



**NEW ZEALAND
INSTITUTE FOR
PACIFIC RESEARCH**

Promoting Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Tourism Development: Samoa

A. Ford, A. Carr, N. Mildwaters, D. Fonoti and G. Jackmond





About NZIPR

The New Zealand Institute for Pacific Research (NZIPR) was launched in March 2016. Its primary role is to promote and support excellence in Pacific research. The NZIPR incorporates a wide network of researchers, research institutions and other sources of expertise in the Pacific Islands.

Published by



**NEW ZEALAND
INSTITUTE FOR
PACIFIC RESEARCH**

Promoting Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Tourism Development: Samoa

A. Ford¹, A. Carr¹, N. Mildwaters², D. Fonoti³ and G. Jackmond³

ISBN: 978-0-473-48281-7

1 University of Otago
PO Box 56
Dunedin
New Zealand

2 Otago Museum
419 Great King St
Dunedin
New Zealand

3 Centre for Samoan Studies
Le Papaigalagala Campus
National University of Samoa
Apia, Samoa

Executive Summary

Tourism has been identified as an important economic industry for the Small Island Developing States (SIDS), including Samoa, both internally (STA 2014a) and externally (Everett et al. 2018; Harrison and Prasad 2013; World Bank 2017). One of the important niche markets for tourism is cultural heritage, which involves “travellers seeing or experiencing built heritage, living culture or contemporary arts” (Timothy 2011: 4). While cultural heritage tourism comprises 40% of the global market, in the Pacific cultural heritage tourism remains underdeveloped.

One of the benefits of cultural heritage tourism is its ability to involve local communities, using their own heritage as tourism assets, therefore potentially providing sustainable socio-economic development. This study investigates the current opportunities and constraints for local communities in developing cultural heritage tourism projects, using Samoa as a case study.

The methodology for this report involved a desktop review of tourism-related literature for Samoa, as well as three fieldtrips to Samoa for site observations and meetings with local community members and cultural heritage and tourism stakeholders, to discuss attitudes and opinions towards cultural heritage tourism. In August 2017, an initial scoping trip was completed to liaise with local National University of Samoa partners. The second visit in December 2017 involved the research team conducting focus group interviews with local community members who have the potential to develop cultural heritage tourism attraction sites. This trip also involved the team visiting key cultural heritage locations

in Samoa. In March 2018, a third trip involved a week of semi-structured interviews with cultural heritage and tourism stakeholders.

A key finding of this research is that while intangible cultural heritage such as dances, performances and craft production is already a mainstay of Samoan tourism, tangible cultural heritage sites beyond the museums and the Samoan Cultural Village in Apia are largely missing. Samoa has a rich array of monumental archaeological sites, including star mounds, house platforms, walkways, fences, earth mounds and fortification sites, which are highly visible and evocative, including some of the largest man-made structures in Polynesia. Many of these sites are located on customary land and therefore, where appropriate, could be developed by local communities as potential sustainable tourism ventures. These cultural heritage sites could provide an excellent opportunity for communities to be involved in the tourism industry, particularly as development will generally require low levels of investment in capital and infrastructure, and build upon an already known asset – their own cultural heritage. At the same time, developing cultural heritage sites that address Samoa’s long history could provide a distinct marketing point from other Pacific Island nations, establishing itself as a major cultural heritage destination within the Pacific.

Developing tourism at these sites will not be without challenges. To begin with, Samoa has fragmentary cultural heritage legislation that provides little protection to these sites. As recommended by the Samoa Law Reform Commission, a Samoan Heritage

Authority should be developed with appropriate legislation to protect tangible cultural heritage sites.

For tourism development, communities and stakeholders identified a need for initial capital grants for access/infrastructure issues at the sites, as well as resources and training for members of the communities who need assistance with capacity building, product development, marketing and guide training. Awareness/advocacy for cultural heritage tourism was also needed as this concept was

unfamiliar to the communities interviewed, compared to other types of tourism. In short, there is great potential in Samoa for local communities to be involved in cultural heritage tourism, but there needs to be a coordinated and holistic strategy for tourism development from both tourism and cultural heritage bodies together. If completed successfully, the development of this tourism could be attractive to several types of markets, including international visitors, but also domestic and diaspora visitors who wish to connect to their culture and history.



Acknowledgements

The project team would like to acknowledge the funding provided by the New Zealand Institute of Pacific Research to undertake this study. We would also like to thank all of the stakeholders involved in our research, including the local communities and tourism providers who agreed to participate in interviews in Samoa, as well as the Museum of Samoa, the Robert Louis Stevenson Museum, the Samoan Tourism Authority, the Savai'i Samoa Tourism Association, the Culture Division of Ministry of Sports, Education and Culture, and the Centre for Samoan Studies at the National University of Samoa. We would also like to thank Matiu Matavai Tautunu from the Centre for Samoan Studies at the National University of Samoa for facilitating community interviews, and the students from the Centre for Samoan Studies who assisted with the translation and transcription of the interviews.

Contents

Executive Summary	2
Acknowledgements	4
Introduction	6
Tourism in Samoa	8
Community Based Tourism in Samoa	14
Cultural Heritage Tourism	16
Cultural Heritage of Samoa	20
Key Stakeholders for Cultural Heritage Tourism in Samoa	22
Cultural Heritage Opportunities in Samoa	24
Community and Stakeholders' Views on Cultural Heritage Tourism	30
Challenges With the Development of Community Based Cultural Heritage Tourism	34
The Role of Museums in Cultural Heritage Tourism	40
Recommendations	43
Concluding Remarks	47
References	48

Introduction

Tourism has been identified domestically and internationally as a key economic and development opportunity for South Pacific nations (Harrison and Prasad 2013), with entities such as the World Bank (2017) and the Asian Development Bank (Everett, Simpson and Wayne 2018) focusing upon the need for these smaller nations to develop sustainable tourism that draws upon their rich natural and cultural heritage (Scheyvens 1999). Tourism is often positively portrayed as providing multiple benefits to developing nations, including the stimulation of economic growth; the creation of employment opportunities and enterprises; the promotion of infrastructure development; provision of tax revenue to governments; the import of foreign currency and potentially foreign investment; and the potential spread of economic opportunities into rural areas and local communities (Cole 2006; Scheyvens 2015; Telfer and Sharpley 2016). Furthermore, tourism involving the cultural heritage of communities can deliver beneficial outcomes such as cultural exchange and the potential for continuation of cultural traditions, while also acknowledging that mismanagement, especially during times of tourism growth, can be detrimental to communities (Scheyvens 1999). The aim of this report is to examine the potential for developing cultural heritage tourism opportunities, with particular emphasis on tangible cultural heritage such as archaeological sites, for sustainable local community development in Samoa.

The methodology for this project involved a desktop review of tourism-related literature for Samoa, as well as three fieldtrips to Samoa for site observations and to meet with and discuss community member and stakeholder

attitudes and opinions towards cultural heritage tourism. The first trip in August 2017 was an initial scoping trip to liaise with local National University of Samoa partners at the Centre for Samoan Studies. The second visit in December 2017 involved group interviews with local community members of three villages who have the potential to develop cultural heritage tourism attraction sites. The group interviews combined villages, but separated interviews into three groups: *matai*, women and untitled men, in order to hear different viewpoints. These interviews were held in English and Samoan, and were recorded, transcribed and translated by the Centre for Samoan Studies. This trip also involved the team visiting key cultural heritage locations in Samoa. In March 2018, a third trip involved a week of semi-structured interviews with cultural heritage and tourism stakeholders, including staff from the Museum of Samoa, the Samoa Tourism Authority, the Savai'i Samoa Tourism Association, the Robert Louis Stevenson Museum, the Cultural Division of Ministry of Sports, Education and Culture and local tourism providers, including those with experience in cultural heritage tourism.

This report was completed as part of a larger project, funded by the New Zealand Institute of Pacific Research, which aimed to investigate the possibility of utilising cultural heritage for sustainable tourism development within the Pacific region. Two case studies were selected to investigate this in more detail: Madang, Papua New Guinea, and Samoa. The overall objectives for our project were as follows:

1. Identify the opportunities and difficulties of using cultural heritage within the Pacific for sustainable development.
2. Increase in-country awareness of sustainable cultural heritage tourism opportunities.
3. Identify workable synergies between cultural and education institutions, government authorities, local communities and tourism infrastructure.

An important tenet of the case studies was to identify how local and cultural factors might impact upon the creation of cultural heritage tourism development opportunities. It was therefore important to understand how tourism is currently organised in each case study. This report will begin by introducing the current tourism situation of Samoa to understand current opportunities and obstacles before examining how local communities in Samoa participate within the tourism industry itself. As cultural heritage tourism is a relatively new concept within the Pacific, highlighted by the current research, this report will explain the concept of

cultural heritage tourism and how it differs from more traditional tourism offerings in the Pacific.

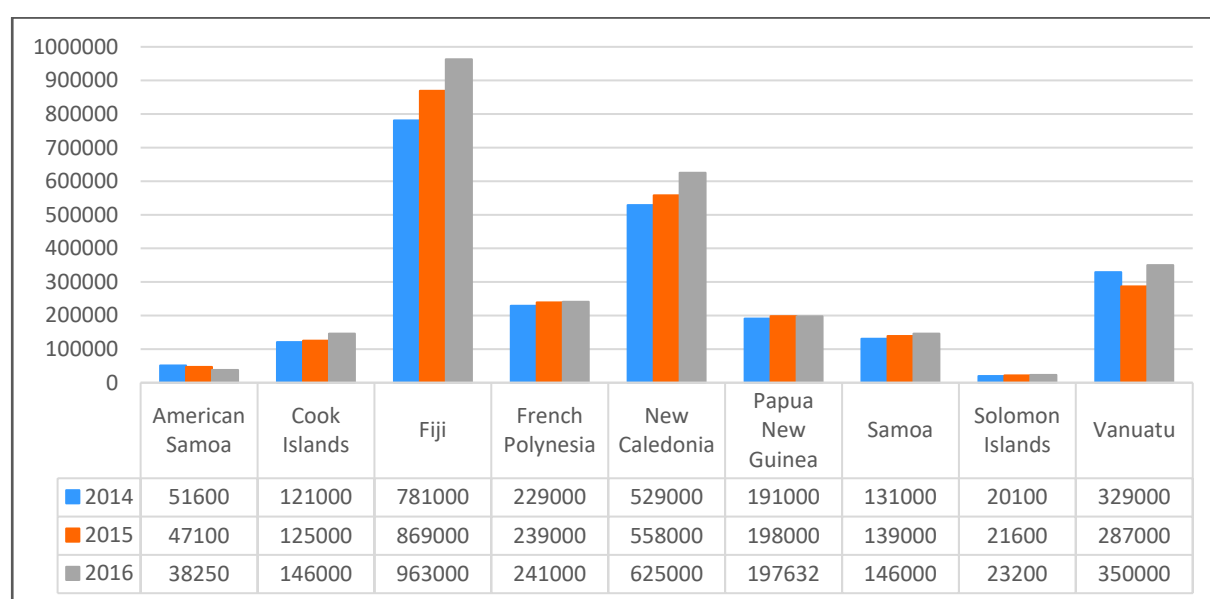
As noted above, each case study will have different cultural heritage opportunities, depending on each unique cultural context, therefore this report will briefly describe Samoa's cultural heritage. Key stakeholders for the development of cultural heritage tourism in Samoa will be identified along with the role they may play in the future, before highlighting current cultural heritage opportunities within Samoa itself. This will be followed by the results of the interviews with communities and stakeholders, discussing perceived views on cultural heritage tourism. Current obstacles and challenges for developing cultural heritage tourism opportunities in Samoa will be discussed before reviewing the role that museums in Samoa may play in the development of this industry. Finally, drawing on the results of this research a set of recommendations for the future development of cultural heritage tourism specific to Samoa will be suggested.

Tourism in Samoa

Tourism has been recognised as having the capacity to deliver economic growth whilst maintaining social/cultural and environmental wellbeing for the country (Ministry of Finance 2012, 2016; STA 2014a). The Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019 Vision states that “By 2019, Samoa will have a growing tourism sector, which engages our visitors and people and is recognised as the leading Pacific destination for sustainable tourism” (STA 2014a: iii). Sustainable tourism is also highlighted as one of the Key Outcomes of Priority Area One (Economic Sector) in the Strategies for the Development of Samoa 2012-2016 and 2016/17-2019/20 (Ministry of Finance 2012, 2016). The importance of tourism to the Samoan economy has been recognised by the New Zealand government, which initiated the Samoa Tourism Support Programme (STSP) in 2011/2012, aimed at “improved

tourism sector governance, promotion and marketing, training, and product development including infrastructure” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2011). More recently, this programme has been transformed into the Samoa Tourism Growth Programme 2017-2021.

While visitor arrivals have been steadily increasing to Samoa (Figure 1), with growth of 6.8% in 2017 (SPTO 2018), they remain lower than the numbers of visitors travelling to other Pacific nations, particularly Fiji. This is partly exacerbated by the very low cruise ship numbers that Samoa receives compared to other nations, which boost visitor arrivals significantly in these nations. For example, in 2017 Samoa had 11,000 cruise ship passengers, compared to 224,000 cruise ship passengers visiting Vanuatu (UNWTO 2017). The lack of cruises to



Source: UNWTO 2017.

Figure 1 Annual Visitor Arrivals to Pacific Nations (including both overnight and excursionist visitors). NB: Excursionist data is missing for Cook Islands and Solomon Islands.

Samoa is largely due to its distance from the main cruising ports of Australia and New Zealand (STA 2014a: 10). If cruise ship data

is removed from the visitor arrivals, Samoa has a roughly comparable tourism market with many other Pacific nations (Table 1).

Table 1 Holiday tourist arrivals to Pacific nations 2016-2017, excluding excursionists.

Country	2016	2017	2017 % change
American Samoa	20050	19987	-0.3
Cook Islands	146473	161362	10.2
Fiji	792320	842884	6.4
French Polynesia	192495	198956	3.4
New Caledonia	115676	120697	4.3
Papua New Guinea	178509	142943	-19.9
Samoa	134000	146000	9.0
Solomon Islands	23192	25709	10.9
Tonga	59130	Prov. 62434	5.6
Vanuatu	95117	109063	14.7

Source: SPTO 2018, except data for Samoa and Papua New Guinea which are sourced from UNWTO (2017) and PNGTPA (2018) respectively as they included excursionist data in their original reporting to SPTO.

Most Pacific nations' visitor statistics are dominated by holiday visitors which generally comprise about 70% of their annual international arrivals. Samoa is an exception, however, due to its large visiting friends and relatives (VFR) market (Figure 2). Between 2012 and 2017, holiday makers have generally held steady at between 35-40% of the total tourism market, with VFR between 33-37% (Figure 2).

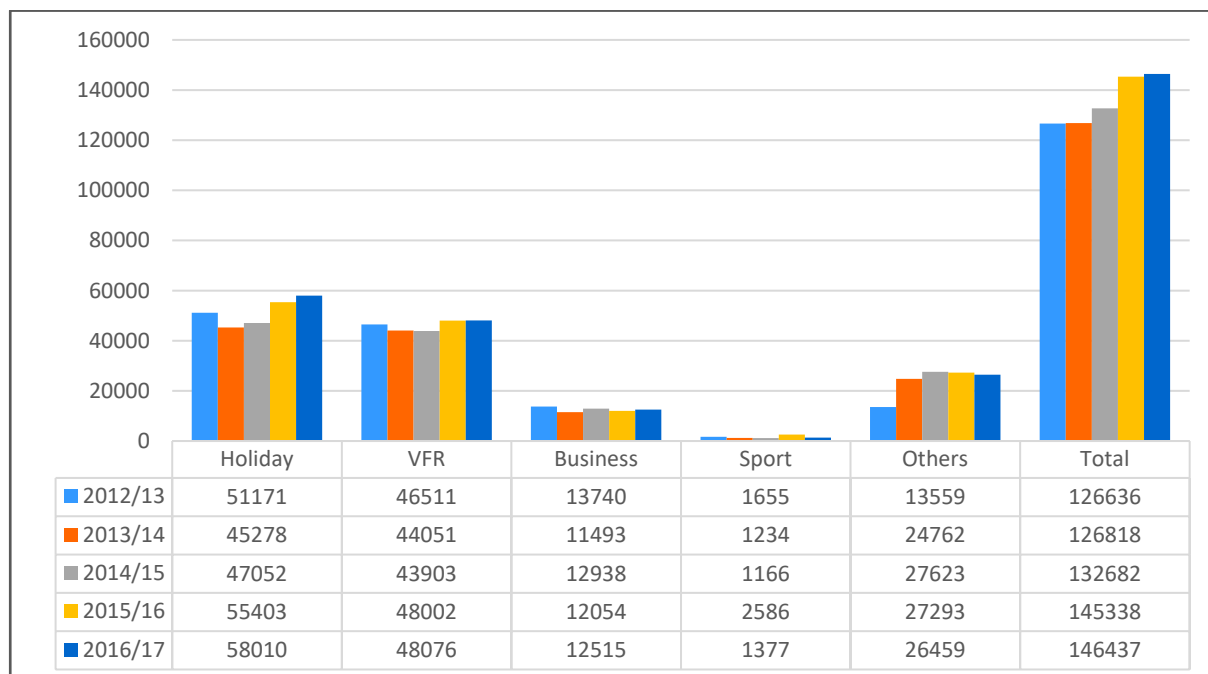
In terms of origin of tourists, by far the largest group of travellers is from New Zealand, with a market share between 43-46% (Table 2), which reflects their geographical proximity, historical connections and the migration patterns between the two countries. New Zealand, with its large Samoan diaspora community, is responsible for a large segment of the VFR market. Australia provides a second important market, followed by American Samoa, although

visitor numbers from the latter have steadily decreased over time. The USA and Others appear to be small but increasing markets.

It should be noted that the numbers in Table 2 reflect all visitors to Samoa and do not identify holiday visitors from those visiting for other purposes. Results from the Samoa International Visitors Survey, however, suggests that a third of NZ visitors come for holiday purposes (NZTRI 2018). There is also a lack of detail regarding wider source markets with 'Others' comprising a very large, diverse group. Further statistical refinement would enable greater understanding of the source of Samoa's tourists, particularly in terms of identifying potential growth markets originating from Asia. It is also important to examine travellers' purpose to help determine if visitor increases relate to the holiday market or other areas. For example, Ford et al. (in

press) identified that an increase in visitors to Papua New Guinea from Asia was linked to

business and employment opportunities rather than an increase in tourism.



Source: STA 2017

Figure 2 Visitor purpose for travel to Samoa.

Table 2 Ethnicity of visitor arrivals in Samoa.

	2012/13		2013/14		2014/15		2015/16		2016/17	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
New Zealand	55586	44	54275	43	56706	43	65236	45	67636	46
Australia	27871	22	29666	23	30645	23	30856	21	29453	20
American Samoa	20766	16	18914	15	17055	13	14399	10	17416	12
USA	7337	6	7103	6	9166	7	11705	8	9866	7
Europe	3414	3	3790	3	3334	3	5092	4	4616	3
Others	11662	9	13070	10	15776	12	18050	12	17450	12
Total	126636	100	126818	100	132682	100	145338	100	146437	100

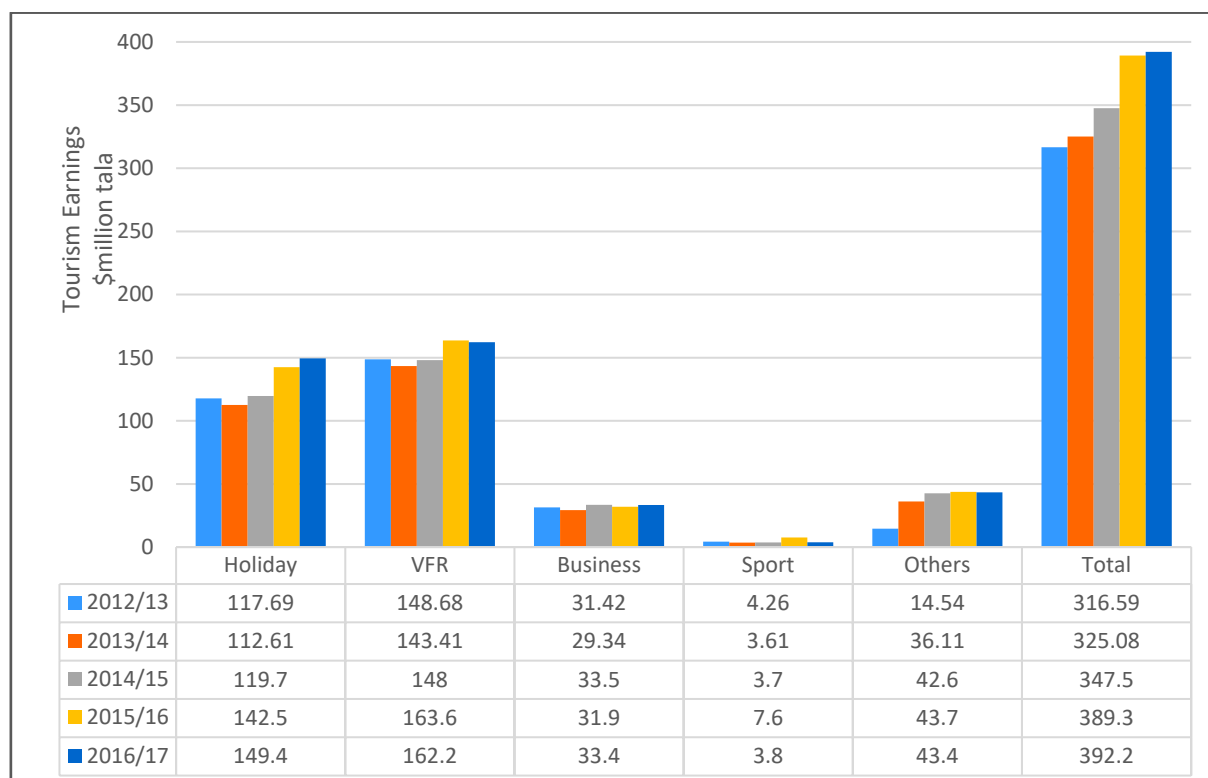
Source: STA 2017

Tourism is the largest industry in Samoa, currently responsible for between 20-25% of the nation's GDP. The Samoan Tourism Authority (STA 2014a: 19) have aspirations to increase tourism by 2019 to a level where

it is "the main source of income for Samoans generating over \$SAT550 million for the national economy annually". Figure 3 shows how tourism earnings in Samoa have been steadily climbing over time. The

Economic Impact Analysis Report (STA and Acorn Consulting 2014) notes that in 2014 tourism provided 73% of foreign exchange earnings for Samoa, and directly employed 2825 people. Figure 3 also shows

that while holiday visitors are important in terms of the amount they spend while visiting Samoa, VFR are also an important market, spending more per capita than holiday visitors.



Source: STA 2017

Figure 3 Tourism earnings in \$million tala

With tourism increasing overall, creating a marketing strategy that distinguishes Samoa from other Pacific nations is a particular challenge. The STA (2014a: 23) note that Samoa has “a unique Polynesian culture with a strong sense of place”, but appears to struggle to articulate this to overseas tourists. This is not a problem unique to Samoa; previous studies have suggested that other Pacific nations also lack the ability to adequately distinguish themselves from each other by not focusing on their unique cultural contexts (Everett et al. 2018; SPTO 2014; Tauaa 2010). At the same time, there is also a perception amongst overseas tourists that,

compared to other Pacific nations, Samoa has limited attraction sites and activities (STA 2014a: 35). The Strategy for the Development of Samoa 2016/17-2019/20 noted a particular need to diversify tourism products and activities that engage with Samoan culture (Ministry of Finance 2016: 6).

Miller and Twining-Ward (2005) note that for Small Island Developing States there are risks to developing tourism, including high economic leakage due to the need to import goods and services; increased need for foreign labour; environmental issues when developing areas of limited resources such as

water and land; and the commercialisation of culture. Other issues include high rates of foreign ownership of resorts.

To mitigate against these risks, Samoa has placed emphasis on the need for sustainable tourism and has a long history of attempting to implement sustainable tourism principles. For example, in 1998, Samoa was the first country in the Pacific to develop sustainable tourism indicators (Miller and Twining-Ward 2005). In 2013/2014, Samoa became an 'Early Adopter' under the Global Sustainable Tourism Council (GSTC) (STA 2014b), and produced favourable results in a GSTC report which reviewed Samoa's performance against international benchmarks (STA 2014a: 4). Samoa's ongoing commitment to sustainable tourism was again reflected in 2017 when the Prime Minister of Samoa, Hon. Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi was named as Special Ambassador of the International Year of Sustainable Tourism by the World Tourism Organisation.

In Samoa, the Tourism Development Act (STA 2012: 5) notes that

“the following guiding principles are to be observed as far as is practicable to promote the interests of tourism: (a) tourism development shall – (i) be sustainable and for the general benefit of Samoans; (ii) be consistent with existing traditions, customary practices and rights; and (iii) recognise the authority of the institutions of community governance in Samoa; (b) environmental impacts from tourism developments are to be minimised, and due regulatory processes are to be applied to ensure the protection and conservation of Samoa's biodiversity, water resources and terrestrial and marine environments; (c) adverse and

undesirable impacts of tourism are to be addressed by effective controls over criminal activity, the generation of wastes, the introduction of diseases and the imitation of customary rights to intellectual property; and (d) public safety and security is to be preserved.”

Sustainability is clearly a key concept driving tourism development in Samoa, although the success of this approach is not always clearly articulated or evidenced (Harrison and Pratt 2015: 16). Many of the tourism operations are small-scale and locally owned (Harrison and Prasad 2013: 749; Scheyvens 2004, 2005), which commentators cite as a positive contrast to Fiji where large scale resorts are generally owned by foreigners, and the country is now dealing with issues of mass tourism (Scheyvens 2004, 2005; Miller and Twining-Ward 2005; Tauaa 2010). More recently, however, there has been an increase in foreign ownership and development of resorts in Samoa. In 2010, the Tanoa Hotel Group, based in Fiji, opened the Tanoa Tusitala Resort in Apia. In 2016, the iconic Aggie Grey's Hotel and Aggie Grey's Resort began a management partnership with The Sheraton, before being sold to Chinese investors in 2018. Also in 2016, the Taumeasina Island Resort was opened in Apia, funded by the Lamana Group (based in Papua New Guinea) with substantial support from the Samoan Tourism Authority (STA 2012). The increase in large foreign-owned resorts is not necessarily a negative move, particularly as these resorts encourage an increase in tourist numbers can be crucial in providing local employment and other potential spin offs for local communities developing tourism enterprises (Harrison and Prasad 2013; Harrison and Pratt 2015). It is important, however, that such developments follow the

sustainable principles outlined in the Tourism Development Act 2012.

In particular, the Tourism Development Act 2012 (see STA 2012) and others note (Miller and Twining-Ward 2005; Scheyvens 2004; Taumoepeau and Addison 2016) that tourism in Samoa needs to be developed in conjunction with the traditional way of life in Samoa, *fa'a Samoa*, which Fairbairn-Dunlop (1994: 124) defines as “a system of chiefly rule in which every person is expected to know their place and the correct behavior

patterns of their place”. This means tourism needs to be culturally appropriate and respectful of local traditions. With 81% of land in Samoa under customary land tenure this also means that most areas subject to possible tourism development are owned by local communities. Harrison (2003) notes that for tourism to be considered sustainable and successful for Pacific Island nations, local communities need to be involved in the development process and provide economic benefits to them.

Community Based Tourism in Samoa

As noted above, Samoa has a long history of community-based tourism, particularly the development of beach fale tourism (Scheyvens 2004, 2005). A Fale is a traditional form of house (usually a hut without walls although this has changed at some of the more modern fale tourist operations to facilitate visitor privacy), and staying in fale accommodation normally means staying on a beach (Figure 4), participating in communal dinners, and having access to activities such as surfing, snorkelling and swimming. Sometimes the fale offers cultural activities such as fiasias and handicraft making. Fale operations are usually owned by local families and are a source of employment for wider members of the local community or village.

Scheyvens (2004) notes several benefits of fale tourism for local communities. Economically they are attractive as they bring in money, diversify livelihoods and create employment. Although tourists staying in fale are usually paying lower accommodation

fees than in resorts, they tend to stay for longer periods. There is little economic leakage as tourists tend to have no expectations of foreign or imported goods, so fale owners buy/hire goods and services locally, such as fresh fish and vegetables from other members of the community. Guides/workers will also be hired from within the local community. The types of tourists who stay in fale are likely to be more adventurous and seek out remoter accommodation choices thus providing rural and remote communities with the opportunity to benefit from tourism. This is important in Samoa where most of the employment opportunities are concentrated in Apia; communities with fale ventures make it possible for younger members of the community to stay in the village as opposed to having to leave to seek work in Apia. Other community organisations and projects benefit too as some of the money earned from the fale tends to be donated to the church, schools, women's groups and other community organisations.



Figure 4 Beach *fale* on Lano Beach, Savai'i.

Importantly for the current study, Scheyvens' (2004) study showed the importance of culture for tourism in Samoa, with many of the tourists interviewed in her study noting that they valued the beach *fale* experience as it felt like they were participating in and sharing more actively in Samoan culture. At the same time, the host communities felt proud to be sharing their culture.

Apart from Scheyvens' research into beach *fale* tourism, there has been little critical analysis of community-based tourism (CBT) projects in Samoa. Some commentators have reflected on the value of CBT for Samoa and, while overall it has generally been seen positively in providing important economic benefits to communities (Tauaa 2010; Zeppel 2014), it is also noted that tourism development needs to be planned and organised in line with the values and needs of the local community (Taumoepeau and Addison 2016). It is imperative, therefore, that CBT projects are developed in a way that recognises the cultural context of local communities; i.e. not only achieving sustainable objectives for their culture and environmental wellbeing, but also sustainability in the context of ongoing economic enterprises for financial wellbeing.

Within the Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019, one of the goals for 2019 was to increase community management and participation in commercial enterprises focused on attraction sites, as well as to increase community engagement through tourism awareness programmes (STA 2014a). The Plan notes "that well managed attractions can provide sustainable income for local communities and other accommodation products can benefit from the development of linkages to cultural and environmental tour products and community based tourism opportunities" (STA 2014a: 35). This would suggest that on the whole, community based tourism still has potential for further development, particularly around attraction sites.

To summarise, one of the growth opportunities for tourism in Samoa is cultural heritage, if communities are willing to share their cultural values (tangible and intangible) with visitors. Samoa has a reputation for *fā'a Samoa*, the Samoan Way of Life, which is transmitted into its friendly relationship with tourists, which is exemplified in the growth of beach *fale* tourism in Samoa. However, there are many other tangible and intangible products that could be developed as sustainable development opportunities for local communities, particularly attraction sites.

Cultural Heritage Tourism

Cultural heritage can be defined as the material and intangible attributes that people inherit from previous generations that are maintained in the present and for the future. Material or tangible cultural heritage sites are places that be physically visited and experienced. This includes archaeological sites, monuments, museums, settlements or landscapes/places that have historical and cultural significance (ICOMOS Charter 2008). In contrast, UNESCO (2003) notes that intangible heritage includes the knowledge and practice of culture, such as oral traditions and histories, performing arts, rituals, festivals, and knowledge about traditional craftsmanship.

Cultural heritage tourism can incorporate both tangible and intangible aspects, depending on the nature of the experience. For example, SPTO (2014: 7) defines cultural heritage tourism as “all tourist trips that include cultural activities, such as visiting monuments, sites and museums, as well as experiences and interaction with local communities, such as attending festivals, local cultural events and visiting markets. It involves travelling to experience the places and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present.” This definition reflects both tangible and intangible cultural heritage tourism experiences. Although globally cultural heritage tourism is worth 40% of the total tourism market, tourism operators tend to market the Pacific as a tropical beach destination, with a lack of understanding of the diversity and richness of Pacific cultural heritage (SPTO 2014; World Bank 2017).

This is further backed up by the results of the Samoa International Visitor Survey

(2014 version) which noted that Samoa was primarily picked as a destination by tourists because of family/friends in Samoa, beautiful beaches/warm water/scenery and warm and sunny weather, although tourists from Europe were also attracted by culture and history (<http://samoatourism.org/articles/88/trip-planning>). The 2018 Samoa International Visitor Survey also noted that the prime motivators for travel to Samoa were environmental cleanliness and weather (49%), local people (37%), activities, attractions, entertainment and events (17%) and culture (14%) (NZTRI 2018: 25). Scheyvens (2005: 16) noted that tourists travelled to Samoa over other Pacific Island nations such as Fiji because it was “perceived as being more culturally authentic”.

In the Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019, tourists were recorded as having a high level of satisfaction with travel in Samoa overall, but only rated cultural activities as average (STA 2014a: 9). This indicates that there is a need to develop this sector in Samoa. While the Sector Plan aims to increase the level of visitor satisfaction for cultural activities by 2019, it does not consider cultural heritage as a niche market by itself, instead focusing upon developing walking, driving and cycling itineraries (STA 2014a: 36). Some strategies to upgrade existing cultural and natural heritage sites have been developed, with emphasis on signage (both directional and interpretative), information upgrading and training in visitor site management (STA 2014a: 36), although they were only just becoming operational in late 2018 with the first upgrade completed at Afu Aau Falls. While the overall aim of the Sector Plan is to increase the range of products within Samoa, a lack of emphasis

on cultural heritage would suggest a potential missing niche market.

The advantage of attracting cultural heritage tourists as a niche in themselves is that not only are they usually high value tourists, meaning they are usually high spenders, they also tend to be discerning about their money, wishing to contribute to the communities where they stay, and pay towards maintaining and invigorating cultural heritage (SPTO 2014; Timothy 2011). The SPTO notes that tourists from the US, UK, Germany, Japan, France and Australia are most likely to be cultural heritage tourists (SPTO 2014), which, referring back to Table 2, are also some of the current tourist markets for Samoa. None the less, the SPTO 2014 also notes that Australian and NZ cultural heritage tourists are more likely to visit Europe or Asia for a cultural heritage trip than the Pacific, which is more seen as a local, safe, ‘flop and drop’ beach holiday destination, with the exception of Papua New Guinea, which is recognised and valued as a cultural heritage destination.

In addition, incidental cultural heritage tourists (Du Cros and McKercher 2015) are tourists who visit primarily for other reasons, such as surfing or beach tourism, but also engage in cultural heritage activities or visit attraction sites as part of their overall stay. As most visitors to Samoa visit for the environment, beaches, the weather and tropical holiday experience, this market is an important one to consider when developing suitable cultural heritage experiences. Other important potential cultural heritage customers are the local domestic and related VFR markets, as diaspora communities are often looking to reengage with their cultural heritage, or introduce/educate their children about their ancestry and heritage. This market is currently overlooked in terms of

tourism development in Samoa (Hall and Duval 2004) but, considering the large numbers of VFR travellers to Samoa, one that should be more strongly considered

The NZTRI 2018 Samoa International Visitor Survey notes the importance of culture for most tourists visiting Samoa, despite it not being the prime motivation for travellers. The report shows that 86% of respondents visited a local market, 69% visited a village, 57% attended an island celebration or event, 53% attended dance/language/art/cooking classes, 52% attended cultural events of festivals, 45% attended church, 40% visited a museum and 40% went on a cultural tour. These results indicate that many tourists are already seeking out cultural activities in Samoa as part of their overall stay, although these experiences are currently largely focused on intangible heritage. They are also buying local clothing (74%), produce (73%) and crafts (69%). Comments from visitors included in the report showed that travellers wanted to engage more with local communities and suppliers, and experience authentic and traditional culture. This is backed up by a consumer survey undertaken by STA (2014d) and completed of 2300 Australians, which noted that travellers preferred “seeing the culture in practice daily instead of only at a ‘cultural show’”.

Cultural heritage tourism is recognised as significant for Samoa and other indigenous cultures because culture tends to be context and place-specific, therefore people have to travel to the place where that culture originated in order to experience it (Butler and Hinch 2007; Pfister 2000; Timothy 2011). This is important for rural and local communities in particular because these are the types of communities that cultural heritage tourists are looking to interact with,



Figure 5 Siapo making at the Samoan Cultural Village.

people ‘living their culture’. The ability to draw tourists into rural areas in search of ‘authentic’ cultural experiences is considered to be one of the advantages for local communities in focusing upon cultural heritage tourism rather than other types (Butler and Hinch 2007; Du Cros and McKercher 2015; Timothy 2011) and has great potential for Samoan communities. For instance, the recent Samoa International Visitor Survey (NZTRI 2018: 8) noted that of all visitors surveyed, just 33% visited Savai’i, and only 2% travelled to Manono. Developing cultural heritage attraction sites in these areas, which are often marketed as more ‘traditional’ and ‘off the beaten track’ already, could provide further incentive for tourists to include these islands in their planning.

Apart from economic benefits, cultural heritage tourism is also perceived as providing social/cultural advantages over other types of tourism. The Strategy for the Development of Samoa 2012-2016 recognises that tourism can assist in cultural revival (Ministry of Finance 2012). Allowing communities to receive economic benefits from staying connected to their traditional cultural values is important and provides incentives for younger generations to learn about and value their culture (Butler and Hinch 2007). At the same time, cultural heritage tourism, if managed appropriately, can allow tourists to engage more directly with the communities they visit, thus creating real interactions between locals and tourists (Du Cros and McKercher 2015). This

engagement can result in knowledge sharing, community empowerment and increased empathy between tourists and communities (Carr et al. 2016). Cultural heritage tourism therefore has a significant social/cultural value as well as educational benefits.

Other advantages of cultural heritage tourism include encouraging more people to participate in community level tourism, as cultural heritage products tend to be community-based such as handicrafts, *fiafias*, and sharing of traditional knowledge, and for Samoa, many of the tangible cultural heritage sites are located on customary owned land. Cultural heritage tourism may also have lower start-up costs as the communities have the traditional knowledge, tools and skill-sets themselves and therefore do not need to spend initial capital on infrastructure development, although this will vary depending on the type of venture being developed. At the same time, cultural heritage tourism tends to have low economic leakage as the products are produced within the village by the villagers and do not require additional external spending, meaning that income can stay in the community.

Cultural heritage tourism is not without its risks, however. For materially based cultural

heritage assets, poorly managed tourism can lead to deterioration or destruction of the asset itself (Schuster 2006). Local communities may not have sufficient funds or resources to be able to develop tourism markets themselves and are therefore at risk of losing control and access to local assets through the involvement of external providers (Butler and Hinch 2007). For intangible cultural heritage attractions, concerns have focused around the problem of turning cultural heritage into a tourism ‘product’, which can potentially lead to issues relating to inauthenticity, trivialisation, commodification, and exploitation (Carr et al. 2016; Prideaux and Timothy 2008). These issues mean that cultural heritage tourism needs to be carefully designed in ways that are suitable and appropriate for the host community and the cultural heritage itself, not just for the tourists. The Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019 recognises these risks through their guiding principles, which state that tourism development should “respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.” (STA 2014a: 18).

Cultural Heritage of Samoa

Samoa was first colonised between 2850-2700 years ago as part of the first push of people into the Western Pacific. The Lapita people, as this first migration are known, ultimately derived from Asia, arriving in Papua New Guinea at about 3300 years ago, before expanding eastwards into the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. Samoa is significant as this is the last place that we see the Lapita culture, with voyaging stopping here for another 1800 years before venturing further into the eastern Pacific (Wilmshurst, Hunt, Lipo and Anderson 2011). Only one site dates to the Lapita period in Samoa, a village that is now underwater and was identified during dredging for the wharf at Mulifanua.

This gap in voyaging is significant as it places the Fiji-Samoa-Tonga triangle as the area where the ancestral Polynesian cultures developed. Archaeologists call this time period the Plainware Period (2500-1500 years ago), where pottery is still used but is not decorated. During this time, there is evidence for people both living along the coast of Samoa but also in inland settlements (Green 2002).

From 1500-1000 years ago, a Dark Ages or A-ceramic period is recorded, where there are very few archaeological sites recovered, and pottery has stopped being used. From 1000-250 years ago there is a renaissance in Samoan archaeology, with evidence for extensive monumental architecture being built from stone, including hundreds of star mounds, house platforms, walkways, terraces, ovens and fortifications, as well as large earthen mounds and ditches, recorded across Upolu, Savai'i and Manono. The famous Pulemelei mound, the largest

ancient Polynesian structure, dates to this time period. It is also within this time period that Samoa came under the Tu'i Tonga or Tongan Maritime Empire, which was eventually repelled by a Samoan chief, Malietoa Savea.

In 1830 the first missionaries arrived in Samoa, John Williams and Charles Barff from the London Missionary Society, who landed in Savai'i. They were followed by other faiths, including Methodist, Catholic and Mormons. Samoans quickly adopted Christianity and this became a major feature of *fā'a Samoa* today. Along with the missionaries, colonial powers soon became interested in the economic potential of Samoa, particularly as a shipping port, with the British, Americans and Germans all wishing to establish control. The Tripartite Treaty was signed in 1899, which gave control of Western Samoa (what is Samoa today) to the Germans. Robert Louis Stevenson (RLS) arrived in Samoa during this time of European conflict over the territory, living at his homestead at Vailima from 1889 until his death in 1894. RLS, or Tusiata as he was known in Samoa, was buried at Mt Vaea, located above his homestead. During his time in Samoa, RLS wrote about the local political situation, as well as novels set in Samoa itself.

In 1908, an independence movement, known as the Mau movement, emerged and rebelled against colonial rule in Samoa. In 1914, following the outbreak of the First World War, New Zealand sent the Samoa Expeditionary Force, commanded by Colonel Robert Logan, to German Samoa to seize the local wireless station from German control. The administration of Samoa was

then taken over by New Zealand until the end of the First World War. Under their initial military administration, an influenza epidemic occurred in 1918, when more than 8500 people died (one-fifth of the total population of Samoa at that time) (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014). At the end of the War, New Zealand was officially handed the mandate for Samoa by the League of Nations. Ill-conceived policies by the New Zealand administration (which was largely run by administrators from military backgrounds), such as the ability to banish chiefs and remove titles, and the exclusion of Samoans from any real representation in governance, led to a revitalisation of the Mau movement in 1927. A characteristic of the movement was passive resistance that included the refusal to attend government meetings, withdrawing children from government schools and the refusal to work on plantations. In 1929, during a Mau parade in Apia, New Zealand police opened fire on the parade with machine guns, killing eight people, including the prominent Samoan leader Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III. This occurred where the old German courthouse stands today (Field 1984). This movement paved the way for Western Samoa to become the first Pacific

Island nation to gain political independence in 1962.

Today Samoa is renowned for its strong adherence to *fa'a Samoa*: the Samoan way of life, which is based on a chiefly system of rule, with service to *matai* (chief), *aiga* (extended family) and the church being paramount principles. However, less well known is Samoa's rich archaeological history, particularly its monumental archaeological landscape and the role that the islands played in being the last voyaging place of the Lapita peoples and subsequently, during the 1800-year gap before voyaging began, part of the homeland where the ancestral Polynesian culture was developed. While Disney has recently recognised the significance of these stories, using them as a basis for the *Moana* film, there is little evidence for them being drawn upon in cultural heritage tourism offerings in Samoa. Samoa therefore has a prime opportunity to develop cultural heritage attraction sites that tell the story of Samoa, including the development of the *fa'a Samoa* and the significant role that Samoa has played in Polynesian history. These legacies will allow the country to distinguish itself apart from other Pacific Island nations.



Key Stakeholders for Cultural Heritage Tourism in Samoa

For cultural heritage tourism to be successful, a range of stakeholders need to be included, both from tourism and cultural heritage backgrounds. This section will outline the role and responsibilities of key stakeholders within Samoa.

Samoa Tourism Authority (STA): The STA is the lead agency for tourism development in Samoa. It is in charge of tourism advocacy, policy and planning, marketing and visitor information, and market research and statistics (STA 2014a: 15). They can also aid and advise communities on product development. They are funded by the Government but are semi-autonomous, reporting to an independent board and the Minister of Tourism. STA has offices in New Zealand, Australia, USA and the UK for marketing purposes. The STA also runs festivals and events throughout the year, including the Teuila Festival. Information is provided to tourists at the *fale* on Beach Road, behind which is located the Samoan Cultural Village, which is also run by STA.

Savai'i Samoa Tourism Association (SSTA): The SSTA was set up by local tourism providers in 2010 to promote and encourage tourism specifically on the island of Savai'i. It is mainly a voluntary organisation, with an active executive that is drawn from accommodation and tour operators. SSTA run a small information centre near the wharf at Salelologa, which is the entry point for all visitors to Savai'i. They also have a website and run an active online marketing campaign through Facebook that promotes tourism attractions, events and activities on Savai'i. Funding for SSTA is largely through membership subscriptions and small grants.

Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC)/Museum of Samoa: The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture was formed in 1993 following the *Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs Act 1993/1994*. Overall, the Ministry has a vision of safeguarding and promoting culture and sports through education. The Cultural Division of MESC is responsible for cultural development projects in Samoa (MESC 2006), and includes the Museum of Samoa and the National Orchestra.

The MESC Corporate Plan 2015-2018 and Strategic Plan 2006-2015 both highlight the role that the Cultural Division and the Museum play in recording, preserving and promoting Samoa's material and intangible cultural heritage (MESC 2006, 2015). This includes the recording of oral traditions, stories, oratory, dance and music, some of which are published in the *Samoa Nei Galo* publications. The Cultural Division has also been working on the development of a National Culture Policy since at least 2006 (MESC 2006), although this is still in its draft stage. Included within this draft policy is a section on culture and tourism, with the aim of recognising culture as a tourism asset (UNESCO 2014). This includes planning to

promote cultural heritage sites as tourism sites. Both the Museum and the Cultural Division are therefore vital resources for providing information and interpretation for constructing cultural heritage narratives for tourism purposes.

National University of Samoa (NUS): NUS is the main tertiary level institution in Samoa and teaches both cultural heritage at the Centre for Samoan Studies and tourism. Academics and students from this institution could therefore provide key resources in developing cultural heritage tourism opportunities from both the cultural heritage and tourism sectors.

Cultural Heritage Opportunities in Samoa

There are a range of cultural heritage opportunities available within Samoa, including tangible and intangible heritage. This study was not designed to focus on specific attractions or sites, although some are included due to their specific relevance to the current project. Instead a more general discussion of the range of opportunities is detailed below.

Museum of Samoa (Falemata'aga): The Museum of Samoa was established in 1999 at the Old Court House on Beach Road, before moving to its present location in 2008. Currently, the Museum of Samoa is located in an old colonial German school-house building in Malifa, Apia. The Museum itself contains five rooms, of which four are dedicated to permanent exhibitions and one to visiting exhibitions. The permanent exhibitions are primarily cultural heritage focused, including prehistory or archaeological collections, the colonial time period, (particularly the relationship with New Zealand and missionaries), and ethnographic

collections. There is a small amount of natural heritage material, mostly in the form of shells and coral. Most of the permanent exhibitions have been gifted to the Museum by external bodies such as the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Although approximately 400 artefacts are stored at the museum, only a small selection are on display.

The Museum is run as part of the Cultural Division of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. No admission is charged for entry although a donation box is available. Approximately 3000 visitors attend the museum annually (UNESCO 2014: 39). Mostly visitors are of international origin or Samoan diaspora wishing to investigate family history. Schools from New Zealand and Australia also visit. The Museum also holds workshops on handicrafts throughout the year and hosts local school visits. In addition, the Museum has a website and a Facebook page for disseminating information about cultural heritage in Samoa.



Figure 6 Falemata'aga Museum of Samoa.

Robert Louis Stevenson Museum: The Robert Louis Stevenson Museum is based at the original homestead location belonging to the Stevenson family in Vailima. In 1991, The Robert Louis Stevenson Foundation Act 1991 was passed, which allowed for the establishment of a foundation (the Robert Louis Stevenson Museum/Preservation Foundation) to restore, preserve, maintain and operate the Vailima Homestead and its grounds. The Act grants the Foundation a lease over the grounds for 60 years, although ownership remains with the Samoan government. Much of the original homestead was destroyed in the 1990s due to cyclones, but it has been restored to be as true as possible to the original building inhabited by the Stevenson family, and was

opened as a public museum in 1994. Today it is one of the most visited attraction sites in Samoa (STA 2012), along with RLS's grave, which is located nearby in the Mt Vaea National Reserve (and can be accessed separately from the RLS Museum). The interior of the homestead has been restored predominately using replicas true to the time period, and there is a library and souvenir shop on site. Entry to the homestead is charged and by guided tour only, including interpretation about RLS's life and time in Samoa. The homestead grounds are also available for venue hire and are used extensively for government events, weddings and parties. In addition, the Museum also holds an annual event honouring the legacy of Tusitala, as RLS was known.



Figure 7 Robert Louis Stevenson Museum and Tomb.

Visitors to the RLS Museum are mostly international tourists. With 21% of tourists arriving in Samoa visiting the museum (NZTRI 2018) it is the 11th most visited attraction in Upolu. However, in recent years the Museum has also increasingly become incorporated within the school curriculum, with primary school students learning about RLS's poetry, and high school students learning about his history. This makes school visits now an important part of

the RLS Museum's role; a small \$1 tala entry fee is charged per student. The RLS Museum also has links with the tourism department of NUS and provides annual work experience opportunities for some students.

Archaeological sites: Often archaeological sites are inaccessible or undetectable to most tourists. Samoa is an exception to this, however, with a rich monumental architectural landscape spread across the islands



(including Upolu, Savai'i and Manono) that consists of star mounds, house platforms, walls, walkways and fortifications (see for example Samoa Observer 2017; Jackmond, Fonoti and Matavai Tautuna 2018). These are highly evocative sites that speak to the prehistory of Samoa. Some star mounds are visited as part of tourist operations, largely at Falealupo where local tours consist of a number of cultural sites; however, little interpretation is provided to enable visitors to understand the significance of these sites and how they fit into Samoan history. Manono also has star mounds and other cultural sites which are advertised on the STA website and through independent media, such as the Lonely Planet, but these are not currently part of commercial tourist operations. Both of these locations offer potential landscapes for cultural heritage tourism development.

While not all monumental archaeological sites should be developed for tourism purposes, developing educational resources of this feature of Samoa's history would add a currently missing perspective to its tourism offerings and help distinguish the country from some other Pacific Island nations. For example, the Pulemelei Mound on Savai'i is the largest ancient structure in all of Polynesia and thus a highly marketable feature; it is, however, currently inaccessible to tourists. Large earthen mounds at Vaitele on Upolu, could also be significant visitation sites, including Laupule mound, which is the largest earth mound in Samoa and West Polynesia (Martisson-Wallin 2016). The Centre for Samoan Studies at NUS is currently undertaking a pilot cultural heritage tourism project, funded by UNDP, in the Palauli district of Savai'i. This will be the first project of this type in Samoa and is an excellent case study for exploring how these types of community projects may be developed in the future (see

https://sgp.undp.org/~sgpundp/index.php?option=com_sgpprojects&view=projectdetail&id=25501&Itemid=272).

Samoan Cultural Village: This was revived by the Samoa Tourism Authority in 2011/ 2012 and is located on Beach Road, behind the STA visitor *fale*. In 2018, 15% of visitors to Samoa visited the village, making it the 18th most popular attraction site in Upolu (NZTRI 2018). Although the village itself is open every weekday, guided tours are only available at 10.30 am on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays.



Figure 8 Local community members clearing vegetation from walled walkway in Palauli District as part of NUS cultural heritage tourism project.

During these tours the guide visits the different *fale* in the village, each of which show different Samoan cultural traditions, including tattooing, *umu* demonstrations, and *siapo* making, before finishing with music/dance and a *umu* lunch. The tour is free and each tour guide provides a wealth of knowledge on Samoan cultural traditions. Predominantly international visitors and VFR attend the Samoan Cultural Village, in addition to international and local schools. Visitors wishing to know more about particular aspects of Samoan culture, such as *siapo* or carving, can also be directed to particular villages or craftspeople in Samoa that specialise in these activities. Currently, there appears to be little connection between the Samoan Cultural Village and other cultural heritage institutions such as the Museum of Samoa or the RLS Museum.

Village Visits/*Fale*/Handicrafts: As discussed above, many villages host *fale* operations, where tourists can stay in *fale* and participate in local village activities to different degrees. This may include an *umu* cooking demonstration, *fiafia* performances, participating in handicraft workshops such as *siapo* or fine mat weaving, and church/school/village visits. Some *fale* and resorts have a schedule of different activities available, while other *fale* operations are more informal and will rely on tourists requesting certain activities. Intangible heritage is therefore readily incorporated into Samoa's current tourism offerings, although this is primarily linked to accommodation options – resorts and *fale* operations – rather than in villages themselves. Samoa signed UNESCO's *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2013 and already has its first nomination

to the register for Samoan fine mat weaving (*ie ūga*). Handicrafts are an important souvenir industry for Samoa and tourists can readily buy these at markets, shops and galleries in Apia, at the Samoan Cultural Village, as well as at accommodation resorts and smaller markets, such as that at Salelologa, on Savai'i.

Colonial heritage/built heritage: Samoa came under German administration following the 1899 Tripartite Treaty becoming the only German colony in Polynesia. This lasted until the beginning of the First World War when, in 1914, New Zealand took over the administration from the Germans. New Zealand remained an occupying power

until 1962 when Samoa gained independence. Several buildings still remain from this earlier colonial period particularly in Apia. Some are currently used for tourism purposes in the form of accommodation (for example, the Samoan Outrigger Hotel) or to house the Museum of Samoa (an old German school house). Previously, the old German court house was home to the Museum of Samoa, but the building currently lies vacant with potential plans for demolition, which has met with mixed responses from Samoans (Radio NZ 2018). Apart from the RLS Museum, none of these buildings are currently attraction sites in themselves.



Figure 9 Old German Court house on Beach Road, currently unoccupied.

These buildings are important artefacts that preserve the fabric of Samoa's colonial period but, being predominantly made of timber they present extensive conservation challenges given the tropical climate of Samoa. A few older churches and halls are more durable, being made from coral cement. An

earlier heritage assessment of Apia (Pringle 1989) noted that a conservation plan was needed that would allow for the preservation of buildings in identifiable heritage precincts. Such preservation would prove attractive to tourists and provide incentive for re-purposing the heritage buildings. A relevant comparison

would be Levuka Historical Port Town in Fiji, a UNESCO World Heritage-listed site, which was the first colonial capital of Fiji (see UNESCO 2019). More recently, the Draft Apia Waterfront Plan discussed the possible upgrade of heritage buildings and sites as tourist attractions linked together by interpretative signage. This redevelopment was aimed both at preserving and highlighting Samoan culture and heritage, and at providing a “unique branding for the Apia Waterfront, setting it apart from other waterfronts in the Pacific region” (Government of Samoa 2016: 30).

Samoa has a range of tangible and intangible cultural heritage opportunities for tourism development. While intangible heritage such as fiasias, handicraft making, and umu demonstrations are already incorporated into Samoan tourism and accessible either at the Samoan Cultural Village or through

accommodation providers, tangible heritage, such as archaeological sites, are largely missing from the tourism offerings. Samoa has a wealth of tangible archaeological sites, particularly sites of monumental architecture, which could prove to be important attraction sites. Incorporating these types of sites into the tourism fabric would serve multiple functions; not least they would increase the diversity of tourist attractions in Samoa. Samoa is a relatively small country and is very easy to travel around. Currently, there is a perceived lack of things to do in Samoa beyond beach tourism. The addition of new attraction sites, particularly archaeological sites which are not currently available to tourists, together with highlighting the cultural heritage of Samoa, may offer a new point of difference and increase the overall attractiveness of visiting Samoa over other Pacific nations.

Community and Stakeholders' Views on Cultural Heritage Tourism

This section reports on the findings from interviews and discussions held between stakeholders involved in both cultural heritage and tourism in Samoa, as well as local communities who have the potential to develop tangible cultural heritage attraction sites in the Palauli District of Savai'i. The community members interviewed have a range of different exposure levels to tourism currently, with some having actively participated in running attraction sites or beach *fale* operations, while others had little to no experiences with tourism at the time of field-work. The results of these interviews and discussions are as follows:

- Local communities supported community-based tourism ventures, as tourism provides important economic gains for community groups which could be fed back into the community as employment and to support schools, medical needs, and other community activities. Apart from access/entry or guiding fees for sites, tourism could create other economic spinoffs such as the sale of produce and handicrafts, visitor spending in stores, and the introduction of foreign currency. In particular, tourism was seen by younger members of the community as a way to be able to remain in the village through access to employment and income. This is important as currently many of the employment opportunities are located in Apia resulting in young people leaving their villages to access them. Another perceived benefit of tourism was the ability to practice English language skills.
- Local communities were less aware of the concept of cultural heritage tourism.

While many tourism operations in Samoa, such as beach *fale* operations, already incorporated cultural heritage to different extents into their tourism products, it was important to note that the term 'cultural heritage' was unfamiliar. This is not surprising considering it is largely a western concept emerging from the heritage sector and academic studies. Once communities had cultural heritage explained, however, they agreed that this was an important avenue for future growth. Some respondents noted that tourists interested in culture and heritage were their preferred types of tourists as they were likely to be most respectful to their villages and traditional cultural values. Other tourism providers noted that cultural heritage tourism was important for Samoa as this is what many of their visitors were interested in experiencing. Government stakeholders, such as MESC, STA and NUS in particular, were enthusiastic for this type of tourism to be developed, with NUS already undertaking projects in this area.

- The main focus on cultural heritage is currently related to intangible heritage, with groups incorporating traditional elements, such as handicrafts (*siapo*, fine mat weaving) or *fialia* nights. Some stakeholders noted that all tourism in Samoa is already cultural because of the interactions with local people and the strong traditional culture. It was noted that there is less emphasis or recognition of incorporating tangible cultural heritage such as archaeological sites into tourism ventures, although this is growing due to the advocacy work completed

by the National University of Samoa. Communities interviewed as part of this project expressed their interest in developing these types of cultural heritage tourism opportunities further, with particular sites mentioned as potential tourism attractions.

- Communities noted that tourists did ask for further information about cultural heritage, particularly around archaeological sites such as star mounds. However, it was often difficult to communicate with tourists due to a lack of English. Tourists found out information on what sites to visit from a variety of sources, including social media, internet sources, the STA and SSTA, as well as from accommodation providers.
- All visitors pay access fees for attraction sites, and this is usually paid to the matai. If tourists want to visit further afield, such as inland archaeological sites, they need to seek permission from the *matai*, who will arrange for them to be accompanied by untitled men.
- Perceived benefits of cultural heritage tourism (as distinct from other types of tourism) by stakeholders and communities included the following:
 - > **Protection and preservation of culture:** Many community members noted that they wanted their culture to be recorded and preserved for future generations. Recording tangible sites and the stories associated with them was seen as an important priority. Some stakeholders also noted that placing a potential economic value on these sites, as a source of income, may ensure their long-term protection from destruction or deterioration, particularly as there is currently no formal protection of archaeological sites in Samoa.
 - > **Connections to culture:** This is significant at a number of levels. Sharing culture with international and domestic tourists can result in knowledge sharing and increased empathy and understanding between communities and tourists. The sharing of authentic and traditional culture is something that Samoa is renowned for (NZTRI 2018). This can also result in material or financial benefits for communities who may create new relationships with tourists, increasing business confidence and self-value for the communities themselves as they realise the importance and value that others place on their cultural heritage.
 - > **Access to industry:** Communities are more empowered to venture into cultural heritage tourism than other types of tourism as their cultural knowledge is already in place. Most archaeological sites are located on customary land, therefore the communities have ownership of these places. This means that this may be an easier avenue through which local communities can participate in the tourism industry, thus providing benefits to local communities directly. The development of attraction sites is also less infrastructure heavy, compared to other types of tourism (for example, accommodation options), and has potentially less economic leakage making it easier for communities to enter the tourism industry since more economic benefits stay within the community.
 - > **Connections to place:** Cultural heritage and identity is often linked

to a specific place, some experiences can only happen in situ, therefore cultural heritage tourism encourages tourists to visit villages and more remote communities. This is particularly the case for archaeological sites as they need to be visited at their specific location.

- > Continuation of culture: As Samoa modernises and with more people travelling away from rural areas for work (including overseas), there are difficulties with ensuring the continuation of traditions such as handicraft skills. By providing an economic value to tangible and intangible cultural heritage values that rely on these skills or knowledge, cultural heritage tourism provides important advocacy and incentives for young people to continue to learn them, thus ensuring resilience with traditional knowledge into the future. Other stakeholders noted that by creating cultural heritage tourism experiences for international tourists, educational opportunities for domestic markets were also being created, particularly for school students. For example, the RLS Museum has greatly reduced entry fees (\$1 tala per child for Samoan schools), and other tourism providers noted that they provide no cost tours for local Samoan schools.
- Negative perceptions of cultural heritage tourism were as follows:
 - > **Tourist attitudes and respect:** Communities wanted to ensure that tourists were respectful of Samoan village customs, including wearing appropriate clothing in the villages.

They also wanted to prevent being taken advantage of by tourists, for example, ensuring that tourists paid appropriate access fees to visit sites.
 - > **Bad tourists:** Some community members voiced concerns that tourists may bring disease, drugs or weapons into the village.
- Sustainability of tourism was also discussed
 - maintaining attraction sites comes with costs. Clearing vegetation and regrowth from archaeological sites and maintaining access is time and labour intensive (see Figure 8). Pulemelei mound, for example, was inaccessible during our fieldwork due to vegetation regrowth. Ensuring untitled men are available for guiding opportunities can withdraw them from other subsistence activities. Current tourism operations for communities seem to be very informal, with low visitation rates. For tourism to become a successful economic opportunity for these communities, there will need to be careful planning around expectations, costs and benefits. Furthermore, the UN Agenda 2030 Sustainable Development Goals could be used as a basis for guiding the development of cultural heritage tourism, particularly if indicators and monitoring of the relevant goals are undertaken by a suitable organisation.
 - The importance of *fa'a Samoa* in the development of community-based operations was highlighted, with the need to respect traditional cultural values. This includes understanding how *fa'a Samoa* works, and what roles different sectors of the community play.
 - The interviews with community members were divided into matai, women, and untitled men in order to understand how different sectors of the community

perceived and were likely to benefit from cultural heritage tourism. The results of these interviews showed that each group would play a different role within a proposed tourism operation. For example, while the matai will be involved in all decision making and provide overall permission for the development of a project; and it would be the untitled men who would have most interaction with tourists in roles such as guiding. Conversely, women would be more involved in roles such as creating and providing handicrafts, looking after market stalls and accommodation. With each activity area having the potential to provide important income, it is important, therefore, to

include all community members in development planning in order to accurately reflect the diversity of roles and to ensure that all are adequately catered for. This inclusive approach has also been recommended by other projects involved in community consultation in Samoa (Mitchell 2006).

In summary, the communities and stakeholders interviewed both see the benefits of cultural heritage tourism and have a desire to participate in this niche market. However, there are obstacles and challenges that will need to be addressed for the successful and sustainable development of tangible cultural heritage sites. These are outlined below.

Challenges With the Development of Community Based Cultural Heritage Tourism

To develop cultural heritage tourism for sustainable community development further, current challenges and constraints should be taken into consideration. These were drawn from interviews with stakeholders and local communities, as well as from the wider literature review conducted as part of this research.

Lack of awareness: There is a lack of knowledge about cultural heritage tourism as a sustainable development option. Most community-based tourism in Samoa is currently focused on beach *fale* operations. While intangible heritage is included in these operations, for instance handicraft workshops and *fiafia* performances, there was less awareness of the potential for the development of tangible cultural heritage sites as attraction opportunities. This can be overcome through community outreach programmes. At the same time, while most community members were highly supportive of tourism in their communities, some community members noted that they worried that tourists would increase the flow of different cultural values, diseases, drugs or weapons. Again, tourism advocacy and awareness programmes would help shift attitudes towards tourists.

Government support for tourism: Local communities and tourism providers expressed a desire to have a greater connection with STA for tourism support, particularly around marketing, education/training, capacity building, and funding for access/infrastructure issues. However, communities also need assistance with product development and design to ensure a positive and sustainable tourism experience is developed. For communities with little

exposure to tourism projects previously, ensuring adequate support and mentoring in the development phase is vital. The STA would be the most appropriate body to provide this educational outreach. Small grants would also be beneficial for the development of infra-structure and marketing/promotional material. Currently, grants seem only to be available through international donors, which communities may lack awareness of or the skills to apply for (Jiang et al. 2015), or through other government departments, such as the Ministry for Women, Community and Social Development.

Networking of government agencies: Cultural heritage tourism differs from other types of tourism as it requires the inclusion of cultural heritage knowledge. Currently, there is little networking between the tourism sector and cultural heritage stakeholders within Samoa. MESC holds an extensive database of oral histories related to sites within Samoa, while the Centre for Samoan Studies at NUS is developing a database of archaeological sites. Both of these stakeholders are also experts in Samoa's culture and history, and therefore can provide important contextual information and stories that can be used in constructing an overall experience for tourists. They could also advise STA of tangible sites that would be potential candidates for tourism development. Staff from MESC, STA and NUS all noted that they were very interested in working together to develop cultural heritage tourism as they strongly see the benefits for community sustainable development, as well as promoting Samoa's cultural heritage. Stronger networking between government agencies needs to be developed.

Long term support/sustainability of projects:

Consideration needs to be given as to how to support tourism projects over the long term, not just for the establishment phase. This could include reporting mechanisms to check on how projects are developing, with the ability to provide additional assistance when required. Communities should also be made aware that tourism development is a long term process and be encouraged to view it as long term investment rather than a short term windfall.

Community agency: There appears to be a tension when participants consider how to implement tourism development projects. This can be viewed as a comparison between bottom-up and top-down approaches. Community-based tourism projects should champion both approaches for success. Bottom-up engagement is required as communities take the initiative for the development and are resourced and empowered to be responsible for the ongoing sustainability of projects that are suited to that particular community's needs. However, communities also require support from a top-down approach with funding and capacity building. There is a lack of education and training in how to develop sustainable tourism projects, and communities do not have access to resources such as marketing and product development. The tension here is who is responsible for what? Both local community and cultural heritage/ tourism stakeholder participation are essential for projects to be successful.

Governance/land tenure issues: Community-based tourism projects should consider and resolve governance issues as part of their development plan for tourism. Power structures and governance issues, as well as claims to customary land ownership, require investigation and understanding to ensure the sustainability of projects. This includes

addressing how the income earned by tourism is distributed amongst, or benefits, the community. Community-based tourism groups that have been successful in Samoa tend to be inclusive across the community, finding the right niches for people to be involved in, and allowing the whole village to have a feeling of ownership and connection to the venture. Land tenure is also a significant issue. In Samoa, there have been previous issues where the ownership of cultural heritage sites, such as the Pulemelei Mound, have been disputed (Martisson-Wallin 2011; Sciusco and Martinsson-Wallin 2015) or where not all members of a village community supported development of a cultural heritage site for tourism purposes (Va'a 2011). This has led to a lack of development of these sites in a manner that has the potential for them to be preserved and conserved as cultural heritage icons for Samoa.

Product development and design: While local communities are rich in cultural heritage, they would benefit from assistance in designing and implementing an overall product or packaged experience for tourists. Cultural heritage differs from other types of tourism in that it requires connection and knowledge sharing between the host community and the tourist. This is different when compared to beach or activity based tourism, or even natural heritage based tourism, where places can speak for themselves. One avenue noted by a number of stakeholders included the need for visitor interpretation, storytelling and education within the overall product design. However, local communities may not be sufficiently experienced in understanding what tourists want as an experience, and therefore some assistance with developing an appropriate and authentic high quality product would be valuable. Examples could include: sharing

knowledge of myths/legends (if appropriate culturally); providing background to archaeological sites; explaining processes of handicrafts; developing cultural narratives of places; and allowing tourists to participate in particular activities if appropriate, such as craft making or food preparation. If English or access to spoken languages is an issue, interpretive boards or information brochures in appropriate languages may also be options for this transmission of knowledge, but again this would need to be designed appropriately and engagingly.

Similarly, a common theme from tourists is the confusion over paying ‘custom fees’ (Scheyvens 2005), which are fees to access both natural and cultural attraction sites, including beaches. Comments from the Samoa International Visitors Report (NZTRI 2018) also reflected that tourists do not like to feel that they are constantly ‘paying out’, particularly if the fee is only for access. Turning cultural heritage attraction sites into an experience rather than simply as a place to visit would enhance tourist perceptions of these interactions.

Marketing/promotion of attraction sites:

Tourists tend to find their information about attraction sites to visit in Samoa from online sources, STA/SSTA, accommodation providers, guide books and word of mouth (NZTRI 2018). It is therefore important that up-to-date information is provided to these avenues to ensure that attraction sites are marketed effectively. Having accurate information within STA is particularly important as it is responsible for marketing Samoa as a destination internationally, and is also a key informer, through its visitor centre, on attractions to visit within Samoa. Many stakeholders expressed concerns that there was insufficient marketing of Samoa and its attraction sites, a view which has been noted elsewhere

(Jiang et al. 2015). Community members also expressed a wish for better signage for their villages and attraction sites so that tourists would be able to physically find them if they were travelling independently. Assistance in producing brochures and other promotional material to house at the visitor centre and accommodation outlets were also seen as important.

Online marketing/social media/

communication: Many tourists these days want to book online, or at least find out information about possible attractions to visit and plan their trip. This was also reflected in how tourists found out information about Samoa in the Samoa International Visitors Survey (NZTRI 2018). This means that it would be beneficial for attraction sites to have an online profile, for which there are multiple avenues, such as the STA/SSTA websites, Trip Advisor and Lonely Planet portals. While websites can be impractical, villages/ communities responsible for particular attraction sites could develop their own online marketing through social media, such as Facebook, to market attraction sites and allow direct communication between the community and tourists. Internet is available in most villages, usually through data on mobile phones, which would be sufficient for the creation of online social media pages. Social media and online marketing provide cost-effective access to international markets if the power of this technology is harnessed for tourism promotion and information purposes.

Access/infrastructure: Community members noted that access to sites was an issue largely due to poor roads, particularly for inland sites. Inland sites would also need to be maintained and cleared of vegetation regrowth. Other infrastructure requested was the development of bath-rooms and a small *fale* for interpretation/ brochure displays, as

shelters, to provide a place for *matai* to collect access fees and, potentially, used to sell handicrafts.

Guide training: Community members and stakeholders note the importance of guide training. Usually, untitled men are the main members of the community who will work as guides. For communities with little tourism currently, the untitled men who will be given guiding duties generally lack education, English skills and literacy, which makes communication with tourists difficult. A lack of guide training or the use of inexperienced guides means that tourism experiences may not be as positive, or fail to meet tourist expectations. Training specific young men within the village community to function as guides would greatly benefit the overall tourist experience as well as create important local employment opportunities.

Communities that have participated in tourism for a longer period note the benefits of specific guide training, although this seems largely to be done by the communities themselves. Formal training programmes are available at NUS (Certificate in Tourism and Hospitality Programme (1 year) and a Diploma in Tourism (2 years)), the University of the South Pacific (Certificate in Tourism Studies (1 year)), and the Australia Pacific Technical College (based in Vanuatu – Certificate III in Tourism (6 months)). One of the tourism providers noted that they had put staff through the APTC course. These courses require, however, a certain level of education and English literacy prior to enrolment. The STA also provides a free Tour Guide Manual (STA 2014c) which has tips on planning tours but again, a certain level of English and literacy is required to access this knowledge.

The need to incorporate cultural heritage into tourism education has been recognised

by various stakeholders in Samoa (Taumoepeau and Addison 2016) and recently the Samoan Qualifications Authority established a curriculum for tourism, although it is not currently clear who is teaching this curriculum. It includes four levels of Certificates in Tourism and includes models on Samoan cultural heritage (SQA 2017). Additionally, the NUS Certificate in Tourism and Hospitality includes a tour guiding component. In the longer term, providing short-term, focused training opportunities for untitled men would be advisable. In the short term, providing informal training in local communities, undertaken by experienced tourism professionals, could help bridge the gap for these men. The untitled men interviewed as part of this research noted that they would prefer oral over written training due to literacy standards and the strong oral traditions of Samoa.

Lack of adequate cultural heritage legislation to protect tangible cultural heritage sites:

Samoa currently does not have specific legislation targeted at protecting tangible cultural heritage (Schuster 2006; Sciusco and Martinsson-Wallin 2015), yet this is important for ensuring that any tourism development aimed at cultural heritage sites does not result in their damage or deterioration. The *Samoa Antiquities Ordinance 1954* prevents portable cultural heritage or antiquities from being removed from the country without permission of the

Head of State. For tangible sites or buildings, however, several legislations could potentially be in play. To begin with, the *Village Fono Act 1990* outlines the powers of the Village Fono or Council. This means that any decisions on what happens to cultural heritage sites that are located on customary land must go through the relevant Village

Fono. Another relevant piece of legislation is the *PUMA Act 2004* which established the Planning and Urban Management Agency (PUMA). PUMA is responsible for approving sustainable management plans at national, regional, district, village or site-specific levels. The Act requires the PUMA Board to consider effects on cultural heritage when approving management plans.

A series of other policies were reviewed by the Samoa Law Reform Commission (SLRC 2013), the most relevant of which is the Ministry of Natural Resources, Environment and Meteorology (MNRE) *National Heritage Conservation Policy* 2004, which has the objective to sustainably manage Samoa's natural and cultural heritage resources. Two heritage advisory committees have also been created: the Advisory Committee for Heritage Conservation (ACHC) was established in 2000 and reports to Cabinet, and is tasked with preserving four specific historic buildings; and the Samoa National Heritage Coordinating Committee (SNHCC) was established in 2001 and reports to UNESCO. The SNHCC was established after Samoa's ratification of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention and was tasked with implementing the *National Heritage Conservation Policy*. Part of the directive for establishing these committees and policies has been the destruction of particular cultural heritage buildings in preceding years. For example, the MNRE *National Heritage Conservation Policy* mentions the conservation of four heritage buildings, two of which have subsequently been demolished, and a third, the old Court House, is currently in danger of demolition. Neither of the committees have met in recent years.

In addition to the above policies and conservation acts, MESC and the Museum of Samoa

also have a role to play in cultural heritage preservation, with the MESC Corporate Plan acknowledging its role in the recording, preservation and protection of cultural heritage places. Neither of these bodies has specific legislation that actually allows for the protection of cultural heritage, although a Draft Cultural Policy is currently being formulated with a mission to "protect, preserve, and promote Samoa's traditional and modern cultural heritage" (MESC 2015: 23). Sciusco and Martinsson-Wallin (2015: 15) have described this as a "policy conundrum", where government agencies such as PUMA have legislation with the ability to protect cultural heritage sites from inappropriate development, but without specific policies or measures in place to implement this legislation, or the required expertise in cultural heritage to identify likely effects. This is in contrast to MESC which has the policies and objectives, and the expertise to protect cultural heritage, but no legislative role.

To overcome this difficulty of unclear and fragmented policies and legislation, and fuelled by public dissatisfaction over the lack of cultural heritage protection, particularly with the demolition of Fale Fono in Mulinu'u and the potential demolition of the old Court House (SLRC 2013: 11), in 2012 the SLRC was asked to explore the feasibility of establishing a National Heritage Board. Their report recommended the establishment of a Samoan Heritage Authority with its own funding and "legislation dedicated to the protection of Samoa's national heritage sites" (SLRC 2013: 15), that would also work with PUMA to ensure that cultural heritage was adequately considered in the development of sustainable management plans. If effected, this would enable the use of cultural heritage sites for tourism to be developed in an appropriate manner that minimises harm or destruction to the sites and which should

include the creation of sustainable management plans. Currently however, while the SLRC's report was approved by Parliament in January 2015, there has been no further follow-up or movement to create the Samoan Heritage Authority, or implement associated legislation. If specific legislation is created without additional resources (staff and funding), then it is also in danger of being totally ineffective. This leaves cultural heritage sites at risk of inappropriate development.

Diversity of markets: Tourism marketers and managers need to focus on encouraging sustainable domestic and diaspora/VFR markets, particularly as a large proportion of international visitors to Samoa are VFR. Many diaspora visitors note a wish to connect to their Samoan culture and history (Hall and Duval 2004). Diaspora/VFR tourists could therefore be an extremely important market for cultural heritage tourism in particular. Domestic tourists too may be interested in connecting with cultural heritage attraction sites as educational opportunities, particularly for school children and families, although currently there is a perception amongst stakeholders that domestic tourists are not interested in Samoan history and do not visit attractions such as the museums or Samoan Cultural Village. The Economic Impact Analysis Report (2015) on tourism noted that more attraction sites needed to be developed for domestic tourists, and both this report and Samau (2018) note that domestic tourists in Samoa could help alleviate seasonality of tourist visits (currently the peak season for Samoa is May to September). Newland and Taylor (2010) discuss numerous benefits for

encouraging diaspora tourists, particularly as they are more likely to want heritage or 'roots' tourism, to be educated about their cultural homeland and visit cultural heritage sites.

Governance opportunities for tourism at a national level: The development of tourism in Samoa has further opportunities for its governance as the tourism sector gains in economic importance. Since 2011-2012, the New Zealand government has provided funding for the Samoa Tourism Support Programme, which has now been transformed into the Samoa Tourism Growth Programme 2017-2021. This Programme has achieved substantial gains, such as the completion of the Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019 (STA 2014a), an Economic Impact Analysis, and an exit survey, amongst other projects.

In a review of the Samoa Country Programme for the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, however, Adam Smith International (2015) noted that there were difficulties in New Zealand investing in tourism due to capacity constraints within STA, to the point that the report advised that further investment would be at risk of being ineffective (Adam Smith International 2015: 73). For example, STA required substantial technical support to deliver the above reports, and there appears to be a lack of coordination and cohesion across the tourism sector, causing divisions between stakeholders and government (Adam Smith International 2015: 59). This signals that there is room for growth and development within STA itself in order to maximise the future potential of the tourism sector for Samoa.

The Role of Museums in Cultural Heritage Tourism

There are two main museums that showcase Samoa's cultural heritage: the Museum of Samoa and the Robert Louis Stevenson Museum. While the Museum of Samoa is charged with safeguarding all of Samoa's cultural heritage, the RLS Museum focuses exclusively on the life and family of RLS and his interactions with Samoans during his time living there. Both of these museums have the potential to be important drawcards for cultural heritage tourism in Samoa as they cover very different aspects of Samoa's rich history. While they are not community organisations, they have relevance for the current discussion on cultural heritage tourism in Samoa as they have the capacity to be strong cultural historical centres where visitors can learn about Samoan culture and history, and also be provided with an overarching narrative that connects different attraction sites to a larger history.

This is particularly the case for the Museum of Samoa which could provide a chronological overview of Samoa's history and then identify what attraction sites can provide more specific experiences. This could work for both the prehistory period, where visitors could be referenced to archaeological sites such as star mounds, or for the colonial period, where historic buildings could be identified for visitors as to their importance and role in this time period. Effectively, the Museum of Samoa could weave together all the strands of Samoa's rich fabric of history together into a structured tale that would then enable visitors to be aware of other potential cultural heritage tourism opportunities within the overall Samoan region.

For this to occur, the Museum of Samoa requires additional support alongside what it

currently receives. Overall, the Museum is under-resourced, lacking in space, resources, and staff, with only two permanent full-time employees, and one long-term volunteer from JICA who finishes a two-year placement in January 2019. No strategic plan is in place for the Museum's future and this limits forward planning. Museum legislation has been drafted but no copies were available for evaluation as part of this report. Plans are also in place for the development of a new museum and cultural centre (UNESCO 2014), but this has been in development for a considerable time, with no immediate plans in place for its future establishment. Low staffing levels in particular mean that it is difficult for the Museum to carry out desired projects. The permanent exhibitions gifted to the Museum are excellent but are only sections or snapshots of history. They also take up a large portion of the overall museum floor space and are not easily adaptable for movement to a smaller space or for partial reuse. There is no chronological or overarching narrative that links Samoa's history together that would help assist tourists new to Samoa's cultural heritage. The museum staff are very keen to explore this in the future but the lack of a robust strategic plan or a Principal Museum Officer to strongly advocate for the museum at the ministry level means that any forward planning is very difficult.

As discussed above, the Museum largely receives international visitors and Samoan diaspora communities who are interested in researching family history or teaching children about their heritage. However, as shown by a review of TripAdvisor comments for the Museum, the current exhibitions are deemed disappointing with suggestions that the Museum needs improvement or a

refresh. Also concerning for developing the Museum as a tourist venue is that neither the Museum nor the RLS Museum are located on the Jasons.com Samoa Map, which is the official map of the Samoa Tourism Authority. In addition, the Museum of Samoa is not highlighted on wall maps within the Samoa Visitors *Fale* itself, or included in statistics about attraction site visitor numbers (NZTRI 2018).

Museum of Samoa staff have many aspirations for the Museum, including the development of a chronological narrative, as suggested above, and the creation of their own exhibitions. Other important aspirations include the ability to provide more educational opportunities and outreach to encourage younger generations of Samoans to value their cultural heritage. The museum lacks hands-on or interactive exhibitions on site. While some schools do visit and educational workshops are provided at the Museum, many schools, particularly those from rural or more remote regions such as Savai'i, find the cost to visit too high. Outreach activities could include travelling exhibitions or road-shows to schools and villages. However, this would require both additional resources such as transport, outreach materials and additional staff as at present there are only just enough staff to keep the museum open for visitors which means none are really available for outreach work outside Apia.

Unlike the RLS Museum, which has been successful in integrating their subject matter into the school system, the Museum of Samoa does not currently have this level of entry into the schools, despite being part of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. Providing teaching materials or 'train the teacher' modules could be another way of successfully integrating the Museum of Samoa into the school system. Educating

the youth of Samoa about their own cultural heritage is also important for cultural heritage tourism, as it is this information that local communities can draw upon when constructing their own narratives for their cultural heritage sites.

The Museum of Samoa could also play a vital cultural heritage advocacy role in Samoa through an educational and out-reach programme. Currently, the Museum lacks a collection strategy and clear collection management processes including, but not limited to gift and acquisition policies. However, the Museum would be ideal as a potential future repository for cultural heritage items from families, providing real tangible connections to the Museum with the wider Samoan community, something which is currently lacking. To undertake this successfully, however, the Museum would again need to be better resourced in terms of staff, training and space to be able to adequately preserve, document and manage the collections. Both the Museum of Samoa and the RLS Museum expressed concern about the conservation of artefacts in the tropical heat and humidity of Samoa and the need to put resources into this area.

Both the RLS Museum and Museum of Samoa also note a lack of networking within Samoa and externally. While the Museum of Samoa has been successful in creating networks with external partners from New Zealand and the US that have resulted in the gifting of permanent or temporary exhibitions, additional ongoing support could be provided to these museums by external organisations such as Museums Aotearoa or ICOMOS, particularly around issues such as training, conservation and collections management, which does occur currently but on an ad hoc basis.

Currently, funding for the Museum of Samoa only comes from the government or from donor grants. Entry fees are not charged, and are not an option for the future, although a donation box is present. Alternative avenues for funding could include the development of a souvenir shop, although again staffing levels and space are an issue here. The development of a Friends' association in the local or diaspora Samoan community could also be a possible avenue to help facilitate the funding of specific projects. The incorporation of more volunteers into the Museum could also help alleviate staffing issues but in the long term additional trained staff need to be employed. If handled well, these volunteers themselves could also be excellent advocates for the museum in the wider community and with visitors. Creating links with the National University of Samoa would also be of assistance as this could mean accessing tourism or cultural heritage students on work experience placements to assist with specific projects, similar to that already undertaken by RLS Museum.

The RLS Museum is already one of the most outstanding cultural heritage attraction sites in Samoa. Its success is due to a variety of reasons, including the global familiarity

with RLS himself; a good managerial board; autonomy from the government and control over their own funding lines through entry fees, venue hire and the souvenir shop; additional financial support internationally from their foundation; passionate staff; and an excellent experience that draws on both the tangible heritage of the homestead and its artefacts, the extensive well-manicured grounds, and a storytelling experience from the tour guides that weaves together the intangible knowledge about RLS. Although the majority of visitors to the RLS Museum are still international, the RLS Museum has also been successful at integrating their museum with the local school curriculum.

With adequate support, the Museum of Samoa could also be an important hub for cultural heritage tourism in Samoa, connecting tourists with potential cultural heritage visitor attraction sites, as well as informing tourists, diaspora and local communities about Samoa's rich cultural heritage. Again, this cultural heritage is an important part of Samoa's story, of how Samoa came to be the culture and nation that it is today. This story deserves to be showcased, to encourage both visitors and locals to engage with the past to understand the present.

Recommendations

Based on the above issues and constraints, the following areas were considered to be required for future development of sustainable cultural heritage tourism options in Samoa.

1. Advocacy and leadership training:

One of the key findings was the lack of awareness of cultural heritage tourism as an option for local community sustainable development in Samoa. This is not just with communities themselves but also with tourism specialists both in the public and private sectors, who could become important advocates for cultural heritage tourism.

To increase awareness of cultural heritage tourism, workshops for local community organisations, NGOs and tourism providers could be held that involve tourism and cultural heritage professionals and stakeholders together, as both of these sectors are important for designing successful cultural heritage tourism ventures. For Samoa, a range of stakeholders could be involved including SPTO, STA, SSTA, the Cultural Division of MESC, and tourism/cultural heritage academics from the National University of Samoa. For local communities, it is important to include a wide range of members to ensure adequate knowledge spread. For professionals, the South Pacific Tourism Organisation is increasing its provisions of niche online training for members about culture and heritage, and the UN Sustainable Development Goals through the Pacific Sustainable Tourism Network.

Finally, it is noteworthy that cultural heritage appears to be missing as a considered niche market from the Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019.

Cultural heritage, particularly tangible attraction sites, should be included as a niche market in future strategic planning to aid in its development.

2. Create an inventory of potential tangible cultural heritage attraction sites for tourism development:

Samoa has a wealth of tangible cultural heritage sites that could be developed as sustainable tourism opportunities. Creating an inventory of these sites would be an important first step in establishing this type of tourism in Samoa. Both the Centre for Samoan Studies at NUS and the Cultural Division at MESC already have databases that record cultural heritage sites, as well as important contextual information such as archaeological data, oral histories, and stories/myths/legends. These two bodies should be tasked with identifying which sites have the best potential for development as attraction sites, which could then be used by STA as priorities for product development. If possible, these sites could also be included in the current Attraction Site Upgrade Project as part of the STSP funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

3. Tourism support for community development:

For communities to participate in cultural heritage tourism sustainably they need a wide range of support services, including assistance with addressing governance issues, financial management, capital investment, product development and design, guide training and marketing strategies. These support services need

to be long term, not just for initial establishment, with an adequate reporting mechanism for checking on progress for the community. Practically there needs to be improved transport infrastructure to access cultural heritage sites, alongside online information and road signage.

The creation of funding to support cultural heritage tourism projects would assist their development. Currently, there appears to be little funding available from government to support local community tourism enterprises. The creation of seed funding for local community initiatives is needed, as well as providing adequate resources for STA and MESC cultural officers to undertake development programmes with local communities. Another opportunity could be for specialist cultural heritage tourism programmes in partnership with international aid organisations such as VSA New Zealand.

4. Development of sustainable authentic cultural heritage experiences:

For cultural heritage tourism to be successful, tourist expectations of authentic experiences need to be met. For communities to design these experiences successfully, they need assistance with product development and capacity building, particularly the training and education of tour guides. Industry practitioners could be employed to provide this assistance with tourism activities, but cultural heritage bodies such as MESC, the Museum of Samoa, or the Centre for Samoan Studies at NUS should also be utilised to assist with maintaining the cultural integrity, authenticity and heritage values for this specific type of tourism. For example, the Cultural Division of MESC has recorded a vast

number of oral histories and legends which could be utilised. The Centre for Samoan Studies could provide important context and narrative for archaeological sites that is currently missing from the communities themselves. These cultural heritage bodies could assist local communities with storytelling, interpretation and guide training, while also helping communities to safeguard cultural heritage sites to mitigate against over-use or exploitation of sites.

5. Creation of a cultural heritage tourism network:

The creation of synergies between tourism and cultural heritage institutions at various levels is needed to share knowledge and to assist local communities. The knowledge of how to develop cultural heritage tourism is present within Samoa itself but there appear to be few synergies between appropriate stakeholders. As cultural heritage tourism differs from other types of tourism, there needs to be relationships created between both tourism and cultural heritage professionals.

The creation of a body that meets regularly to consider how cultural heritage tourism could be implemented would be most desirable, including members from STA, SSTA, the Cultural Division of MESC, NUS, the museums (both the Museum of Samoa and RLS Museum), as well as appropriate local tourism providers. PUMA should also be included in their role of ensuring that the effects on cultural heritage is taken into consideration during any development. This network could pool resources and liaise as an integrated 'one-stop-shop' with local communities to provide holistic advice on cultural heritage tourism development

6. *Increase awareness, visibility and protection of Samoa's rich cultural heritage nationally and internationally:*

Samoa has a rich tangible cultural heritage that currently is not well protected due to fragmentary legislation. The Samoa Law Reform Commission 2013 report proposed a range of recommendations, including the establishment of a Samoan Heritage Authority that would protect and promote awareness of Samoa's cultural heritage with its own funding and legislation. This Heritage Authority would identify and list cultural heritage sites, work with landowners to protect and manage sites, and liaise with PUMA to ensure that sustainable management plans for proposed developments adequately considers effects on cultural heritage.

The recommendations in this report should be considered for implementation to ensure that Samoa's cultural heritage is protected, and to allow the use of cultural heritage sites for tourism and education purposes, but in a responsible and sustainable manner that ensures no harm or destruction to the site itself. Creation of the Samoan Heritage Authority would also promote cultural heritage awareness and education, and the expertise of the Authority could be utilised by local communities in developing interesting and informative cultural heritage experiences at appropriate sites.

Consideration should also be given to the nomination of particular cultural sites or landscapes for inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage List. The inclusion of sites/landscapes on this list would result in international recognition of Samoa's cultural heritage. While a nomination has been completed for the Intangible

Cultural Heritage List, the current nominations for the Tangible World Heritage List would appear to not be sustainable, and efforts should be invigorated to identify appropriate sites that reflect Samoa's cultural history. Currently, it is well recorded that the Pacific is under-represented on the World Heritage List (Kiddle 2018; Smith and Jones 2007), therefore by nominating an appropriate site or sites, Samoa may be able to again distinguish itself from other Pacific nations as a cultural heritage destination (SPTO 2014: 40).

Finally, while the main emphasis of this report has been on tangible cultural heritage sites for community development, there should also be an appraisal of colonial/built heritage sites for inclusion within heritage precincts, such as that proposed already within the Draft Apia Waterfront Plan. These buildings provide a physical backdrop to Samoa's modern history, marking important moments in time for both the colonial and independence periods. Efforts should be made to preserve and sensitively repurpose these buildings, if possible, with appropriate interpretative signage to signal their place in history.

7. *Increase investment in and utilisation of Samoa's museums:*

The Museum of Samoa and the RLS Museum both have important roles to play in the development of cultural heritage tourism in Samoa. While the RLS Museum is already an outstanding cultural heritage attraction site in its own right, the Museum of Samoa needs further investment and resources to reach its full potential. As the national museum, the Museum of Samoa should



provide the full narrative of Samoa's history, educating visitors on how Samoa has changed from first colonisation 3000 years ago to the present day. By providing this full narrative, the Museum could then become a gateway to other cultural heritage tourism sites, emphasising which sites fall into which parts of history and what role they played. Thus the Museum could play a very important role in promoting awareness of cultural heritage attraction sites which can then be visited by the tourists themselves. To adequately fulfil this role, however, more investment in capacity building, funding and resources is required.

Concluding Remarks

Samoa has a rich and diverse cultural heritage, including strong tangible and intangible elements. While intangible cultural heritage, such as handicrafts and *fiatia* performances are readily incorporated into the tourism market, there is a lack of emphasis on tangible attractions, such as archaeological sites. Samoa is fortunate in having a rich array of archaeological sites that contain evocative physical evidence of monumental architecture, such as the Pulemelei mound, which is the largest ancient structure in all of Polynesia. Incorporating these types of sites, with appropriately designed experiences that include storytelling, would provide a niche market that is currently different from other Pacific Island nations, as well presenting a contrasting view from the usual tropical beach holiday marketing.

Tangible archaeological or cultural heritage sites are currently missing from the Samoan tourism offerings. However, all communities and stakeholders consulted as part of this project noted a clear desire to develop these types of sites for community sustainable development projects, citing advantages that were both economic and social/cultural. Participation in cultural heritage tourism for communities requires strong assistance from government bodies at national and provincial level, as well as private tourism providers. This support needs to be long term and holistic, including product development, education/training, capacity building and marketing. To be successful with any tourism development, these opportunities need to be managed in a manner which is sustainable for culture and environment, but also sustainable and aspirational for the communities as viable economic ventures.

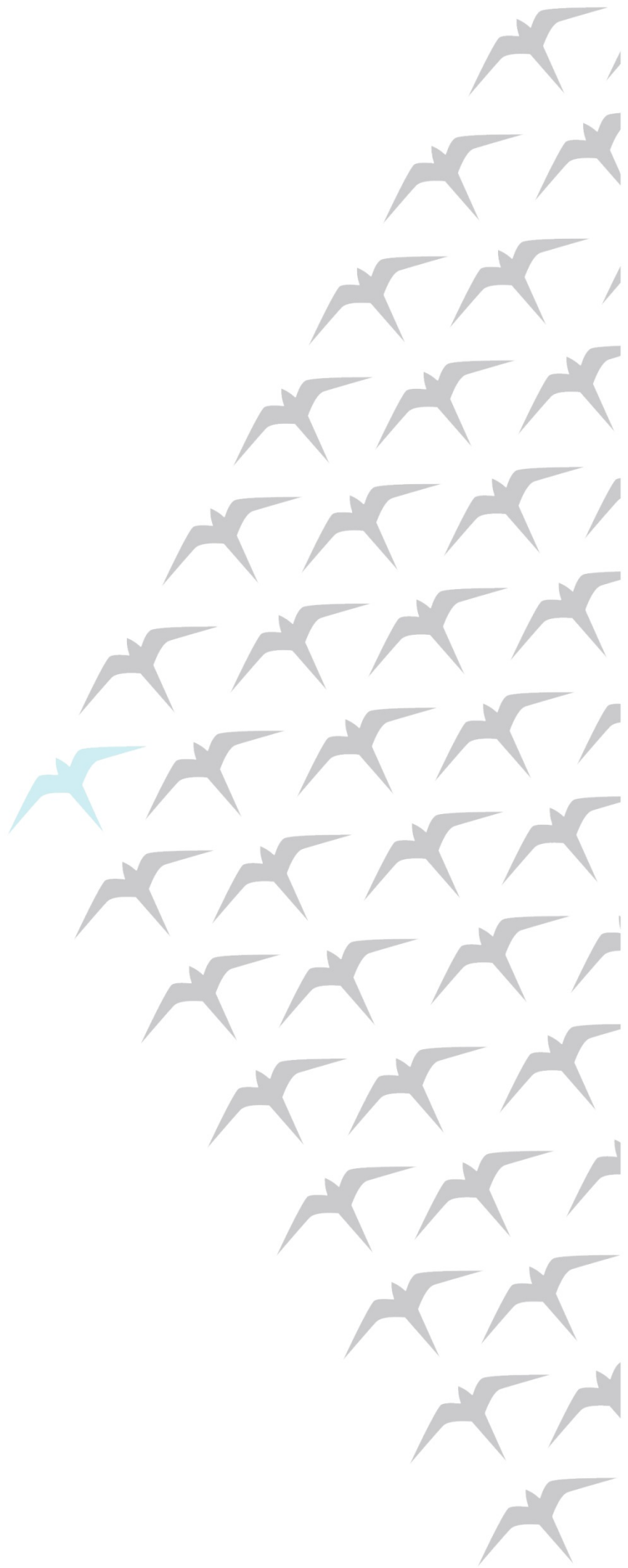
References

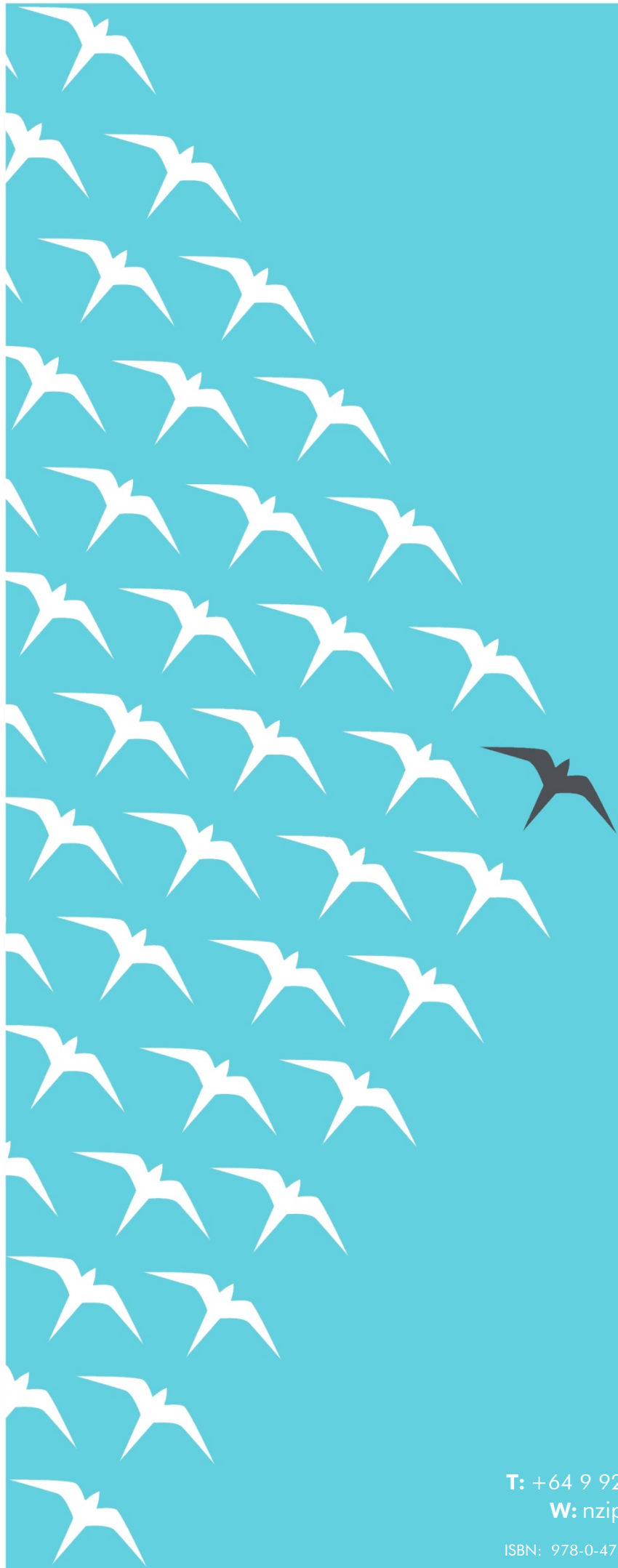
- Adam Smith International. 2015. *Evaluation of the Samoa Country Programme*.
- Butler, R., and Hinch, T. (eds) 2007. *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Carr, A., Ruhanen, L., and Whitford, M. 2016. Indigenous Peoples and Tourism: The Challenges and Opportunities for Sustainable Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. Special Issue on Sustainable Tourism and Indigenous Peoples 24 (8 & 9): 1047-1069.
- Cole, S. 2006. Information and Empowerment: The Keys to Achieving Sustainable Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 14(6): 629-644.
- Du Cros, H., and McKercher, B. 2015. *Cultural Tourism*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Everett, H., Simpson, D., and Wayne, S. 2018. *Tourism as a Driver of Growth in the Pacific. Issues in Pacific Development No. 2*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.
- Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. 1994. Gender, culture and tourism development in Western Samoa. In V. Kinnaird and D. Hall (eds) *Tourism: A Gender Analysis*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, pp. 121-141.
- Field, M.J. 1984. *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*. Auckland: Polynesian Press.
- Ford, A., Carr, A., Mildwaters, N., and Summerhayes, G. (in press). *Promoting Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Tourism Development: Madang, Papua New Guinea*. Auckland: New Zealand Institute for Pacific Research.
- Government of Samoa. 2016. *Apia Waterfront Development Project: Draft Waterfront Plan August 2016*. Apia: Government of Samoa.
- Green, R. 2002. A retrospective view of settlement pattern studies in Samoa. In T.N. Ladefoged and M.W. Graves (eds) *Pacific Landscapes: Archaeological Approaches*. Los Osos: The Easter Island Foundation, pp. 127-152.
- Hall, C.M., and Duval, D.T. 2004. Linking diasporas and tourism: transnational mobilities of Pacific Islanders resident in New Zealand. In T. Coles, & D.J. Timothy, (eds) *Tourism, Diasporas and Space*. London: Routledge, pp. 78-94.
- Harrison, D. 2003. Themes in Pacific Island Tourism. In D. Harrison (ed.) *Pacific Island Tourism*. London: Cognizant Communication Corporation, pp. 1-23.
- Harrison, D., and Prasad, B. 2013. The contribution of tourism to the development of Fiji and other Pacific Island countries. In C. Tisdell (ed.) *Handbook of Tourism Economics*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., pp. 741-761.
- Harrison, D., and Pratt, S. 2015. Tourism in Pacific island countries: current issues and future challenges. In S. Pratt and D. Harrison (eds) *Tourism in Pacific Islands: current issues and future challenges*. Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, pp. 3-21.
- International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). 2008. The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites.
- Jackmond, G., Fonoti, D., and Matavai Tautunu, M. 2018. Sāmoa's Hidden Past: LiDAR confirms inland settlement and suggests larger populations in pre-contact Sāmoa. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 127(1): 73-90.

- Jiang, M., Calgaro, E., Munk Klint, L., Dominey-Howes, D., DeLacy, T., and Noakes, S. 2015. Understanding climate change vulnerability and resilience of tourism destinations. In S. Pratt and D. Harrison (eds) *Tourism in Pacific Islands: current issues and future challenges*. Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, pp. 239-256.
- Kiddle, L. 2018. Pacific World Heritage sites: significant under-representation. Available at: <http://www.devpolicy.org/pacific-world-heritage-sites-significant-under-representation-20180801/>
- Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2011. The complexity of an archaeological site in Samoa: the past in the present. In J. Liston, G. Clark and D. Alexander (eds) *Pacific Island Heritage*. Terra Australis 35. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 101-114.
- Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2016. *Samoa Archaeology and Cultural Heritage: Monuments and People, Memory and History*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Miller, G., and Twining-Ward, L. 2005. Samoa Sustainable Tourism Indicator Project. In G. Miller and L. Twining-Ward (eds) *Monitoring for a Sustainable Tourism Transition: the challenge of developing and using indicators*. Wallingford: CABI Publishing, pp. 233-259.
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage. 2014. New Zealand in Samoa. Available at: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/samoa>
- Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC). 2006. *Strategic Policies and Plan July 2006-June 2015*.
- Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC). 2015. *Corporate Plan 2015-2018*.
- Ministry of Finance. 2012. *Strategy for the Development of Samoa 2012-2016*.
- Ministry of Finance. 2016. *Strategy for the Development of Samoa 2016/17-2019/20*.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). 2011. New Zealand-Samoa Joint Commitment for Development. Available at: <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/Aid-Programs/Commitment-for-Development/Samoa/NZ-Samoa-JCD.pdf>
- Mitchell, N. 2016. Participatory approaches for environmental initiatives – community consultation in Samoa. *Samoa Environment Forum: Proceedings of the 2005 National Environment Forum*. Apia: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, pp. 23-31.
- New Zealand Tourism Research Institute (NZTRI). 2018. *Samoa International Visitor Survey January – June 2018*.
- Newland, K., and Taylor, C. 2010. *Heritage Tourism and Nostalgia Trade: A Diaspora Niche in the Development Landscape*. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute.
- Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority (PNGTPA). 2018. Corporate Travel website. Available at www.papuanewguinea.travel. Accessed 19 November 2018.
- Pfister, R.E. 2000. Mountain Culture as a tourism resource: aboriginal views on the privileges of storytelling. In Godde, P.M., Price, M.F., and Zimmermann, F.M. (eds) *Tourism and Development in Mountain Regions*. CABI Publishing: New York, pp. 115-136.

- Prideaux, B., and Timothy, D.J. 2008. Themes in Cultural and Heritage Tourism in the Asia Pacific Region. In Prideaux, B., Timothy, D.J., Chon, K. (eds) *Cultural and Heritage Tourism in Asia and the Pacific*. Routledge: London, pp. 1-14.
- Pringle, G. 1989. *Heritage Assessment Apia, Western Samoa*. Unpublished Masters of Science, University of Sydney.
- Radio NZ. 2018. Historic courthouse in Samoa to be demolished. Available at: <https://www.radionz.co.nz/international/programmes/datelinepacific/audio/2018648781/historic-courthouse-in-samoa-to-be-demolished>
- Robert Louis Stevenson Foundation Act 1991. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/samoa/ws_robertlouistevensonfoundationact1991_engorof.pdf
- Samoa Antiquities Ordinance* 1954. Available at: www.pacilii.org/ws/legis/consol_act/sao1954264.rtf
- Samoa Law Reform Commission. 2013. *Report on the National Heritage Board Report 13/13*.
- Samoa Observer. 7 May 2017. Unearthing prehistoric Samoan history. Available at: http://www.sobserver.ws/en/07_05_2017/local/19707/Unearthing-prehistoric-Samoan-history.htm
- Samoa Tourism Authority (STA). 2012. *STA Annual Report 2011-2012*.
- Samoa Tourism Authority (STA). 2014a. *Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019*.
- Samoa Tourism Authority (STA). 2014b. *STA Annual Report 2013-2014*.
- Samoa Tourism Authority (STA). 2014c. *Tour Guide Manual*.
- Samoa Tourism Authority (STA). 2014d. *Australian Market Activity Update July 2013 - June 2014*.
- Samoa Tourism Authority and Acorn Consulting. 2014. *Economic Impact Analysis Report*.
- Samoa Tourism Authority (STA). 2012. *Tourism Development Act 2012*. Available at <http://samoatourism.org/articles/160/tourism-development-act-2012>
- Samoa Tourism Authority (STA). 2017. *STA Annual Report 2016-2017*.
- Samoa Qualifications Authority. 2017. *Samoa Qualifications and National Competency Standards for Tourism*.
- Samau, B. 2018. Domestic tourism: Untapped Opportunities for Samoa (with special reference to accommodation providers). *European Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research* 6(3): 12-17.
- Scheyvens, R. 1999. Case Study: Ecotourism and the Empowerment of Local Communities. *Tourism Management* 20: 245-249.
- Scheyvens, R. 2004. Growth of Beach Fale Tourism in Samoa: The high value of low-cost tourism. In C.M. Hall and S.W. Boyd (eds) *Nature-based tourism in peripheral areas: development or disaster?* Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp. 188-202.
- Scheyvens, R. 2005. *The Growth of Beach Fale Tourism in Samoa: Doing Tourism the Samoan Way*. Palmerston North: Centre for Indigenous Governance and Development Working Paper Series 3/2005.
- Scheyvens, R. 2015. Tourism and Poverty Reduction. In R. Sharpley & D. J. Telfer (eds) *Tourism and Development: Concepts and Issues*. Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp. 118-140.

- Schuster, R. 2006. Samoa and the World Heritage Convention: Is Samoa ready for World Heritage listing? *Samoa Environment Forum: Proceedings of the 2005 National Environment Forum*. Apia: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, pp. 46-51.
- Sciusco, L., and Martinsson-Wallin, H. 2015. Issues in the Management of Archaeological Heritage in Samoa. *The Journal of Samoan Studies* 5: 6-21.
- Smith, A., and Jones, K.L. 2007. *Cultural Landscapes of the Pacific Islands: ICOMOS Thematic Study*. ICOMOS: Paris.
- South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO). 2014. South Pacific Niche Market Report – Cultural Heritage Tourism.
- South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO). 2018. Annual Review of Visitor Arrivals in Pacific Island Countries 2017.
- Tauaa, S. 2010. Tourism Issues in the Pacific. *Journal of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Pacific Studies* Issues 1.2 and 2.1.
- Taumoepeau, S., and Addison, A. 2016. Cultural and heritage subjects in a national tourism curriculum framework: A Samoan case study. *Open Journal of International Education* 1(2): 29-49.
- Telfer, D. J., and Sharpley, R. 2016. *Tourism and development in the developing world* (2nd Ed.). Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- Timothy, D. (2011) *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: an introduction*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- UNESCO. 2003. *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*.
- UNESCO. 2014. *Consultation on the Development of Samoa Culture Centre*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. 2019. Levuka Historical Port Town. Available at <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1399>.
- United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). 2017. Compendium of Tourism Statistics dataset [Electronic], UNWTO, Madrid, data updated on 20/09/2017.
- Va'a, U. 2011. Reinventing tradition: archaeology in Samoa. In J. Liston, G. Clark and D. Alexanders (eds). *Pacific Island Heritage*. Terra Australis 35. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 31-36.
- Wilmshurst, J.M., Hunt, T.L., Lipo, C.P., and Anderson, A.J. 2011. High-precision radiocarbon dating show recent and rapid initial human colonisation of East Polynesia. *PNAS* 108(5): 1815-1820.
- World Bank. 2017. *Tourism. Pacific Possible series*. Washington D.C.: World Bank Group.
- Zeppel, H. 2014. Indigenous peoples and rainforest tourism: canopy walkways as tourist attractions. In B. Prideaux (ed.) *Rainforest Tourism: Conservation and Management*. London: Routledge, pp. 226-238..





T: +64 9 923 9563
W: nzipr.ac.nz

ISBN: 978-0-473-48281-7



**NEW ZEALAND
INSTITUTE FOR
PACIFIC RESEARCH**