tourism resources are being threatened as PNG's tourism relies heavily on its flora and fauna, including its marine biodiversity. Economic development has led to the destruction of forests and marine life as a result of logging and fishing not being conducted in a sustainable manner. PNG villagers involved in tourism are aware of the serious damage mining can do to their community and so appreciate that tourism can bring sustainable development (Rayel, 2012). In response to the increasing threat to the natural environment, Wearing and McDonald (2002) suggested, in the findings of a study conducted in rural upper Sepik, that CBT could be successful if traditional knowledge of conservation was integrated with the modern ways of conservation. Furthermore, they said this should be initiated by the local community and the tour operators. Hence, traditional knowledge should be part of a management system.

Overall, the papers described in Table 2.1 suggest successful CBT initiatives demonstrated collaboration and networking amongst community members with collectively supported tourism, and without reliance on tourism as the only form of economic activity for survival. N'Drower (2014) concluded that sustainable practices are already embedded in the traditional way of life and that there is evidence that sustainable practices are being linked to rural tourism. Issues associated with both tourism in general, and CBT in particular, included commodification of culture, conflict and competition within communities, and the misrepresentation of tourism and its potential benefits.' These issues have also been identified in the broader literature on CBT.

Apart from the studies shown in Table 2.1, other scholars (Wearing, Wearing & McDonald, 2010; Reggers, Grabowski, Wearing & Chalterton, 2016) are of the opinion that CBT is slowly being adopted by the tourism industry in PNG, particularly in the rural areas, and initiatives such as eco-tourism are being encouraged. CBT is still a relatively new concept in PNG, and with the majority of visitors coming into the country as business tourists who will most probably only visit the major centres (such as Port Moresby, Lae, Mt Hagen and Kokopo), the success of CBT in economic terms remains unclear.

2.2 Reflections on Community-based Tourism

For tourism to be successful as an industry, argues Haywood (1988), it must be based on vibrant communities. Communities collectively form the foundation of a destination. Spenceley (2008, p. 288) identifies community-based tourism as tourism that is "located within a community; owned, managed or co-managed by one or more community members; and that benefits the community". CBT was introduced as a tool to enhance development in communities through tourism (Butler & Menzies, 2007; Murphy, 1985). The concept was adopted from community development, but Blackstock (2005) argues that CBT is more focused on the survival and economic value of tourism, while community development is concerned with social justice and

the empowerment of the community. CBT is a dynamic concept because it supposedly allows for local participation, power redistribution, collaboration processes and the creation of social capital (Okazaki, 2008), and it can be a catalyst for sustainable tourism (Blackstock, 2005; Ellis & Sheridan, 2015; Telfer, 2009). Despite this, CBT poses both opportunities and challenges, and like any other tourism initiatives, there is always a price to pay (Moscardo & Murphy, 2014). No doubt tourism, if not regulated properly, can cause social problems and conflicts within communities. Numerous studies have indicated that CBT is the preferred option for promoting tourism in young emerging countries, especially in promoting economic development and the alleviation of poverty. Hence, concepts such as Indigenous tourism, eco-tourism, homestays and wildlife tourism are examples of CBT (Harwood, 2010).

Reflecting on the words of Spenceley (2008), CBT in developing countries often takes place in rural areas. Tourism that occurs in rural or remote areas usually possesses unique characteristics which are also considered its selling points, such as small scale, open space within the presence of nature, and heritage based on traditional societies (Lane, 1994). According to Saarinen and Lenao (2014), it is vital to understand how tourism is introduced into rural areas, the type of development it falls under and for whom. These authors go on to say that tourism development in rural and poor communities often results in conflicts amongst community members because of conflicting agendas and land use. Even in developed countries, argue McAreavey and McDonagh (2011), rural areas are complex and have different purposes and, as such, conflicts with different groups who claim to have user rights can result.

In situations similar to PNG's rural tourism, it appears that successful CBT relies on external factors such as government support, outside investors and donor funding to influence the positive growth of tourism. Han and colleagues (2014) warn, however, of external influencers engaging in opportunistic behaviour when tapping into rural tourism with communities. A lack of access to information by rural communities, about opportunities, costs and benefits, was

identified by Bello, Carr and Lovelock (2016) as one of the factors that inhibits tourism from advancing within communities. Another concern raised by Moscardo (2014) is the importance of social and human capital together with an effective governance structure to achieve the benefits sought of tourism.

Two South African CBT case studies were described by Collins and Snel (2008). The first one demonstrated a community taking on tourism without involving private investors. The study revealed problems working with the community committee because the members were indecisive, which was time consuming which slowed the progress of the project. The members were not dedicated to making decisions because the project was not individually owned but instead communal. Whereas, with private investors, profit is the motive so continuous operation and success is paramount. The second case study involved a partnership between a community and both private and public sector parties. The study highlighted the fact that private investors will not invest unless there is clarity regarding the land tenure arrangements.

Table 2.2: Summary of Success Factors and Barriers to CBT

Factor	Success factors (SF)			SF and B			Barriers (B)		Frequency
	Rozemeijer (2000)	Goodwin and Santilli (2009)	Dangi and Jamal (2016)	Blackman et al. (2004)[b]	Asker et al. (2010)	Dodds, Ali, & Galaski (2018)	Tosun (2000)[a]	Murphy, Moscardo, & Blackman (2014)[b]	
Skills and expertise in areas required for operation of tourism	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	7
Cooperation with private tourism enterprises in the area	X	X	X	X		X		X	7
Economic viability of the initiative		X		X	X	X	X	X	6
Involvement of community stakeholders in planning and management		X	X	X		X	X	X	6
Technical cooperation	X	X	X		X	X			5
Positive tourism impacts	X	X	X	X	X				5
Independence in decision making process	X	X				X		X	5
Good tourism product based on local assets	X	X		X		X			5
Political recognition of the community and support for CBT	X		X	X			X	X	5
Marketing efforts			X	X	X	X		X	5
Unity and cohesion of the community		X	X		X			X	4
Effective leadership	X		X	X				X	4
Clarity about tourism and its costs and benefits		X			X		X	X	4
Effective legal and administrative system		X					X	X	3
Provision of capacity building		X	X			X			3
Effective community management organization	X			X	X				3
Participative decision making	X	X			X				3
Community control over land and resources		X	X			X			3
Tourism complements other activities		X			X	X			3

[a] Community participation in tourism in developing countries.
[b] Peripheral and rural tourism development.

Source: Adapted from Zielinski, Kim, Botero & Yanes (2018), p. 4.

Moscardo (2008) pointed out that it is not a lack of tourism service training or education, but knowledge of tourism that discourages community participation in tourism development. Drawing on the work of Cohen (1984), one of the principal issues in the sociology of tourism is the structure and function of a tourism system which, if understood and implemented alongside other existing structures, could lead to the promotion of tourism in the area. The idea of having a broker either from the private stakeholders or a government representative as the go between person in the area for CBT, was suggested by Ashley (2000) to facilitate a better communication process between the communities and stakeholders. Finally, Zielinski and colleagues (2018) examined sixty-eight case studies that discussed different factors that either enabled or inhibited nature-based tourism in developing countries, which also covered CBT. The factors that they found to facilitate or inhibit tourism success are summarised in Table 2.2.

Lack of skills and expertise in tourism operation coupled with the absence of cooperation among tourism enterprises within an area were noted as the main barriers to tourism research as shown in Table 2.2. These were followed by a lack of understanding in regard to the economic viability of the tourism initiatives and not including the community stakeholders in the planning and management activities of tourism initiatives. This list indicates that implementing CBT can be challenging in emerging countries. What is particularly challenging, argues Tosun (2000), is that the idea of community participation originated from developed countries whose social and economic structure is different to that of developing countries. Hence the concepts of, and criteria used to identify, communities need to be different, as well as the approaches used in involving them. While conducting research on Australian Aboriginal communities, Manderson, Kelaher, Williams and Shannon (1998) realised that communities are continually being defined by policy makers and legislators

geographically or as relational entities, without considering the social, historical and cultural context of communities, including their infra and inter-cultural relationships. Unindustrialised countries have adopted the concept of CBT to develop their communities, particularly in rural areas. But from a cultural perspective, how does one define community, is it by family, clan, tribe, village or group of villages that speak the same language? Hence, CBT may not be ideal for certain traditional societies with a more complex structure. For example, in a country like Papua New Guinea with more than 800 languages and more than 1000 tribes, how does one define community, especially in the rural areas?

The importance of understanding the structure of any community or society is crucial before introducing concepts such as CBT, which requires the support of the community and society. It is most likely that no two communities are the same, as each community has its own unique circumstances (Zienlinski et al., 2018). The fact that CBT is ineffective in some societies could be the result of not properly understanding the structure of communities and their political, economic and cultural systems. Importantly, multicultural societies should be closely examined, as they would have different structures operating within the same domain and are likely to experience conflicting ideas in stating their priorities (Parekh, 2006) which could contribute to initiatives like CBT being ineffective, in addition to other factors such as lack of knowledge, skills and financial difficulties (Sharpley & Telfer, 2008).

Another reason for CBT being less successful is that many developing societies fail to incorporate traditional practices and values in their tourism policies, as a result of the influences of their colonisers (Sofield, 2003). Understanding the structure of traditional societies is important in facilitating tourism in semi-traditional communities. CBT is being hailed as the way forward to achieve the economic, cultural and environmental aims of sustainable tourism by engaging communities in the decision-making and planning stages of

tourism initiatives, and allowing communities to have a voice in tourism projects. However, how do the communities contribute towards the tourism discussion, especially those in developing countries and in particular from the not so developed parts of the country? It is anticipated that views contributed by a community will most certainly be based on issues drawn from their daily experiences and considered as normal, which are consequently is shaped by their local customs and beliefs, even more so in rural areas in young emerging economies. Not all countries categorised as developing countries are the same (Jenkins, 2015); they differ according to geographic profile, population, political system, economic development and the level of basic infrastructure. These factors will determine the ability of each country to move forward in terms of tourism development.

Given that resource use rights, and rights to make decisions, are important elements in communities, the protocol used in making decisions is as important as who has been asked to decide (Reggers, Grabowski, Wearing, Chatterton, & Schweinsberg, 2016; Sofield, 2003). The community may welcome tourism, but if the actual resource owners are not fully in favour of tourism then there is likelihood that tourism might not grow, let alone survive. In response to potential conflicts, Sullivan (2002) argues that PNG should take on board new legislation to promote sustainable development that allows mutual benefits for both the resource developers and land owners.

PNG, like other developing countries, seems to be slow in integrating current global trends into its national tourism policies in order to address current issues faced by the industry (Jenkins, 2015). The lack of government support for tourism in some developing countries has resulted in tourism policies not being effectively formulated and implemented (Wahab, 2000). Tourism policies, according to Wahab (2000), must take into account globalisation and a free market economy, bearing in mind that tourism is part of the service economy. Kokkranikal,

Cronje and Butler (2011) also propose that marketing of destinations should be in line with the national tourism policy of a nation and should outline the type of tourism preferred by the destination. The efforts of destination marketing organisations (DMOs) should not be solely dictated by international tourism operators. Having policies in place will also guide DMOs in their marketing campaigns and simultaneously guide and direct tourism development at all levels. In a cultural setting, for example, policy makers and tourism practitioners alike could be unaware of the intangible forms of culture, meanings of landscapes or certain activities of the local people (Smith, 2009). Another concern is that national governments of small island states within the Pacific region rely heavily on foreign investment to develop their tourism industries (Linnekin, 1997) resulting in them having limited influence on its direction. Hence, outside investment could also be seen as a form of imperialism (Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015), with decision-making usually favouring the best interests of the foreign investors, who also dictate and influence the progress of development. Furthermore, Crocombe (1994) noted the legal systems of independent Pacific Island nations follow the principles of their former colonisers and Pacific Islanders can find it challenging to integrate their traditional systems, values and laws into their legal systems, even after independence, simply because they themselves were taught and trained based on European concepts and are comfortable with what is familiar to them.

Destination image also plays an important role in promoting a destination, as well as decision making on the part of the traveller (Lyons, Markwell, & Johnson, 2009). In the case of PNG, managing destination image can be problematic as the 22 provinces have their own unique features, and the diversity of the country makes it difficult to determine a destination image. Selecting a particular destination image must be treated with caution so that there is support from the 1000 plus tribes who believe they should be somehow represented in that image.

Alternatively, Hunter (2011) suggested that instead of looking broadly at a destination's tourism, policy makers should single out only destinations that are interested in tourism and promote their individual uniqueness. This could, however, be a costly exercise in promoting multiple destinations and places via a single DMO.

2.3 Challenges for CBT in PNG

Highlighted in this literature review were examples of CBT in rural PNG. The literature review illustrated that CBT outlets that seemed to be more successful were community-initiated and facilitated by someone from within the host community and supported by the community. Outsiders were engaged to enhance the tourism project, rather than direct it. The approaches taken by these successful initiatives were more bottom up, guided by community cooperation and influence. Whereas, in the unsuccessful tourism examples, often the concept of the tourism initiative was introduced by an agent from outside of the community and, the time taken to orient the whole community was shorter, the process less inclusive and a holistic picture was not presented to the community. Furthermore, misunderstandings of tourism as an economic activity were common, resulting in communities building up unrealistic expectations that tourism would solve many problems.

There has been much talk about PNG needing to develop its tourism potential and, as the UNWTO stresses that sustainable tourism could be facilitated through CBT, the PNGTPA has adapted and integrated CBT into its Tourism Master Plan. It appears that local communities are willing to participate in tourism as resource owners, sharing their culture together with their flora and fauna, but there is a widespread view that this is not happening as it should. Communities are having difficulties attracting tourists/visitors to their communities/villages despite the much-promoted concept of tourism. Apart from accessibility and marketing challenges, many PNG stakeholders are asking how community tourism can be more

integrated into the overall tourism system of PNG, so that tourism at the community level is able to grow and survive by benefiting from the positive impacts of tourism in PNG as a whole.

The literature review on CBT in PNG suggested that Papua New Guineans in rural and peripheral regions perceive tourism differently to policy makers, external tourism stakeholders and tourism researchers. This conclusion is similar to Berno's (1996) cross-cultural research study which found that Indigenous Cook Islanders held different views of tourism and tourists to other stakeholders. Somerville and Perkins (2003) warn that co-research between an Indigenous and non-Indigenous researcher can be challenging unless there is a common space from which they both can work. They termed this as the contact zone within which both researchers can freely work. Finding or creating such a contact zone can be challenging.

This idea of a contact zone suggests a need to find new approaches to methodologies when working across cultures and particularly within Indigenous contexts. Many of the issues identified in the previous section suggest that the problems facing CBT in PNG are a mixture of structural problems resulting from colonisation and subsequent attempts to mimic Western models of governance, and research conducted from a Western perspective. Much of the discussion of sustainable tourism in the Pacific, argue Panakera, Willson, Ryan and Liu (2011), is guided by a dominant, but implicit, narrative of these countries being economically and environmentally vulnerable and thus in need of saving through tourism. This means researchers often assume that tourism is a desirable option and that their research is merely seeking ways to make this desirable option more effective and efficient. This has been referred to as the deficit mentality in the broader literature on Indigenous issues and policies, and is seen as driving paternalistic approaches to fix these assumed problems (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). Almost none of the existing studies on CBT in PNG have asked the targeted communities if tourism is appropriate at all. If Papua New Guineans define community

differently, see tourists differently, have a different perspective on the value of tourism, and different ideas about ethical and appropriate conduct, then it is unlikely that traditional Western approaches to studying tourism, especially CBT which is heavily influenced by a set of assumed values, will be able to develop a complete picture of the issues and challenges associated with this phenomenon. These concerns have contributed to the rise of discussions and applications of Indigenous research methodologies.

2.4 Indigenous Research Methods in Tourism

While much research has been conducted into CBT, Indigenous tourism, cultural tourism, nature-based tourism and poverty alleviation, eco-tourism in Indigenous societies – especially in developing countries – virtually all of this research has been influenced by non-Indigenous epistemologies (Schmiechen & Boyle, 2007; Zeppel, 2006). Problems with this dominance of Western approaches have been noted by many authors in the field of tourism. Carr, Ruhanen and Whitford (2016, p. 1067), for example, in the introductory paper for a special issue on Indigenous tourism in the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, noted that the main contribution of the special issue was the need for "increasing research by, or in collaboration with, Indigenous researchers" to better understand tourism processes in these communities. In the same issue Whitford and Ruhanen (2016) reviewed 403 published journal articles on Indigenous tourism and simultaneously sought the perspectives of Indigenous tourism researchers on what the appropriate research methodology should be in Indigenous tourism research. The findings revealed existing research relied mostly upon case studies exploring business intentions. Based on both the review and the views of Indigenous researchers, the authors suggested research in this area should be guided by Indigenous peoples not external researchers, be more exploratory, reciprocal, open, collaborative and participatory, and engage in two way conversations and knowledge exchange. Whitford and Ruhanen (2016) also concluded that

research outcomes should be holistic, flexible, and encourage a move from rhetoric to action to improve the wellbeing of Indigenous communities. In short, they were suggesting a move to an Indigenous approach to developing a research methodology.

Despite decades of tourism as a field of study, the knowledge created, produced and disseminated in research is still predominantly colonial (Chambers & Buzinde, 2014; Wijesinghe, Mura & Bouchon, 2019). Nielsen and Wilson (2012) make a similar point noting that the voice and presence of Indigenous scholars is invisible or elusive. In order for new tourism knowledge to be created, views from all parts of the world must at least be considered, and not just those from specific places (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). Indigenous societies (communities) are being encouraged to embark on tourism as a strategy for self-reliance and theorists have embarked on decolonisation, but little research has actually used Indigenous methodologies to conduct research in tourism.

While there is no clear definition of the term "Indigenous" (Weaver, 2010), studies on Indigenous people and communities have pointed towards Indigenous people as being the first settlers in a Western colonised country who are now a marginalised minority (Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Mair, 2012; Weaver, 2010; Kovach, 2009). However, Indigenous communities are not only common in Western developed countries but in non-Western and developing countries as well (Smith, 2012). For example, the Ainu people in Japan (Nakamura, 2010), and the 55 ethnic groups in China who are minority groups compared to the Han people (Mandarin speaking) who make up 90% of the population of China (**www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/nationality/)**. Indigenous societies are identified by their specific culture and language, which at times could be completely different from the majority or mainstream population. Categorising human societies under the Indigenous label can be cumbersome and distinctions are not always clear. For instance, it is possible to classify

a Papua New Guinean as Indigenous, even though the country overall is self-governed and politically independent, with Indigenous Papua New Guineans making up the majority of the population. The country was, however, subjected to colonial rule for an extended period. According to Narokobi (1983) an Indigenous Papua New Guinean can be referred to, as a Melanesian, and this also applies to people from the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and Fiji, who are neither Africans nor Polynesians.

Indigenous research in tourism has been referred to as another lens through which tourism researchers could use to view the perception of non-Western communities, that is, communities whose culture and way of life was once or is still different from that of Western societies. By adapting to using an Indigenous lens, Indigenous people and researchers alike will be enabled to critique and understand how best they can integrate their Indigenous knowledge to enhance tourism. In this way communities can collectively express their views on tourism and their expectations of tourism (Beeton, 2006). Tourism researchers should be challenged to report the process as it is, and not be influenced by what is considered as the norm by other disciplines (Mair, 2012). Faulkner (2001), reflecting on the "tourist's gaze", suggests tourism researchers also have their own perception towards tourism which in turn dictates how they pursue a particular topic of study. Tourism research should be conducted with new paradigms in mind, and new approaches should be adapted, as a way of advancing itself (Jennings, 2007).

Despite these calls for changes in tourism research, only a few studies conducted on tourism have actually used an Indigenous method. An Indigenous research method was used in a study by Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) exploring Indigenous Australians as tourists. Blangy, Donohoe and Mitchell (2011) used a case study of an online collaboration platform to research the views of Indigenous participants scattered across the globe. There have been other studies

carried out in the context of Indigenous tourism, but the approach taken was mainly adopted from Western viewpoints (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Weaver, 2010; Richards & Munsters, 2010). Other authors have tapped into the notion of using Indigenous research in tourism but are yet to apply the concept (Chambers & Buzinde, 2014).

2.5 Overview of Indigenous Methodology

Discussions of Indigenous research methodology do exist outside of tourism and offer insights for this aspect of tourism research. Meyer (2008) states that, in order for current issues affecting Indigenous people to be addressed effectively, new theories must be drawn from their ancient ways of knowing. It must be noted that one element that links diverse places and connects Indigenous methodologies is the concept of colonisation; in many cases these places have been dominated by Western approaches which may not be appropriate for them. "Indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviors as an integral part of methodology" (Smith, 1999 p. 15).

Urion, Norton, and Porter (1995) argued that Indigenous research methodologies should not be defined as this could prevent studies from being benchmarked inappropriately against European models. Despite this concern, Martin and Mirraboopa (2003, p. 3) propose that an Indigenous research methodology can be described as one that:

1. *reflects a recognition of our world views, our knowledge and our realities as distinctive and vital to our existence and survival;*
2. *honours Aboriginal social mores as essential processes through which we live, learn and situate ourselves as Aboriginal people in our own lands and when in the lands of other Aboriginal people;*
3. *emphasizes the social, historical and political contexts which shape our experiences, our lives, positions and futures;*
4. *privileges the voices, experiences, and lives of Aboriginal people and Aboriginal lands; and*
5. *identifies and redresses issues of importance for us.*

Indigenous researchers and academics alike have embarked on the notion of promoting Indigenous research within their cultural context. Deciding on an appropriate methodology is crucial in conducting any research (Jennings, 2007) as this will facilitate the intentions of the research, which Wilson (2001) refers to as the research paradigm. Wilson proposes that, as a researcher, your own beliefs about the topic or issue (your ontology) must be established. Then your thoughts of how that reality can be examined and how knowledge of that reality can be communicated must be established (your epistemology). Finally, before determining a methodology you must decide on your values and perspectives on what is ethical in research (your axiology). Chilisa (2012) argues that Indigenous methodologies differ because they explicitly recognise and are guided by the relevant Indigenous ontology, epistemology and axiology.

The following are examples of proposed Indigenous methodologies: the Kaupapa Maori research (Bishop, 1999; Smith, 1999), the Japanangka paradigm associated with Australian Aboriginals (West, 1998), and the Indigenist research (Rigney, 1999). In Hawaii, Meyer (2001, 1998) writes about the Indigenous Hawaiian epistemology. Whereas, Talanoa is an example of Indigenous research from the Pacific, derived from Polynesian culture (Vaioleti, 2016). According to Vaioleti (2016), the Talanoa research methodology allows research participants to fully express themselves through storytelling and showing of emotions. The author suggests that such methods pertaining to Pacific culture should be used to address Pacific issues. Talanoa is about being respectful, generous, prepared, knowledgeable and compassionate. A Samoan research methodology, the Ula, proposed by Sauni (2011), represents a lei of flowers that is used by most Pacific countries to welcome visitors. The Ula model is based on love, respect, service, covenant, spirituality, reciprocity, language and

relationships. Indigenous research is elastic in nature in that it allows and caters for different approaches in carrying out the research. The approach is determined by the community with respect to what is considered as their normal behaviour in discussing issues or conversing, as well as the everyday routine they demonstrate when responding to their surroundings.

Research is like a religious sacrament that follows a ritual, it is ceremonial (Wilson, 2008). In applying Indigenous research, Nakamura (2010) suggests researchers without much experience in Indigenous research should approach it with a learning attitude. Indigenous research is difficult and inappropriate to define because of the multiple truths and world views with which it is associated with. Indigenous research has the capacity to produce multiple meanings; there are many ways of interpreting the world, and hence, there are many ways of presenting conceptual frameworks in Indigenous research (Kovach, 2009). Conceptual frameworks will be determined by the culture, values and beliefs of the society, together with their traditional practices and the desired outcome of the research.

Worldviews are developed through experience and the different encounters in a person's life, (Hart, 2010). Understanding your own worldview and those of a community engaged in research is critical to avoid assumptions and misunderstandings (Bishop, Higgins, Casella, & Contos, 2002). Unlike positivism, where there is one reality, Indigenous people, through their relationships with each other and their surroundings, hold multiple truths regarding how they see the world, which is in conflict with traditional research epistemologies. With this in mind, researchers embarking on studies associated with Indigenous communities must be willing to accept and respect the different worldviews of Indigenous communities.

2.6 Melanesian Methodologies

In their description of their research experience of Melanesians, particularly in PNG, Waldrip and Taylor (1999) warned that initial contact with local Melanesians has the potential to either establish or destroy both the confirmability and empowerment of the research. Ownership of local knowledge is not for the researcher to decide but it is up to the broader population of the village, so it is important to establish this from the start. Equally important to consider is prolonged engagement and persistent observation, since culture and traditions are largely people based in many technologically developing countries. The process of interviewing should be very informal in Melanesian villages. The interview should take the form of a conversation rather than give the impression of an interrogation. Another reaction to be mindful of is that if a Melanesian does not respond, it does not necessarily mean they don't know the answer, they may simply be being cautious in how they answer. A researcher must also consider that a Melanesian could be responding according to how they think the researcher wants them to respond and not based on the situation as it is. Lastly, a Melanesian is naturally protective, which leads them to be suspicious of outsiders. As a result, Waldrip and Taylor (1999) emphasised the importance of the initial contact. It must also be understood that within PNG relationships, kinships are based on either genealogy or consanguinity and these relationships are governed by expectations and obligations (Meigs, 1989).

Passingan (2013) stresses that PNG already had a governing system in place even before being discovered by the explorers and missionaries. There was already in existence agriculture, architecture, methods of communication and even conflict management. Narokobi (1983) refers to this pre-existing knowledge as the "Melanesian Way" which is strongly guided by cultural values. Hence, the cultural values are rooted in the belief systems, which in turn influence relationships amongst people and their attitude towards the physical environment.

The belief systems are governed by spirituality, a non-empirical subsistence associated with metaphysics. According to Nongkas and Tivinarlik (2004), this constitutes "Melanesian Spirituality". The Melanesian Way is similar to Indigenous philosophy which was articulated based on the aboriginal way of life in Australia (Institute for Aboriginal Development, 2000) were land is the source of life, and from the land culture, identity, and spirit is drawn (see Figure 2. 1).

Melanesian philosophy has three dimensions: Melanesian spirituality (sacred world), the human world, and the physical world. The sacred world governs the relationship between the human world towards the physical world and vice versa. Land rights are determined through family ties; a person has the right to use or claim a portion of land through his or her family tree, showing that his or her ancestors were once the custodians of the land. This sometimes involves re-iterating legends, mentioning sacred sites and how they came to be, or re-telling how one is related to a particular water source, cave or supernatural being that governs a particular section of a village. Narokobi (1980, p. 20) describes the Melanesian Way as "a total cosmic vision of life in which every event within human consciousness has its personal, communal, spiritual, economic, political and social dimensions. It is, by its very nature, inherently open to change." Narokobi (1980) argues that in PNG, helping others is not seen as wanting recognition but, in the Melanesian Way, it is about identifying a community member's need and helping him or her fulfil that need.

Vallance (2007) goes further and proposes that a Melanesian research methodology could exist and be used in the social research domain, but warns it may not be applicable to all situations. He insists there is also Melanesian research ethics or axiology based on collaboration, action and community involvement, personal compassion, and courage (Vallance, 2008). "Melanesian methodology requires an ontology that is grounded in relationships. A

Melanesian ontology will foreground research questions that are holistic and integrative, respecting the cultures of participants." (Vallance, 2012, p. 4). A Melanesian methodology, argues Franklin (2007), should be rooted in Melanesian values which he claims are:

- The value of land/river/sea (*graun* or *wara*);
- The value of the clan (*haus lain/wantok*);
- The value of reciprocity (*bekim*, *bekim bek*);
- The value of food (*kaikai*, *mumu*);
- The value of ancestors (*tumbuna*, *tambaran*)
- The value of ritual (*taboo*, *singsing*, *lotu*);
- The value of leadership (*hetman*);
- The value of education (*skul*);
- The value of compensation (*peiback*, *bekim*, *birua*); and
- The value of work (*wok*) (Franklin, 2007, pp. 28–37).

Indigenous Philosophy and Melanesian Philosophy

Indigenous philosophy   **Melanesian philosophy**
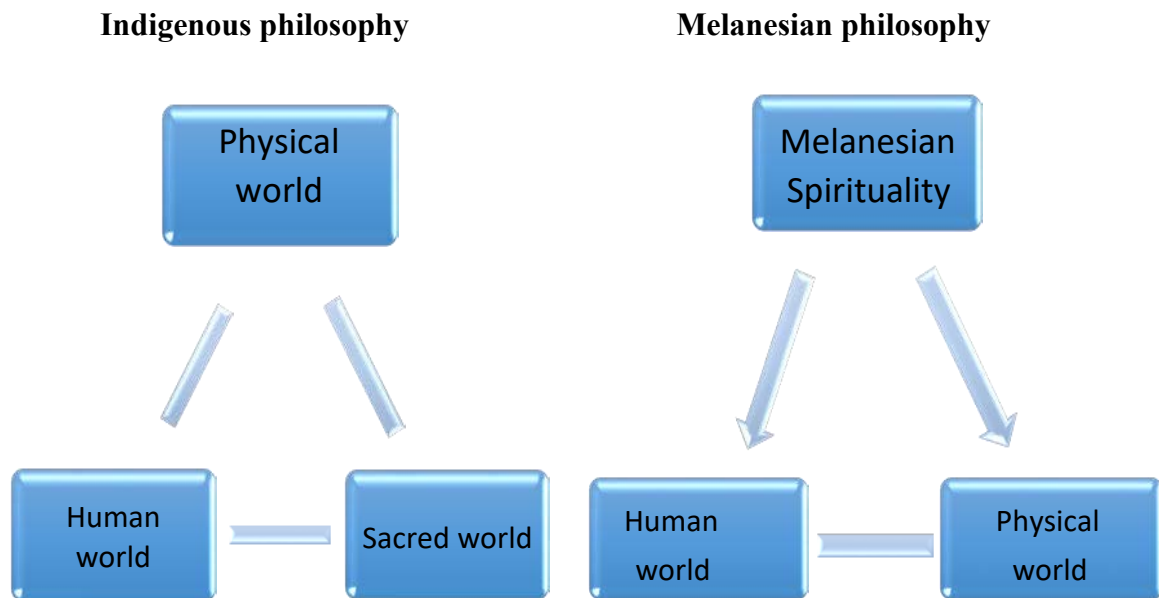
Figure 2.1: Comparison of Indigenous Philosophy and Melanesian Philosophy

Nongkas and Tivininalik (2004) argue that Papua New Guineans are increasingly being trapped in a space that is continually being influenced by formal education and Christianity. Unless Papua New Guineans truly understand who they are, the transition from a traditional setting to modernisation will be confusing and, as a result, decisions made will be based on misconceptions of introduced phenomena surrounding the newly created space. Tourism, both as a study area and an industry, is an introduced concept to PNG, being integrated into the contemporary PNG society. However, the concept of hospitality is not new, it is part of the Melanesian Way.

2.7 An Indigenous Framework for This Thesis

Although there has been much discussion of the various underlying values, and suggested elements for a Melanesian research framework (MRF), no researcher to date has attempted to fully explore what such a framework might entail and how it could be applied in practice. Given the parallels already noted between discussions of Australian Indigenous research and the Melanesian Way, it was decided to use an Australian approach to guide the development of an MRF, using discussions of the Melanesian Way as a guide to the underlying ontology and axiology appropriate to Melanesian culture. Hornung (2013), an Australian of Aboriginal decent, proposed a research framework for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers to use as a guide when visiting Indigenous communities in Australia. The framework ensures that the cultural standpoint of the Indigenous community is respected and that the views of community members are not manipulated or misrepresented. The framework places emphasis on being culturally connected to the community, and understanding views and certain phenomena influencing the community from their perspective; is also consistent with Martin and Mirraboop's (2005) suggested principles. Figure 2.8 provides an overview of this framework. The framework from Hornung (2013) will be used as a guide in conducting the present research with the emphasis on cultural connectivity. The cultural elements of a society must be treated with sensitivity and one must be cautious when dwelling amongst the custodians of the space being investigated.

Indigenous Research Framework
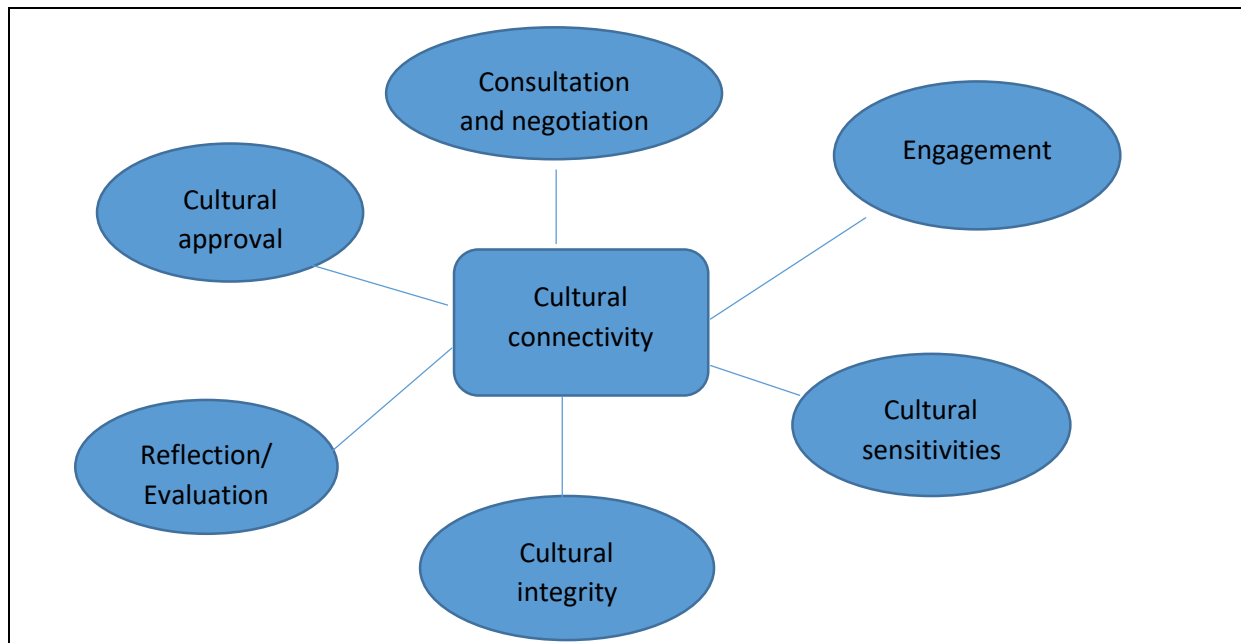
Figure 2.3: Indigenous Research Framework. Adapted from Hornung, 2013, p. 142

2.7.1 Cultural connectivity

According to Parekh (2006), culture is a created system of meanings, significance, beliefs and practices in which a group of human beings understand, regulate, and structure their individual and collective lives. In essence, culture is perceived to be the everyday accepted norm in a social setting – the interactions of beings amongst themselves and with their surroundings. For instance, their relationship with the forest, land, sea, waterways and, in general, nature, as these elements somehow influence their interpretation of life, values, worldviews and philosophies. It is essential for an outsider to understand these intangible concepts of a society when trying to establish a rapport with the society and eventually engage with the society (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003).

Cultural connectivity is not necessarily the adaptation of a cultural significance but, through the art of communication, learning to respect the dynamism and aptly negotiate a pathway via which there is mutuality and free sharing. Silverman, (2008) speaks of the significance of

carvings representing totems of the different clans for the Sepik people of PNG and how the carvers have adapted to tourism by creating different art forms which are still influenced by their ancestral beliefs, yet modified. This is done outside of a space where, despite the influence of tourism, their original artwork (carvings) is still maintained and used for its rightful purpose. The newly created space acts as a protection for their identity (carvings representing clan totems); and carvings produced outside that space are for the purpose of tourism and are still regarded as authentic by tourists.

2.7.2 Consultation and negotiation

Before entering into a society and seeking the approval of members of the society, there are processes and even some rituals to follow before an outsider is welcomed. Knowing the universal norms and values and observing what normative rules are applicable within the context, is necessary so one is not ostensibly disengaged. Consultation also involves sharing of information, a two-way communication, rather than only obtaining information (Manderson et al., 1998). The importance of consultation and negotiation when dealing with the Indigenous people of Australia was illustrated by Pickerill (2009), along with the importance of establishing a common aim for both parties. Four issues were identified as important elements during the consultation and negotiation stage: language, power and ownership, scale and timeframes, and economics. By employing this process, Pickerill was able to encourage an Indigenous/non-Indigenous collaborative environmental campaign in Australia.

2.7.3 Engagement

Identifying the appropriate persons to consult is also important when seeking the collaboration of a society or community (Traore, 2013). During a workshop on doing research with Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, Cadet-James (2016) stressed the importance

of understanding and knowing relationships in a community, and provided an example of the kinship system of aboriginal communities where certain clans in a community are not allowed to talk to each other, therefore, cannot be in the same discussion group. Similarly, in other societies a female cannot converse with a male directly (Meigs, 1989).

2.7.4 Cultural sensitivities

Cultural sensitivity refers to being aware of cultural expectations, including rituals, ceremonies, sacred sites and gender roles (Passingan, 2013). Being sensitive also involves putting to rest your own views and a willingness to learn and appreciate the differences. Indigenous people may not be comfortable in taking part in different activities outside of their cultural boundaries, according to Bishop et al. (2002), due to a fear of not being understood by the wider community. Tillman (2002) also pointed out that the history of those asked to participate in research must be considered and reflected upon in discussions of cultural sensitivity.

2.7.5 Cultural integrity

Demonstrating that understanding a community's culture is important could lead to new and improved ways of facilitating the enhancement of their well-being (Hornung, 2013). Eder (2007), for example, discussed the importance of respecting the art of storytelling within the Navajo society, in which stories are told in a certain way, during a particular time of the day and by specific people. In PNG, the *tumbuans* (masked men) of East New Britain Province (ENBP) are used for important ceremonies, such as deaths, and to maintain law and order in the villages from which they hail. However, the annual Mask Festival in ENBP, Martin (2008) warned, posed a risk of causing the *tumbuans* to lose their cultural integrity, as they were being showcased for the purpose of tourism and consequently, they were losing their authenticity

and cultural value. Researchers are encouraged to tell the story as it is, without sacrificing the authenticity of the situation, as this could risk the situation being misrepresented and misunderstood.

2.7.6 Reflection/ Evaluation

It is important for the researcher to seek the views of the community on the intended research, to gain an insight into how the community believes the research should be carried out (Hornung, 2013). This is important because the researcher can learn and improve his or her research skills. Furthermore, the community will perceive the researcher as being genuine and this will engender trust. Waldrip and Taylor (1999) noted the importance of the researcher seeking guidance from the community to ensure the research is appropriately conducted as this could determine the success of current and future research with the community.

2.7.7 Cultural approval

Reporting back to the community on research findings provides another opportunity for the researcher to seek further clarification on the discoveries and proposed findings, and to also seek approval regarding ambiguous elements and thoughts surrounding the research. This also avoids the community being misrepresented (Hornung, 2013).

2.8 Research Aims and Objectives

CBT can be a strategy employed to improve the lives of marginalised people, in particular those who were once colonised and whose current legal and administrative structures and delivery mechanisms have been sourced from their former colonisers. Literature has shown that CBT requires the support of communities for it to survive and thrive. Studies have also shown the benefits CBT brings to communities, however, in some traditional societies and communities

with tourism capabilities, CBT is sometimes difficult to maintain. It may seem favourable at first but then it slowly disintegrates as people within the community distance themselves from it, despite having the tourism skills and knowledge. This could be attributed to how CBT has been researched and introduced to the community. In the PNG context, all the existing studies have been conducted from within a Western paradigm.

This thesis seeks to explore whether or not using a non-Western research approach will better identify the causes of success and failure for community-based tourism projects in traditional rural and remote societies where culture and traditional norms still influence the peoples' way of life. The development and application of a culturally appropriate research methodology will be evaluated. The overall goal is to better enhance participation and willingness to express thoughts and views on how CBT should be conducted in these communities.

The main aim of this research is to explore the importance of understanding the structure of traditional societies and the nature of their ways of knowing about tourism in facilitating the development of sustainable tourism in these places. The following stages and more specific objectives will be used to assist in achieving the purpose of this research:

- an Indigenous research methodology for PNG, referred to as the Melanesian

  Research Framework (MRF), will be developed;

- this MRF will be used to investigate CBT in several traditional rural communities with the aim of gaining a better understanding of CBT in the PNG context; and

- the application of the MRF to CBT will be evaluated in terms of its usefulness in improving our understanding of community perspectives on CBT.

Chapter 3: Creating an Indigenous Research Framework for PNG

Please note that this chapter is constructed around a paper that is currently under review for publication in the *Annals of Tourism Research*. The first round of reviews recommended acceptance subject to some revisions. Those revisions will be completed once the thesis is under examination. As it is a complete research paper, some sections, especially the introduction and literature review, will repeat material already presented in Chapter 1.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the first part of this research project. There are two parts to this research: crafting a research method that is fitting to Papua New Guinea and applying the method to investigate the effectiveness of tourism at the village level in PNG. This is a method that must accommodate the diverse cultural context of PNG. The chapter also outlines the different stages this research project embarked on in creating a research methodology for PNG: The research context, research method employed, findings and the results.

Human movement began 40,000 years ago in PNG with migration from South East Asia (Moore, 2003) and the Island of New Guinea is believed to have been connected to Australia and Tasmania about 50 000 years ago. However, evidence of agriculture in PNG dates back 4,000 years in the Western Highlands Province, where Kuk which is now listed as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. In the course of movement, people settled in various parts of PNG, bringing with them their beliefs, culture and language. Their culture, together with the environment, influenced their architectural designs, day-to-day activities, and the relationships between and amongst each other either as a clan, tribe, hamlet or village.

PNG is an island nation which shares its land border with Indonesia, is close to the northern tip of Australia, and is situated within the Pacific Ocean. Its highest point at 4509 metres, Mt Wilhem which takes its name from the German *Wilhelmsberg,* is part of the Bismarck Range and is a tourist icon for both Chimbu and Papua New Guinea as a whole. It is a land, as Sinclair (1985) once wrote, which is complex and rich in material culture. He noted that despite knowing nothing of metal and having had no written records, Papuans were able to use their intuition in a sometimes hostile environment to survive. These skills and knowledge sourced by wisdom and guided by values were transmitted from one generation to another through observation, practice and storytelling by the knowledge keepers. Storytelling was a form of entertainment usually in the evenings after supper. Legends, myths and even family genealogy are discussed during this leisure activity. Important matters of the clan/tribe/community, such as bride price ceremonies, death ceremonies and barter systems are also engaged in.

Sillitoe (2000) described PNG as many small scale social societies cemented by social kinship relationships that fulfil their social obligations considered a necessity in maintaining the relational ties and commitments, but that are somewhat politically independent from each other. These societies operate mainly as subsistence cultivators as a means for survival.

The initial step in this study was to understand how research is currently being conducted in communities. Views from both Papua New Guinean researchers and community informants from rural villages were sought with respect to their perceptions and thoughts on how research has, and is, being conducted in their communities. Obtaining community informants' views was facilitated through storytelling, which I discovered from previous experience as suitable for both the research participants and researcher (N'Drower, 2014). The main objective for including these two groups of participants, the local village informants and PNG national researchers, is to compare and identify similarities with respect to what is being done and

experienced by the village informants, compared to what is said to be done by the PNG national researchers. The setbacks experienced by village informants with regards to the way research was conducted were sought, as well as views from PNG national researchers concerning areas of research that can be improved to allow for better participation by locals.

Introducing a research framework that can be adopted and easily modified to suit the different needs of PNG is of interest to the growing research culture which PNG is embracing. Research designs and methods should be PNG-friendly, reflecting the country's transition from one thousand tribes to one colony, then an independent nation, to the current post-independence stage as it finds its way in the world. The ideologies and techniques used to seek information from Papua New Guineans should not add to their confusion but instead enlighten them so they are able to contribute to identifying and solving their own dilemmas. However, it must also be stressed that there can never be a one size fits all research framework for PNG. As one critic of *The Melanesian Way* versus *The Melanesian Ways* clearly stated, Melanesians and more so Papua New Guineans' believe and identify with their own specific village and culture (Minol, 1987, p. 163), not as a nation. Therefore, it is only proper that if a research framework is to be created, it be flexible and encompassing enough to meet the varying requirements of PNG's diverse cultural context.

Based on these arguments, the overall aim of this study was to develop a research tool that is suitable to PNG's cultural context, a Melanesian Research Framework (MRF). Such a research framework could then be applied in future studies, especially in traditional rural and remote societies in PNG where culture and traditional norms still influence people's way of life.

3.2 Method

This research, for the first part, sought information from three different sources as demonstrated in Figure 3.1. Literature relating to non-Western research methodologies was reviewed to identify the most suitable non-Western research approach that would best fit PNG's cultural context as the way forward in creating an Indigenous research method for PNG, the MRF. Hornung's Indigenous research framework, discussed in Chapter 2, was chosen for the first part of this research. Literature pertaining to various non-Western research methodologies was also reviewed to identify questions for the purpose of developing the MRF. These were presented in questionnaires of open-ended questions targeting Indigenous PNG researchers and used as the main questions during storytelling discussion sessions with informants from selected villages in PNG. Views from both Indigenous Papua New Guinean researchers and community informants from rural villages were sought to understand their perceptions and thoughts on how research has, or is, being conducted in their communities and how the process could be altered to be more culturally appropriate and effective. In addition, the inclusion of these two groups of participants allowed for comparisons between what is experienced by the village informants, compared to what is said to be done by the PNG researchers.

Melanesian Research Framework Development Process
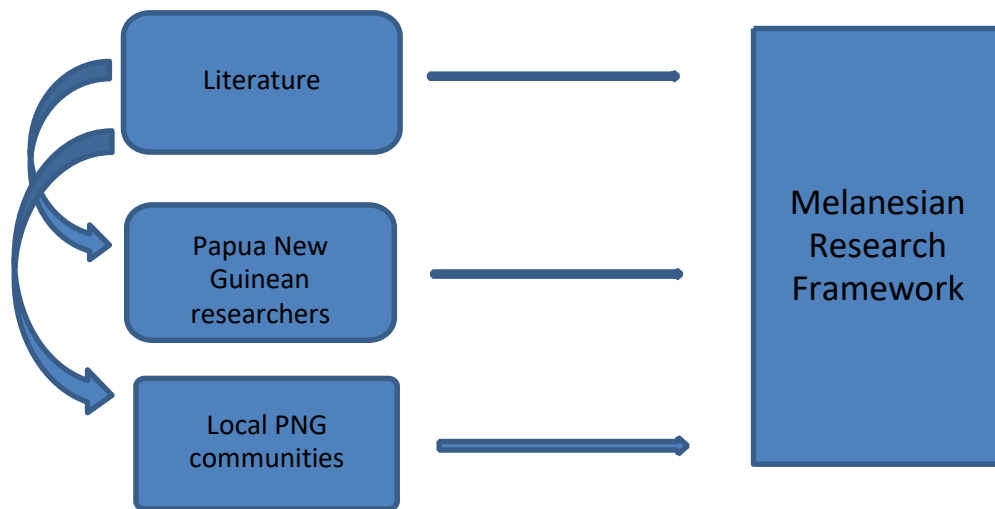
Figure 3.1: Melanesian Research Framework Development Process

3.2.1 Research context

The survey of Indigenous researchers was conducted across the whole of PNG through personal networks and connections. Emails were sent to the various researchers inviting them to participate in the research. These researchers have, over the years, conducted research in local communities and villages in PNG. The PNG researchers were from various provinces and have a general understanding of their culture, which they closely identify with as their ethnicity. However, their research skills were acquired through formal education and influenced by Western methodologies.

The purpose of including the Indigenous PNG researchers was to gain an insight into how they thought research should be conducted in PNG, by providing examples from their own experiences of conducting research among local communities in PNG. The main objective was to establish whether they believed researchers should change or modify their research approach to suit the local context to encourage and enhance local participation, particularly in regard to the manner by which participants are approached to take part in research and the type

of atmosphere that should be created to make the participants feel comfortable and willing to participate.

The discussions with villagers were conducted within Madang Province. Similar to other parts of PNG, Madang experienced two different colonial rulers, Germany from 1884 until 1914, and then Australia took over after World War One until independence (Mennis, 2006). The province is situated at the edge of the northern part of the mainland of Papua New Guinea and is considered a maritime province. However, because of its geographical location, it also shares its land border with the highlands region and, as a result, Madang is diverse in culture and language and contains enormous biodiversity, making it a research hub. Madang Province is made up of six administrative districts. PNG adopted the decentralised form of government as a way of effectively delivering goods and services to its citizens by empowering local level governments (LLG) who make up the districts. Participants for this research were from the Sumgilbar Rural LLG, a constituent of the Sumkar District which is situated in the northern part of Madang Province.

Representatives from five villages along the North Coast Road of Madang Province were invited to participate in this study. These villages were approximately an hour's drive from Madang town, with reasonable road accessibility compared to other villages in the region and in other parts of Papua New Guinea. Development in the form of basic infrastructure such as roads, health services and education was first introduced by religious people, in particular the Catholic and Lutheran missionaries, about one hundred years ago. Therefore, exposure to nonlocals (people from outside these villages) has been ongoing either for religious purposes, economic projects, awareness activities or through participation in data collection and research. As a result, residents of these villages are an ideal choice for the purpose of this study, which is to create an Indigenous research tool.

3.2.2 The challenge of conducting research into how to conduct research

Given the focus of this research into how people in a non-Western context perceive the processes of research, it was decided to take a qualitative approach focusing on allowing the participants to guide the research as much as possible. In addition, the review of literature revealed a number of guidelines for such a research process. Waldrip and Taylor (1999), for example, share their research experience of the Melanesians, particularly of PNG, and warned that initial contact with local Melanesians has the potential to either establish or destroy both the confirmability and empowerment of the research. Ownership of local knowledge is not for the researcher to decide but for the broader population of the village, so it is important for the researcher to establish this from the start. Equally important to consider is prolonged engagement and persistent observation, since the culture and traditions of many technologically developing countries are largely people based. The process of interviewing should be very informal in Melanesian villages. The interview should take the form of a conversation rather than give the impression of an interrogation. Another reaction to be mindful of is that if Melanesians do not respond, this does not necessarily mean they don't know the answer, but rather that they are being cautious in how they answer. A researcher must be mindful that a Melanesian could be responding according to how they think the researcher wants them to respond. Lastly, a Melanesian is naturally protective, which leads them to be suspicious of outsiders. That is why Waldrip and Taylor (1999) emphasised the importance of the initial contact. Sillitoe (2000) shares his experience of PNG and says that in facilitating meaningful participation, respecting others should be a conviction and not because it is politically correct. It must be understood that, within PNG, kinships are based on either genealogy or consanguinity and these relationships are governed by particular expectations and obligations (Meigs, 1989).

Wearing and McDonald (2002) also shared their experiences of conducting research in some parts of rural PNG and highlighted possible areas that could be considered challenging for researchers if overlooked:

- Language – this could be a barrier in communication if the local vernacular is misinterpreted. The researcher showing interest in knowing and saying simple greetings in the local vernacular can signify good intentions;

- Ways of inquiry – this refers to doing research with an open mind, which is important when presenting questions to participants;

- Participation – promoting trust and respect involves participating in the activities of local communities and is important in research because it provides an opportunity for the researcher to take note of unspoken information; and

- Presentation – the community must be fully aware of the researcher's intentions and what he or she will offer.

These same challenges have been identified by other researchers, both Papua New Guinean and non-Papua New Guinean (Silverman, 2012, 2013; Martin, 2000; Sakata & Prideaux, 2013). In addition to these PNG-specific papers, the review of Indigenous methodologies in general suggested that the Hornung model presented in Figure 1.4 offered a generic set of principles suitable to guide the methodology for this study. Finally, the chief investigator's own previous PNG research experiences, particularly with the use of storytelling discussion sessions in villages, was used to help guide the process.

3.2.3 Storytelling as a data gathering tool for indigenous research

Storytelling allows people to express the different ways they experience the world (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). This can be particularly useful in Indigenous research. Bishop (1999)

argues that stories allow people to share meanings and unravel the truth, and stresses the importance of collaborative storytelling in Indigenous research to help avoid researcher bias. Storytelling was used as a data gathering tool in Indigenous research by Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010). The authors adapted "yarning", a storytelling concept specific to the Indigenous people of Australia, who have been using yarning as a communication process to transmit and share information for thousands of years.

The importance of using a research tool that is comfortable and convenient for Indigenous people was stressed by Hart (2010) who noted that storytelling is an everyday experience for Indigenous people. Referring to storytelling as kapati (cup of tea) time, while conducting her PhD research amongst the Indigenous Australians, Ober (2017) said storytelling is a time to come together and share stories usually accompanied by drinking tea. She also reflects that stories are empowering because they are rooted in traditional societies and can unpack meanings to lived experiences, past, present and future. Finally, Summers (2013) while discussing the importance of Indigenous academic researchers, concluded that storytelling when conducting research in Indigenous communities should not be overlooked.

Lee (2017) argued that decolonising research gives the option for Indigenous people to communicate in ways that may not be included or considered as acceptable in traditional Western scientific approaches. More specifically, it was argued that researchers should use storytelling not just in the collection of data, but also in the reporting of research. Like many Indigenous researchers studying within the Western system, the challenge is to find a way to bring together two traditions of knowledge creation and transmission that communicates meanings that are accepted by the wider audience. This thesis is the outcome of this challenge and to a large extent fits within the traditional model. It does pay tribute to the importance of

storytelling in the Melanesian culture with the inclusion of stories to illustrate important points within the more traditional research reporting.

3.3 Data collection – Indigenous PNG Researchers

Indigenous PNG researchers were sought with the assistance of my colleagues. It was important that only those who had conducted research in PNG communities, particularly at the village level were invited to participate in this research. An invitation to participate was sent through email except for three who were handed invitation letters, information sheets and the questions, as I did not have their email addresses. Initially it was hoped from the thirteen invitations sent out that at least ten researchers would be interested to share their views and thoughts on improving ways of doing research in the local communities. Twelve researchers responded favourably (see Table 3.1 for details). Their research scope included but was not limited to: education, culture, tourism, health, environmental science, disability, and social and land issues. Invitations were extended only to PNG Indigenous researchers because being Papua New Guineans, they would possess both an outsider and insider view on how research should be conducted in rural PNG. These Indigenous researchers, unlike foreigners, are also culturally sensitive to the traditional way of life of communities.

Table 3.1: Summary of Sample of PNG Researchers

Gender		Research Experience		Level of qualification (highest)	
Male: 7	Female: 5	1–5 years	5	Grade 12	0
Area of employment		6–10 years	5	College	0
Education: 9	Govt: 1	11–15 years	1	Bachelor	1
NGO:1	Private: 0	16–20 years	1	Masters	9
Manner of conducting research		> 20 years	0	PhD	2
Individually: 4	Both: 4				
Collaborative: 4					

Apart from providing their demographic information, the participating researchers were asked to describe their experiences as researchers collecting information among local communities. This included: the process of establishing rapport in the initial contact, the expectations of the communities, whether any traditional protocols were adopted by the researchers, the challenges they faced, and how they would improve research processes when applying them in local communities.

3.4 Data collection – Village Informants

With respect to recruiting informants from the five villages, the first point of contact was with a key informant from village B. The person was sought to help suggest potential participants for the purpose of this study and to also assist in distributing letters inviting people to participate. He was identified as the key informant because of his standing in the village as the village scribe/recorder and therefore able to pass on information to the village council. The key informant was at a meeting organised by the Electoral Commission of PNG with other village scribes, the purpose of this meeting was to ensure that all common rolls were updated in preparation for the National Election in July 2017. Since most of the village scribes were present at the meeting, it was convenient for the main informant to communicate the intention of this study to the other scribes. After the National Election meeting, I had the opportunity to

meet the village scribes to provide more clarification on the purpose of the research and to exchange mobile numbers, for further discussion regarding the appropriate time and date to meet. The village scribes then identified and invited potential study participants from their villages who had previously observed or taken part in research. Those who were interested in participating were given a letter of invitation, followed by a consent form upon agreeing to participate. Participation was not restricted only to those with past experience in research, but also to those who had attended awareness campaigns and activities, because sometimes information is also sought from locals through awareness programs and workshops. For the purpose of this study, the five villages will be identified as villages: A, B, C, D and E. The names of the 26 participants and five villages have been withheld for the sake of confidentiality. Table 3.2 is a summary of the participants.

Table 3.2: Summary of village participants

Village	Male	Female	Total
A	6	0	6
B	4	2	6
C	4	1	5
D	3	0	3
E	3	2	5

The villages involved in the study were approximately 90 minutes by road from Madang town. It took approximately two weeks to collect data from the five villages. Establishing rapport with the villagers comprised handshakes and me offering betel nut and tobacco as a sign of friendship, and on some occasions, tea was brought along to share during the interviews. Permission was sought from the participants to record the interviews using a voice recorder, with me reassuring the interviewees that their identity was anonymous. Four to six participants represented each of the villages, except for village D where three people took part. In total, twenty-five people participated, of which five were females. Group discussions were

conducted in Tok Pisin because all participants had received basic primary education and could converse in Tok Pisin. The participants' ages ranged from twenty to sixty-five. The length of each group interview ranged from 30 minutes to more than one-hour long. The longest interview was with village C, at 75 minutes, as the participants were enthusiastic about the research and were generous in sharing their views. In order to achieve the purpose of this study, four main areas were highlighted as the discussion topics, accompanied by prompting questions to guide the informal conversations:

- positive encounters/stories with outsiders visiting to either raise awareness or conduct research,

- the approach used,

- feelings towards people coming in to do research, and

- traditional ways of holding meetings and discussion within the village and with other villages/ outsiders.

3.5 Thematic Data Coding and Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data which consisted of voice recordings of the village participants that had been transcribed and then translated into English. The written responses from PNG researchers were grouped according to the questions asked, then broken down into smaller categories determined by their similarities, from which themes were drawn. Despite the responses from the village participants being in Tok Pisin, I did not need a translator as I speak both English and Tok Pisin fluently. Adopting the work of Braun and Clarke (2006), the initial stage involved familiarisation with the data by listening to the recorded conversations numerous times and re-reading the transcripts of the participant responses. This was followed

by coding which was guided by the research questions; after outlining each response in accordance to the questions asked, similar responses were grouped together. Themes were then drawn and the responses categorised. The final set of themes was allocated using the Hornung (2013) model for Indigenous research. According to Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012), thematic analysis is preferred when capturing the complexities of meaning within contextual data; thus it is commonly used when analysing data in qualitative research.

3.6 Results and Discussion

Results of this study have been organised using the Indigenous research framework proposed by Hornung (2013). Responses from participants are similar to the work of Hornung (2013), who suggested that when working with Indigenous communities, a researcher must always remember to address the following key points through the different stages of his or her research journey: cultural integrity, engagement, consultation and negotiation, cultural sensitivity, cultural approval and reflection or evaluation. The results reviewed were both from the local villagers and PNG Indigenous researchers.

3.6.1 Cultural integrity

All five villages (five groups) have previously interacted with outside entities seeking information, with some entities providing information to the villages. Each group was asked to share some of the positive experiences they encountered while engaging with people from outside of their villages who had visited them to either do research, carry out awareness programs/workshops or hold formal discussions. While villages B, D and E were happy to share their experiences, villages A and C expressed their disappointment towards other people doing research in their respective villages. Their resentment was directed towards not knowing the outcomes of the research and whether there were monetary benefits for the researchers

from the research. They were also concerned about misrepresented since only a selected few were engaged in the research process, for example, a participant in village A stated, "*Ol ino tanim gut tokples blong mipla*" (our language was not translated properly, words were misinterpreted). It was also emphasised that they did not experience any tangible benefits from any research they have been involved with. A particular participant in village C linked the negative experience to experiences about one hundred years ago when the Catholic missionaries set foot on their shores, claiming that the missionaries did not respect the laws the village already had in place prior to their arrival. These laws were enforced to avoid conflicts and maintain peace in the village and as a village they already had a governing system in place that was headed by the chief who had his own cabinet that was responsible for the everyday running of the village affairs. These reservations carried through to this project with the same participant saying, "*Mi hesitat long kam, blong wanem bai mi givim yu information long kisim save*" (I was hesitant to come in the beginning, why should I give you information to gain knowledge).

3.6.2 Engagement

The villagers who responded positively about previous experiences reported that they felt they had contributed to achieving the outcome of the research, for example, village B informants were involved in designing an emergency plan for their village in collaboration with an NGO. For village E, the last researcher who visited has built a relationship with them and still maintains communication. Village E admitted they had no negative experiences with research or people conducting awareness programs and they seemed to have a positive outlook towards research. This could be attributed to them having access to basic services such as schools and health services due to ease of transportation. These basic services were mostly initiated by

church-run organisations that mainly consisted of expatriates who, as part of their pastoral care, mingled with the villagers.

Participants must be partners in the research so that they feel they have an important role to play. Not understanding the purpose of the research can also be a barrier to meaningful participation, in addition to the researchers raising sensitive issues (cultural taboos).

3.6.3 Consultation and negotiation

Approaching potential participants appropriately is crucial in attaining their co-operation by gaining their trust. Participants were asked to describe how they were approached by the outsiders coming into their villages to do research, conduct awareness on issues that may affect the village such as malaria and HIV AIDS, or deliver occasional workshops in line with capacity building for the villages. Village A complained that a middle man was used to negotiate on behalf of researchers, while village B pointed out that sometimes the ones wanting to carry out activities in the village failed to identify the key people in the village who could assist them in delivering their message and effectively communicate their intentions to the villagers. Similarly, village C voiced their concern about outsiders not following local customs when initiating discussions with the locals. Villages D and E confirmed that it was the village leaders who were approached first. However, all participants from the five villages admitted that no one outside of their village had used any appropriate cultural protocols when trying to establish rapport with them.

Previous experiences, either through observation, listening to colleagues or relatives, or actual participation, will determine an individual's perception of, and future reaction towards, a certain phenomenon. Informants from village A commented that they have become suspicious

of people conducting research as there could be a hidden agenda, however, village B informants were of the view that research can help them identify problems and solutions, and suggestions can be offered to assist in minimising those problems. Furthermore, the researcher learns from them and they learn from the researcher. Despite village B informants having a positive perception of research, they also stated that sometimes the timing and agenda of research is set by the researcher and they are expected to just follow. On the other hand, those from village C wanted to gather more information before deciding on whether to participate or not. Their main concern was; how do they benefit? This inference is taken from a comment by a respondent, "as a participant, how do I benefit?" which reflects other respondents' views who made similar comments. Both villages D and E were welcoming of future research.

Consultation through effective communication was seen as vital in conducting research, even more so with Indigenous communities. All groups agreed that communication must first take place with people of authority in the village, for instance, village councillors, clan leaders and representatives of the various roles by the Local Level Government (LLG), and all key people must be equally informed. Effective communication involves understanding clearly the expectations of both parties to avoid false impressions on both sides. This is illustrated by one of local villager's response, "*They probably got money from publishing a book as a result of their research on us but we were never compensated.*"

Research aims and outcomes must be stated from the beginning through the consultation process. Village C stressed that there must be a partnership between the research team and the village. The research team must be willing to see things from the perspective of the villagers and be open to negotiation. For instance, in the words of a local PNG researcher, "*When I arrived in the fieldwork site, I quickly realised that the research protocol that I had developed during my preparations was inappropriate and inaccurately captured the local context.*"

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The above quote stresses the importance of being open to change and being adaptable during research for the purpose of enhancing the involvement of research participants and their contribution. As stated by the local PNG researchers, gaining access to the villages/communities was achieved mainly through gatekeepers who had ties to the community, and going through the community/village leaders. One researcher stated that, considering the cultural norm in the area, she had to bring a male colleague when communicating with a group of men. It was also stated that the use of betel nut was a good way of breaking the ice between the village/community and the researcher.

Most of the Indigenous researchers had received formal training in research abroad and were now applying their acquired skills in PNG; all of the participating researchers were exposed to the phenomena of research through formal education. However, half of them admitted to changing their techniques while doing research at the village level because the techniques they had anticipated did not suit the cultural, social and physical context of the village. For example, they mentioned the need to take into account the availability of women to participate and the group dynamics of the participants. Women were more confident when approached alone rather than in a group situation. Generally, people were willing to participate, however, language was identified as sometimes being a barrier. It was also pointed out that, to maintain the interest of participants, questions must be short and straightforward.

3.6.4 Cultural sensitivities

The majority of the PNG local researchers who took part in this research commented that a society's culture does influence how they respond towards research. For example, they stated that participants from New Ireland Province are not as open to voicing their opinions as those from the Highlands. In some societies, the men do the talking while women just observe.

Another researcher observed that expatriate researchers were given preference over local researchers by the village participants and attributed this to colonialism. Worth mentioning is a point raised by one respondent who was asked if traditional protocols should be acknowledged when collecting data from traditional communities or villages.

"Traditional communities are institutions as well that have their own ways of doing things. I normally tend to be part of the advance party to visit communities and speak with the gatekeepers like the councillor, church pastors, chief, village elders, clan leaders etc. so that they are aware of our research. When they are aware, they mobilise and inform the community of the importance of the research and the community oblige with what the gate keepers tell them. So when the research team arrives at the community, they are all aware of our visit and cooperate with us."

Being sensitive to a community's cultural expectation and practice is also an important element to consider during the consultation and negotiation stage of the research process, for instance, gathering information on how meetings are arranged and held in the local context. This is further illustrated by quotes taken from two villagers.

Quote 1: *"Important meetings and gatherings are usually held by clan leaders which is facilitated by the chief, it involves giving and sharing of food."*

Quote 2: *"Mats are used as a way of hospitality by village leaders to invite others to sit down and hold discussions accompanied with the sharing of betel nut by all parties involved in the discussion. The clan leaders than disseminate the outcome of the discussion/meeting to their clans. Similarly, this is done with other villages coming to hold meetings."*

During the course of collecting data, the following act was performed by me as the researcher in one of the five villages. Mats were laid and participants were invited to sit on the mats by the village scribe, and on the mat, I placed betel nut and *brus* (tobacco leaves) as a way of invitation and offering friendship.

3.6.5 Cultural approval

Unsurprisingly, the findings revealed that the participation level of women was not as high as that of men. Culturally, women have distinct roles which a researcher must be mindful of when inviting them to participate. Hence, only five women participated in the research and, mirroring the claims of a local researcher, women are usually only available in the evenings if they are not attending to their family's needs, or were more comfortable when approached alone because culturally it is the males who make decisions.

3.6.6 Reflection/Evaluation

In the initial stage of consultation and negotiation, information about the purpose and outcome of the research is disseminated. Just as important is the evaluation stage which allows the researcher to resolve any concerns that may have arisen during the course of the research. It is also one way of validating the researcher's findings. Responses from the local villagers indicated that there was a lack of continued communication between researchers and them as research participants, with the researchers not returning to check with the participants to ensure they had interpreted responses correctly, according to the participants' sentiments. Hence, some villagers felt they have been misled and have become resentful towards research.

However, nearly all of the local researchers from PNG confirmed they did go back to communities they had researched to seek the participants' opinions of the truthfulness and accuracy of the researcher's interpretation of the data collected. As one local PNG researcher

stated, "Sometimes *the participants will ask you about the research or even would ask to read or see how you have interpreted their views. Again, for the two cohorts, that I collected data from, I was able to send the results of the study to them especially through social media.*" Only one researcher indicated he did not go back and share his research findings with his study participants, but stated that in future he will do this as he now understands the importance of this process to the participants.

The contradictory responses between the villagers and the PNG researchers could possibility be due in part to some of the villagers having engaged in research activities led by non-Papua New Guineans who, after collecting their data in PNG would have likely flown back to their home country. Given that travelling to and from PNG is very expensive, and even travelling within PNG is costly, as the main form of transport is by air, returning to participating villages could be difficult for researchers based outside of PNG. The PNG researchers have the advantage of being local and thus through relational ties have access to re-visit the communities they have engaged in research. Furthermore, the cost of travelling will not be as costly as for a researcher travelling from another country to PNG.

Another hindrance for non-PNG researchers in maintaining continuous relationships and dialogue with research participants in PNG is the lack of communication facilities especially in the rural areas.

Previous studies relating to Indigenous research methods in general concluded that respect, relationship, consultation and cultural connectivity are important components of an Indigenous research framework and must not be overlooked (Bishop, 1999; Smith, 1999; Hornung, 2013; Vaioleti, 2006; Sauni, 2011). Relationships are governed by respect which leads to trust being achieved through effective communication between the researcher and the participants (communities).

3.7 A Melanesian Research Framework

The purpose of this study was to create an alternative way to look at tourism, particularly in Indigenous communities which still have elements of their ancient culture influencing their day-to-day livelihoods. Hence, the questions centred around creating a research methodology that was more suitable for rural and remote communities. The use of such a methodology would mean that societal problems would be better identified and suggestions for solutions would be contributed by both the participants and researchers. Research methods other than the traditional Western methodologies have been trialed and executed in other areas of studies but there is not much mention of the application of these in tourism studies. The results of this study have contributed to developing an Indigenous research framework that could be used to explore the possibilities of improving tourism in rural communities in Papua New Guinea.

Figure 3.2 provides an overview of the first proposed MRF emerging from the results. Consulting the appropriate people and communicating the purpose of the visit and research is essential from the start to avoid any misunderstanding. Effective communication must play a key role in the consultation process, not only words should be spoken but appropriate actions, such as showing friendly gestures signifying humility and respect, should be demonstrated, taking into account the cultural integrity of the community. The researcher should be conscious of how he or she fits into the community and in turn should be prepared to understand and take into consideration the community's way of life. Partnerships can only be built if the relationship between the community (research participants) and researcher is embraced by both sides and is continuous. This is illustrated in the proposed framework in Figure 3.2 which demonstrates how research should be conducted in local villages in PNG.

A Proposed Melanesian Research Framework
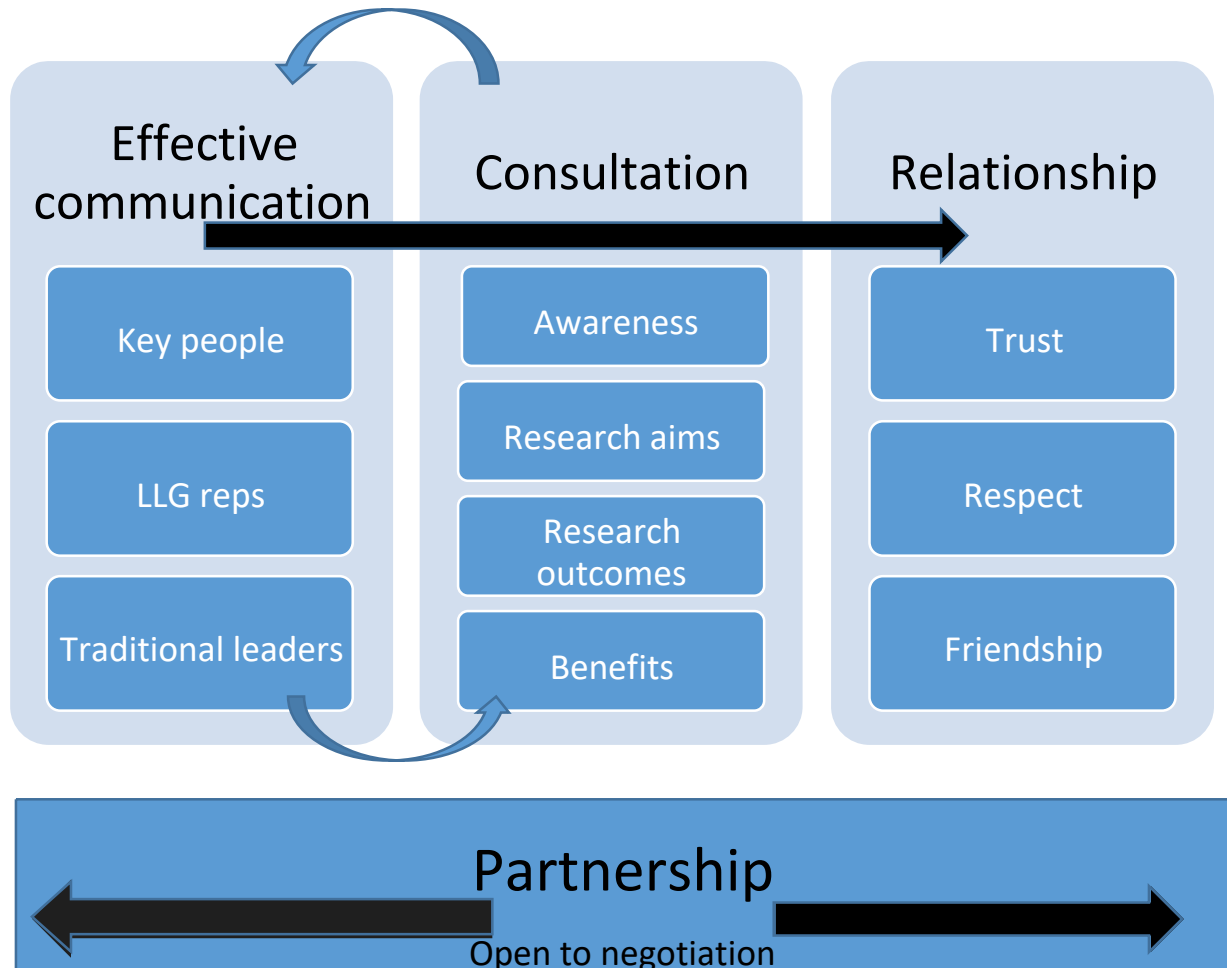
Figure 3.2: A Proposed Melanesian Research Framework

This framework generates a set of research guidelines which include the following:

- Identify the key people in the village/community by asking specifically for village elders and village councillors. Sometimes a person with accumulated wealth is addressed as *leader man or bik sot* (big shot) but is not necessarily a tribal leader. Usually the tribal or clan leaders are the ones with more tribal and traditional

knowledge compared to the *bik sot* who most likely would have spent a significant part of their life away from the community, either in school or in formal employment;

- Show respect to potential participants as knowledge/information keepers and explicitly recognise that they have a key role to play in the research;

- Explicitly acknowledge that giving consent is the potential participant's choice;

- Express intention for genuine friendship by offering small gifts (which in most cases is a common cultural practice). This could include the sharing of betel nut (areca), tobacco, or fruit for those who don't chew or smoke. It is recommended to bring along some tea and coffee so the women of the house can warm up the kettle. A small gesture can go a long way in creating a comfortable atmosphere for both parties;

- Seek clarification on matters that are unclear, especially if there are taboos when visiting certain sites, witnessing rituals, meetings, or even when in the presence of the elders. Seek clarification on terminology, how the community members relate to each other, and how they relate to their surroundings;

- Ensure the purpose of the visit is clearly and honestly communicated to potential participants;

- If using a middle person, be certain that when researchers meet the community personally, they reiterate the purpose of the visit, creating the opportunity to rectify any miscommunicated messages and/or perceptions. The communication should clearly highlight the purpose and outcomes of the visit or research;

- Recognise that women might not be available during certain times of the day, and some may not be comfortable discussing issues in the presence of males. Furthermore,

weekends might not be suitable, for example, some may follow the Seventh Day Adventist faith so from Friday evenings until Saturday afternoon they are devoted to their faith. For others, the weekends give them the opportunity to complete tasks that take longer as the older children are free from school to help mind the younger siblings.

- Acknowledge the informants or people in the community who assisted in connecting you to the key people. Take the time to sit with them and chat over tea and coffee and if you can, share a meal by organising for a fish or chicken which can be easily bought from the villagers and prepared by locals who may also add locally grown food to the menu. This is also an important gesture on your part as word will get around about the community's perception of you and this could be useful in future research opportunities if you have built a good relationship with the locals; and

- Effective communication and proper consultation should establish a relationship between the researcher and the community.

Disappointment and resentment by communities is triggered if a lack of respect is shown towards them by the researcher not acknowledging their way of life and what is considered by them as the preferred way of doing things. The local villagers that expressed a negative attitude towards research remarked that their leaders were not consulted and were not part of the initial negotiation process when researchers visited their village, indicating a lack of respect for the community. This is supported by the work of Waldrip and Taylor (1999), who emphasised the importance of the initial contact in a PNG village, and was also reinforced by the local PNG researchers who stressed that going through village leaders is vital when trying to engage with villagers in research related activities.

Effective communication and consultation should be embarked on simultaneously as the way forward for researchers when approaching a village community in PNG. Information must be communicated effectively to the appropriate representatives from the community and village such as the traditional leaders, compromising of clan leaders and chiefs. Information must be equally disseminated to local level government (LLG) representatives such as the ward councillor and village scribes who are appointed through the modern governing system. Since there are two forms of leadership that co-exist in rural communities, the form of communication and process of communication is important. A formal letter should be written to the LLG president and the village/ward councillor informing them of the visit and it is advisable that the chief or clan leader is accorded a personal visit. Effective communication is also essential for the consultation process where research aims, research outcomes and possible research benefits are made known to the community through the identified key people from the community. This is also the opportunity for researchers to encourage the community to express their views on how they feel towards research being conducted, whether they agree or not, the appropriate time and place for data collection, what they are comfortable with, and what they consider as being disrespectful.

Effective communication and proper consultation should forge the way forward in building a relationship between both parties based on trust and respect that is sustainable. This is based on each party trusting one another enough to maintain confidentiality and that one will not take advantage of the other and manipulate points of view. Respecting each other and each individual's personal space is important. The relationship should be continuous and not only for the duration of the research. Effective communication, consultation and establishing a relationship should encourage all parties to engage in a genuine friendship that will strengthen a lively partnership that is open to negotiation by all parties.

The research framework discussed will not be effective if the imparting and receiving of information is not comprehended in light of the reality of the situation that is being researched. Hence, the researcher should also be mindful of indirect messages either through statements or body language. Schulz von Thun (2010) proposed four different sides to a message in the transmission of information: the factual information, self-revelation or self-disclosure, an appeal or request, and a relationship message. In light of the interviews that took place during the course of this study, it was noticed that some interviews took longer than the anticipated thirty to forty minutes, this was due to some of the participants not directly answering the questions being asked but rather responding by way of storytelling which can consist of descriptions, complaints, compliments, wishful thinking, concerns of various nature and doubts. The researcher in this situation should be listening for all four elements in order to holistically take in what is being communicated by the participant and to identify the underlying message or articulated thought of the participant. Information is the whole process of communication, while the message is the inferred meaning of the information by the receiver. Therefore, it is important for the researcher, after analyzing the data collected, to re-visit the research participants and cross check with them to see if their thoughts have been interpreted correctly.

3.8 Confirming the Melanesian Research Framework

Given the importance of revisiting research participants to both report back to them on the research results and to confirm the overall conclusions, I engaged in two activities designed to confirm the results of the first stage of the research – presenting to PNG researchers at a conference and returning to discuss the proposed MRF with village communities in Madang province who had been involved in the first discussions. Hence, the first proposed MRF was presented at the "PNG Impact" conference in Port Moresby, PNG in December 2017. This was

seen as an opportunity for other academics, both PNG nationals and expatriates to critique the proposed framework and offer suggestions. After much deliberation and debate from the critics, the MRF was revised. The main concerns from the critics were: protecting the interest of Indigenous people, participants preserving their stories without being biased, that the researcher must be patient and accommodating of the potential participants, and that the researcher must show empathy to the potential participants in order to build understanding, respect and trust. Hence, the MRF was modified to reflect a relationship based on trust and respect. In addition, understanding between the researcher and community is explicitly noted as the desired outcome of the consultation process.

I also travelled back to Madang, PNG to reconfirm the research framework with the participants who were initially invited to share their insights and experiences on what they perceived to be suitable ways of conducting research in their communities. The proposed framework (MRF) was disseminated to the people whose stories, wisdom and thoughts had been initially collected. This was achieved through an informal meeting organised by me, held in one of the villages in Madang which I had visited earlier for the purpose of creating an Indigenous Research Framework for PNG. Participants were given handouts displaying the image of the proposed research framework and I explained the framework in Tok Pisin. The informal discussion was to reconfirm with the participants that I had correctly understood their experiences through their stories. Furthermore, it was an opportunity for both the participants and researcher to gain further clarification from each other on matters of uncertainty. Also included in the reconfirmation process was a group of people who were not part of the initial meeting when the MRF was being developed. However, they were invited to review the research framework as they too had previous research experiences either as participants or through observation. Their participation was essential to review the comments of their

colleagues/ fellow community members/ relations. Comments and feedback received from all participants in the follow up discussion were noted.

In this village discussion, several of the elements identified in the previous discussions used to develop the framework were reiterated. For example, emphasis was placed on maintaining a relationship throughout the research process and thereafter. One person commented, "*Relationship should be first, respect and trust will enhance the relationship*". While another person pointed out, *"Relationship in front and relationship at the back."* An LLG representative also remarked, "*It is important to identify key people so that effective awareness can take place and during awareness the aims and outcomes of the research must be stated before any research can proceed.*" This was supported by another participant who stressed that, "*benefits must be stated clearly and also state if there are any benefits to the resource owners or research participants*". One of the participants gave a personal account of his child taking part in a medical research study which involved identifying a drug that was not resistant to malaria in PNG. He went on to say that there was no long-term personal benefit for his child while the rest of PNG benefited as this drug is now being used to treat malaria in PNG. Another participant noted that when people from outside the community visit, "*there is no proper communication system in place to inform the community so there is no effective communication between them and us. Hence, we experience failed service delivery*". He ended by saying that he felt that the villagers were looked down upon by provincial and national government officers. More specific responses to the proposed MRF were mostly positive. One of the participants commented that the "framework promotes effective development" and further commented that, "*not only can it be applied to research but to anyone wanting to work in partnership with a community.*"

In the initial framework, effective communication, consultation and relationship were used as the three main guiding blocks (see Figure 3.2). However, after reconfirming with the research participants, it was pointed out that relationships must encompass the whole research process, with trust and respect as the core values that will lead to a relationship that is trustworthy. After collating the comments received from the participants, the proposed MRF was revised and finalised. Figure 3.3 illustrates the final version of the MRF. It captures relationships as the driving force behind a research process that is ethical, respected and trustworthy from the perspective of future potential research participants in PNG.

Confirmed Melanesian Research Framework
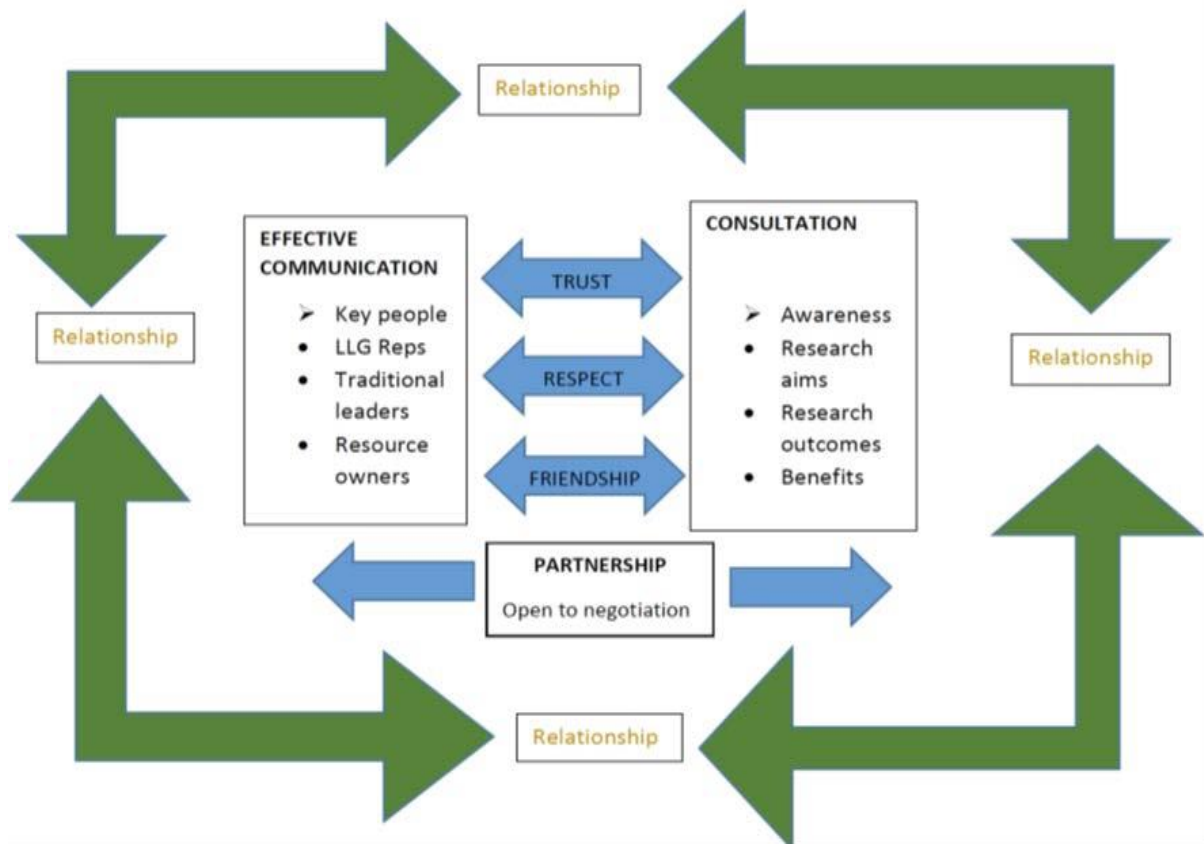
Figure 3.3: The Final Melanesian Research Framework (MRF)

The newly created Melanesian Research Framework (MRF) as demonstrated in Figure 3.3 will be used in the second stage (part 2) of this study, as described in Chapter Three. The created research framework will be employed to assess the effectiveness of community-based tourism in rural PNG.

3.9 Conclusion

The approach and nature of this study is considered to be similar to conducting ethnographic studies. It takes an interpretivism stand, as there are multiple ways of interpreting behaviours, relationships and concepts. This particular study, apart from promoting a more integrated

approach as part of its findings, places emphasis on culturally specific ways of doing and knowing from a Papua New Guinean's cultural perspective. But most importantly, participants are becoming more suspicious of researchers and their intentions which should be a reminder to all researchers, whether qualitative or quantitative, to be extra conscious while in the field and to identify strategies that can help mitigate suspicion by communities.

The framework discussed can be applied to a social science context, specifically relating to a phenomenon in an Indigenous community and village. The proposed research framework can be an alternative lens to employ while conducting studies in cultural settings, for instance, community-based tourism in traditional societies. It can also be used as a guide for researchers both Western and non-Western in Melanesian societies such as PNG, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. The research framework takes into account the sensitivity of gender and the customs that accompany it and also considers the sacredness of cultural taboos.

Chapter 4: Community perspectives on tourism development: Applying the Melanesian Research Framework in Papua New Guinea.

4. 1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the creation of an Indigenous research methodology, the MRF, which is specific to PNG's cultural context and reflects the importance of looking at worldviews from a non-Western lens. This chapter reports on the second stage of the doctoral research which was to apply the final version of the MRF to explore the perceptions of rural Papua New Guineans engaged in CBT at the local village level. While the main research question guiding the thesis overall is whether or not using an appropriate non-Western research methodology is useful in generating knowledge that could facilitate the development of sustainable tourism in traditional communities, Chapter 4 focuses on gathering new insights into CBT through the MRF. The MRF itself will be evaluated in more detail in Chapter 5. Instead, this chapter provides a detailed description of how the MRF was applied to the topic of community-based tourism. After describing the application, overall knowledge obtained about CBT in these locations will be examined.

The chapter begins with an overview of the main elements of the MRF and how they were applied in this research. Then the research journey is discussed in some detail: travelling to the participants, how the participants were approached, and the personal experiences and observations of the researcher. This detail is necessary to explore how the MFR was used in practice. While many researchers, both within and outside tourism, have called for the wider use of Indigenous research methodologies and have often described general principles for these methodologies, very few papers have described in detail how these principles have been translated into actual research practice. In my mind as a researcher,

this is perceived to be important as it draws light on the challenges faced, and the reality of what could go wrong on the ground, during the process of collecting data.

More specifically the first section of the chapter is set out as follows:

- an overview of the MRF and its application;

- the story of the research journey to set the context;

- a description in detail of the villages and tourism ventures that participated in the research, how they were approached and how the data collection process was introduced and managed; and finally

- a review the questions used to guide the data collection and a discussion of how the data collection incorporated a photo-elicitation technique.

The second section of the chapter describes the data coding and analysis, and reports on the knowledge gathered about CBT from the conversations and the stories told throughout this research journey from villages in the Eastern Highlands, Chimbu, Jiwaka and Madang provinces.

4.2 Applying the Melanesian Research Framework to Community-based Tourism in Rural PNG

4.2.1 Overview of the application of the MRF

The final MRF (see Figure 3.3) provided a guide to the second stage of this research journey. It assisted in directing I in taking the appropriate steps in reaching and connecting with her research participants, including the identification of the appropriate people with whom to liaise, and how to engage with them. It also facilitated the choice of suitable words during conversations. For instance, illustrated in figure is effective communication, which represents identifying the key people and having a dialogue with them. The dialogue encompasses consultation which rotates around having open, honest and respectful

conversations. Hence, after identifying the key people, and later being welcomed by them, I stated the purpose of the visit, its aim and the perceived outcomes. It was also stated during the consultation process that a copy of a report of the research once completed and documented will be made accessible to the communities and tourism sites visited.

4.2.2 The research journey story

Applying the MRF was slow to get off the ground when I arrived in PNG. Before travelling back to PNG, as part of risk management, I decided to take some precautionary measures by taking anti-malaria medication since PNG is considered a high risk area for malaria (Rogerson & Carter, 2008). However, after a few days in Port Moresby, the capital of PNG, I succumbed to dengue fever caused by a virus transmitted by the *Aedos aegypti* mosquito (female). No vaccine or preventative medication exists for dengue fever. Fortunately, I recovered and flew to Madang to start the research journey.

Figure 3.4 Makeshift Bamboo Bridge

This first part of the story includes reconfirming the proposed MRF before applying it. While in Madang, I discovered that the main bridge leading to the villages where the participants for the first stage of the research live had collapsed. In its place was a makeshift bamboo bridge about one hundred and fifty metres long floating on the water. As it was vital these people be consulted again to reconfirm the research framework before it could be implemented in the second stage, after some careful consideration, I decided to adapt to the situation and cross the river as the locals do using the bamboo bridge.

This was not the end of the research dilemmas. There was another challenge to be faced, data collection for the second stage (part 2) could not happen immediately after the consultation. This second stage of the research involved a new set of villages selected because of their connections to CBT. Confrontations, leading to deaths, between two ethnic groups along the main highway from Madang to the Highlands provinces had prevented vehicles from travelling along the highway. After much negotiation, peace was restored and the main highway was reopened. It took about six to seven hours to travel from Madang to Eastern Highlands by road, marking the formal beginning of the second stage of the research journey. Following an offbeat track and a two-hour drive from the main road is a village named Gasup, in the Eastern Highlands. Gasup was used as the resting point after each visit to the Highlands provinces for data collection. This resting point was deemed important as it allowed me to have some personal time, not only to recuperate but to reflect and gather my thoughts before travelling to the next province.

In the first study of this doctoral research journey (described in Chapter 3), I asked participants how they preferred to interact with researchers in general. The participants responded that, apart from effective communication and keeping an open dialogue that is embedded in trust and respect throughout the research process, they would appreciate if researchers actually took the time to sit with them and translate to them what the research is about in a way that the participants are able to comprehend. In other words, researchers must spend time with the communities before the research begins so there is mutual understanding of the purpose of the research and the potential outcomes. This requires not a just a question and answer session but a whole conversation that allows for an interactive discussion. From a rural Papua New Guinean's point of view, conversations are usually shared and exchanged in the form of storytelling which at times could be time consuming.

Storytelling at times can also test the patience of the visitor engaging with the community. After reconfirming and reconciling the MRF with the participants of the first part of this research, storytelling – having an open and meaningful dialogue together with establishing a continuous relationship – was established as part of the protocols to be considered when conducting research with rural communities in PNG.

4.3 Settings, Access and Sampling Procedures

For the purpose of this qualitative style of research, purposive sampling was deemed permissible. Mason (2002) describes purposive sampling as a non-random way of selecting participants who have experience relevant to the research aims. All of the rural PNG communities from which the participants were selected had experience with some form of tourism development and some tourists visiting their community. I specifically sought a sample of communities that varied in terms of the length of time they had been involved in tourism, the level of tourism experience based on numbers of tourists, and the type of tourism offered. This was intentional to establish whether amount or intensity of experience influenced the types of problems encountered by these tourism sites, and whether there were similarities in the nature of the problems being experienced. Table 4.1 summarises the different communities visited, the provinces in which they are located and the type of tourism product offered. Table 4.1 also includes the number of years tourism had been in operation in the community and the level of tourism. Figure 3.3 shows the geographic spread of the sampled communities.

Map of PNG Indicating the Provinces Visited

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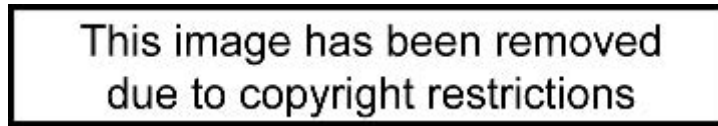
Figure 4.1: Map of PNG Indicating the Provinces Visited

Adapted from https://www.alamy.com/stock-image-papua-new-guinea-administrative-and-political-vector-map-with-flag169148613.html accessed 8 December 2019

A central element of the MRF is relationship creation and maintenance expressed through linking to key people, building trust through demonstrating respect and spending time to build friendships and explore and explain the researcher's goals. This means that, in practice, a researcher in PNG must use personal networks to introduce themselves, be flexible and adapt to the wishes of the community, and spend time at the start of the research showing respect and friendship while explaining the research. The following sections describe in detail these processes for each community and also provide a background to the type of tourism experienced by each group.

Table 4.1: Profile of Visited Communities

Type of tourism	Ownership	Province	Length of operation	Level of tourism
Cultural group (EHP1)	Community/village	Eastern Highlands	14 years	Medium
Trekking (EHP2)	Family/clan	Eastern Highlands	10 years	Low
Tour operator (EHP3)	Individual	Eastern Highlands	5 years	Medium
Lodge/trekking (CHM1)	Individual	Chimbu	21 years	High
Accommodation /trekking /village-tour (CHM2)	Family	Chimbu	17 years	High
Trekking (CHM3)	Family	Chimbu	5 years	Low
Accommodation (CHM4)	Family	Chimbu	44 years	High but in decline
Cultural group (CHM5)	Community/village	Chimbu	20 years	Medium
Accommodation and cultural group (JWK1)	Family	Jiwaka	32 years	Medium
Cultural centre (JWK2)	Individual	Jiwaka	4 years	Low
Picnic/swimming/lodge (MAG1)	Family	Madang	44 years	These days very low
Cultural group (MAG2)	Community/village	Madang	29 years	These days very low

The Eastern Highlands was the first province in the highlands region of PNG to be contacted by Europeans and today it is considered as the gateway to the highlands (Uyassi, 1990). The province is a tourism hub in PNG, home of the Asaro mud man, a tourist icon for the province, however, other tourism activities are also offered such as birdwatching and trekking. As I did not have direct personal relationships with anyone in the villages in this province, I relied upon a colleague who did have personal ties to establish the necessary relationships. The following descriptions of the three sites in this province are very detailed because they represent a situation similar to that likely to be encountered by an outsider seeking to conduct research in PNG. They thus highlight the issues that a researcher has to manage in pursuing the MRF in practice.

The first community visited for the purpose of this research in the Eastern Highlands was the Gurupoka Cultural Group (EHP1). The group hails from a village which is a twenty-minute drive from Goroka and is situated along the Highlands Highway leading to Chimbu.

There are two main clans in the village and representatives of both clans are members of the Gurupoka Cultural Group. The group, apart from dancing for tourists, also do cultural performances, which include re-enactments of bride price ceremonies, cannibalism, courtships and burial ceremonies, as well as mask making. They also encourage women within the village to sell their arts and crafts and *bilums*.

Since I was not physically in Eastern Highlands to liaise with the key people in advance, a former colleague from this village had discussed with and informed the elders and the leaders of the cultural group (EHP1) about the research at least two months prior. My former work colleague visited the Tourism Provincial Office in an attempt to gather information on various local tourism entities operating in the province as a lead to invite people to participate in this research, but information being disseminated from the tourism office was slow. Hence, the main informant (my colleague) had to rely on his personal and cultural network – the cultural group (EHP1) from his own village – to lead him and me to other local tourism initiatives during the planning and invitation phase of the research.

Drawing on the MRF, it was vital that the key people be identified from the start. Hence, the key people were identified through my colleague. It was the key people who I met with and further discussed the purpose of the research through a consultation process, creating space to listen to the questions and concerns of the key people. After the consultation process, I was introduced to the rest of the participants and a formal welcome was held. Despite being a Papua New Guinean, I was conscious that different regions of PNG have their own cultural protocols. For instance, upon arriving at the first community, we were greeted and led to the leader of the cultural group's home where a group of people had already gathered. I noticed there were three empty chairs while everyone else had taken

sitting positions, either on the mats that were laid or tree stumps that had been chopped and were now being used as seats. I was introduced to the clan leaders, the cultural group leaders, other elders, and the village magistrate, as well as the rest of the people who had taken the time to join us. After the meet and greet, I introduced myself, where I was from, my home province, how I knew their son (my former colleague) and the purpose of my visit. I then reached into the basket I was carrying and offered a bunch of betel nut (areca nut), mustard sticks and dried leaves of tobacco as an offering of friendship, which is a traditional practice from the coast, where I hail from. Betel nut chewing is an introduced concept in the Highlands and has become an everyday activity for many. While I was going through the introduction formalities, my colleague (who is from that village) had gone ahead and made himself comfortable on one the chairs I had noticed earlier. As I was standing and chewing betel nut with the elders and the rest of the group, I noticed the attention of the elders was on my colleague. He was being scolded for taking the chair without being properly invited to do so by the elders. Of course, he stood up and had a guilty smile on his face, we were then formally invited to sit on the chairs as part of the welcome greeting. I (the researcher), however, did not take the chair, instead, I insisted the elders sit on the chair and I sat with the other women on the mats provided. Moving away from the sun, it was decided we sit under the shade where it was comfortable for the participants and researcher to discuss the research questions through informal conversations. The sitting arrangement was also important. Taking into account the traditional style of meeting arrangements, it was thought best sit in a circular formation. This also sends the message that everyone is included and people are welcome to join. The group interview, in the form of storytelling, was done in an open space which allowed people to freely take part.

The group consisted of both young and older males, as well as three females. The younger males were the ones doing most of the talking, however, the older participants would speak to correct and guide the younger ones. It is presumed that the older men were preparing the younger ones to lead the clans/tribes/ village and community. Hence, they drew strength and confidence from each other. Furthermore, the group interview took place within the physical location of the village of the group members, creating a familiar atmosphere that allowed them to validate each other's statements and reach a consensus before supplying me with affirmed statements. For instance, during the conversations, I enquired about the commencement date of the tourism project in their community. Since keeping documents and having a filing system is not what they're accustomed to, memory is heavily relied upon, and since humans have the capacity to remember only so much, having a pool of people to draw from is necessary. It was also essential to have the different age groups in the group discussion for the sake of translation, with the younger ones having had some form of education able to translate the topics of discussion and questions to the older members. Even the younger males would further debate and discuss a response in their local vernacular, as it was the language they could better express themselves in, and then later communicate an agreed response to me in Tok Pisin. It was noticed that the group had a predetermined leader who acted as the main spokesperson. Acocella (2011) stressed that any discussion group must not be too homogeneous or too heterogeneous. The group in this case, was considered to be a balance between homogeneity, all members from the same village, and heterogeneity, the group consisted of both the old and young with different levels of life experience, coupled with some having a basic form of formal education to those who'd had none at all. This balance contributed to the presence of different world views, therefore avoiding the threat of conformity (Morgan & Krueger, 1993). I also

brought along some morning tea to share with the people who had gathered. The women from the village helped with the preparation of the morning tea.

The second visit was to a village, about 30 minutes from the first community, who speak a different language, Siane. The village elder was contacted by a colleague of mine who visited the village to communicate the intentions of my visit. Letters were than distributed to the village when I arrived in the Eastern Highlands. The second village, located in Daulo district and accessible from the main Highlands highway, provided trekking for tourists, Daulo Bush Trekking (EHP2). Similar formalities as those in the first village were followed. I thanked the people who had gathered for their time and introduced myself, offering betel nut with mustard seeds and tobacco which was received by one of the eldest participants. I was thanked for bringing a bit of the coast to them and then invited to sit with them and conduct my research. It quickly became obvious that I was the only female in the group and no other females could be seen around us engaging in the conversations, even though it was stated that both males and females were welcome to participate. However, I did not dare ask for females to be included in the group as I didn't understand the structure of their society, bearing in mind that it is the males who own the resources such as land, river, and reef and are the clan leaders in most parts of PNG.

The track used for tourism starts from the main road and leads to a cave of cultural significance to the community. The track is rugged and involves climbing steep hills and it takes about two to three hours to reach the cave. Daulo Bush Trekking has been in operation for almost twenty years. Trekking seems to be the only tourism product offered by this particular village. The level of tourism that takes place at the village is not as high as the first community visited (EHP1). Only a handful of tourists visit annually, roughly about ten tourists.

The third site visited was a village-based tour company owned by a husband and wife, Asaro Eco-tourism Centre (EHP3). The couple were initially part of the Gurupoka Cultural Group (EHP1) and are from the same village as the Gurupoka Cultural Group, Korekoreto. The tour company brings in tourists to the community, for instance, they liaise with the two previous communities visited, EHP1 and EHP2 to offer tourist activities. EHP3 is considered a local tourist supplier to other tourism sites, whereas major tour operators in PNG are owned by foreigners. The idea of engaging in a tourism business was proposed to tour company owners by an overseas missionary attached to the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The couple had previously worked as security guards for the church. For this particular visit, I was not able to visit the community as there was some conflict amongst residents living along the road leading to the couple's home. Being a female and non-Eastern Highlander, I considered the level of risk and decided it would be wise for my colleague to go on my behalf, a suggestion which was seconded by the tour company owners. My colleague is a former lecturer who also has experience working with local communities and has done research with local communities. A voice recorder was used to capture the conversations. Asaro Eco-tourism Centre (EHP3) acts as a local tour operator that brings in tourists to Asaro and Daulo; it is a newly established local tour operator that began operation in 2014.

Chimbu (Simbu) became a province of its own after separating from the Eastern Highlands on 7 July 1966. Kundiawa is the provincial capital and Mitnande, where participants for this research were recruited, is in the North east of the Province. Chimbu, as described by Brown (1995), is a place situated along mountain valleys where the mountain slopes have been cultivated for survival. Chimbu exports coffee but at a lower volume compared to the Eastern Highlands. Instead, Chimbu relies on its human resources to sustain its local

economy, with relatives that live and work away from the province also supporting the province financially by contributing to school fees, business start-ups, compensation claims and other economic activities through their families. Chimbu is surrounded by Madang, Eastern Highlands and Gulf provinces and is home to PNG's highest mountain, Mt Wilhem, rising at 4,509 metres above sea level. The mountain is situated within the Kundiawa-Gembogl district. At the foot of the mountain are guest houses, trekking facilitators and cultural demonstrators. PNGTPA suggests that activities such as trekking, mountain climbing and caving can be done in Chimbu.

An alumni of the university that I had attended in Madang was waiting for the research party in Kainantu, the main township of Chimbu. We all travelled in the evening to Mitnande a village located along the way to Mt Wilhem where we spent the night with a host family, which the alumni had arranged beforehand. The alumni was initially contacted through Facebook (fb), then via phone after the exchange of contact details on fb. The research party consisted of my colleague who had previously assisted in the Eastern Highlands Province and me. Also accompanying us was a Chimbu man from the same LLG as the tourism sites to be visited. It was decided that having locals from the area as part of the research party was essential in establishing a relationship with the tourism sites, especially in terms of communication. The local vernacular spoken is the Kuman language and even though most of the community members do speak Tok Pisin and English, Kuman is the preferred everyday language. It is also argued that there are some phrases and concepts that the English language cannot clearly capture without losing the true meaning or worse still confusing the words. The alumni was purposely sought as he could speak English, Tok Pisin and Kuman fluently. This was important especially in the negotiation and consultation stage of liaising with the potential research participants. Not only was it

essential to establish the desired understanding between the communities and myself through effective communication, but having a familiar face who was known in the community and identified as one of them, helped in creating a comfortable and trusted space for the research to take place.

The alumni took me to the first two tourism sites and introduced me to the managers/families who operated the tourism sites. Since the spokesman and spokeswoman were able to communicate in Tok Pisin and English comfortably, the conversations were held in both languages. However, before the actual informal conversations began, I introduced myself and the intentions of the research and asked verbally again if it was okay with them to take part in the research after the consent form and letter of information pertaining to the research was given. Before I could offer tea and snacks, the spokeswoman for the first site was quick to offer tea and some food, saying I was a visitor. The conversations continued over tea and coffee. A similar approach was applied to the second place visited. However, in place of tea and coffee, betel nut was offered instead. I could tell from the spokesman's nonverbal cue that he was a betel nut chewer. Informal conversations between the spokesman and me continued as we both chewed betel nut.

The alumni accompanying the research team was instrumental in approaching the other three tourism sites as he initiated the gatherings by speaking in the local vernacular to the members of the community and the tourism site operators. I was than invited by the tourism operators and elders to introduce herself and purpose of my visit. After the formal introduction and making clear the purpose of the visit and its outcomes, I offered tea, tobacco, snacks and betel nut, and in return, the community offered strawberries and other fruits. The exchange took place at the gatherings and gifts and fruit were consumed while the conversations in the form of storytelling took place. The communities presented

themselves as happy to share their experiences, they also saw it as an opportunity to market themselves and an avenue through which they could raise their concerns.

The first place visited was a lodge (CHM1) not too far from the foot of Mt Wilhem. The lodge is owned by a local woman and her Australian husband. The woman previously worked in a hotel prior to becoming a flight attendant with PNG's national airline. She did consider setting up a lodge but did not really focus on it until an Indian family residing in Kundiawa drove to her place at Christmas time back in the early 1990s, wanting to spend the festive season there. This prompted her to re-consider tourism and she refocused her attention to setting up proper tourism facilities. She is a warm-hearted lady who is passionate about tourism and insists that hospitality must always be the primary focus. Apart from the lodge, she also organises trekking and mountain climbing. She meets her tourists at the airport and is with them throughout their stay until she sees them off at the airport again. In addition, she has a trout farm, and facilitates orchid tours.

The second place was also a lodge (CHM2) and about a five-minute drive from the first lodge visited. The second lodge is at the base of Mt Wilhem and is owned by a family who also act as a tour operator, with bird watching, a conference facility, village tours, pick up and drop off services, and equipment and gear hire. There is also a souvenir and gift shop on the premises. The tour operator has an office in Port Moresby and liaises with the tourists as soon as they arrive in Port Moresby.

The third tourism provider (CHM3) we visited was a woman offering trekking and guiding services on behalf of her family. She was pointed out to me by the owner of the first of the lodge we visited as well as the host family I stayed with, who actually introduced me to the tourism provider. I then asked her (CHM3) if I could ask her some questions in relation to

the trekking services being provided, to which she agreed. The owner and I sat on her veranda away from the rest of the people who had accompanied me, and we chewed the betel nut I had brought as we conversed. She explained that the tracks leading up to Mt Wilhem pass through their traditional land and as such they have taken the ownership of maintaining the tracks and act as guides.

The fourth tourism provider visited in this province was another lodge (CHM4). I introduced myself and the purpose of my visit. Since the lodge owner did not chew betel nut, I offered him tea and I was invited to take a seat and talk with him. The lodge is located on the climb up to the summit of Mt Wilhem. It was built after a twenty-four-bedroom lodge was burnt down in 2000 due to tribal fires. The current lodge is smaller, as, when the family lost their lodge because of tribal fights, they had to start again from scratch as there was no insurance to cover the rebuilding. It is family owned and the father said he was the first one in the village to go into tourism and most probably the first in Chimbu.

The last group of participants in this province was a cultural group (CHM5). The original plan was to visit at least four tourism sites, however, after visiting the tourism sites, all four made mention of the cultural group as they were the main tourism operation within Mitnande LLG that provided cultural experiences for tourists when requested. The alumni who I had met earlier in Kainantu, in his younger days as a primary and high school student used to be a dancer with the group. He asked the group leaders if they would be interested in sharing their tourism experience with me, and they agreed to do so. I met with the group leaders at my host family's home. However, by this time, I had run out of tobacco and betel nut. The mother of the house intervened by roasting *kaukau* (sweet potato) over the fire and offered it to us with tea. The leaders revealed that they are mostly engaged by the two main lodges to perform for tourists. Apart from that, they sometimes get invited by business

houses in town to perform at events. The group usually performs cultural dances and other cultural activities such as *mumu* (underground cooking) for tourists.

In the Mitnande LLG, where participants from Chimbu were sought, locals live in pockets of clans and families, whereas in other provinces people tend to live more as a village. Despite this, the people of Mitnande LLG come together as a community to facilitate and encourage tourism, in particular those living in ward one. This could also be attributed to PNGTPA visiting the area quite often. It was later found out that a former government representative for the district of Kundiawa-Gembogl hailed from the Mitnande LLG and he held the portfolio of Minister for Tourism during his time in parliament. The ward alone has more than five tourism entities. This is expected as the highest mountain in PNG, Mt Wilhem is situated within this particular ward. Apart from agriculture, the locals rely on tourism to enhance their economy as indicated by a co-owner of a tourism entity. It must be noted that four of the tourism entities invited to participate in this study were family owned. However, they still relied on the wider community to assist them with tourism as stated by different participants – tourism is also an activity that involves the different members of the community. The locals are related to each other in one way or another and this helps in strengthening their relationships as a community. With the exception of one tourism entity confirming that they had to buy the land before building their lodge, the tourism entities in this ward operate from their traditional land.

The main products and experiences offered to tourists are trekking, cultural performances, bird watching, village tours and climbing Mt Wilhem; these activities are facilitated by the accommodation owners who liaise with inbound tour operators. The dynamic structure of tourism in the community allows the economic benefit of tourism to be circulated and retained by the community right down to the grassroots level. Tourism is an introduced

concept but the existing family ties allow tourism to be shared and felt by the entire village in rural PNG. However, the tourism ventures in the community insist that the facilities along the way to Mt Wilhem, are in dire need of maintenance and improvement for the safety of tourists, locals and the environment. Furthermore, upgrading of the facilities will increase the level of experience for the tourists.

The third province, Jiwaka became a separate identity from the Western Highlands Province in 2012. The province has three districts and the largest of these, Anglimp, the South Waghi District, is where participants for this research were located. The district is at the border of the Western Highlands and Jiwaka. One of the participants claimed that the people of Anglimp speak Melpa, a language spoken by Western Highlanders, and traditionally, culturally and geographically identify with the Western Highlands Province. The province exports tea and coffee to maintain its economy. Compared to the other provinces, we visited, here tourism is new. Two cultural centres agreed to take part in the research. From Chimbu, I travelled to Jiwaka by road and met another alumni who had attended the same university as I did and is a local from Jiwaka. However, before travelling to Jiwaka I had been communicating with the alumni via phone. I stressed that the tourism entities had to be locally owned and situated in a village/rural area. Prior to my arrival, the alumni had communicated with the two cultural centres on my behalf and both cultural centres accepted the invitation to participate in the research.

The first place we visited was a cultural centre with a guesthouse attached (JWK1). I spent the night at the guesthouse as a tourist and paid for a night's accommodation. The alumni and I met the owner of JWK1 while on our way to the guesthouse. The alumni recognised the owner at a nearby market and introduced me to him. The owner then travelled with us to his guesthouse (JWK1). Since it was late in the evening, a thorough discussion was not

held until the next morning. Then, I reiterated my purpose for visiting and asked the owner if it was still possible to chat with him, he willingly agreed. Since it was about eight in the morning, I offered some biscuits and tea to share while conversing. The owner's third wife kindly boiled the kettle over an open fire. Apart from promoting cultural performances, the facility also has four guest rooms and offers bush walking.

Through the same alumni, I was introduced to the second cultural centre (JWK2) which was about fifteen-minute drive from the first site visited. The second cultural centre is owned by a younger person who has a certificate in business studies. His focus is on cultural performance and demonstration, and he relies on members of his community to perform. The second cultural centre was different to the first one and the owner was more eager to engage in conversations with me and not prolong the formalities of introduction, his reason being that I had travelled far and that we should not waste time as it is not safe to travel back to Gasup in the evening. After spending some time with him, almost an hour listening to his stories and experiences, he smiled and said, *"Now we can share the biscuits you brought"*. He then introduced me to his wife and children. After having afternoon tea with the family, my team and I left and travelled back to the Eastern Highlands before dusk. The family had gifted us a whole a bunch of cooking bananas and taro to take back home.

Madang was the final province to be visited for this study. Madang is a maritime province and at the same time plays a crucial role in linking the coast to the highlands. The notion of tourism is not new in Madang as it dates back to the colonial days, when expatriates residing in the province would travel around for leisure purposes during their free time. Madang offers tourism activities from scuba diving to bird watching due to its geographical location. Melanesian Tourist Services (MTS), the major tour operator in Madang, has had more than

twenty years of experience in the province facilitating inbound tourists to the rural areas of the province (http://www.mtspng.com/port-information/).

Participants for this study were drawn from two Madang districts: Ambenob Rural LLG and Madang Urban LLG. Apart from tourism, the province exports copra, cocoa and timber. It is also home to PNG's largest fish cannery. Madang faces similar dilemmas to other provinces in PNG, where accessibility to basic services such as health, education and electricity is still limited, especially for the largely rural population. Communication through mobile and internet services in some areas is almost non-existent and where it is present it is unreliable. However, like others, the province is diverse in its flora and fauna, landscape and culture.

One of the challenges I faced in Madang was that I had previously visited the province to collect data for my Master's research project and I did not want to revisit the same tourism sites that were included in my previous research. The first participants in the area for this research study were introduced to me by a mutual friend. They were located on a nearby island approximately twenty-five minutes by out-rigger from Madang town (MAG1). The eldest son of the family was kind enough to meet my assistant and me in Madang town and ferry us across to the island. He then introduced us to the rest of his family, including his parents who had embarked on their tourism venture many years ago. Again betel nut, tobacco and biscuits were brought to share with the family. The island was one of the first places in Madang to engage in tourism and the locals are proud to proclaim that have been Prince Philip the Duke of Edinburgh visited them in 1971 (refer Appendix I). The island is also surrounded by WWII relics and is mainly used for swimming and picnics, it also has a small guest house that is in urgent need of maintenance.

The second place to be visited was further inland (MAG2). Both places are within Madang district, but situated within different wards. In the past, MAG2 was popular for offering cultural experiences to tourists who come on cruise ships. However, tourism has since dropped in the area because of the poor road condition leading to the village.

4.4 The Interview Protocol and Photo-Elicitation

Storytelling in the form of informal conversations took place in groups of three to ten people, after I made my intentions clear regarding the research and the group leaders had formally welcomed us. The informal conversations were held at places chosen by the participants, which I did not mind as I assumed the participants would be more comfortable in familiar surroundings of their choice. The semi-structured interview was guided by a set of broad questions as follows:

❖ What do you think tourism is? This discussion was started with questions about their previous experiences of tourism, with a focus on gaining insights into the participants' general view of tourism and how they thought tourism might or did impact their lives. Probing was conducted to further explore their views on sustainable tourism and the possible negative impacts tourism might bring with it.

❖ How did you get involved in CBT? Probes in the conversation explored what motivated them to pursue CBT and what they considered when preparing for CBT, who was involved, and the extent to which they decided on involvement and representation based on their traditional societal structure. The aim was to understand the reasons behind the community committing themselves to CBT to better comprehend the factors involved in the success or failure of CBT in the community.

❖ How did you implement the CBT? This included discussions on how they developed and marketed the product, as well as building and maintaining supportive relationships to deliver the product. This question was aimed at giving me an overview of the structures and systems used in managing the CBT operation.

❖ How did you resource the CBT operation and develop the skills and local capacity to deliver CBT? Probes utilised in this discussion focused on exploring approaches to training and monitoring performance, as well as perceptions of success, ideas for improvements, stories of conflict and awareness of any relevant regulatory frameworks.

❖ What are your future plans for tourism? The discussion of future plans was supplemented by the use of a photo-elicitation technique, defined by Harper (2002) as the insertion of photographs into a research interview. The photographs (they are presented in Table 3.2) were researcher generated using archival photographs found on tourism promotional sites and brochures. Photographs were chosen to fit the context of the research as directed by Bogdan and Biklen (1992). Photographs of CBT from other similar countries were also chosen so the participants and researcher were able to share common ground in their discussions.

As noted by Banks and Flick (2007), photo elicitation can aid in the interview process by fostering exploration and extended responses, revelations and empowering interactions. The use of photographs, as argued by Van Auken, Frisvoll and Stewart (2010), breaks down the power relations between the researcher and participants, stimulates deep interviewing, and promotes community participation in planning as the aspirations of the community can be visualised. Photographs used alongside Indigenous research methods contribute to lessening the tension of power play between the researcher and the participants. Because

researchers are usually more educated in a formal education system, they may be seen to intellectually superior to the participants. If the researcher is of European descent and the participants are from less developed economies, it is possible that the participants may perceive the research to be a form of colonialism. Unconsciously, the researcher could also be portraying remnants of colonialism through their behavior. How photograph elicitation is applied in the research, where it is applied and to whom it is applied will impact these perceptions (Reeves & Hinthorne, 2019). Photo-elicitation as part of an Indigenous research tool helps break down the power structure by shifting the focus of the researcher and the participants to a common point of reference (Lewis & Sheppard, 2005), placing them on an equal level. According to Bignante (2010), photo-elicitation can be a powerful tool to excite participants to maintain their interest in the research, especially if there are communication and cultural barriers.

The main objective of an Indigenous research method is to make the research as inclusive and comfortable as possible for Indigenous societies so their voices are equally heard and they are fairly represented. In this light, photo-elicitation is compatible with an Indigenous research tool. Furthermore, photographs can be used as an ice breaker between the researcher and participants (Scarles 2010) and help the participants to visualise the researcher's discussion. Clark-Ibanez (2004) points out that photographs act as a source of communication between the researcher and participants. Clark-Ibanez (2004) also suggested that researchers may use photographs to expand on their questions and their use can lessen the tension of being interviewed by distracting the participants from being too aware of the interview because their focus is directed to the photograph.

The interview finished with two questions designed to ensure I did not overlook any issues of importance to the interviewees and to encourage the interviewees to add more to the conversation if they wished to. These questions were:

❖ Is there any question I should have asked you, but did not?

❖ Is there anything else you would like to share?

In each of the areas visited, participants were prompted and encouraged to tell stories about their experiences. Culturally, the art of storytelling was used as a platform to share legends and myths, it was the desired way to have a conversation discussing community/village issues such as law and order problems, traditional ceremonies, and maintaining relationships within the community/village and other communities. Consequently, storytelling was also deemed to be an appropriate method to encourage participants to discuss the research topic and contribute their thoughts and ideas.

4.5 Results and Discussion

4.5.1 Coding the discussion responses

The informal conversations and storytelling were conducted in Tok Pisin and recorded. Being a fluent Tok Pisin speaker, I did not need a translator as I was able to translate the conversations myself. These recordings were then transcribed and a summary translated into English. Summary tables of the overall responses linked to the main topics identified by the participants in each province can be found in Appendices B, C, D and E. The approach taken to coding and analysing the stories told in the discussions was similar to that reported in the previous chapter. Data collected was manually analysed to prevent the information collected being encrypted and losing its original value. A grounded theory approach was identified as the most suitable approach in understanding the data collected

in the form of informal conversations. The aim of grounded theory is to generate a theory from the data collected (Urquhart, 2012). Following standard practice in grounded theory approaches (Braun & Clarke, 2006), the transcripts were read through and the material was firstly organised into six broad categories matching the main elements of the stories told about experiences with tourism including:

- The participants' understanding of tourism and the factors that led them to consider and or get involved in tourism (the context for their tourism story);

- How they prepared for CBT (the early stages of their tourism story);

- How they managed CBT (the challenges and their responses);

- Their perceptions of the outcomes and success of tourism (the consequences);

- Their view of what they need to do to successfully continue with CBT; and

- Their future plans for tourism (looking ahead to the next chapter in their tourism story).

Then, within each of these major categories or story sections, the discussions were thematically coded (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012). The following sections are organised by the six categories and discuss in more detail the major themes in each. Typically, reporting of qualitative analysis combines the results and discussion, especially in terms of comparing the findings to previous relevant research. In this case, the discussion linking the study results to previous research on CBT in PNG will be presented in the next chapter which explores the value of using the new MRF. However, it is possible to link the major themes to discussions of CBT in peripheral and emerging destinations beyond PNG.

4.5.2 Understanding of tourism

Most conversations began with me asking the participants about their experience and understanding of tourism. Five major themes emerged within this category. Essentially,

tourism was described as an economic activity that added to existing sources of income and made good use of available resources. It was seen as a positive force that not only added some useful income, but also supported cultural practices. Virtually no negative impacts were reported or described. The choice to get into CBT generally reflected an entrepreneurial motivation, either from an individual or the collective. The development of CBT was almost exclusively a local initiative with very little input, support, or guidance from any government agencies. The response of the members of the Gurupoka Cultural Group (EHP1) to this broad question contains all but the last major theme identified in the analysis in this category. The spokesperson stated, "*Tourists came to our area but visited the other villages in upper Asaro who performed the Asaro Mud man dance.*" Tourists visiting the area was a normal occurrence for them. After watching the neighboring villages do traditional performances for tourists in return for an income, they decided to tap into tourism themselves. One of them further commented, "*None of us in the village has ever done any tourism training*". Despite this, they seem enthusiastic about tourism, commenting, "*tourism brings good things*", which indicates they do not see that tourism could possibly bring anything bad.

The first and most dominant theme was that the main understanding of tourism expressed by the participants is as an economic activity that made use of existing resources. A participant from CHM5 expressed that*, "tourism brings economic benefits and we are given the opportunity to show our culture to people outside of PNG. Tourism encourages us to preserve our culture, it allows us to uphold our traditional heritage like our ancestral beliefs and taboos.*" For instance, one participant commented on how he ventured into tourism, "*From observation, seeing tourists coming into PNG and the highlands region and observing the economic side of tourism especially at the local/village level.*"

The participants directly involved in tourism are aware that tourism is not a guaranteed source of steady income, however, they still maintain the belief that tourism has the potential to generate income into their respective communities, villages and households. For instance, one of the community members said, "*It's a source of income apart from what we grow and sell. I don't think there is anything negative, I only see and know of good things.*" Another interviewee further emphasised that "*tourism is a good thing, it brings money to the village and community.*"

Embedded in these discussions is evidence of the third theme of tourism being driven by an entrepreneurial motivation to take advantage of tourism as an additional resource for their community. As one participant noted, "*I grew up watching tourists climb Mt Wilhem, and that's how I became interested in tourism so after my dad died, I took over.*" Another owner of a cultural centre in Jiwaka (JWK1) was introduced to tourism by one of PNG's major tour operators. He was first noticed by the tour operator in 1984 during a visit by Pope John Paul II to the Western Highlands. The owner of the cultural centre (JWK1), a young man then, was clothed in his traditional attire and performed for the pope. He was later approached by the tour operator who introduced the idea of performing for tourists in exchange for payment. He then went back to his immediate family and his clan and sought their views on the proposal. The importance of local entrepreneurial motivation for successful CBT has been noted in several other locations. For example, Ahmad, Jabeen and Khan (2014) discuss the importance of entrepreneurship for home-stay operators in Malaysia; and Tolkach and King (2015) provide an analysis of factors including entrepreneurship necessary for CBT development in Timor Leste.

In the discussion of their understanding of tourism, all participants were asked if they thought tourism might have some negative impacts on the communities and they all said

no. A typical response highlighting the fourth major theme of tourism not having negative impacts was "*so far, we've had only positive. Not sure about the negative impacts of tourism*". Another participant confidently asserted, "*since engaging in tourism we have not experienced, seen or heard anything negative about tourism*".

Several reasons for this positive description of tourism can be suggested. Firstly, it may be that the participants wanted to present a positive picture to me, although later discussions of tourism decline, problems with infrastructure and conflict suggest that this was not the case overall. Secondly, it may be that the levels of tourism are very low, making contact with tourists easy to manage and negative impacts yet to emerge. For example, one of the only two female tourism leaders reported that she charges K10.00 (AUD5.00) per person when escorting tourists and estimated that between January and June 2018, three hundred tourists had utilised her services. This is one of the larger businesses in terms of numbers but is still only hosting about 50 tourists a month.

Thirdly, it may be that the participants have very limited, or realistic, expectations of what tourism might contribute to their communities and so are not disappointed by the reality. Moscardo (2011) noted that one major barrier to the effective development of sustainable tourism in peripheral regions was having inappropriate expectations of the positive benefits that tourism might bring, leading to disillusionment with the tourism development process. Another barrier noted by Moscardo (2011) was the lack of community engagement that resulted when tourism was imposed upon a community by a higher level of government or external agency such as an NGO or a tourism business. This may be the fourth reason why tourism was seen as a generally positive in the present study, it was mostly generated from within the communities themselves with little or no input from external parties, especially government agencies.

The final theme was the lack of connection to government agencies and programs relevant to CBT. The participants in Chimbu noted they went into tourism without receiving any training or attending tourism awareness programs, however, they saw the business opportunity in tourism. Most participants had gone into tourism without understanding the different administrative structures surrounding tourism as an industry and the various legislative bodies that govern and facilitate tourism as a formal economic activity in PNG. The tourism sites visited for the purpose of this study are located in rural areas with limited government services. Furthermore, sometimes the tourism projects were not taken seriously by the designated district offices. This is demonstrated by an interviewee's remarks regarding government assistance, "*The district officer came to speak to us about the prospects of tourism in our village, we were excited and optimistic but then nothing eventuated, he never came back.*"

4.5.3 Preparing for CBT

The wider literature indicates there are a number of factors to consider in preparing communities for tourism, including operational, structural, political, economic, environmental and cultural factors (Armstrong, 2012; Nyaupane, Morais, & Dowler, 2006; Tosun, 2000, 2006). Not surprisingly then, during the conversations held with the participants, preparing for CBT was a major topic discussed. These discussions included the following main themes:

- CBT preparation often involved copying an existing tourism venture seen elsewhere;

- lengthy discussions of ideas with family and clan groups occurred;

- access to tourists was often facilitated by assistance from others, including tour operators and missionaries; and

- the fact that there was very little formal planning or development activity, such as training.

The response from the Daulo Bush Trekking (EHP2) tourism site in Eastern Highlands highlights several of these themes. They shared some of their experiences when initially tapping into tourism. For example, "*We spoke to our clan leaders about doing this*" to show respect for authority. The main spokesperson admitted to being inspired by Ambua Lodge in Hela Province, further south of the Eastern Highlands, which is owned by one of PNG's major tour operators. The spokesperson said when they first caught sight of the lodge on the back of a match box, they were taken by the similar geography and landscape to their own locality. They said the main thing that was important to them was building the track and they said, "*we try to engage in tourism by observing what others are doing.*" They confirmed that planning was not really given much consideration, apart from how to get tourists, ways to rally support from other clan and village members and how to avoid conflicts and possible land disputes. Daulo Bush Trekking confirmed they depended on tour operators as they know no other way of inviting tourists to their area, "*The tour operators are good but sometimes we feel cheated when it comes to payment.*" They also expressed concerns about possible conflict amongst their own villagers, "*since there is not a lot of tourists visiting, we are not able to include everyone and some of our relations are now seeking compensation from us because tourists have to walk through their land in order to get to the caves*".

Similarly, the participants from an island in Madang known for its swimming and as a picnic spot (MAG1) described the same set of themes in their story of CBT development. The main person behind tourism on the island was first approached by an Australian who used to own a hotel in town. The Australian asked if he could bring tourists to the island.

The idea of tourism being an economic activity began in 1972; it seemed to the people on the island that tourism had some substance to it. Together they initiated the idea of tourism on the island with numerous discussions with other family members residing on the island. The traditional dancing group (MAG2), also in Madang, commented that "*someone from our village, initiated the idea of tourism; he used work as the director for the National Intelligence Office in Port Moresby*". They highlighted that, in the planning stage, they discussed with their elders about sharing their traditional dance and songs with the outside world and how they were going to be noticed by the hotels and tour operators.

The cultural group (EHP1) in the Eastern Highlands provides another example of both the first theme of copying existing tourism ventures in nearby locations and the second theme of consulting with the wider community. The cultural group was inspired by nearby village that had tourists visiting them to get a glimpse of the Eastern Highlands famous tourist icon, the Asaro mud man. After at least three to six months of discussion, together with other members of their community/village, they built a conference centre from traditional material in 2005. Despite the conference centre succumbing to fire, the cultural group still remain optimistic about tourism. This process of looking at tourism in other comparable locations is an important one as it allows the communities to not only consider opportunities to add to their economic base, but also offers lessons in things to avoid and factors for success. These things combined contribute to an overall awareness of tourism amongst local residents which has been shown to be important in encouraging CBT in peripheral regions in places such as rural communities in South Africa (Saarinen, 2010) and remote rural villages in Portugal (Fernandes, 2011).

The Gurupoka Cultural group provided an example of developing CBT with the support of the extended group: "*The cultural group we formed consists of members from the two main*

clans". One participant commented that they thought of "*the type of tourism activities to offer*", which involved their traditional leaders, "*our elders were involved in the discussions leading to us establishing a traditional dance group*". Other participants from the same group said they thought of other things to offer apart from the main tourism product, such as "*how we were going to get tourists to come and visit us and where our womenfolk were going to sell their bilums and other arts and crafts*", which crosses over into the third theme of accessing tourists.

The Asaro Ecotourism Centre (EHP3) Eastern Highlands provided examples of the third theme of accessing tourists and getting help from external agents. "*My wife and I started on our own (from the money gained in selling agricultural produce) with the help of the missionaries who created our website.*" The main village has the cultural group (EHP1), however, this couple has ventured into bringing in tourists, which in the past was done by tour operators from elsewhere. Hence, they are still supporting tourism in their village*,* as "*if I am paid K100, K60 goes to the singing group and K40 goes to the operation of Asaro Ecotourism Centre*". The husband also stated that in order for community-based tourism to prosper and benefit the surrounding communities, "*it is supposed to build a good network among small operators so that the benefits can be shared among everyone that participates*".

In Chimbu, the lodge (CHM1), established by a local woman and her late Australian husband, stands on land that was purchased from its traditional owners, who were also related to the woman. According to the lodge owner*,* "*we thought about accessibility to the lodge and how to reach potential visitors*". She also mentioned that the idea of going into tourism was triggered when a foreign family inquired about overnighting at the base of Mt

Wilhem as part of their vacation. The couple then saw the opportunity for accommodation to cater for visitors interested in climbing Mt Wilhem.

The representative of another lodge in Chimbu (CHM4), was the oldest tourism operator within his LLG, with his operation dating back to 1972. He said, "*A white man discussed bringing tourists to Mt Wilhem and said there has to be resting places for tourists; this white man is the owner of the current Trans Niugini Tours.*" Trans Niugini Tours is a major tour operator in PNG. The tourism operator said he is struggling with his tourism venture as there is now more competition from other villagers offering tourist accommodation.

Responses from a local tour company in Chimbu highlighted the fourth theme, the relative lack of formal preparation and planning. The business, which began in 2000 and has been expanding ever since, offers multiple tourism services: a lodge, tour guides, hire cars and birdwatching. The owner and founder is a former member of parliament, and his brother, who is a former high school teacher, oversees the operations in Chimbu. The lodge seemed to be more established compared to the other tourism outlets. The owner said initial planning included "*marketing, and type of tourists to focus on, accessibility, and facilities to be offered.*" In terms of tourism training, the tourism resource owners and participants in Chimbu were the only ones who had attended tourism workshops and other tourism programs such as tour guiding. Understanding marketing and accessing tourists directly are major factors for success in CBT (Mizal, Fabeil & Pazim, 2014; Moscardo, 2011; Stone & Stone, 2010).

4.5.4 Managing CBT

In most of the CBT operations described in this study, the relatively low level of tourism means that managing and delivering tourism services/products in the communities is almost

entirely done on a demand basis. That is, if a booking is made by a tourist or by an external tour operator, then the tourism providers are informed through the group leader or business owner. The person in charge then informs the rest of the members of the community. As one participant noted, "*We depend on tour operators to bring in tourists, we still have a long way to go*". Apart from tourism, most individuals live off subsistence farming and tourism is not heavily relied upon as a source of income. Not surprisingly, then, the major theme emerging from discussions of CBT management is the overall lack of formal business practices, such as performance monitoring and evaluation. This is consistent with limited connection to government agencies as noted in the previous section. Instead, CBT management is often guided by consultation with elders and/or the broader community, a second theme, also consistent with the importance of connection to elders, clans and families as noted in the previous sections. The third theme identified in these discussions was attempts to become self-reliant and less dependent upon external tour operators.

The main attraction for the Eastern Highlands is providing a cultural experience to tourists, and the tourism sites visited in this area reiterated the importance of consulting the elders. As one pointed out, "*We do consult our elders/our fathers. They guide us, give us advice, they are older and have more experience.*" They consider their elders to have experience in tourism because the Eastern Highlands was the first province in the Highlands region to be explored and administered by the former colonisers, who introduced tourism among many other things. Also, since cultural experiences are a major attraction, the elders are called upon to ensure the culture of Asaro is maintained and passed on. Tourism within Asaro is centred around the people who make up the community. Relying too much on tour operators is seen as a challenge. The local people prefer to liaise directly with tourists as they feel

tour companies benefit more from tourism than they do. A participant openly said, "*Sometimes we feel we are being cheated by the tour operators.*"

A lodge owner in Chimbu (CHM1) also tries to do her own marketing. She has her own Facebook page and her lodge is listed on PNGTPA's website as a place to visit in Chimbu, so she is able to market herself directly without relying too much on other tour operators. She involves the community as much as possible, "*I try to involve the different clans as porters/carriers and guides. A particular clan complained about not being involved so I explained the requirements and expectations of tourists. I sometimes teach the boys on how to present themselves to tourists especially when it comes to grooming.*" The lodge does not operate according to a regulatory framework but the lodge's bookkeeping helps the owner keep track of its performance. Similarly, the second lodge visited in Chimbu (CHM2) also do their own marketing and do not rely heavily on tour operators. "*We have an office in Port Moresby, we're able to get direct bookings, we are now offering more services like car hire.*" They keep track of their operation by monitoring the number of tourists that come in and through their accounts.

MAG1, like other rural tourism operators, rely on secondary sources to provide business. "*We rely on word of mouth and the hotels on the mainland. But local businesses are also hiring our venue for functions.*" The island's advantage compared to the other rural tourism operators is its proximity to town. Hence, local residents also enjoy leisure activities on the island. Families as well as businesses utilise the island. However, it was indicated that the price tourists pay is determined by the tour operators, which the locals claim, "*not fair and that it can be demotivating sometimes*". Meanwhile, in regard to the second site visited in Madang (MAG2), it was the tour operators who brought the tourists to them or invited them to perform for the tourists in town. Hence one person expressed concern that, "*we don't*

really experience conflict ourselves but with the tour operators, who dictate the prices to us, we are not the only ones that do these, there are other villages close to town and along the coast that offer the same as us." As a result, they accept the offer suggested by tour operators because of the fear of losing business. The potential negative consequences of external tour operators having power over access to tourists and to the larger tourism distribution system is a major issue for tourism development in general, but has been noted as especially problematic for CBT in peripheral regions (Moscardo, 2011; Ondicho, 2012; Purisan & Xiao, 2013).

4.5.5 Tourism outcomes

In terms of tourism outcomes, the communities and businesses involved in this study could be divided into two broad groups: those who were pessimistic about tourism and those who were optimistic. Even the pessimists were, however, still very positive about tourism as an activity and the benefits it could bring. The pessimists were typically those who had a longer experience of tourism and had seen a decline in tourism numbers for various reasons. One group in Madang, for example, pointed out that, "*We were once an organised village for tourism, but since the deterioration of the road, we have really gone down. We have not received any tourists in the last couple of years.*" The same group stated, "*Our youths haven't really experienced the beauty of tourism, and some were not even born when our village was involved in tourism so many years ago.*" They are also of the view that, if tourism is not revived soon in the village, the idea of tourism as a possible source for income will be lost for good. They believed that the younger generation, who make up the majority of the population of the village, might cause social problems since there was nothing for them to look forward to. This particular community/village remains highly positive about tourism concluding that, "*we want to revive tourism again like how it was in the past. The village has had a taste of*

tourism and want to revive it". That earlier taste of tourism was a positive one with the representatives boasting that they had bought shares in a petroleum company from the income generated through tourism as a community.

Again, issues about the dominance of external tour operators emerged. A group in the Eastern Highlands commented that "*we have not experienced any conflicts yet but the main challenge we face is when the tour operators don't pay us according to what was negotiated between them and us*". The tourism operators in the villages, whether it be community owned or individually owned, rely on the support of their community members to make tourism happen. "*We share the benefits by including the village singsing group, and the mothers get to sell their bilums. We don't really make much profit since we use other people's facilities to facilitate our tourists.*" Another person also stated that, "*different clans are engaged to act as tour guides/porters and carriers, so in that way the benefits of tourism trickles down to the community*". Despite living as individual families and clans, the locals identify themselves as a village when negotiating or liaising with other communities. Their strength is their ability to work together, not only for tourism but other community/village obligations such as compensation, bride price and funeral ceremonies. For instance, one interviewee stated, "*If there are compensation claims against the community I also contribute in order to help maintain peace and harmony between the community I am part of and other communities.*" When the participants from EHP2 were asked about the motivation behind them persisting in tourism ventures, they replied, "*Our soil is not as fertile as the villages on the valley so we see tourism as a way to make money.*"

Discussion in this category also reinforced the importance of community and that tourism, while an important and useful activity, was not seen as a dominant economic force. This

sentiment is illustrated by a lodge owner in Chimbu who said, "*Tourism cannot be seen as the only means of survival, I don't make a large profit, I just make enough to cater for the day-to-day operations. I doubt I'll ever reach the million mark. But the lodge is able to survive and continue.*" The communities are aware that they cannot rely on tourism alone for their livelihood, hence, they also have other sources of income to sustain them, mainly subsistence farming.

4.5.6 Needs of communities to assist CBT development

The most commonly reported things that were needed in order to further develop and/or improve the benefits from CBT were aspects of training, especially around language, safety and marketing, and improved basic infrastructure. Daulo Bush Trekking had been in operation for twenty years but efforts directed towards further development have seen very slow progress. They are passionate and want to embrace tourism, however, they believed that they needed help with basic skills such as customer service training and landscaping to blend in with the natural environment to make the location more attractive to tourists. They also suggested that training in basic management skills, such as budgeting and setting goals would be useful.

Most of those involved with Daulo Bush Trekking have attained a Grade 10 level of education, with very little to no prior work experience. This level of education does, however, support better English language skills. One of the two female tourism business leaders argued that communication is an essential component of a successful business and having English skills was important for both talking to the tourists and for negotiating rates with tourism operators. Overall, there was agreement that there was a need for more tourism training and awareness, especially on how to sustain tourism as an economic activity, how it can be used as a conservation tool, and the importance of safety surrounding tourism.

One participant commented that there is a need for "*tour guide training, accommodation set up and tourist expectations*." Another stated that "*having marketing skills will enable us to attract tourists directly without going through the middle man, the tour operator. Tour operators exploit the resource owners.*" A lodge owner in Chimbu expressed similar sentiments, saying, "*There is still a lack of proper training when it comes to tour guiding and acting as porters/carriers.*" She also mentioned that culture is a major component of PNG's tourism and there should be more training and awareness on how best it can be integrated and at the same time be protected by and in tourism.

In terms of the lodge she owns, she said there is room for improvement in basic infrastructure, for example, a "*better heating system, it's cold here and there's no electricity; electricity should be erected by PNG Power to the community (rural electrification)*". Other comments supported these infrastructure concerns with statements such as; "*There is a need to build more rooms, improve the menu and improve our marketing strategies*"; "*We hope that one day we will have a designated area where we can keep our traditional attire and instruments, a permanent place to meet and to practice*"; and "*We need to make sure our road is fixed and that it lasts*".

4.5.7 Future plans

This study also explored whether these tourism sites had future plans, with a view to understand what these communities and businesses might offer the communities in the future through CBT. I was also curious about whether or not these participants were aware of other alternative styles of tourism development. Photographs of different community-based tourism settings from countries similar to PNG were shown to participants as an aid to complement storytelling and encourage deeper thinking so their thoughts and aspirations could be more clearly communicated. One of the themes that guided the storytelling was

"future plans", under which a topic discussed was the preferred type of future tourism development and if they would like to add another feature to the existing tourism product. Table 4.2 contains the photographs shown to participants and indicates their preferences regarding the styles of tourism portrayed in the images.

Photographs D and E were not considered preferable or interesting by any of the participants from the four provinces visited. Photograph D was of tree-houses promoting eco-tourism. While the idea of eco-tourism is being embraced and considered by the participants, the concept of a tree-house did not appeal to them. Tree-houses are not a common cultural practice in PNG and so the lack of interest likely reflects the participants' perceptions of traditional architecture influenced by their cultural practices. Photograph E was of a basic CBT set up in a village; it was not chosen by the participants as stimuli to discuss their future plans as a lot of the participants identify with it as being the stage they are currently at.

Table 4.2: Photographs Preferred as Future Options for CBT

Photographs	Label	Photographs preference by tourism community/site
This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph A: Tourist attempting to weave, cultural demonstration	EHP1 (Eastern Highlands cultural group) CHM5 (Chimbu cultural group) MAG2 (Madang cultural group)
This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph B: Bush walking, nature	EHP1 (Eastern Highlands cultural group) EHP2 (Eastern Highlands, trekking) CHM3 (Chimbu, trekking) CHM4 (Chimbu, lodge) JWK1 (Jiwaka, accommodation and cultural centre)
This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph C: Biking in the village, additional activity	JWK1 (Jiwaka, accommodation and cultural centre)
This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph D: Tree house, eco-tourism	
This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph E: Basic CBT setup, village stay	
This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph F: Advanced accommodation	EHP3 (Eastern Highlands, Ecotourism) CHM1 (Chimbu, lodge) JWK1 (Jiwaka, accommodation and cultural centre)
This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph G: Resort	MAG1 (Madang, Island)

Table 4.2: Continued

This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph H: Cable line, rainforest tour	CHM4 (Chimbu, lodge)
This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions	Photograph I: Canoeing	MAG1 (Madang, Island)

Responses to the other photographs were organised around three themes: a desire to get tourists more involved in cultural activities and engaged directly with local community members; a general sense of preferring a future that builds upon something familiar to them with some small improvements; and being realistic but hopeful about their aspirations for CBT. In terms of getting tourists more active and engaged, the first community visited in Eastern Highlands (EHP1) indicated photographs A and B as their preferred future. They would like to see tourists engaging more with the community by trying out such things as target shooting (using traditional bows and arrows), weaving *bilums* (over the shoulder bags) and making traditional ornaments. This also supports their aspirations for tourism to benefit everyone by being shared with other members of the community and not just the main tourism resource owners. Only a few tourists have actually participated in activities, most being more interested in watching cultural performances in the form of traditional songs and dances. This community also, if requested, will do bush walks with tourists, however, they pointed out that the treks need to be done properly so it is safe for tourists as well as being environmentally friendly. The last group visited in the Chimbu province

(CHM5) also chose photograph A and described it as appropriate for them as they have specifically set up cultural demonstrations so tourists can experience for themselves, and participate in, traditional activities. Currently the group is focused on traditional dancing. The photograph was not the same as what is desired, but it stimulated the participants to express their longing for a specific place in their community that would accommodate their needs in relation to providing tourism experiences to visitors. In the Jiwaka Province, photographs B and F were chosen by the JWK1 group. Photograph B, according to the storytellers, looked more suitable for the kind of activity in which tourists indulge, while photograph F looked more realistic for the type of environment they have. An additional activity that was identified to be included in the future was biking, as illustrated by photograph C. The last stop in Jiwaka was another cultural centre (JWK2) owned by an individual who relies heavily on the community to keep the centre in operation. Photograph A was the closest image to his future plan of offering immersive cultural experiences for tourists, with proper facilities for tourists to relax in while taking part.

For an image that combined what was familiar with some small improvements, the second community visited (EHP2) selected photograph B as it fitted with their current practice, trekking. In the future, they hope to improve the treks to the cave by building safety rails and also have a resting hut/ accommodation for tourists to utilise so the spin off from tourism can reach more people.

The interviewees described the current trekking situation as risky and hazardous, mentioning that there are no proper railings to prevent tourists from falling. The track starts from the main road and leads to a cave, which holds traditional significance. The third tourism service provider in the Chimbu province (CHM3) also pointed to photograph B, saying the tracks leading to Mt Wilhem (the highest mountain in PNG) are in desperately

need of maintenance and it would be nice to have proper walkways to enhance the experience of tourists.

In a similar fashion, the eco-tourism cultural centre in Eastern Highlands (EHP3) shared their aspiration by discussing something similar to photograph F – modern accommodation, yet with traditional architectural elements. The owner of a lodge (CHM) talked about having electricity as shown in photograph F which she thought was situated somewhere in a forest, similar to the type of environment that surrounds her lodge. Finally, another lodge (CHM2 – see Figure 4.2 for current facilities) shared that it would be nice to re-open the airstrip in the village so tourists could travel to them directly by air.

CHM2 – Camp Jehovah Jireh, Chimbu

This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure: 4.2: CHM2 – Camp Jehovah Jireh, Chimbu.

Adapted from**: http://www.mountwilhelmtours.com/about**

The fourth site visited (CHM4) chose photograph B as the ideal facility for trekking, while photograph F was marvelled at as the long-term dream. This family also mentioned that

using a cable line as a way of conducting rainforest tours could assist in preserving the environment and give tourists a better view of the natural environment. The family business in Madang (MAG1) opted for something smaller than the resort portrayed in photograph G, one that is manageable and overlooking the sea. After seeing photograph I, they indicated it would be appealing to introduce kayaking as an added activity for tourists. The family overseeing tourism on the island hope to improve the guest house, build picnic amenities, have a designated area for swimming and various picnic spots on and around the island with proper boat stops fitted with jetties.

4.6 Summary and Conclusions

An overall pattern of shared perspectives on tourism can be discerned from the participating villages and rural tourism businesses. Most of the participants became involved in tourism by observing other tourism operators, apart from a few that were introduced to tourism through people who had suggested the idea to them because they owned the resources that would attract visitors/tourists. In terms of preparation for a tourism venture, it took at least three to twelve months of planning, mainly centered around marketing, accessibility, and the type of tourism to offer. The majority of the interviewees admitted to consulting their elders before going into tourism. The few that didn't were the ones who had sole ownership of the land. It was apparent that most of the tourism resource owners engaged in tourism without consulting the necessary government agents, simply because they were not aware of the procedures involved in connecting with them and who to liaise with in such circumstances.

One particularly strong theme to emerge was an enthusiasm for tourism and a deep desire to embrace tourism fully, despite relatively small returns from generally low levels of tourism. The potential economic benefits of tourism were the driving force behind their

push for tourism and the participants reported to have had only positive experiences of tourism.

Tourism was seen as giving them the opportunity to share their culture and traditions with the rest of the world for some additional income. Not surprisingly, almost none of the tourism operators considered the negative impacts of tourism in their planning.

It was also clear that most of the tourism operators in this study were operating outside of a regulatory framework. Most had never attained any form of tourism awareness or training before venturing into tourism. It seems the majority have little knowledge of any tourism plans for their district and they have become accustomed to working on their own without the assistance and guidance of any tourism authority. The main challenge faced by the majority of the tourism owners visited is that they rely heavily on external tour operators to generate business by bringing tourists to their sites. In fact, many of these rural tourism enterprises depend entirely on the tour operators who are usually foreign owned and who dictate the rates to be charged. The core product offered is cultural experiences, mainly in the form of traditional dancing and demonstrations of cultural ceremonies and events. Providing accommodation, trekking and birdwatching are also services offered. The tourism owners depend on the support of their community and families by inviting them to act as porters, guides and cultural performers. This strategy facilitates the willingness of community members to maintain peace and safety measures within the communities, not just for the sake of the community, but for tourism as well. Since these are small scale tourism ventures, they admit the income received is not enough to maintain their facilities, since the majority is spent on paying either the cultural performers or tour guides and porters.

This overall pattern can be seen as built around three main themes: the enthusiasm for tourism and a general view that it has, to date, been a positive force within these communities; concerns about the role and power of external tour operators; and a lack of connection to government agencies responsible for supporting community development and encouraging tourism. The enthusiasm for tourism can be linked to several themes including the development of CBT according to factors that have been identified in the wider literature as contributing to successful and/or sustainable tourism development, the adoption of an informal sustainable livelihoods model for tourism development rather than what has been called a tourism promotional or growth model (Moscardo, 2019), and the low levels of existing tourism and a different perspective on what successful tourism is.

Moscardo (2011, 2014) argued that sustainable tourism development for rural and peripheral regions required the initiative for tourism to come from within the destination community and be supported by local leaders; that the tourism enterprise remained under community control supported by formal tourism planning with considerable direct community involvement; that the tourism activity be built upon and use the skills and existing capital, including social and cultural capital, within destination community; that the community had knowledge about tourism and its impacts, relevant markets and marketing; and that community members had appropriate expectations about what tourism might bring to the destination. With the exception of knowledge of tourism impacts and tourism marketing, the descriptions of CBT provided by participants in the present study included all of these features. Moscardo's arguments have been supported by various researchers in CBT. Mearns and Lukhele (2015), for example, argued that CBT projects in Swaziland in Africa could be improved by encouraging greater community participation and ownership in tourism ventures, and more tourism training, especially in marketing.

Communities in PNG already have social (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013) and cultural capital (Martin, 2000; Silverman, 2013). Furthermore, rural communities have a strong relationship to the land and claim ownership over the land, rivers and sea (Guaigu, 2014). However, one of the biggest challenges, apart from financial capital, is having the capacity to implement effective planning that considers all aspects of tourism and the degree of the impact communities will experience, whether negative and positive.

Despite the generally positive perspective of participants, the lack of awareness of the negative impacts of tourism is a concern. How then do these relatively new tourism entrepreneurs safeguard themselves from the possible conflicts and damage that tourism may bring to their communities. One risk is that they may be easily manipulated by larger external tourism operators who have more resources and industry influence.

The second factor contributing to such a positive view of tourism is that the communities appear to have taken an informal sustainable livelihoods approach to their tourism operations. The Asian Development Bank (2017) asserts that the sustainable livelihoods concept is about communities having the ability to sustain themselves and their wellbeing using their existing resources, that is, resources that will enable them to survive despite the challenges they encounter. These resources include human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital and financial capital which are all referred to as a community's assets. Chambers and Conway (1992) argue that that concept of sustainable livelihoods includes households not compromising their everyday resources in a way that future generations will not be able to reuse and experience them.

Scoones (1998) suggests that a Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) for planning enhances rural development by identifying the existing assets of rural communities. In light of this present study and through the lens of a SLF, the rural communities visited possess

natural capital, social capital and cultural capital which can be used to support CBT. Relying on this existing capital can also limit the number of tourists visiting the communities, as the communities might not have sufficient financial and built capital to support increased tourism infrastructure. Thus, in a way, there is control over the amount of tourism that can occur within the communities, and thus, the communities are able to adapt to tourism without compromising their existing assets of natural capital, social capital and cultural capital. Furthermore, since the communities do not rely on tourism entirely, they are still able to sustain themselves via other sources and are not dependent solely on tourism. Thus a SLF is an alternative approach to tourism development that has already been adopted by default by these communities.

A sustainable livelihoods approach suggests a different view of what tourism success is, with a greater emphasis on the extent to which tourism activities can use existing capital and in return add to community resources and opportunities. This is in contrast to the typical view of tourism success as measured by tourist numbers and growth (Bornhorst, Brent Ritchie & Sheehan, 2010). This simplistic approach to tourism success as continuously growing numbers has been seen as a problem for tourism sustainability in general (Hall, 2010), and for the use of tourism as a community development tool in rural and peripheral regions in particular (Matarrita-Cascante, 2010; Schmallegger & Carson, 2010). Embedding tourism within the prevailing cultural practices was suggested by N'Drower (2014) as a possible way to support a more sustainable approach to tourism development and management, and this is supported by the present study.

One issued noted, both in the current study and in previous literature on successful CBT, is the dominance and power of external tour operators. Many participants in this study could see that they could increase the economic returns from existing tourism if they were not

excluded from direct access to tourists. This problem has also been noted in other studies of tourism development in more remote locations (Adiyia, Stoffelen, Jennes, Vanneste & Ahebwa, 2015; Schmallegger & Carson, 2010; Wu, Xu & Eaglen, 2011).

Chapter 5: Evaluating the Melanesian Research Framework

5.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluates the effectiveness of the Melanesian Research Framework (MRF) for revealing new and more culturally appropriate knowledge about tourism in rural PNG. The MRF was developed in the first stage of this research (see Chapters 2 and 3) and employed in the second stage of this PhD journey as illustrated in Chapter 4. This chapter discusses the relevance of the MRF as applied to CBT and tourism in rural areas of PNG. One potential criticism of the MRF is that it is not very different to a traditional qualitative methodology and this is a challenge that has been levelled at Indigenous methodologies in general. The answer to this challenge lies in discussions of fundamental differences in ontology and axiology, the importance of recognising existing power imbalances in epistemology, and the need to empower Indigenous communities throughout the entire research process. The conclusions of the previous chapter suggested that the positive tourism perceptions reported by participants reflected a very different view of what tourism could be than is often assumed by external researchers. These conclusions question concepts of tourism success and sustainability. The initial analysis reported in Chapter 4 suggests that using the MRF gave a greater voice to locals, resulting a different story of tourism in rural PNG than reported in previous research conducted through a Western lens.

This chapter will explore these issues and questions further. It will begin by briefly discussing the key elements that distinguish Indigenous methodologies in general from Western research approaches and why these differences matter. It will briefly revisit how the MRF includes these features and how it is linked to a Melanesian ontology, epistemology and axiology. The aim of this review is to develop a set of principles or criteria for systematically evaluating previous tourism research in PNG. The chapter will

report on this evaluation of previous PNG tourism research focusing on the extent to which this research included the core elements of Indigenous methodologies in general and the MRF more specifically and how this might have influenced the findings and conclusions reported. The first part of the evaluation will focus on researchers' actions and whether these avoid the problems identified with the use of non-Indigenous methodologies in an Indigenous context. The second part of this evaluation will examine researchers' assumptions and conclusions, comparing the main findings and recommendations of the previous research to those generated using the MRF. The final part of the evaluation will explore the extent to which previous research and the MRF based study acknowledge, take account of, and/or uncover Melanesian cultural values. The chapter will conclude by exploring the challenges and limitations of the MRF in practice.

5.2 Key Elements of Indigenous Methodologies

In the introductory chapter, several reviews of Indigenous research proposed various principles for its conduct including:

- being participatory;

- being holistic;

- focusing on actions in the outcomes;

- recognising the importance of historical and political context;

- respecting cultural rules; and

- privileging Indigenous voices (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016).

Kovach (2010) suggests four basic principles for researchers in Indigenous communities: respect, relevancy, reciprocity and responsibility. Arguably these principles are the same as

those proposed for ethical qualitative research, but many authors have argued that while Indigenous methodologies share common ground with qualitative research, especially in critical studies and participatory action research, there are four distinct features that need to be acknowledged – differences in ontology, epistemology, and axiology and the need for research to empower Indigenous people and redress issues of social justice (Berryman, SooHoo & Nevan, 2013; Botha, 2011; Chilisa, 2012; Dawson, Toombs & Mushquash, 2017; Edwards & Brannelly, 2017; Kovach, 2009; Schnedier & Kayseas, 2019).

Wilson (2001) proposes that, as a researcher researching a topic or issues, your own beliefs about that topic or issue (your ontology) must be established. Then your thoughts of how that reality can be examined and how knowledge of that reality can be communicated must be established (your epistemology). Finally, before determining a methodology, you must decide on your values and perspectives on what is ethical in research (your axiology). Indigenous methodologies differ, argues Chilisa (2012), because they explicitly recognise and are guided by the relevant Indigenous ontology, epistemology and axiology.

Conventional qualitative methods, whilst appropriate with adaptation to Indigenous methodologies, are still based on Western ontology. Western ontology assumes a single knowledge – and while there may be plural voices in conducting qualitative research, researchers still seek to distil that into a single explanation – whereas many Indigenous ontologies accept multiple co-existing realities or explanations (Botha 2011, Schneider & Kayseas 2018, Kovach, 2009). In Western research, knowledge can belong to an individual, typically the researcher, while in Indigenous ontologies knowledge is collective and belongs to those who are being researched (Kovach, 2009, Wilson, 2001; Keikelame & Swartz, 2019).

Indigenous methodologies, therefore, require researchers to situate themselves within the context of the communities and their culture, and to carefully and critically reflect on their personal worldviews. Situating oneself in the context of the research is essential in understanding how the people being researched make meaning of their lives and situation (Berryman & SooHoo, 2013). Similarly, Wilson (2008) identifies Indigenous ontology as one with multiple truths/realities since an Indigenous paradigm is rooted in the relationships that one has and is within the individual. Thus, Nicholls (2009) argues that researcher subjectivity should be fluid and not fixed, in order to be more reflexive. The Indigenous researcher has to first unlearn what is considered as normal in Western approaches to research in order to be more accommodating to Indigenous ontology which recognises that there is often more than one truth/meaning in any situation.

Louis (2007, p. 130) also argues that "research done on Indigenous issues should be carried out in a manner which is respectful and ethically sound from an Indigenous perspective". This links differences in ontology to differences in epistemology. Epistemology refers to how one thinks of the reality of a particular situation/event or situation. In conventional qualitative research, there is an assumption that the Western scientific method is the only way to identify knowledge, whereas in many Indigenous ontologies there are multiple ways to access knowledge (Schneider & Kayseas, 2018). Also, in many Indigenous ontologies knowledge is created and shared for the purpose of helping others with an expectation of reciprocity (Schneider & Kayseas, 2018) and is not generated or communicated just to build the researcher's career (Kovach, 2009).

It is very common for storytelling to be the main way knowledge is created and shared (Botha, 2011; Drawson et al., 2017; Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010). Stories are chosen because they have a particular structure that encourages sharing, they embed information in

everyday experience and they are aimed at helping the people in the situation (Kovach, 2010). Therefore, many Western data collection techniques such as structured surveys and interviews and focus groups are distressing to Indigenous people because they are unfamiliar, there is little or no reciprocity and no opportunity for the researched to tell their story their way (Edwards & Brannelly, 2017; Evans, Miller, Hutchinson & Dingwall, 2014). This makes them not just culturally inappropriate but also unethical and lacking in reliability and validity as they are unlikely to uncover very much about how the researched actually view the topic under study.

There are also differences between Western and Indigenous axiologies. Axiology is the morals or ethics that guide the research process. Cultural differences in values and social rules alter what is acceptable in research situations and this is especially linked to the issues of Western researchers continuing to portray Indigenous groups in a negative way. This can happen when researchers develop research questions from existing Western literature which is often very negative because it has been done without any consideration of historical or political contexts (Evans, Miller, Hutchinson & Dingwall, 2014; Berryman, Soohoo & Nevan, 2013). Drawson, Toombs and Mushquahs (2017, p. 1) make this point when they say that "portrayals of Indigenous communities in peer-reviewed literature have been problem focussed and deficits based". So, researchers need to be very self-critical and reflect on what they are assuming, why they are doing the research and how it benefits the researched (Kovach, 2009).

To evaluate previous research conducted on tourism in rural PNG (see Table 5.1) and compare the findings with those of the MRF-based study reported in Chapter 4, a set of principles for Indigenous research derived from the literature can be described as follows:

- Develop research aims and objectives with the researched communities so you are examining things that matter to them (Evans et al., 2014), and include the researched community in research decisions (Nicholls, 2009);

- Researchers should be self-reflective and ask why they want to do the research, who does it benefit, what assumptions are being made and where these come from (Botha, 2011; Nicholls, 2009; Berryman et al., 2013; Keikelame & Swartz, 2019);

- Use ethnographic data collection methods, especially semi-structured interviews and storytelling (Kovach, 2010; Nicholls, 2009, Drawson et al., 2017; Evans et al., 2014; Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010) and visual methods where possible (Edwards & Brannelly, 2017);

- Build and maintain long–term relationships based on trust (Kovach, 2009; Nicholls, 2009; Drawson et al., 2017);

- Use local language (Schneider & Kayseas, 2018; Drawson et al., 2017); and

- Return with the results and include time spent on developing real actions from the findings (Evans et al., 2014; Schneider & Kayseas, 2018).

In addition to these broader principles, it is also important to develop specific protocols matched to the specific culture being researched (Evans et al., 2014).

5.3 Linking the Melanesian Research Framework (MRF) to the Melanesian Way

As noted in the introductory chapter, Narokobi (1980, p. 20) in discussing the underlying Melanesian ontology, describes the 'Melanesian Way' as "a total cosmic vision of life in which every event within human consciousness has its personal, communal, spiritual, economic, political and social dimensions. It is, by its very nature, inherently open to change." Expanding on this, Gesh (2007) argues that modern Papua New Guineans constantly interpret their everyday experiences through two lenses: their traditional culture

and the modernisation associated with formal Western education and Christianity. Further to this discussion of the Melanesian Way, Vallance (2008) insists there is Melanesian axiology which supports research ethics built on collaboration action and community involvement, personal compassion and courage. Vallance (2012. p.4) proposes that a "Melanesian methodology requires an ontology that is grounded in relationships. A Melanesian ontology will foreground research questions that are holistic and integrative, respecting the cultures of participants." The Melanesian ontology considers interrelationships of and by the community. The Melanesian ontology should be able to allow the researcher to be sceptical of single factor responses since a Melanesian is not only mindful of her or his surroundings, but also of maintaining relationships. Any response is both a story and an explanation. For instance, at one of the sites visited, different women came and attended to different tasks at different times so during a conversation with the owner, I remarked that it was nice he had some helping hands, he replied saying they were his family. I then said he was lucky to have that kind of support. He smiled and said, "*They're all my wives, I have seven wives.*" Initially, when he said family, I assumed they were his relatives through a genealogical connection. This example emphasises that there is indeed more to a response, there is a story and an explanation, because multiple truths often exist simultaneously within Indigenous societies (Botha 2011; Schneider & Kayseas 2018; Kovach, 2009).

Franklin (2007) argues that a Melanesian methodology should be rooted in ten core Melanesian values which are:

- The value of land/river/sea (*graun* or *wara*), means that understanding ownership and stewardship over the natural resources offered as tourism products is critical to understanding community perspectives on tourism.

- The value of the clan (*haus lain*/*wantok*) – the value of maintaining relationships within clans and tribes in PNG is vital for survival, it is a form of social security and a foundation for social capital within rural communities in PNG, which means that understanding tourism development requires an understanding of the clan and tribal networks.

- The value of reciprocity (*bekim*, *bekim bek*) – the concept of reciprocity is closely linked to the value of clan and translates into an ethic of helping one another in times of need and returning the favour. In research, this means that researchers have reciprocal obligations – the communities help them with their research with an expectation that the researchers will give back something to the community.

- The value of food (*kaikai*, *mumu*) – the sharing of food is central to the culture of PNG, being hospitable to visitors, families and friends as a token of friendship, appreciation and goodwill. The sharing of food is an important protocol for researchers seeking to establish rapport, negotiation, consultation and during the storytelling moments.

- The value of ancestors (*tumbuna*, *tambaran*) – acknowledging ancestors guides how people within a village relate to each other. Either they could be descendants of the same ancestor or their ancestors are related. Acknowledgement of ancestors is something that researchers need to consider when interacting with these communities.

- The value of ritual (*taboo*, *singsing*, *lotu*) involves the preparation leading to an event or ceremony and sets out the actions that must be performed by those who initiate and those who participate in an event so the desired outcomes of the event will be achieved. A Melanesian methodology must acknowledge the value of ritual

by emphasising contact through the key people in a community, and using rituals, such as the sharing of food, to build trust and respect before the actual data collection process.

- The value of leadership (*hetman*) – an important element in rural communities is respecting and acknowledging the local leadership. Hence, an important component of a Melanesian methodology is identifying the key people before conducting research.

- The value of education (*skul*) – in contemporary PNG, there is a belief that education can lead to better and improved ways of living. For researchers, this suggests that researched communities would appreciate opportunities to learn from their participation in research.

- The value of compensation (*peiback*, *bekim*, *birua*) – compensation in the PNG context refers to giving some form of payment to someone or a group of people after causing grievance to them. The aim is to maintain peace so there are no tribal fights or ethnic clashes which usually end in bloody situations. Awareness of the importance of compensation would be critical to understanding patterns of interaction between communities involved in tourism.

- The value of work (*wok*) – Franklin (2007, pp. 28–37) refers to the importance of putting in effort and making sacrifices to achieve one's goal. It might be expected that a researcher must put in the effort to understand the cultural context of different societies by respecting them and be willing to working with them in a partnership that is facilitated through a continuous relationship.

Vallance (2012) asserts that there should be a Melanesian Research Methodology/Paradigm. Drawing on the scholarly work of Narokobi, (1983), Vallance

(2008, 2012) and Franklin (2007), Figure 4.1 is an illustration of this Melanesian Research Paradigm which combines Melanesian research ethics (axiology); Melanesian values (axiology) and the Melanesian Way (ontology). The Melanesian Research Framework (MRF) developed for this thesis (see Chapter 2) and applied to research in rural PNG (see Chapter 3) was designed based on this paradigm and includes the principles, protocols and expectations that govern the relationships which in turn guides the interactions between individuals within their communities and surroundings.

Melanesian Research Paradigm
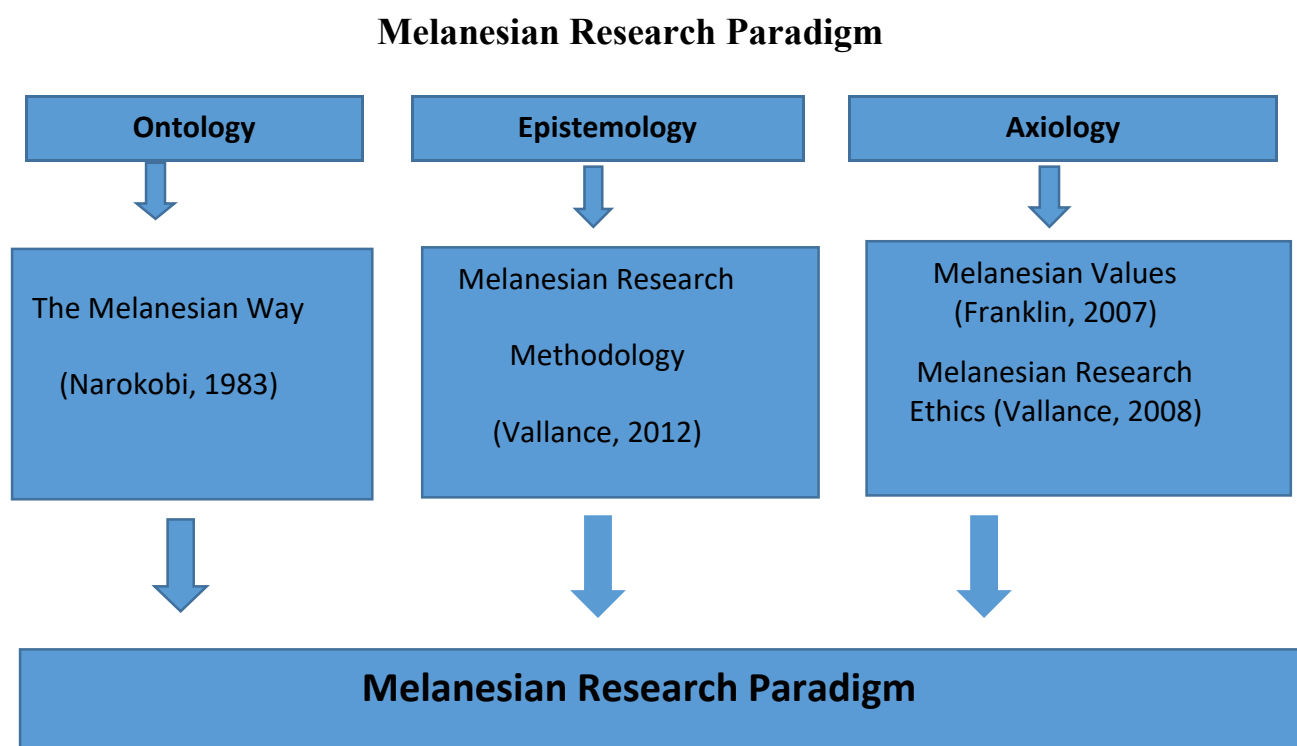
Figure 5.1: Melanesian Research Paradigm

The MRF (see Chapter 3 for its development and Chapter 4 for its application) offers some additional culture specific guidelines for researchers working in PNG including to:

- Identify the key people by asking specifically for village elders and village councillors;

- Show respect to potential participants as knowledge/information keepers and explicitly recognise that they have a key role to play in the research;

- Explicitly acknowledge that giving consent is the potential participant's choice;

- Express an intent for genuine friendship by offering small gifts;

- Seek clarification on matters that are unclear, especially if there are taboos when visiting certain sites, witnessing rituals, meetings, or even when in the presence of the elders;

- Ensure the purpose of the visit is clearly and honestly communicated to potential participants;

- If using a middle person to initially set up the meeting, ensure that when the researchers meet the community personally, they reiterate the purpose of the visit, creating the opportunity to rectify any miscommunicated messages and perceptions;

- Recognise that women might not be available during certain times of the day, and some are not comfortable discussing issues in the presence of males; and

- Acknowledge the informants or people in the community who assisted in connecting you to the key people.

5.4 Principles for an Indigenous Approach to Tourism Research in Rural PNG

Based on these guidelines from the MRF and the guidelines and suggestions from the broader literature on Indigenous methodologies, the following is the final list of principles and/or characteristics that can be used to assess previous tourism research in rural PNG.

- Build and maintain long-term relationships based on trust (Kovach, 2009; Nicholls, 2009; Drawson et al., 2017).

- Develop research aims and objectives with the researched communities so you are examining things that matter to them, privilege the voice of the Indigenous participants over others, ensure the purpose of the research is clearly and honestly communicated to potential participants and include the researched in research decisions (Evans et al., 2014; Nicholls, 2009).

- Be self-reflective and ask why you want to do the research, who does it benefit, what assumptions are being made and where these come from and report on these exercises in the discussion of the method and its development (Botha, 2011; Nicholls, 2009; Berryman et al., 2013; Keikelame & Swartz, 2019).

- Identify the key people by asking specifically for village elders and village councillors.

- Seek clarification on matters that are unclear, especially if there are taboos when visiting certain sites, witnessing rituals, meetings, or even when in the presence of the elders.

- Identify and engage in appropriate rituals such as food sharing to build the necessary relationships.

- If using a middle person to set up initial meeting, ensure when the researchers meet the community personally, they reiterate the purpose of the visit, creating the opportunity to rectify any miscommunicated messages and perceptions.

- Use ethnographic data collection methods, especially semi-structured interviews and storytelling, with visual methods where possible (Edwards & Brannelly, 2017;

Kovach, 2010; Nicholls, 2009; Drawson et al., 2017; Evans et al., 2014; Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010).

- Recognise that women might not be available during certain times of the day, and some are not comfortable discussing issues in the presence of males.

- Use local language (Schneider & Kayseas, 2018; Drawson et al., 2017).

- Return with the results and include time spent on developing real actions from the findings (Evans et al., 2014; Schneider & Kayseas, 2018).

5.5 Evaluating Previous Tourism Research in Rural PNG

Table 5.1 provides a summary of the previous published tourism studies that were focused on rural areas in PNG. The purpose of this analysis is to explore how the conclusions produced from research conducted through a Western lens might be different those generated from using a Melanesian Research Framework. The first part of this exploratory analysis examined the extent to which these studies used the procedural research elements identified in the list in the previous section. Studies are presented in chronological order except for when they are part of a single ongoing project.

Table 5.1: Summary of Methodological Features of Previous Tourism Studies in Rural PNG

Study	How was the research introduced to the community? Through key people or leaders?	What power did the communities have in the research design	Did they engage in rituals such as food sharing?	Data collection methods Conducted in which language?	Recognise gender issues?
*Wearing & McDonald, 2002 Wearing, Wearing & McDonald, 2010 Wearing et al., 2009 Reggers et al., 2013 Reggers et al., 2016.	Not clearly described but appears to be through formal connections between the village communities and the Kokoda Track Authority. Ongoing relationships were established	Some	No, most of the research was conducted in more structured workshops and meetings often in a central location away from actual villages	Informal conversations /observations. Social mapping through workshops. Participatory. Rural appraisal Semi-structured interviews in English and basic Tok Pisin	Yes but only in one section of one paper
Halvaksz, 2006	Not mentioned	None	No	Informal discussions/ observations. Language not mentioned, most likely used a translator	No
Martin, 2008	Not mentioned	None	No	Observation/ semi-structured interview in English	No
Bohensky, Butler & Mitchell, 2011	Despite using the phrase stakeholder community, no local community members or leaders were involved	None	No	Structured questionnaires as part of a scenario planning workshop in English	No
Rayel, 2012	Not mentioned	None	No	Structured questionnaire-based survey. Language not mentioned but assume Tok Pisin as it was a self-completion questionnaire	No
Silverman, 2012	Long-term relationship with community	None	Researcher is considered family	Review of film, ethnographic field notes, informal conversations in basic Tok Pisin	Yes
Silverman, 2013	Long-term relationship with community	None	Researcher is considered family	Ethnographic field notes in basic Tok Pisin	Yes
Sakata & Prideaux, 2013	Not clear	None	No	Informal conversations /storytelling in English	No
O'Brien & Ponting, 2013	Through the president of PNG Surfing Assoc.	None	No	Informal discussions/ observations in English	No

Table: 4.1 cont'd

Guaigu, 2014	Direct with the lodge owner	None	No	Case study approach. Semi-structured interviews/ observations/ field notes. Doesn't state language used	No
N'Drower , 2014	Through Provincial Tourism Bureau	None	No	Informal conversations /observations in Tok Pisin	No
MacCarthy, 2016	None mentioned	None	Indirectly by acting as a tourist not as a researcher	Ethnography Informal conversations /observations in English	No
Diedrich, Benham, Pandihau & Sheaves, 2019	Not mentioned	None	No	Structured questionnaire-based survey in Tok Pisin	No

*These papers were all part of a long-term project to develop a strategy for developing and managing the Kokoda Track.

Overall, the table indicates the majority of tourism research conducted in rural PNG could be classified as what Kovach (2010, p. 28) has called a "smash and grab" research approach with only Silverman (2012, 2013) and Wearing and colleagues reporting on any self-reflection about why they were conducting the research, what assumptions they were making or how their presence as a researcher might impact on the researched communities. No studies reported returning to the community with their findings, and only a few (with the exception of Martin (2008), Silverman (2012, 2013), and Wearing and colleagues (2010)) appeared to establish a long-term relationship with the researched communities. Most, did use qualitative, especially ethnographic, data collection techniques but these were conducted as more standard Western data collection exercises in terms of the degree of power afforded to the researched to influence the research process. The few exceptions to those techniques used structured quantitative data collection techniques (Bohensky et al., 2011; Rayel, 2012; Deidrich et al., 2019). Only one study (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013) used a traditional storytelling technique. On the one hand this is not surprising as none of

the studies claimed to be taking an Indigenous approach. On the other hand, most (except for the anthropological studies of Martin (2008), Silverman (2012, 2013) and MacCarthy (2016) which focused on understanding anthropological concepts connected to tourism) claimed to be interested in understanding community perspectives on tourism as a whole or some aspect of that tourism, presupposing a desire to document tourism realities as the participants in tourism in PNG saw them. Despite this basic motivation for much of the research, there was very little recognition of any potential differences in ontology or much attention paid to ensuring local community members were at least comfortable in the research situation.

The first part of the evaluation looked at most of the principles for Indigenous research in rural PNG listed in section 5.4, except for the development of the research aims and the focus on action oriented results which are two principles linked to empowering Indigenous communities and privileging Indigenous voices. The second part of the evaluation focused on why the research was done, how the research questions were generated and the assumptions made about knowledge, power and role of the rural communities in the research process and about the nature of tourism as a development option. Table 5.2 summarises the main research questions or objectives, findings, and conclusions reported in the existing published tourism in rural PNG studies and considers whether or not the studies discussed specific benefits for the researched communities.

Table 5.2: Summary of Research Aims, Findings, Conclusions and Benefits of Previous Tourism Studies in Rural PNG

Study	Research Objectives/ Questions	Main Findings	Main Conclusions	Benefits for the Destination Communities
Wearing & McDonald, 2002 Wearing, Wearing & McDonald, 2010 Wearing et al., 2009 Reggers et al., 2013 Reggers et al., 2016.	Invoke a Foucauldian framework in order to rethink the development of CBT in PNG and explore the power relations in and between local villages and outside tour operators on the Kokoda Track. Demonstrate the value of a Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach.	Development agents and tour operators in developing ecotourism should be guided by the principles of participatory research suggested by authors: Language, ways of inquiry, participation, presentation A bottom up approach to power relations in sustainable tourism development (STD) is most effective	Community-based tourism or ecotourism must strike a balance between conservation and development – between the old forms of knowledge and the new. Tourism control must lie in the hands of the communities themselves. Acknowledging power from below as resistance and renegotiation allows for the potential emancipation of underprivileged actors such as destination communities.	
Halvaksz, 2006	Comparing the expectations of local tourists to that of international tourists within a local context of being hosted	The relationships that were established between local tourists and their hosts failed to meet their expectations of reciprocity	The distinctive experience of being a tourist reflects emerging dimensions of traditional societies who now have to interact with more outsiders in less clear relationships	None
Martin, 2008	Cultural practices and relationships influenced by economic gains from tourism	Tourism has caused locals to have different interpretations of their own culture. Identifying the real cultural leaders is vital to avoid any misunderstanding	Culture is not serving its purpose and is used only for economic gain. E.g. the tumbuans taking part in the mask festival	None
Bohensky, Butler & Mitchell, 2011	Use a scenario planning exercise to explore possible futures for ecotourism in Milne Bay (with ecotourism assumed to be an incentive for local support for conservation including reducing or eliminating harvesting of marine resources)	The process revealed that building social networks and partnerships was particularly important for ecotourism, as well as the need for codes of practice and a better understanding of the value chain	The workshops facilitated the development of networks that could be used for further activities related to progressing ecosystem management of marine and terrestrial assets	None
Rayel, 2012	Explore the relationship between local community involvement in trekking operations and their perceptions of tourism versus mining operations	Perceptions of tourism are affected by the level of involvement of the community in existing tourism, with more positive responses to tourism than mining. Tourism was not associated with many negative impacts	Local community involvement in tourism should be encouraged and a regulatory body formed to ensure local people benefit from tourism	None specific to the actual communities but the conclusions are broadly supportive of tourism over mining as a development option

Table 5.2: Summary of Research Aims, Findings, Conclusions and Benefits of Previous Tourism Studies in Rural PNG cont'd

Silverman, 2012	Demonstrate that Sepik River tourist art is not a meaningless trinket but complex aesthetic expressions of postcolonial identity	Tourism has ceased, leaving the villages with less income and resources. They have incorporated tourism into their beliefs about death and spirit world (cargo cult)	External views of Sepik River tourism deny Indigenous agency, underestimate the value of the tourism in economic terms and often misrepresent the perspective of tourism by the inhabitants along Sepik River	**None explicitly discussed but it is implied that tourism can have benefits for rural PNG villages**
Silverman, 2013	To explore the impact of Sepik River cruise tourism on changes to cultural practices in the Sepik River villages	Tourism communities are caught in between the traditional spiritual realm, Christianity and modernization in the form of economic status	Tourism allows local people to express artistically messages about gender, identity and sociality in the Melanesian post colony. Community greatly affected when tourism ceased, community understood tourism as the life saver for its economic needs.	None explicitly discussed, but there is awareness of the researcher's lack of ability to provide guidance on how to get the tourists to return
Sakata & Prideaux, 2013	To identify community-defined positive/ negative impacts of community participation processes	Tourism is not seen as a means of being economically self-reliant. It is better to have individual ownership then collective	The community-based ecotourism initiative reflected a social enterprise indicating strong community agency	None explicitly discussed, it was implied that better outcomes were associated with strong community agency & individual rather than collective ownership
O'Brien & Ponting, 2013	How can surf tourism be managed to achieve sustainable host community benefits?	A sustainable surf tourism strategy needs to move away from Western business models, have formal long-term coordinated planning, systematic attempts to foster cross-cultural understanding, and village level sport development		None explicitly discussed for the villages, most of the action were directed at the Surfing Association
Guaigu, 2014	To investigate participants' perceptions of governance in the operations of the ecotourism venture	The LLG structure is ineffective. Conservation laws are not being enforced. Rainforests are an essential part of rural people's life	Ecotourism venture was successful. Good network with urban tourism & hospitality operators. Conflicts were sorted out using both customary and modern systems	None
N'Drower, 2014	To explore the understanding of tourism operators/ tourism resource owners of the concept of sustainable tourism	Methods of conservation and environmental preservation were already being practiced before the notion of sustainability was officially documented	Sustainable practices are already embedded in the traditional way of life and there is evidence that sustainable practices are being practiced in rural tourism.	None
MacCarthy, 2016	Analyse tourists' understanding of authentic cultural experiences in the context of extended village stays	The lack of tourism development and the absence of other tourists contributes to the perceptions of authenticity	Cultural experiences are commodified in tourism	None

| Diedrich, Benham, Pandihau & Sheaves, 2019 | Understand factors that influence people's perceived transition to sportfishing tourism as an alternative livelihood | Social capital was most highly associated with villagers' perceptions that they could take up sportfishing opportunities | Social capital is important to support villagers taking up sportfishing tourism as an alternative livelihood to subsistence fishing | None, the recommendations were directed at those wanting to change village practices rather than at the villagers themselves |

Consistent with the previous table and discussion, none of the existing published studies developed their research questions or objectives after consultation with the destination communities relevant to the research aims. All researchers came into the setting with a research question or objective they developed from their own personal agendas based on a reading of academic literature that they considered to be relevant to the question or objective they had already chosen. With the exception of the Wearing and colleagues Kokoda Trail research studies, none of these previous studies explicitly discussed actions that could improve the wellbeing of, or empower, the relevant destination communities. Arguably the majority of the studies actually gave the relevant destination community no agency or power in the research at all and several privileged the voices of external actors including tour operators, conservation agencies and tourists beyond those of the destination communities. To discuss these issues further it is useful to classify the previous studies into four groups: traditional anthropological studies of concepts related to tourism (Halvaksz, 2006; Martin, 2008; Silverman, 2012, 2103; MacCarthy, 2016); quantitative studies linked to external conservation agency programmes (Bohensky et al., 2011; Diedrich et al., 2019); studies focused on sustainable tourism or community-based tourism development in general (Rayel, 2012; Sakata & Prideaux, 2013; O'Brien & Ponting, 2013; N'Drower, 2014; Guaigu, 2014); and studies linked to consultation and the development of tourism through the Kokoda Track Authority (Wearing & McDonald, 2002;Wearing, Wearing & McDonald, 2010; Wearing et al., 2009; Reggers et al., 2013; Reggers et al., 2016).

The traditional anthropological studies were explicitly concerned with analysing tourism related concepts and chose to do this within the context of rural PNG villages. They were not specifically interested in what the local residents thought about tourism in general, nor were they interested in assisting the destination communities to manage and/or benefit from tourism, so it was not surprising to find little or no attention paid to implications for villagers seeking to further develop tourism. For example, the Halvaksz (2006) study looked at local villagers as domestic tourists travelling to other villages for church celebrations and a bride price event. The author describes the excitement and expectations of these local tourists as they start their journey and their expectations of either being given large parcels of food and pork from the host village responsible for organising the church celebration or being treated as important in the case of the bride price event. In both cases, the local tourists were disappointed with the host community not meeting their expectations.

The author sought to explain these problems with concepts linked to family disagreements. Vallance (2012, p. 4), warns that "a Melanesian ontology will respect the wide questions about community and inter-relationships, while being sceptical of single factor explanations", suggesting that the researcher needed to explore relational ties and pre-travel communication between the hosts and the visitors in more detail. It must be understood that in PNG's cultural context, bride price ceremonies are major events that involve months of planning and negotiating to ensure both parties are ready for each other, and that disagreements and conflicts are solved before the event takes place. It seems likely that there were more complex forces at work in the disagreements than what was observed by the researcher.

Disagreements over events were also explored in Martin's (2008) study but it focused on the concept of cultural commodification or the commercialisation of culture for tourist

audiences. This issue of authenticity in cultural presentations and interactions with tourists was a strong theme in all the other anthropological studies. MacCarthy (2016) examined this from the perspective of tourists and so offered little direction to the host communities on how they might manage this aspect of tourism. The concepts of cultural commodification and authenticity were examined by Silverman's (2012, 2013). The 2012 study focused on a review of a film titled *Cannibal Tours*, a documentary on tourism along the Sepik River which portrayed tourism as an exploiter of the villages along the Sepik River that take part in tourism and a force for the creation of low quality art as souvenirs for sale. Silverman argues this is an inappropriate portrayal of the villagers, noting it denies them agency in the creation of their own art and that from an anthropological point of view the carvings being created and sold to tourists reflect the identity process the villages have gone through in response to modernity. Hence, some carvers have integrated modern features such as clocks.

Although these two papers are focused on the issue of cultural and artistic commodification, Silverman reports on the consequences for these villages of the loss of tourism with the ending of the cruise operations. The locals have suffered greatly as they relied on tourism for its economic benefits and for its links to the wider world. Silverman describes how the locals have become so desperate they have embedded tourism into their beliefs and practices around the dead, portraying their ancestors' ghosts as tourists bringing them goods that will fulfil their needs. Burying the dead and farewelling them through rituals and feasts is an important component of all cultures in PNG. The Melanesian Philosophy includes close and connected relationships between people, spirituality, the human world and the physical world (see Chapter 1). The dead when gone are believed to join the spirit world and are still connected to their loved ones in spirit form. They are called upon for their role as the mediators between the living and an invisible higher being.

When a Papua New Guinean calls upon a dead family member, is not about asking for a physical response to a request, it is a matter of expressing one's concern to their loved one, similar to a friend sharing concerns with another friend in a conversation. After visiting this particular region in PNG for over a decade, Silverman (2012) notes the importance of tourism is reflected in its inclusion into these beliefs and rituals linked to communicating with the spirit world. Although not focused on tourism development, Silverman (2013) does point out that the locals are often misrepresented in discussions of tourism impact and they are not given sufficient power or agency to represent themselves in discussions of tourism development.

The two studies linked to conservation agencies (Bohensky et al. (2011) and Diedrich et al. (2019)) were also the studies that engaged in most of the actions considered to be problematic by proponents of both ethical research across cultures in general and of relevant Indigenous methodologies. Both used highly structured quantitative methodologies that were unlikely to be familiar to the targeted respondents, both assumed no gender or social structural differences amongst individuals in the communities they researched, both exhibited no awareness of the need for collective and individual consent for participation and neither offered any opportunity for the researched communities to offer any input into the research process, nor did they offer action oriented recommendations to benefit the community. Both research methodologies actually disempowered the relevant destination communities. The Bohensky et al. (2011) study argued that it was aimed at developing future scenarios around ecotourism with input from relevant stakeholders but then invited only existing ecotourism operators, who were mostly external to the region and it is unclear if any of the participants were in fact local villagers. Both studies uncritically assumed both that the form of tourism, either ecotourism or sport fishing tourism, they were advocating would be beneficial for the local villagers and that

treating the villagers and their environment as resources for tourism was a valid justification for the research. This tourism-centric bias has been criticised elsewhere as a major force for unsustainable tourism (Moscardo & Murphy, 2014; Saarinen, 2014; Sharpley, 2000). Although not stated explicitly, both these studies were part of larger projects concerned with establishing conservation areas and programs that would restrict traditional access and use and it is hard not see these studies as ways to justify new forms of colonialism (see Devine and Ojeda (2017), Holmes (2014), Pearson, Ellingrod, Billo, and McSweeney (2019) for further discussion of this issue).

This uncritical acceptance of tourism as positive force for community development is also apparent in some of the studies in the third group of research focused specifically on understanding how destination communities see tourism. An example of this is O'Brien and Ponting's (2013) paper with their unstated and untested assumption that the development of surf tourism is a desirable option for rural PNG communities, although they do recognise the need to think about how to manage this form of tourism in a more sustainable way. The authors identified from the literature a set of factors for development processes in peripheral areas and then used these to code responses to interviews. Not surprisingly, they found evidence to support the existence of these factors, but no others. The study revealed that the model used by the Surfing Association of PNG within its network was different to the Western business models and seemed to be working well. However, the study did not comment on how the community is engaged in the economic benefits of tourism or their view of tourism beyond surf tourism.

Taking a different approach to the other studies in this group, Rayel's (2012) study compared destination community perceptions of existing tourism trekking developments to perceptions of proposed mining. Overall the study suggested more positive views of tourism than mining with tourism mostly linked to positive impacts across a number of

domains. The stated purpose of Sakata and Prideaux's (2013) study was to identify community-defined positive and negative impacts of community participation processes. Thus, they were not directly interested in the tourism development, but rather the processes for community participation in that development. As with the other studies in this group, there was an unstated assumption that tourism was a desirable development option for these communities. The authors employed in-depth semi-structured interviews through storytelling. They concluded that, according to the participants from the island, tourism is not seen as a means of being economically self-reliant, but rather an addition to existing activities. It was also suggested that it was better to have individual ownership than collective as it is faster to implement things with individuals and doing things collectively slows down the development process. The respondents argued, however, that the community still needs to play a supportive role. Again the article doesn't specify who benefits from the research, and in particular, does not mention any benefits to the community that was visited.

Guaigu (2014) outlines the lack of effective tourism governance, especially at the local level (village) due to the ineffectiveness of the LLG structure and the poor service delivery mechanism currently in place and as a result village conflicts are being resolved using both modern and customary practices. Guaigu also illustrated through a case study analysis of an ecotourism lodge that local enterprises are using their own resources to operate without proper regulating policies. These resources include family and professional networks, flora and fauna and culture. However, the operators of ecotourism lodge referred to in the study are aware of the importance of the rainforest environment in which the lodge is located, since tourist activities are centred in the rainforest and as such, the lodge operators have created their own regulations for tourists/visitors to follow to protect the local rainforest.

N'Drower (2014) demonstrates that methods of conservation and environmental preservation were already being practiced before the notion of sustainability was officially documented. The study employed semi-structured interviews and observation. The study did not specify if the communities visited would benefit from the research, furthermore, the researcher did not revisit the communities to maintain the relationship with them or share the findings directly with them.

The final group of studies were those of Wearing and colleagues centred on the villagers in and around the Kokoda Trail and conducted to provide advice to the Kokoda Trail Authority on the further development and ongoing management of this tourist activity. This group of studies came closest to an Indigenous Methodology, beginning with ethnographic methodologies and moving to a participatory rural appraisal process similar to participatory action research methods which have been recognised as being very close in ethos and process to many Indigenous research approaches (Johnston-Goodstar, 2013; Jordan & Kapoor, 2016). The first study in the series (Wearing & McDonald, 2002) argued that the development of ecotourism needed to be guided by the principles of participatory research including the use of local language, recognition of local ways of inquiry, and encouraging village participation. This particular study found that miscommunication and inappropriate prior assumptions by external development agents and tour operators lead to conflicts between them and the local communities. The authors used informal conversations and observations as the technique to collect data facilitated through participatory research. The study does highlight that in order to have a balance between development and conservation, the community must have the power over decisions.

The Wearing, Wearing and McDonald (2010) study continued to explore power relations in and between local villages and outside tour operators on the Kokoda Track. This study began a series of papers reporting on the use of a type of participatory research and social

mapping workshops. It was concluded that a bottom up approach to power relations is desirable if sustainable tourism development (STD) is to be achieved and embraced by local community members, especially those involved in tourism. The study emphasised that there is a need for democratic approaches in STD. Despite these calls for village empowerment in tourism, the locals who did participate in the workshops were still surrounded by outside forces raising questions about the extent to which the voices of the locals were given privilege over those of the outsiders during the workshop.

The final part of the evaluation of the previous studies on tourism in rural PNG examined the extent to which Melanesian values listed by Franklin (2007) were acknowledged or uncovered in the previous studies and in the MRF study. None of the previous published studies on tourism in rural PNG recognised, either implicitly or explicitly, these Melanesian values in the development of their research methodology. By way of contrast, the MRF study explicitly incorporated several of Franklin's (2007) Melanesian Values into the data collection process including the value of food (*kaikai*), the value of ritual (*taboo*), the value of leadership (*hetman*), and the value of reciprocity (*bekim*). The sharing of food between two parties signifies the sealing of a relationship. Sharing of food and tea was a constant occurrence that took place in every tourism site visited during the study. Food sharing took various forms; cooking an actual meal together, having biscuits for morning tea or sharing buns for afternoon tea with either a cup of tea or glass of cordial. The offering of betel nut with mustard sticks and tobacco also played a vital role in the introduction process when visiting each site and facilitated the establishing of rapport between the researcher and the participants. While not everyone chews betel nut, they did all take part in the sharing of food.

The concept of traditional ritual (*taboo*) is practiced when important events occur such as a birth of child, a death, children going into adolescence or visiting an area for the first time. I was aware of these possibilities and took care to respond appropriately when such

events were encountered. For example, I had personal experience with this value while collecting data in Chimbu. The family that hosted me lived along a major river in Chimbu that flows from Mt Wilhem.

I was being accompanied to the river by one of the daughters of the family. The daughter was leading me to their usual bathing spot which was right next to the house. As we approached the spot and were about to settle ourselves, the mother of the house came out and called after us to not use the spot. She scolded her daughter for taking me there, and the daughter grinned and said, 'I forgot that you're new here'. The mother explained that the spot has some invisible people living there and they tend to show themselves to new people, scaring them. She said I had not been introduced to these invisible people and she did not want me to have a bad experience. The daughter and I were advised to bathe further away and in a more open space.

If they had introduced me to these invisible people, the ritual would have involved one of the family members taking me to that specific spot and introducing me stating my name, why I was there and that I am a friend of the family. All of this would have been done in the family's local vernacular with the person who was introducing me slowly howling the words in a loud voice.

The value of leadership was incorporated through the processes of identifying and formally seeking approval for the research visits through the appropriate leaders in the researched communities (as described in Chapter 3). The value of reciprocity is evident in the final stages of the MRF.

After completing my PhD studies, I plan to revisit the communities/villages and share the findings from my PhD journey in the form of a report. The contents of the report will be drawn from the shared stories, experiences and aspirations of the respective communities.

I am of the opinion that in order for the findings to be shared equally, an oral presentation with the help of a PowerPoint presentation should accompany the report. This is to ensure that those interested are able to clearly understand the report. The report will be written in English; however, the presentation will be conducted in Tok Pisin. This will be an opportunity for me to share a meal with them and thank them for allowing me visit their homes, village and community. It will also be an opportunity for me to catch up with them and listen to their latest tourism stories in a Melanesian Way.

In addition to the use of the values in the design of the research, several values also emerged from the conversations and tourism stories told by the research participants in the MRF study. For example, the value of land, river and sea are important values for any Papua New Guinean, owning land gives a person not only a form of security but identity as well. It is to the land that Papua New Guineans belong, which as part of the Melanesian philosophy forms the physical environment. This is clearly demonstrated in some of the participants' responses, "*the land is family owned through traditional land rights*", while another participant from a different site claimed individual rights to the land where he has built his cultural centre, "*I didn't consult anyone because this is my land*". A cultural centre owner at another site stated, "*This is my customary land, I acquired it through ancestral ties.*"

Franklin (2007) in his proposed ten Melanesian values includes clan, compensation and reciprocity as values. Clan unity and identity was also important, it acts as a blanket for social security and physical safety. In PNG, clans join to make a tribe and hence, a village. Within clans, the practice of reciprocity is common, help is rendered to someone in need which becomes a favour that is owed to the render. Clan identity is also obvious in times of ceremonies and compensation claims. Compensation is done usually to maintain peace

between two conflicting clans or villages. These values were evident in the statements of participants in this study. One participant pointed out, "*Our village is made up of two clans and both clans are involved.*" While another tourism operator said the community is supportive of tourism because it offers "*casual employment for people from different clans*". This operator also said she gathers support by "*taking part in community obligations such as compensation claims*". A different operator shared similar sentiments, saying, "*The community is supportive, and they understand that tourism brings in money, people here have a good attitude even towards solving conflicts. The different clans are invited to help out.*"

Leadership is another one of Melanesian values in Franklin's (2007) list. Recognition of leadership is important in maintaining peace and harmony. Usually it is the clan elders who are acknowledged as the leaders and along with that comes respect for authority. A spokesman from a participating CBT village was asked if his society's traditional structure was considered when they first thought of going into tourism. He replied, "*Yes, we did consult our elders/our fathers. They guide us, give us advice because they are older and have more experience.*" Another representative commented, "*Respect for elders. Respect is a key element in discussions and promoting peace.*"

The traditional life of villagers is centred around the spiritual realm which is linked to stories of ancestors and how some cultural practices came to be. A man from Asaro (EHP1) spoke of how the Asaro Mud Man came to be and how it, consequently, has become a tourist icon for Eastern Highlands. "*One of our ancestors accidently fell and was covered in mud and when he stood up, our tribal enemy fled, thinking he was a spirit. So the dance is done in remembrance of that.*"

Some of these Melanesian values did emerge in the results of the previous tourism studies, although no study discussed more than three values. Not surprisingly, the studies most likely to report on Melanesian values were those conducted by anthropologists, with discussions of reciprocity, ritual, clan identity being the most common (Halvaksz, 2006; Martin, 2008; MacCarthy, 2016). These values, as well as ancestors, were also discussed by Silverman (2012, 2013). No Melanesian values emerged in either of the two conservation oriented studies (Bohensky et al., 2011; Diedrich et al., 2019) reflecting both studies' portrayal of local communities as resources for tourism rather than tourism as a tool for the communities. Diedrich and colleagues (2019) did mention reciprocity and leadership but as elements of Western systems of measuring social capital not as Melanesian values of importance to the local communities. Melanesian values were not discussed at all in the studies by Rayel (2012), Sakata and Prideaux (2013) and N'Drower (2014). However, Guaigu (2014) pointed out that because of the ineffectiveness of the LLG structure, locals tend to rely on their cultural practices in resolving differences. This links with the Melanesian value of clan (*haus lain/wantok*), the value of maintaining relationships within clans and tribes. Despite using methods most closely aligned to the Indigenous research principles and having the direct research aim of understanding local perspectives, the series of studies by Wearing and colleagues (Wearing & McDonald, 2002; Wearing et al., 2009; Wearing et al., 2010; Reggers et al., 2013; Reggers et al., 2016) analysing community involvement in tourism along the Kokoda Track reported very few findings that could be linked to any of the Melanesian values.

5.6 Overall Findings on Community Perspectives on Tourism Development in Rural PNG

Table 5.3 provides a summary of the findings about how destination communities perceive tourism and its impacts and opportunities reported in previous studies on tourism development in rural PNG

matched to findings emerging from the MRF study. Many of the previous studies talked about the need for local communities to have greater power in the development process. Ironically though, these conclusions were drawn by the researchers rather than being reported by the participants and in most cases the researchers were conducting the research as part of larger externally driven development activities. The process of these research studies was often disempowering for the local communities and typically assumed a deficit model of development in general. With a focus on villages that had voluntarily taken on tourism projects on their own and, not surprisingly, the MRF study found evidence of the same conclusions drawn by the previous studies, but also much more. Emerging themes in the MRF study connected to entrepreneurial innovation, the value of tourism styles that made good use of existing resources and could be fitted easily into sustainable livelihoods, the strong connections between development decisions and reference back to core values of clan identity, community cooperation and leadership, and aspirations for low scale tourism using mostly existing facilities that blends into the everyday life of the destination village. Yet, none of these themes were discussed in any of the previous literature.

Table 5.3: Main Findings from Previous Research Compared to the MRF Study

Finding	Previous Studies	MRF
Positive view of tourism with little reporting of negative impacts	Sakata & Prideaux, 2013	Yes
External tour operators and agents create conflict and challenge	Wearing & McDonald, 2002; Wearing et al., 2010	Yes
Gender issues in tourism involvement	Silverman, 2012; Wearing & McDonald, 2002; Wearing et al., 2010	Yes
Need for education and training	Bohensky et al., 2011; Sakata & Prideaux, 2013	Yes
Need community cooperation, support and reciprocity	Wearing & McDonald, 2002; Wearing et al., 2010; Deidrich et al., 2019;	Yes

5.7 Reflection on Melanesian Research Framework

Responses from participants mirrored at least nine of the ten Melanesian values proposed by Franklin (2007). This could be because the framework allowed the participants to be comfortable while taking part in the research. The values acknowledged by the participants are significant, especially in relation to concerns shaping how they would react to situations experienced in their daily lives. This in turn gives an indication as to how they would react towards outside influencers entering into their space. The MRF also revealed a more complex set of community perspectives on, and responses to, tourism than that reported in previous research.

The framework is applicable to the rural areas but whether or not it fulfils its purpose will depend on the sincerity of the lead researcher and the openness of the researcher in terms of not having preconceived views and assumptions about the community she or he is visiting. Over the years, Papua New Guineans, especially in rural areas, have been subjected to both the positive and negative consequences of allowing outsiders, both expatriates and PNG nationals, into their homes and communities. Hence, establishing a favourable rapport between the researcher and the community is essential from the start as this will determine the rest of the research journey.

The Melanesian Research Framework in this research experience seems practical when applied in a community setting. The sharing of information and offering of friendship is communal in PNG, hence, information about the research and the researcher's purpose of visiting is directly communicated to the potential participants by the researcher, avoiding any misunderstanding or miscommunication which may occur when different parties are involved.

I, as a Papua New Guinean female, was conscious of expected cultural behaviour when visiting the communities and as a precautionary measure, I invited male colleagues to accompany me. This was to create a comfortable atmosphere for the male participants who might not be comfortable meeting with a woman. In some traditional societies, males do not speak directly to females who are not related to them, so in such situations it would be necessary for a female researcher to have a male escort.

The Melanesian Research Framework can be used as an alternative approach by other researchers. The MRF proposes a way forward to ensure research is embraced by both the researcher and rural Papua New Guineans, so participants are able to contribute meaningfully to research. In order to encourage genuine participation, when they visit these communities, researchers must show they are genuine and can be trusted. Researchers are accountable for the information they collect and should be responsible in ensuring the information collected will not disadvantage the communities in any way.

The MRF can be used by both nationals and expatriates, however, for the expatriates it must be mentioned that communication can be a barrier, and a translator could be deemed as necessary. Having prior knowledge of the communities, geographically and culturally is essential. Access to some of these rural communities can be challenging because of their remoteness; it also advisable to learn and be aware of their culturally practices. Being aware of another community/village's cultural practices also applies to Indigenous Papua

New Guineans, as PNG is diverse in its cultural heritage. One important thing to remember as a rule of thumb is that in PNG, roles of males and females are very clearly defined and differentiated and linked to clear expectations.

5.8 Potential challenges for the Melanesian Research Framework

5.8.1 Time consuming

The experience gained from applying the MRF is that it can be time consuming and therefore, will be a challenge for some researchers, particularly those with tight schedules. For example, it was expected that storytelling would take about thirty to forty minutes in each location. However, in some instances the conversations went on for more than an hour. This can make it difficult to juggle the need to allow individual participants and groups time and space to tell their stories and yet still find time to meet with equally important participants in other villages and complete the data collection portion of the study. Furthermore, participants in the villages usually have daily responsibilities especially during the day: gardening, hunting and fishing or going to the markets to sell their produce from the gardens. These are activities they must do to sustain their livelihood and this can make it difficult to schedule the storytelling sessions.

5.8.2 Cost consideration

An important element of the MRF is the sharing of food between the research party and the community. This is part of establishing a rapport between the two parties with the ultimate aim of creating a friendship with a bond that is founded on trust, respect and genuineness. The friendship should be comfortable enough to allow the participants to feel they are equal partners throughout the research process and that there is always room for negotiation. Researchers will have to consider the cost of purchasing food items for the purpose of initiating the research framework; this becomes costly when there are a number

of different communities to visit. Furthermore, the length of time taken during storytelling may require more resources to be used and may go over the allocated budget for each community since the researcher may be required to stay longer than anticipated.

Transportation in PNG is costly since the main mode of transport is by air. In particular, it can be very costly to reach some very remote communities. In some instances, it would require utilising all modes of transport to reach your destination. In addition to that is the cost of safety. It is advisable to take companions who are familiar with the local community, and having more people will incur a greater financial cost.

5.8.3 Reconfirming the findings

An important feature of the MRF, or any Indigenous research method for that matter, is to reconfirm the research findings with the participants before reporting the findings to the wider community outside of the participants' sphere. Drawing on the experiences of this study, there were challenges encountered in reconfirming the findings of the research with the participants. As previously discussed, this study comprised two parts: creating the MRF and implementing it. After drafting the MRF, I was able to revisit the participants of the first part of the research and further discuss with them the drafted research framework which was created based on their initial responses regarding their prior experiences either as research participants or through observation.

Revisiting some of these villages was challenging, as the bridge leading to some of the villages had collapsed a few months prior to my arrival. The collapsed bridge had greatly impacted the lives of the local residents as it made accessibility to basic services very difficult and some of the villagers who had taken part in the research were no longer available as they had to temporarily relocate to more convenient locations. But despite this,

other participants were still available to critique my draft of the MRF. The MRF was finalised after I revisited the participants and took their suggestions into account.

Reconfirming with the participants of the second part of the research proved to be even more challenging. In fact, I was not able to reconfirm the findings of the second part of the research with the communities that had taken part in the research. After I returned to Australia and was in the process of interpreting the information collected during the second part of the research, I learned of ethnic clashes in some of the communities that had participated in the research. It was difficult to accurately assess the situation from Australia and depending on secondary information to make decisions that could impact my personal safety seemed risky. The deadline for me to complete my PhD journey was drawing closer and due to the risk of returning to a volatile and potentially dangerous situation, I decided to remain in Australia to complete my thesis. However, I plan to present the findings of the research in a report form to the participants once back in PNG, and if there are more suggestions to be added or anything to be modified, this could be considered for inclusion in an updated journal article along with any other reports that may influence policies surrounding rural tourism in PNG and other Melanesian countries.

Cost and time were two of the challenges faced in applying the MRF, making it more difficult for relationship building, which is an important principle of the MRF. Communication plays a vital role in relationship building and, especially given the various challenges to researchers in being able to make repeated visits to some remote areas for the purposes of relationship building, it is suggested that phone communication, text messages and emails, are a possible solution. Almost all the tourism providers we talked to had access to a mobile phone. Apart from talking on the phone, it would be nice to also send a short text message on occasions especially during special events such as the festive season and Easter to demonstrate and maintain a genuine relationship.

5.9 Summary

The MRF was implemented then analysed by looking at the data collected using the framework, the stories shared and how they depicted the experiences, the struggles, the optimism and the aspirations of the tourism providers from the respective communities. The MRF was also evaluated against similar tourism studies in rural PNG. The list of Melanesian values compiled by Franklin (2007) played a role in determining if the MRF in its usage and outcome reflected Melanesian values. Of Franklin's (2007) suggested ten values, the MRF reflected nine of the values, and out of the seventeen studies summarised in table 5.3, three had findings similar to the findings of this research study. The methods used in these three studies were informal conversations, storytelling and in-depth semi-structured interviews. The main authors, despite not being Indigenous Papua New Guineans, have gone the extra mile to try as much as possible to understand the people they visited, therefore, were able to identify methods they thought would best suit their participants.

The MRF has the potential to be utilised by both non-Papua New Guineans and Papua New Guineans. Apart from the principles and values attributed to Indigenous research, the core difference is the persona of the researcher. Not the physical attributes of the researcher but the inner being within the researcher – is the researcher able to leave behind what is considered as normal to him or her and be willing to subject themselves to the practices of Indigenous communities? Indigenous communities on the other hand also understand that newcomers may not necessarily be familiar with their customary practices.

The MRF can be adapted to suit the cultural context of other Indigenous communities outside of PNG by researchers being aware of the core values of Indigenous communities. The MRF can be utilised by both Indigenous researcher and non-Indigenous researchers, however, time

must be taken to clearly understand the purpose of the MRF and its intentions. The ability to fully utilise the MRF and achieve its purpose remains the prerogative of the researcher.

The MRF worked as expected in most instances in its practical application, however, like other research methods and frameworks it has its drawbacks. In the case of this study, someone fluent in Tok Pisin (one of PNG's three main languages) was required to communicate directly with the key people in the community, alternatively the researcher could employ an interpreter. One potential criticism of the MRF is that it is not very different to a traditional qualitative methodology and this is a challenge that has been levelled at Indigenous methodologies in general. The answer to this challenge lies in discussions of fundamental differences in ontology and axiology, the importance of recognising existing power imbalances in epistemology, and the need to empower Indigenous communities throughout the entire research process.

Being away from PNG and theorising the MRF as alternative approach could be problematic, as actually implementing the framework requires an in-depth understanding of not only the cultural context of local communities but also the logistics to access these communities, taking into consideration the physical environment, safety concerns and basic amenities that will facilitate the research process.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

The main aim of this research was to explore the importance of understanding the structure of traditional societies and the nature of their ways of knowing about tourism to facilitate the sustainability of tourism in those places that voluntarily sought to develop tourism as an economic activity. This aim both recognises calls for decolonisation in tourism research (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Peters & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012; Pritchard & Morgan, 2007; Lee, 2017) and personal experiences as an Indigenous researcher working in tourism education and development in PNG.

To address this overall aim, three more specific objectives linked to research stages were undertaken:

- an Indigenous research methodology for PNG, referred to as the Melanesian Research Framework (MRF), was developed;
- this MRF was used to investigate CBT in several traditional rural communities with the aim of gaining a better understanding of CBT in the rural PNG context; and
- the application of the MRF to CBT was evaluated in terms of its usefulness in improving our understanding of community perspectives on CBT.

This chapter presents a summary of the main outcomes of each of these research stages. One of the core principles proposed for Indigenous methodologies in general is the need to focus on practical actions to empower the researched Indigenous communities. This chapter will, therefore, address the overall thesis aim by outlining a set of practical, action-oriented recommendations for improving the sustainable practice of tourism in rural PNG. It will then consider options for the further development of the MRF and suggest ways in which it might be used for tourism research more generally. Another core principle for Indigenous methodologies is that researchers constantly engage in self-reflection. In line

with this principle, I will provide a personal reflection on this research journey and share aspirations for the MRF beyond the doctoral thesis.

6.1 Thesis Summary

Chapter 3 describes the process of developing the MRF. The purpose of the research was to evaluate the effectiveness of CBT in rural PNG and as such it was decided that a research approach that is appropriate and fitting to PNG's cultural context should be employed. Five villages along the North Coast of Madang were invited to share their past experiences as either research participants or from observing research being conducted in their communities. Indigenous PNG researchers from professional organisations were also invited to participate via email; questionnaires comprised of open-ended questions were sent to those researchers who accepted the invitation. The PNG researchers were asked to describe in general the research approach they had taken when visiting rural communities and if there were procedures they would improve on to make research a better experience for both themselves as researchers and for participants. The village participants were asked about their previous experiences of being researched and how they thought research could be better conducted in their communities.

This preliminary research identified effective communication, extensive consultation, and the development of relationships and long-term partnerships between researchers and participants as key factors influencing the perceived quality of research outcomes. A proposed Indigenous methodology taking into account these factors was developed and presented to the village participants in a follow up visit. The village participants further discussed and debated with me about the proposed research framework. Figure 6.1 is the final version of the research framework, referred to as the Melanesian Research Framework (MRF), that was created in consultation with the participants of the research.
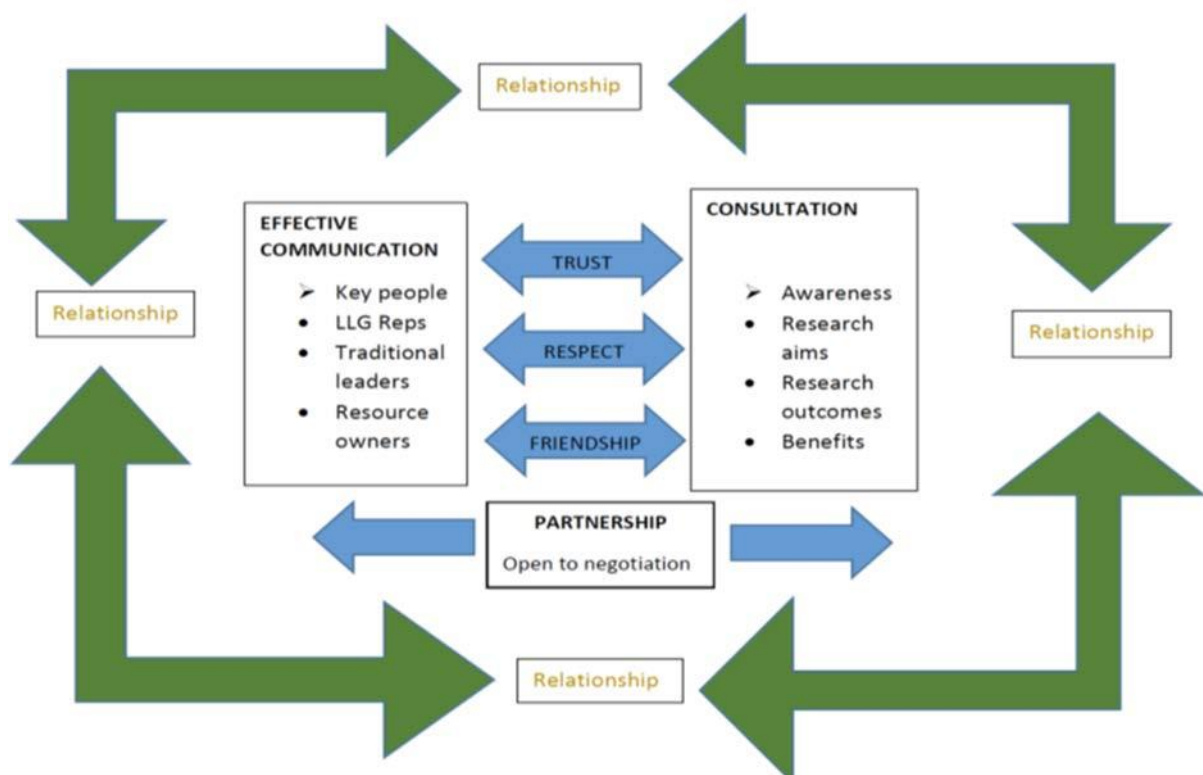
Figure 6.1: The Final Version of the Melanesian Research Framework (MRF)

Chapter 4 describes the application of the MRF in a study of the tourism perceptions and aspirations of rural communities who have voluntarily taken on community-based tourism enterprises. The MRF emphasises effective communication which involves identifying the key people in the community/village. It is built on consultation during the early stages of the process about the purpose of the research, its aims, and the potential outcomes and benefits for the community/village. All of this must be embedded in a relationship that stems from trust, respect and friendship that allows for a partnership that is open to negotiation.

The lead researcher was able to meet with the key people in an informal gathering before carrying out the research. This first meeting focused on making sure everyone was aware

of the purpose of my visit and allowed me the opportunity to address concerns from the communities so there were no misunderstandings. It also allowed me to establish whether or not the targeted communities were genuinely interested in being part of the research. After these initial meetings, I used storytelling and a photo-elicitation approach to collect data from twelve villages across four rural regions of PNG. These twelve locations were chosen because they either had developed a community-based tourism initiative or they were attempting to do so.

Most of the participants became involved in tourism by observing other tourism operations. Their approach to tourism planning was mainly focused on marketing, accessibility, and the type of tourism products to offer, and the majority of the interviewees consulted their elders before going into tourism. It was apparent that most of the tourism resource owners engaged in tourism without contact with government agencies, mostly because they were not aware of the procedures involved in connecting with these agencies.

The researched communities expressed a strong desire to embrace tourism, despite recognising the generally low economic returns. Despite small numbers of tourists and low levels of economic return, these communities still saw the economic benefits of tourism as the main driving force behind their push for tourism. The participants reported only positive experiences of tourism, arguing that it gave them the opportunity to share their culture and traditions with the rest of the world. This lack of awareness of the potential for negative impacts from tourism might be due to relatively low levels of tourism development and small numbers of tourists visiting but also could reflect their aspirations for small scale tourism with limited infrastructure that blends into their day-to-day existence. Since members within the communities/villages are related through family ties, cooperation within the community/village was not seen as a major challenge for tourism or other community initiatives.

Chapter 5 describes the evaluation of the MRF against previous published research conducted into tourism in rural PNG. The MRF was evaluated against similar studies conducted in PNG in terms of the extent, detail, cultural meaning and value of the research findings with regard to understanding community perspectives on tourism. Many of the previous studies talked about the need for local communities to have greater power in the development process. Ironically though, these conclusions were drawn by researchers rather than being reported by the participants, as in most cases the researchers were conducting the research as part of larger externally driven development activities which had little scope for local empowerment and many of the researchers did not actually directly ask for local perspectives.

The process of these research studies was often disempowering for the local communities and typically assumed a deficit model of development in general, a problem that has been noted for Indigenous communities in general (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009) and for studies in Pacific nations more specifically (Panakera et al., 2011). The MRF study focused on villages that had voluntarily taken on tourism projects on their own, and therefore, not surprisingly, the MRF study found evidence of some of the same conclusions drawn by the previous studies including the need for greater village agency and power in tourism decisions, the importance of social capital and community cooperation and reciprocity in managing tourism, and the need for education and support.

The MRF study also revealed considerably more detailed information on the views of village communities about tourism. More specifically, the approach uncovered themes connected to entrepreneurial innovation, the value of tourism styles that made good use of existing resources and could easily be fitted into sustainable livelihoods, the strong connections between development decisions and reference back to core values of clan identity, community cooperation and leadership, and aspirations for low scale tourism that uses mostly existing facilities and

blends into the everyday life of the destination village. These themes emerged in the MRF study and yet were not discussed in any of the previous literature. The MRF also revealed that a deficit approach was inappropriate.

6.2 Practical Recommendations

The major findings from the application of the MRF to local perspectives on community-based tourism initiatives included:

- a positive view of tourism as an additional source of income that fitted well with existing livelihoods and that had few, if any, negative impacts;

- aspirations for small scale tourism that mostly uses upgraded local facilities and blends into the everyday life of the village communities;

- strong connections between development decisions and the core Melanesian values of clan identity, leadership and support from elders;

- the importance of strong social capital and community cooperation and reciprocity in the successful maintenance of tourism activities;

- the need to manage the entire supply chain and not be limited by the actions and power of external tourism operators and agents;

- the need for education and training in many aspects of tourism to enhance entrepreneurial approaches and achieve greater returns from the supply chain; and an awareness of gender issues in tourism;

- the need for rural tourism operators to do their own marketing using different online platforms. Hence, there is a need for them to have access to internet facilities and be guided in regard to using e-commerce as a medium to conduct business.

These interrelated themes and issues suggest a set of four main areas for practical recommendations:

- More bottom-up participatory planning and development processes that give greater power and control to local communities;

- Government support for locally generated community-based initiatives and greater control and engagement in the whole supply chain through information and education;

- Support for the maintenance and strengthening of existing social capital; and

- Specific support for women in CBT in rural areas.

6.2.1 Bottom-up participatory planning processes

Calls for greater empowerment of destination communities in tourism planning are so common in the tourism literature they could be seen as clichés. These calls are, however, rarely answered in reality (Moscardo, 2011, 2018). The MRF offers not just a methodology for tourism researchers but also a way to support this greater empowerment of destination communities. This research framework has the potential to facilitate a space where communities can be allowed to provide valid information as research participants and to be more engaged in the conversations. Hence, the information provided by them will be a better representation of their reality and experiences than if they see themselves as being used for another person's gain, and that the researcher is there because of a requirement that needs to be fulfilled by a higher authority.

The communities visited for this study have initiated the idea of tourism at the local level, and so they have taken on a bottom up approach and used this to express themselves in terms of the type of tourism in which they are interested. The MRF study results demonstrate cases of how such community driven initiatives can work and how they be supported by tourism regulators/ provincial commerce offices. These agencies could use these examples as case studies for other locations. They could also revise their approaches to tourism development to be more about supporting these initiatives rather than trying to

drive tourism development from outside the communities. Government agencies should take a mediatory and supportive rather than directive role in tourism development. Some of these initiatives were struggling to get ahead because of perceived bureaucratic apathy. For instance, one participant commented: "*Definitely, no one from the tourism sector has ever visited us. Only once some months back, someone from the district came to see the bush trekking product we have. We were so excited that we prepared a feast and killed a pig. They haven't been back since nor have we heard from them. When the district officer came to speak to us about the prospects of tourism in our village, we were excited and optimistic but then nothing eventuated.*"

6.2.2 Government support for locally generated community-based initiatives

The three main areas for support identified in this research were education, information and managing conflict with external tour operators. "*Tour operators should be audited and examined by the tourism regulators of PNG to ensure that PNG's tourism industry is benefiting everyone equally.*" While another commented, "*We have been cheated by the tour company for so long now.*" Participants also expressed the need to learn skills in maintaining and enhancing their tourism businesses, for example, one person agreed, "*Yes, skills especially on the administration side of tourism.*" While another admitted, "*I had never attended any tourism workshops or did any tourism course but I want to learn marketing skills and learn how to create websites.*" These responses are related to the issue of the dominance of external operators and the potential for more intervention by government agencies via more information dissemination and greater support for tourism training and skills development. The lack of supervision and communication between the tourism operators, tourism regulators and district officers is one of the factors that prohibits the progress of tourism operators. It must be stressed that these tourism operators are not trained, however, through experience and observation they have ventured into tourism.

Most are not familiar with the concept of marketing and management and these are vital business skills that could be developed with government support.

Tourism information is not reaching the local communities. When the communities and government agencies are disconnected then actual and potential local tourism initiatives lack vital knowledge and the ability to gain new insights to improve service delivery, and stimulate interest in participating in CBT. The local tourism operators in the MRF study were adamant that government agencies had never been accessible to them to obtain information or assistance. They have been left alone to manage their own affairs with very little support. One person remarked that it would be helpful "*if someone from the tourism authority can come to our level and see what our needs are and see our challenges in terms of selling our services/product.*"

The goal of PNGTPA's Tourism Master Plan 2007–2017 was to increase the overall economic value of tourism to the nation by doubling the number of tourists on holiday in PNG every five years, and maximising sustainable tourism growth for the social and environmental benefit of all Papua New Guineans. Also mentioned in the Tourism Master Plan (TMP) was to encourage CBT as a way of contributing towards rural development. While this is stated clearly in the TMP as one of the desired outcomes of tourism, the implementation of the TMP has not been effective. There is still a disconnection between the grass root tourism owners and the national tourism bodies. The findings of this study have revealed that some tourism operators are not aware of any tourism offices within their provincial domain. Others are aware but lack confidence in the tourism offices because of past experiences, and feel that the tourism offices do not have much to offer them in terms of support. For example, a participant said, "*We don't know if there are tourism officers in our province, we do things through observation.*" Another person said, "*We don't even know if our LLG has any tourism plans.*"
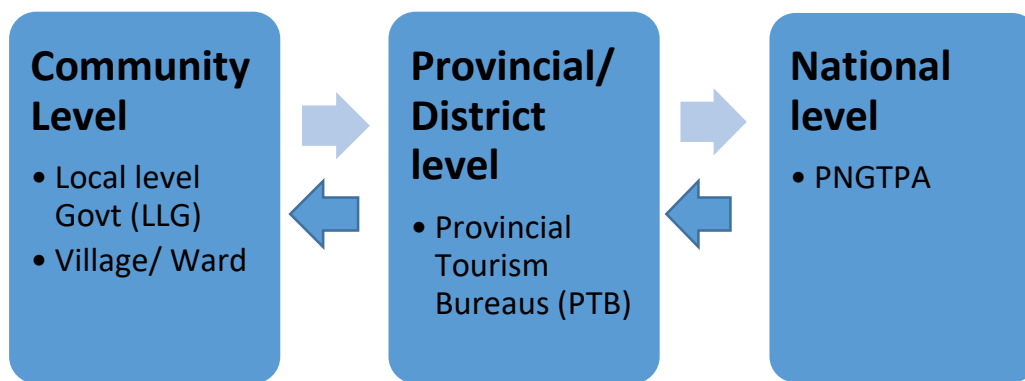
Figure 6.2: Proposed communication channel for communities and PNGTPA

Through the provincial governments, the PNGTPA should be able to administer the tourism industry throughout PNG by having clear communication lines in place (see Figure 6.2). Information pertaining to tourism can then be disseminated to the various districts within each province right down to the LLG. Local tourism entrepreneurs, especially those in rural areas, should also be made aware of where to go to seek information or share their concerns. As it is, the smaller tourism entities are working in isolation and, as such, they are being taken advantage of by the tour operators. A clear and defined line of communication will also enable PNGTPA to conduct a tourism resource analysis and mapping in PNG. PNGTPA needs to work closely with the provincial tourism bureaus (PTBs) and each PTB should be able to communicate with the various LLGs in their respective provinces to provide current information to both potential and existing tourism sites, even to the extent of conducting a training needs analysis. Furthermore, and more importantly, they can provide advice and offer assistance regarding how these tourism sites can be developed and become more marketable. PTB staff within the provinces should, as part of their responsibility, be able to travel to the various tourism sites in the communities and be in a better position to know how the tourism sites are being managed and how the

communities in which the tourism sites are located influence the operation of the tourism sites. Hence, PTBs should be identifying the key people and liaising with the communities to create an ongoing conversation between the communities and PNGTPA. This should also be the channel PNGTPA uses when communicating with the local communities in regard to tourism.

PNGTPA as it is, does not have the resources to regulate or evaluate tourism in the twenty-two provinces in PNG. However, PNGTPA can utilise the PTBs who can act as the tourism mouth pieces for the provinces and use the PTB as the platform for tourism initiatives in the villages/communities to channel their concerns to PNGTPA. Hence, PTB staff should be visiting the communities and communicating their concerns back to the Provincial Coordination and Product Development division within PNGTPA. This channel could also be used by PNGTPA to make informed decisions on tourism matters using a holistic approach. The findings revealed that there was a breakdown in communication between the local tourism operators, the PTBs and PNGTPA. The majority of the sites visited stated they were not aware of the provincial tourism bureaus or office.

A core feature of the proposed Melanesian Research Framework is effective communication between the researcher and the participants. Without such communication, vital links to the information that concerns the local operators of tourism and the regulatory agencies are missing. There are many alternatives, currently under-utilised, to reach people in remote areas including mass media communication mediums such as radio and through community leaders.

6.2.3 Support for social capital

The researched communities were optimistic about tourism and the potential for conflicting interests amongst community members arising from competition in CBT was

not reported in this study, despite it being suggested as a problem by some of the early anthropological analyses (Halvaksz, 2006; Martin, 2008). In this study it seemed that each of the tourism ventures, especially in the Highlands, was established by either an individual and/or his or her family unit. The development of tourism did not, however, create competition or conflict, rather it triggered more enthusiasm from the collective social group to ensure success. For instance, if CHM1 received tourists to stay, it would arrange with other CBT operators to benefit by showing their traditional dance or craft displays so that the benefit was shared through their participation.

In Chimbu, the two main lodges that had the ability to bring in tourists without relying on tour operators were CHM1 and CHM2. However, they relied on the other tourism providers within their community to facilitate tourism activities for the tourists. In this particular scenario, social capital is being relied upon to enhance tourism within the area. It must be noted that the tourism providers including Betty's Lodge and Camp Jehovah Jireh are related through genealogy ties and speak the same mother tongue. The concept of involving everyone is driven not only by profit but also the importance of maintaining cultural ties and relationships. However, if, outside tour operators were involved, the purpose and outcome of tourism in this particular scenario might not be empowering for the locals. McCannell (1992, p. 28) commented that successful tourism is "profit without exploitation".

Having at least two major tourism outlets that were indigenous to the community that directly brought in tourists also minimised the impact of economic leakage within the community. This experience was quite different to the other communities visited who relied entirely on other stakeholders, mainly tour operators, who were seen as the major key players in tourism being operationalised in the communities. For any community to share a similar experience with that of Chimbu, at least one tourism operator from within

the community must have the resources to source tourists directly. Tourism will then be embraced by the rest of the community, as social capital is an existing asset, emphasising that tourism is not only a profit driven industry but also a social-cultural phenomenon. Oakes (2005), and Stronza (2001) commentated that locals are also part of the tourism encounter and in all fairness have agency and control, however, when tourism is being dictated to them and there is an imbalance of power, locals become spectators in their own communities. A participant commented "*The tour operators need us to make tourism happen in PNG, they don't own the tourism resources/sites/activities. But yet they make us feel like we need them to survive. We, the local tourism resource owners, are being cheated and exploited because we do not have the capacity and resources to market ourselves effectively.*" Hence, utilising social capital through CBT can lead to a more fruitful tourism encounter. Another person shared similar sentiments about tour operators, "*We should be able to market ourselves and get tourists without relying on tour operators. In our community, we plan to rebuild what was lost in the fire, build a proper hut that will host the selling of our arts and crafts and bilums.*" These were not just spoken words but words put into action. Eight months after visiting this particular community, I was sent a photograph of a newly built hut which the women can use as the designated space to sell their *bilums* and other arts and crafts when tourists visit. All of this was achieved through community cooperation (refer to Appendix K).

6.2.4 Recognising and supporting the role of women in CBT

Literature on the participation of women in tourism within the domains of rural PNG is underrepresented. The present research revealed that women did actively take part in, and made major contributions to, tourism within their communities, a common finding in studies of tourism in Indigenous communities (Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2016; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Ratten & Dana, 2017; Scheyvens, 2000). This PhD research identified

women as weavers of *bilum*, mats and baskets, and creators of arts and crafts for tourists. They were also identified as the ones providing hospitality to tourists and maintaining cleanliness at the tourism sites. However, despite their contribution to tourism, they played a minor role in decision making, a common scene also reported by Ferguson (2011). Participants who were willing to take part in the research were mostly males, even though there was a representation of women during the introduction process before the actual research took place. This experience could be attributed to patriarchal values embedded in homes and thus villages/communities.

CBT requires community participation from planning to implementation and females are also part of communities, hence, inclusiveness in decision making is often over looked. This is exacerbated by a tendency that exist among rural PNG women to underestimate their own potential and abilities. In order to recognise the role of women in rural PNG tourism, development and planning agencies should have an inclusive approach and ensure women are participants in meetings and decision making, and attend workshops and seminars to enhance their skills and build tourism knowledge. Consultation and developing an attitude of listening to the various voices can instil trust, respect and friendship among the people and especially women and the youths.

6.3 Further Development and Research Implications of the MRF

The newly created MRF is an alternative approach for Papua New Guinean researchers to use which in turn could improve the standards of research being undertaken by Papua New Guineans. The MRF was created in light of PNG's cultural context and could be an option for Indigenous Papua New Guineans to use when engaging in research, especially in rural PNG. The mechanism and delivery of the research framework is rooted in the cultural elements that have played a significant part in influencing lives. One participant pointed out that the MRF could also be a guide for outsiders/ investors/ stakeholders to use when

introducing projects or ideas in rural communities, stressing that it is vital during the consultation process that the researcher's intentions and outcomes must be stated clearly so members of the community are able to make informed decisions. A participant from the first study suggested that the "*research framework can be modified to suit other community-based projects and not just tourism*".

Apart from the principles and values attributed to Indigenous research, the core difference is the persona of the researcher, not the physical attributes of the researcher but the inner being. Researchers must ask themselves, if they are willing to leave behind what is considered as normal to them and are they prepared to subject themselves to the Indigenous communities' practices. Indigenous communities, on the other hand, must also understand that newcomers may not necessarily be familiar with their customary practices.

Hence, on the part of the Indigenous communities, there has to be a level of understanding and tolerance for newcomers. However, this should not be an excuse for Indigenous communities to be disrespected, misguided, manipulated and misrepresented because of sheer ignorance by researchers. Having the courage and courtesy to learn about Indigenous communities before approaching them, is itself a way forward in gaining their trust and respect.

While the MRF was developed specifically for the Melanesian context, it is likely that many of the main principles are applicable to other cultural contexts. Many Indigenous communities share the core values of respect, trust and honesty. Being true to the Indigenous communities with the main purpose of the research is a commitment the researcher must be willing to take on and fulfil. Even if there is no physical or monetary gain for the Indigenous communities, at least the researcher is able to leave with a clear conscience that the Indigenous communities visited have been represented with genuine

honesty. A researcher, either foreign or Indigenous, should do a self-examination on whether they are able to visit Indigenous communities – are they willing to learn new doctrines, are they willing to challenge their own beliefs and are they truly willing to privilege the voices of Indigenous people over others including their own? The values of humility, being humble enough to learn; empathy, being able to listen without passing judgement and; trust, being trusted with the information given, should be part of the researcher's self-examination process.

The main recommendation that comes to mind when contemplating possible improvements to the MRF is to spend more time with the communities being visited while using the MRF. To establish a genuine relationship, more time is required to build trust and understand each other's worldviews. In this research, the MRF was applied to tourism in communities, however, it would be interesting to apply it to non-tourism community-based projects to determine if similar results are achieved. In this way, the MRF can be refined so it can truly encapsulate the research needs of Indigenous communities.

PNG is mostly a patrilineal society, however some parts of the country are matrilineal. The MRF in this study was applied in communities that were patrilineal. One of the findings of this study is that despite women being active contributors in tourism in their communities, they were still under-represented in decision making. It is important to know if similar outcomes would surface if the MRF was applied in matrilineal communities. The MRF was employed as a research approach in the Highlands and Momase regions of PNG. However, it is yet to be applied in the other two regions of PNG, the Southern and New Guinea Islands regions. There is also the opportunity for future research to explore the possibility of using the MRF to facilitate the concept of adaptive co-management in tourism, in enhancing and embracing tourism protected areas in Indigenous communities. The MRF was tested in a Melanesian society, however, since Indigenous communities

share similar values of respect, trust and honest, it could be adapted and tested in a non-Melanesian Indigenous community.

6.4 The use of photo-elicitation

The use of photo-elicitation to enhance the purpose of the MRF was found to be effective and convenient. It allowed both the participants and myself to have a common understanding on what was being discussed. Furthermore, it encourages the participants to clearly express themselves as they are able to visualise the idea at hand and not discuss in abstract terms. It is believed that photo-elicitation is compatible with MRF and can be used alongside other Indigenous research methods in future studies with Indigenous populations.

6.5 Personal Reflection on this Research Journey

In speaking about the researcher's gaze towards the new millennium, Faulkner (2001) commented that a researcher is also influenced socially and as stated at the beginning of this thesis, I am shaped by three forces: my culture, formal education and my Catholic faith. My culture shapes my ontology, my formal education sets the stage for the methodology I choose in shaping my epistemology, while my Catholic faith guides my axiology, how I relate (my actions/behaviour) towards the people around me, the physical environment and the spiritual world, for this is the totality of my being.

I grew up in a nuclear family in Port Moresby with both my parents working. They had both graduated from university. Growing up in a middle class PNG home, I was in a way sheltered from the reality of the struggles of many Papua New Guineans. I became more aware of the struggles of other families when I left Port Moresby to attend college in another province. I did go to my village for holidays but it was a different experience as my mum is the eldest of twelve children and at least seven of them had attended university and had reasonable jobs.

So, as a family, there was a pool of resources to draw from and as a result, there was access to education and good health care.

This research journey has been a humbling experience for me. It has taught me to re-look at life and appreciate what I have and not focus on being materialistic which I think causes unnecessary stress. I was envious of the family I stayed with while visiting a particular community. The family lived in a simple traditional hut yet they welcomed into their home adolescents who were not their biological children. They welcomed them because the family found pleasure in helping others. They even found humour amidst their struggles, creating a happy atmosphere.

While visiting the communities, I observed that people openly expressed their disappointments, struggles and sadness in the presence of other family members who collectively and genuinely tried to support each other, even as simple as cheering each other up. This made me recall my visit to the JCU counsellor which was my first ever experience of professional counselling. It was nothing I had imagined, the counselling session was all about talking to someone. The councillor giving you the time and space to get whatever is bothering you off your chest. The people I met during my research journey in a way shared their sorrow and disappointments but in an open way in the presence of others and in some instances in the presence of those who had caused them grief, anger, sadness, stress, depression or anxiety. Making their emotions and feelings public also allowed them to draw strength from other family members and the wider community which is also a healing process for them. Problems are openly discussed and ideas for a solution are drawn from a pool of people.

Visiting these villages and communities also grounded me. They seem to be happy and content despite not having some of the enablers that would make life comfortable. Marslow's hierarchy of needs came to my mind: shelter, food and security. This reminded me of the

values of gratitude and being content with the life I have, as there are others who do not have the financial ability like me to purchase an expensive bag with a prestigious brand but are still happy carrying a *bilum*. This takes me back to my childhood when my dad would say, "Why buy a bag that will cost you K100.00 ($50.00) only to carry K10.00 ($5.00) in it because you've literally spent your money to live a pretentious life".

Deep within, I am battling with my conscience. I undertook this research so I could obtain a doctor of philosophy degree which comes with the expectation of an enhanced lifestyle compared to ten years ago. However, the people who without their willingness and cooperation, I would have never collected data for this PhD study, will still be cooking over open fires and will be still using kerosene lamps because of no access to electricity and some will still have to walk long distances just to catch a truck into town. My life is basically being enhanced at their expense. Going into academia comes with the expectation of 'publish or perish' but at whose expense?

Below is a quote taken from a conversation I had with a participant that keeps ringing at the back of my mind and is a constant reminder that I have an obligation to revisit the communities and share the findings of this research journey.

"*I thank you for coming, not only are we answering your questions but we are also learning from your visit. You are a learned person in tourism as for us we never received any training nor did we attend any tourism workshops. It's people like you who will help improve people like us at the village level who are interested in taking part in tourism, by sharing your skills and knowledge. Maybe when you've finished and back in PNG you can contribute ideas as to how we can better ourselves in terms of tourism.*"

To conclude, I am convinced that the MRF can be employed by anyone regardless of race or ethnicity. If the heart is willing, the mind will ensure the purpose and intentions of the

MRF are fulfilled. I say this because I was supervised by two non-Indigenous women who at first I doubted, especially when it came to the cultural context of the research. But with each of us having an open mind and the willingness to listen and negotiate, the purpose of this PhD journey has been achieved.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Map of Papua New Guinea

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due to copyright restrictions

Appendix B: Summary of Responses, Eastern Highlands Province

Questions	EHP1	EHP2	EHP3
First considerations when preparing for CBT	How we were going to get tourists to come and where our womenfolk were going to sell their *bilums* and crafts	Building the track	Marketing, how to reach out to potential tourists
Structures and systems for managing the CBT operation	We don't really have a proper monitoring system in place	There's no proper management system to oversee the trekking service	There's no regulatory framework that we follow
Resourcing CBT	We organised and worked as a community	All community initiative, a lot of manual labour involved, self-funding	Individually funded/family
Developing skills and local capacity to deliver CBT	How to do marketing. It would be good to know more about policies relating to tourism	Definitely we need more orientation in tourism, no one from the tourism sector has ever visited us	Need for tour guide training, accommodation set up, tourist expectations
Developing and marketing the product	We rely on tour operators to bring tourists	We depend entirely on tour operators, e.g. Goroka Tours	I have a website, but it is managed by someone else
Building relationships to support CBT	Our village is made up of two clans and both clans are involved	Community is supportive but everyone wants to gain from tourism, sometimes we have conflicts. To get to the cave, tourists/trekkers have to go through another clan's land	Our community/ village is supportive, we involve them as dancers, the women get to sell their *bilums* and other crafts
Future plans	Rebuild the lodge and conference centre, have our own website	We hope to offer accommodation as well	Build our own village huts with modern facilities

Appendix C: Summary of responses for Chimbu Province

Questions	CHM1	CHM2	CHM3	CHM4	CHM5
First considerations when preparing for CBT	Accessibility to the lodge from the village	Marketing, type of tourists, accessibility, facilities to be offered. Informing immediate family members	My late dad started it. He saw the opportunity to offer trekking when tourists come and stay at the lodges. Clearing the treks, building resting spotS.	Basic needs like hygiene, accessibility, the roads, the cost involved in building the lodge. Out of respect and as a courtesy my uncles were informed of my plans	Who was to dance, the cultural protocol involved in traditional songs and dance
Structures and systems for managing the CBT operation	Turn over from tourists. Routinely meets tourists at the airport in Mt. Hagen	Number of tourists that come, the income received. Haven't considered a monitoring system	Every day is a challenge, financially I struggle.	I don't have a structure, I operate where I see fitting	We just try to keep it going, but sometimes it's challenging to motivate and keep the younger people interested.
Resourcing CBT	Land bought by late husband and wife, they used their own capital	The capital to build the lodge came from family	Tracks leading to Mt. Wilhem passes through out traditional land	Personal funding used to build the lodge so many years ago. I was the first one into tourism in ward one	We did it ourselves and sometimes we get financial assistance from the local businesses to attend provincial shows
Developing skills and local capacity to deliver CBT	Training needed not just in tour guiding but also better integration of culture into PNG's tourism	More awareness on what tourism is about, people have different understanding of tourism and different expectations	I've attended tourism workshops, need more workshops on tour guiding	There is a need for more tourism awareness on the benefits and importance of tourism to the community. People still don't really understand tourism, it is a new thing in PNG. For our community it is different because we've had exposure to tourism because of Mt. Wilhem but I don't it's the same for other places.	PNGTPA focuses on tour guiding, trekking, guesthouses/accommodation but it should also promote the importance of culture and how it enhances tourism
Developing and marketing the product	Still depend on tour operators, lodge has an fb page but better direct marketing will help cut costs	We have an fb page and website. An office in Port Moresby	I rely on lodges that bring in the tourists	I rely on tour operators to give me business. No website no fb page, no office	We rely on the lodges to engage us in providing cultural performances to their guests.

Building relationships to support CBT	The community is supportive, different clans are engaged to work as porters/carriers and guides when tourists come. The community does benefit from tourism	Apart from engaging other tribes, we reach out to wider community issues eg: climb for breast cancer The community is supportive, they understand that tourism brings in money, people here have a good attitude even towards solving conflictS	Mainly my family members that help and at times, they collect fees from the trekkers so in a way they understand the importance of maintaining the tracks	I try to include the community as much as possible by engaging the young members of the community as porters and carriers for the tourists, this also assists them to buy their school stationery and it also keeps the youths occupied	The performers/dancers are from the different clans in the village. There is support from the community
Future plans	Improve the heating system, direct marketing with improved facilities. Another lodge is under construction to cater for more rooms. As a community we need better facilities along the paths leading to Mt. Wilhem.	The village has airstrip which needs to be maintained and reopened so tourists can fly direct to us, so they stay longer	Proper walkways with safety railings. Build benches for tourists to rest, introduce formal Park Rangers The former member (member of parliament) was actually building a little office where I am located to help keep track of (tourists/climbers) but the building is not complete (after the member lost) Better trekking conditions,	Improve the lodge by doing maintenance, and improve the comfort facilities for the tourists.	We are a registered cultural group, the main challenge we have is that we would like to perform at other cultural festivals/shows in PNG but it's expensive considering the cost involved as our group has more than 20 dancers. We'd like to perform overseas as well. We hope to have a permanent place where we can congregate as a group for meetings and practice, keep our traditional costumes etc.

Appendix D: Summary of responses for Jiwaka Province

Questions	JWK1	JWK2
First considerations when preparing for CBT	How to get traditional costumes, a secure place for the centre, accessibility	How to get tourists to come
Structures and systems for managing the CBT operation	Always a struggle to keep operating	I operate on an everyday needs basis. There's no formal criteria I follow
Resourcing CBT	Money from my coffee selling was used to build the cultural centre	Individual funding, money was collected from selling coffee and other food crops to start this cultural centre
Developing skills and local capacity to deliver CBT	We need more awareness especially on the administrative side of tourism	Yes, marketing skills, how to create websites. Tour operators exploit the resource owners
Developing and marketing the product	Tour companies bring the tourists to my area.	I rely on the tour operators to bring in the tourists
Building relationships to support CBT	We have some people in our community who cause problems so I try to maintain a good relationship with them by giving food and sometimes buy alcohol for them. I have been around for a while, so people in the nearby communities are aware of what I do. They know it promotes the province and the country	Nearby communities/villages are involved in providing cultural entertainment
Future plans	I hope to have better facilities and learn more about tourism	Be able to market my own tourism activities without relying on the tour operators. Build better facilities for the tourists to relax and enjoy the cultural demonstration and displays. Facilities such as lavatories are important for comfort

Appendix E: Summary of responses for Madang province

Questions	MAG1	MAG2
First considerations when preparing for CBT	Make the island tourist friendly, cleanliness and how/what each household could get out of tourism	The type of tourism activities to offer
Structures and systems for managing the CBT operation	There is no proper system we use, we just operate how we see fit	There is no proper system we use, we just operate how we see fit
Resourcing CBT	Family funded	Community initiative
Developing skills and local capacity to deliver CBT	How to make tourism fair	The deteriorated road is our only set back in tourism
Developing and marketing the product	We rely on word of mouth and the hotels on the mainland. But local businesses are also hiring our venue for functions	We go through MTS and MVCB to get tourists
Building relationships to support CBT	It's only our family on the island, so they are supportive	Tourism is everyone's business in the village
Future plans	Improve the guest house, build picnic amenities, designated areas for swimming and to picnic, on and around the island. Proper jetty for dinghies	Cultural centre with proper facilities so tourists may participate in our traditional ways. A specific area for different cultural performances.

Source: https://malumnalu.blogspot.com/2009/07/end-of-era-in-papua-new-guineahistory.html

Officially, tourism in PNG started in 1884 when a shipping company Burns Philp (BP), advertised a five-week trip to PNG via Thursday Island in Australia. Burns Philp had been given a mail delivery contract by the Australian administration to deliver mail throughout PNG. The company capitalised on the opportunity to include cruise tourism, as there was abundant space on the ship (Douglas, 1996). PNG was advertised as savage, exotic, and primitive by foreigners who had come to PNG for various reasons, as illustrated by the following quote from Burns Philp as cited in (Douglas, 1997 p. 57): *Nowadays, when every 'Arry has done what not so many years ago was known as the 'Grand Tour', when alligator shooting on the Nile, lion hunting in Nubia, or tiger potting in the Punjab can be done by contract with Cook's tickets; when the Holy Land, Mecca or Khiva are all accessible to tourists; when every mountain in the Alps has been scaled, and even the Himalayas made the*

scene of mountaineering triumphs, when shooting buffaloes in the 'Rockies' is almost as common as potting grouse on the moors; it comes almost with a sense of relief to visit a country really new, about which but little is known – a country of real cannibals and genuine savages....
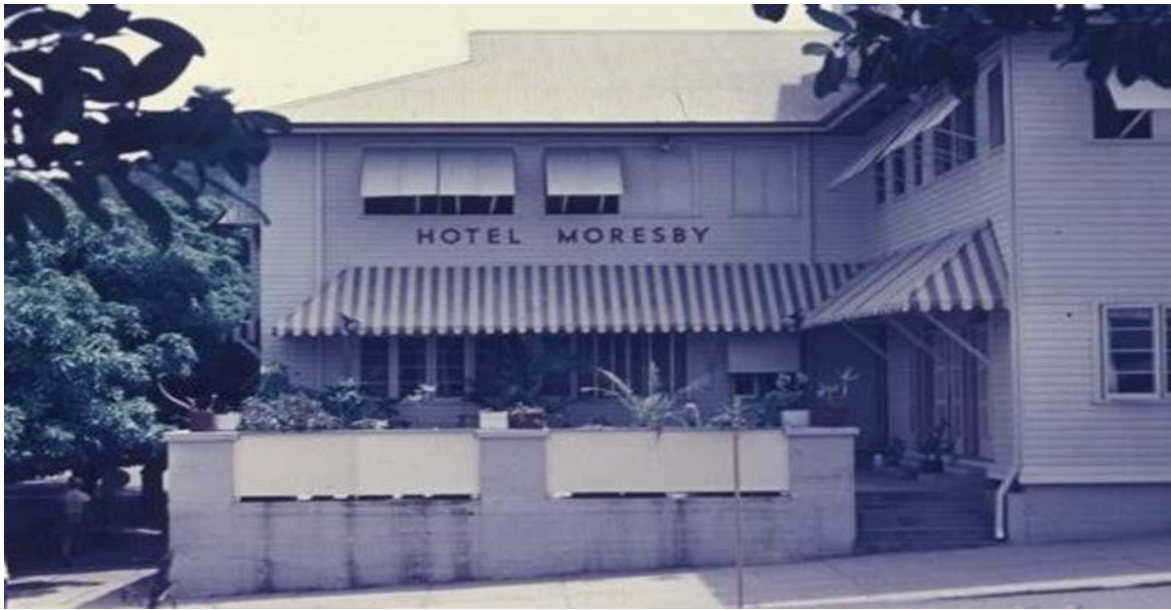
(Burns Philp, 1886).

Appendix G: Papua Hotel in Port Moresby, 1955

Source: https://malumnalu.blogspot.com/2009/07/end-of-era-in-papua-new-guineahistory.html

Hotel Moresby and the Papua Hotel were the first hotels to be erected in PNG during the early nineteen centaury and were later purchased by Burns Philip.

Appendix H: Hotel Moresby in Port Moresby, 1955

Source: https://malumnalu.blogspot.com/2009/07/end-of-era-in-papua-new-guineahistory.html

Appendix I: MAG1, Letter by the Commonwealth acknowledging the hospitality given to Prince Philip, The Duke of Edinburgh, 1971, Madang Province.
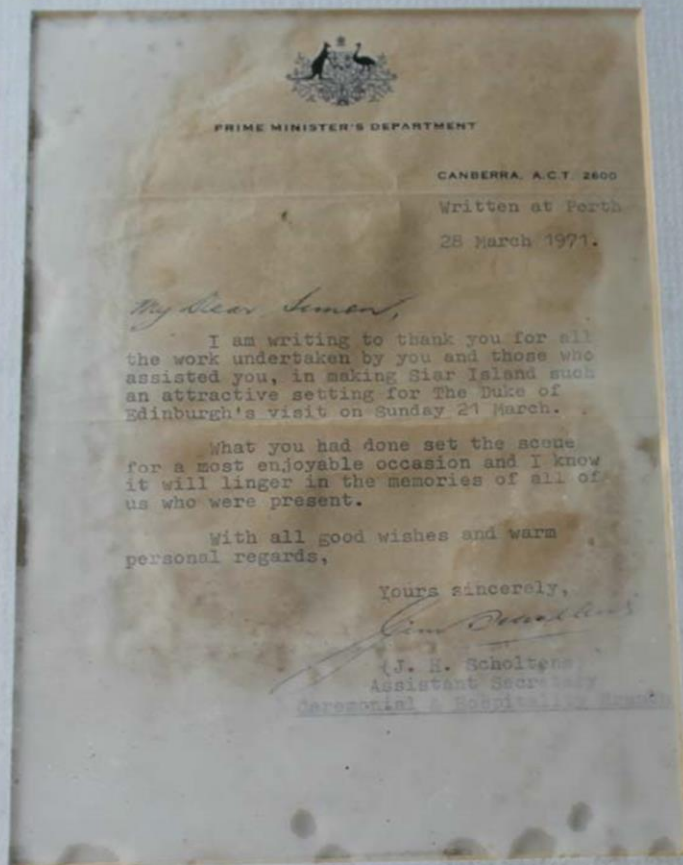
Appendix J: MAG1, Entrance to underground shelter dug by the Japanese in WWII, Madang Province

The first community to be visited was in Eastern Highlands, (EHP1). They were optimistic about tourism even though none had received any formal training in tourism and tourism was a low income earner for them. During the conversation, they told I they were still hopeful about tourism and were planning to build a traditional house so the women could sell their artefacts in a central location for tourists.

This photograph of the new traditional house was sent to me eight months after I visited them.

Keys:

❖ **Principle question**	• **Question**	➢ **Prompt question**

Get the participants thinking about tourism
Tell me about your past experience of tourism.
Do you think there are some good things about tourism?
Were there any negative things about tourism you experienced or heard about?

❖ **First considerations when preparing for CBT**
Tell me about, how, you first became involved in tourism?

- How long did it take to start the Community Based Project?
➢ What were the main things that were considered in the planning stage?

➢ Who were the key people involved in the beginning?
➢ How did they become involved?
• Did you consider using your traditional societal structure when engaging representatives in the project?
  Can you explain why this was considered/ not considered?

❖ **Structures and systems for managing the CBT operation**
Can you describe the type of tourism activity/activities in your community?
Who oversees the operations?

Can you tell me if the community is supportive of tourism?
  • Why is that?
How do you know if the CBT project is successful or not?
  • Do you have systems in place to monitor its operation?

  • Do you think there is room for improvement?
➢ If so, what are some things you would like to improve on?
➢ How can these improvements be achieved?
  • Is the CBT project operating within a regulatory framework?
  • How do you manage conflicts relating to CBT?
➢ Are you able to tell me stories about some examples?

❖ **Resourcing CBT**
• How was funding sourced to start the project?
• How is the project maintained?
• In your personal opinion, can you tell me what you think are the main benefits of CBT?
➢ Why do you think, these are good benefits?
➢ How are these benefits distributed? Who benefits the most?

❖ **Developing skills and local capacity to deliver CBT**

• Before CBT was introduced into your village, did you receive any training specifically for the purpose of CBT?

Do you think there is a need for more training? Can you elaborate on any specific needs that must be addressed?

• Tell me about an experience in your involvement in CBT when you felt that the approach or outcomes did not meet your expectations.
How do you think the situation could have been better?

❖ **Developing and marketing the product**
Who are your regular visitors/clients?
How do you communicate your services/ products to them?

❖ **Building relationships to support CBT**

• How do you encourage support for CBT from other communities and organisations?
• Are you able to provide examples of those that support CBT?
• In the past, did you experience people from outside visit your village/community and talk to you about CBT?
➢ Where did they come from?
➢ What was the main purpose of their visit?
➢ Did they come back?

❖ **Future plans**

• Are there are future plans for tourism in your community?

• Does the community together with its ward councillor and Local Level Government Representative have a vision for the community?

• If you were given a choice, what sort of tourism would you like to have in your community? (Different CBT images will be presented to stimulate the participant's thoughts) Why?

❖ Is there any question I should have asked you, but did not?

❖ Is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix M: Information Sheet

Dear_____

You are invited to take part in a research project aimed at *using an Indigenous Research tool to analyse the effectiveness of community based tourism in Papua New Guinea*. The purpose of this study is to determine if a research method suitable to PNG's cultural context can better identify the factors that influence the success and failures of community based tourism in PNG. The study is being conducted by Ms. Fiona N'Drower and will contribute to her attaining a Doctor of Philosophy at James Cook University.

If you agree to be involved in the study, you will be invited to be interviewed. The interview, with your consent, will be audio-taped, and should take approximately 40 minutes of your time. The interview will be conducted in your village/ community or a venue convenient to you. The interview will be individually done.

Taking part in this study is completely voluntary and you can stop taking part in the study at any time without explanation or prejudice and withdraw any unprocessed data provided.

If you know of others that might be interested in this study, I kindly request that you pass on this information sheet to them so they may contact me to volunteer for the study.

Your responses and contact details will be strictly confidential. The data from the study will be used in research publications and reports **(James Cook University)**. You will not be identified in any way in these publications.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact the following person

Email: fiona.ndrower@my.jcu.edu.au
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Principal Investigator:
Fiona N'Drower
College of Business, Law and Governance
James Cook University
Phone:61 7 42321498

If you have any concerns regarding the ethical conduct of the study, please contact:
Human Ethics, Research Office
James Cook University, Townsville, Qld, 4811
Phone: (07) 4781 5011 (ethics@jcu.edu.au)

Appendix N: Informed Consent Form

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Fiona N'Drower
PROJECT TITLE: Using an Indigenous Research tool to analyse the effectiveness of community based tourism in Papua New Guinea
COLLEGE : Business, Law and Governance

I understand the purpose of this study is to determine if a research method suitable to PNG's cultural context can better identify the factors that influence the success and failures of community based tourism in PNG. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written information sheet to keep.

I understand that my participation will involve an **interview** and I agree that I may use the results as described in the information sheet.

I acknowledge that:

- taking part in this study is voluntary and I am aware that I can stop taking part in it at any time without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided;

- that any information I give will be kept strictly confidential and that no names will be used to identify me with this study without my approval;

(Please tick to indicate consent)

I consent to be interviewed No ☐ **Yes** ☐

I consent for the interview to be audio taped No ☐ **Yes** ☐

Name: *(printed)*	
Signature:	**Date:**

Appendix O: Storytelling, first community to be visited, EHP1, Eastern Highlands

Appendix R: Sharing of food as part of the consultation process of the MRF

Appendix S: Researcher's resting place, Gasup Station