“Once it’s Gone, it’s Lost”

Perceptions of Samoa’s archaeological heritage

Bachelor thesis

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Abstract:

Marie Jonsson, 2009. Once it’s gone it’s lost – Perceptions of Samoa’s archaeological heritage (Ett försvunnet kulturarv är en förlorad kultur- åsikter om Samoas arkeologiska kulturarv)

Uppsatsen behandlar åsikter och attityder hos allmänheten och olika institutioner på Samoa gällande bevarandet av det arkeologiska kulturarvet. Detta jämförs med en likande studie gällande bevarandet av miljömässiga och ekologiska värden på Samoa för att se om det finns likheter och skillnader. Studien inkluderar också en undersökning av hur allmänheten ser på det materiella kulturarvet och deras förhållande till och kundkap om arkeologi. Undersökningarna gjordes genom ett intervjuprojekt där de som intervjuades representerade både institutioner, organisationer, skolor och allmänheten, den sistnämnda gruppen hade ingen formell kunskap om kulturarvet och dess hantering. Inom ramen för studien undersöktes också möjligheterna för att samarbeta när det gäller hanteringen och bevarandet av kulturella och ekologiska värden t.ex. gällande mangroveområden.

This paper deals with approaches toward the conservation of archaeological heritage among different people and different institutions in Samoa. This is compared with approaches toward ecology and preservation of the environment to find out if there are similarities and/or differences. Moreover the opinions on how the public perceive the material heritage is compared with a survey of the public itself and their ideas concerning archaeology. The investigation was carried out by conducting interviews with people working within different institutions, NGO’s and schools as well as representatives from the general population i.e. people without education in conservation and cultural heritage. Possibilities of co-conserving the cultural and ecological values are also examined, as is the relation between culture and a natural feature - the mangroves.

Keywords: Samoa, interdisciplinary, cultural heritage, archaeology, ecology, mangroves

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................... 3
   1.1. Background ............................................................................................................. 3
   1.2. Aims and objectives .............................................................................................. 3
   1.3. Methods and interviews ....................................................................................... 4
   1.4. Sources ................................................................................................................... 4
      1.4.1. Principles of selection ...................................................................................... 4
      1.4.2. Criticism of sources ......................................................................................... 5
   1.5. Limitations .............................................................................................................. 6
   1.6. Definitions .............................................................................................................. 7
   1.7. Abbreviations ....................................................................................................... 7

2. GENERAL FACTS ABOUT SAMOA AND ITS HISTORY ............................................... 8
   2.1. General facts and history ....................................................................................... 8
   2.2. Vocabulary ............................................................................................................ 13

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ........................................................................................... 14

4. PRESENTATION OF THE MATERIAL ........................................................................... 17
   4.1. Legislation and land ownership ............................................................................. 17
   4.2. Notes on interview questions ................................................................................. 19
   4.3. Results of interviews ............................................................................................. 20

5. DISCUSSION .......................................................................................................... 28

6. CONCLUSIONS ........................................................................................................ 31

7. SUMMARY ................................................................................................................. 32

8. REFERENCES ............................................................................................................ 33

9. APPENDICES ............................................................................................................ 36
   9.1. Appendix A, Interview questions .......................................................................... 36
   9.2. Appendix B, Basic data compilation type 1 interview .......................................... 38
   9.3. Appendix C, Compilation of answers from type 1 interviews ............................. 41
   9.4. Appendix D, Compilation of answers from type 2 interviews ............................. 52
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

In May 2008 SIDA granted me and Isabel Enström, both from Gotland University, a scholarship that with additional funding from Sparbanksstiftelsen Alfa made it possible for us to conduct a Minor Field Study (MFS) in Samoa. Initially the project was to examine a biosphere reserve area in Savai’i and the benefits for conservation within the biosphere. My part of the project, as an archaeology student, was to cover archaeological material remains, while Isabel, an ecology student, was to look into ecological values and their preservation. However, soon after we got the scholarship we learned that there was currently no work going on with that particular biosphere reserve. Nevertheless we had made plans that could easily be transmitted to cover another area, and decided to investigate different attitudes toward conservation and preservation of both natural and cultural values.

Within the archaeological field similar projects have been carried out before, but this is the first interdisciplinary project involving conservational concerns regarding both the ecological and the cultural heritage of Samoa. Moreover, this is the first investigation to include opinions of the representatives from the general population, i.e., people outside the institutions, of different genders, professions and ages.

1.2. Aims and objectives

Interview questions were designed to answer the following:

- Are there differences in approaches and perceptions of the archaeological heritage of Samoa between different institutions and different persons?
- Are there differences in approaches and perceptions of preservation of the archaeological heritage and ecological values of Samoa between different institutions and different persons?
- What are these differences, if any?
- Is it possible to co-conserve material cultural heritage and ecological values in a sustainable way?
- Is there any connection between nature, in this case the mangroves, and the Samoan culture?
- Does the institutions’ view of the public’s perception of material cultural heritage correspond to the actual awareness within the public?
1.3. Methods and interviews

The project was carried out by conducting a number of interviews of two different types. The first category of questions was aimed at finding out how representatives from the general population identify and reflect over their cultural heritage compared to perceptions of the environment and knowledge of the mangroves. The second category was aimed at people working with conservation in different ministries, NGO’s and institutions. Responses were manually entered in a questionnaire and then typed into the computer as soon as possible afterwards.

The information from the first type of interviews was compiled according to subject. Closely related answers like nature and environment were combined under the heading “environment”, the same goes for money and economy that are paired under “economy”. In “church and Christian ways” responses like “evening prayer” are included, and so on.

The data were recorded in an Excel-sheet enabling a quantitative analysis, and in addition the creation of tables. Information presented in tables is easy to grasp, and you can make your own interpretations from a quick glance, something I wanted to include in this paper.

The second type of interview is summarized in the text, to make comparisons possible. More details from interviews are available in the Appendices.

1.4. Sources

All respondents were told that their names would not appear in reports or papers since some information might be sensitive, consequently a number of “anonymous” respondents will appear. Some answers therefore had to be left out or they would have given away the identity of the respondent. This mainly concerns the interviews within institutions as some employees might have personal opinions that differ from those offered by the companies or institutions.

Our primary interviewees are people of the villages of Vaitoloa, Fagali’i, Sa’anapu and students from the Fa’atuaatuataua school

1.4.1. Principles of selection

When selecting respondents for the interviews we aimed at getting a wide selection of people. We wished to include people of different genders, ages and occupations, in order to learn how the natural and cultural heritage is perceived by representatives from the general population. The interviews with villagers was initiated with assistance from the MNRE, who introduced us to our first respondents in Vaitoloa village, who in turn helped us get in touch with other people of the village who agreed to be available for interviews. As for the
Village of Sa’anapu we were again recommended by the MNRE to go and stay with a particular family who were then kind enough to show us around the village and find relatives willing to answer our questions.

These two villages were chosen because of their differences and similarities. They are similar in the way that both are located by a mangrove area, but they are situated on either side of the Island of Upolu, the former in the urban area of Apia, and the latter in a rural area, see Figure 2, map of Samoa.

At our favorite restaurant there was a waiter who liked to practice his English, when asked, he and two members of his family volunteered to become respondents. The last group of respondents all goes to the same secondary school, Fa’atuatuatua in the outskirts of Apia, where they study history. All in all 48 people were interviewed regarding cultural heritage, of these, 36 were representatives of the general population, while representatives from institutions consisted of 12 persons.

The final dispersion of gender, age, occupation and nationality within the interviewed representatives from the general population is as follows:

1.4.2. Criticism of sources

As we introduced ourselves, of course we had to explain our areas of study, which in turn might have lead a respondent to give answers that met our needs rather than what first
comes to mind. On the other hand, more respondents referred to something that had to do with the environment than with culture or archaeology during the first part of my inquiry.

Our questions were perceived as “very many” and time consuming. Some respondents grew tired or ran out of time to be able to take part in both the culture and the mangrove interview. Some grew tired halfway through the interview and gave only very short or no answers to the last question, perhaps distorting the overall picture.

Since we did not use a professional guide during our interviews, we had to be able to communicate in English, unfortunately this ruled out a considerable number of people, perhaps leaving us with a somewhat skewed age distribution. However, statistics from 2000 show that 55% of Samoa’s population is under 25 years of age (http://www.spc.int/prism/Country/ws/stats/census_survey/Census2001/2001censustables.PDF), so maybe this distribution isn’t so skewed after all. Furthermore, the language matter affected the answers we were provided with, first of all because of our inability to explain some issues to get the type of answer we were looking for; secondly, words do not have the same meaning in different languages. The word “history”, for example, in Samoa means the history or collective memory of your family kept alive by reciting genealogies (Martinsson-Wallin personal communication, May 14th 2009); while in Swedish/English it means the written record of past events and times. Thirdly, another language matter, in some instances when I could not explain myself clear enough, interviewees were given some pointers to what others might have answered. This mostly worked in a positive direction though, and the respondent came up with a new answer. Finally, there is no collective Samoan word for prehistoric remains gathering terms like mounds, platforms, walkways, fences and earth ovens into one useful phrase. Moreover, the same phenomenon might have different terms in different villages; a mound was referred to as “tia”, “ave valu” or “old rocks” in different locations. How do you ask about something when there are no existing words to describe it?

Another fact to consider is that respondents might have known more than they were willing to share, as there are many reasons for not sharing information with outsiders. One is that the matai might not approve of what you want to say, and another is that stories like the family’s collective memory “dies” when they are documented since they do not have to be remembered by heart anymore, of course not something positive.

1.5. Limitations

Time is limited for a BA-level paper; data was gathered during our eight weeks stay in Samoa, with an additional ten weeks of sorting through the material, gathering further information and composing the actual document.

Respondents were limited to people with a working proficiency in English, except in three cases, where we used one of our local helpers to translate.
1.6. Definitions

*Cultural heritage* is a very diverse and complex phrase as it can have different meanings to different persons depending on personal perceptions of what culture is. It can be defined as physical or intangible attributes of one’s culture, inherited from former generations, maintained by this generation, and preserved for the next (Jokilehto 2005, pp. 4-8). Physical attributes include constructions and artifacts, while the intangible heritage contains performing arts, legends and languages (http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf/). However, it can also be defined as ideas and values within the history of a specific culture that function as a shared set of references (Jokilehto 2005, pp. 4-8). In this paper cultural heritage is identified as the legacy from the past, material or intangible, that is passed on to the future.

*Sustainable development* has different meanings depending on the subject. When discussing the environment sustainable development means a development that can be carried out indefinitely without depleting natural resources while meeting human needs (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainable_development). Applied to archaeology it means that in addition to keeping possible development at a rate that environmentally friendly, attention must also be paid to protecting the integrity of the archaeological remains, use of the remains must not reduce its archaeological value or compromise its authenticity (http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf p. 29).

*Prehistory* During the interviews I found it easiest to define my opinion of the Samoan prehistory as the time before the *Palagi* arrived and Samoa became a Christian society. This seemed comprehensible to at least the respondents with basic knowledge in English.

1.7. Abbreviations

JICA - Japan International Cooperation Agency

SIDA - Swedish International Development Agency

GEF - Global Environment Facility

NGO - Non Governmental Organization

MNRE - Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment

MESC – Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture

SPREP – South Pacific Regional Environment Programme

CI – Conservation International

AusAID – Australian Government overseas aid programme
2. GENERAL FACTS ABOUT SAMOA AND ITS HISTORY

2.1. General facts and history

Samoa is an independent state situated just south of the equator in the Pacific Ocean, together with American Samoa, it makes the Samoan archipelago. The archipelago is part of the Polynesian triangle whose corners encompass Hawaii in the north, New Zealand in the west and Rapa Nui in the east. The independent state of Samoa with its 2860 square kilometers consist of the two major islands Savai‘i and Upolu, where the capital Apia lies on the north coast (http://www.govt.ws/ 2009-04-28).

These islands are volcanic with high mountaintops of which mount Silsili in Savai‘i is the highest with its 1857 meters (ibid). The latest volcanic eruption took place in 1907-1911 on the east coast of Savai‘i, the lava flow buried villages, but today one of the tourist attractions there is to visit old churches halfway buried with stiffened black lava.

The coast is most often a narrow strip of flat land with a beach of sand or rock, but where there has been a lava flow the shoreline is a steep cliff with no protecting reef outside, which allows the waves to slowly eat away the wall. Vegetation consist of tropical growth as the rainforest in the mountains and in lower slopes and the flat lands there are coconut trees, pandanus and second growth woodland surrounding plantations. Streams and waterfalls are abundant (http:www.landguiden.se/pubCountryText.asp?country_id=139&subject_id=0, 2008-05-30), which is why there has not been any shortage of drinking water up until recently.

Where streams join the ocean, in the mudflats, mangrove areas are found. Mangroves are a complex system of plants that offer many benefits to humans as well as animals, but this started to be recognized only few years back (Enström 2009 p. 3). Mangroves provide breeding grounds for fish and shelter for crabs and fish fry and filters particles and debris from river water before it meets with the sea water, ensuring that it is clean which is needed for the coral reefs further out to secure their survival. Moreover, the mangroves protect the coastline during hurricanes and tsunamis, since the trees take the first hit and consequently the coast is less affected. Nevertheless, about 65 % of all mangrove areas have disappeared.
between 1980 and 2005 (Enström 2009 p. 9), leaving the coast and corals unprotected and humans with degrading opportunities for fishing and food collection.

The Apolima strait runs in between the two large islands, here is where the inhabited coral islands of Manono and Apolima lie. Off the coast of eastern Upolu there are some even smaller islets with no permanent inhabitants.

The climate is tropical with temperatures ranging from 20 to 30 degrees Celsius with an average humidity of 80 percent (http://www.govt.ws/ 2009-04-28). During the dry season from May to October the trade winds make the climate comfortable, while the rainy season the rest of the year sometimes include devastating hurricanes. In 1990 and 1991 hurricanes Ofa and Val hit Samoa and lay several villages in Savai‘i in ruins.

Population in Samoa reached 189,000 in 2008 (http://www.ui.se/default.aspx?continent_id=0 2009-0428) and about 40,000 of these live in Apia. Over 100,000 Samoans live overseas, mostly due to lack of work opportunities in the home country. These overseas Samoans contribute to the well being of their relatives by remittance, which is the main source of income for many families. Other sources of income are tourism which brings in about three times as much money as the export of fish, clothing and agricultural products such as coconut oil (http:www.landguiden.se/pubCountryText.asp?country_id=139 &subject_id=0, 2008-05-30). However, two out of three Samoans work in the family’s own plantations (ibid) to help provide food for the family, which makes starvation scarce.

The Polynesian culture is well preserved in Samoa, even if the youth is gradually influenced by western trends and values. Most Samoans live in villages that are autonomous to a great extent. Every extended family; aiga, of the village are represented in the village council; fono
by their matai: the head of the family. One of the responsibilities of the matais is to pass on
the family’s oral traditions, songs and legends to the next generation (ibid). Great pride is
taken in knowing how to perform traditional dances, incorporating the graceful Siva (see fig.
3) where everyday activities are performed, Siva Afi; the fire dance including burning knives
and Maululu, a seated dance also performed in Tonga, among others. Even your behavior is
part of the culture, a respect for status and the community as a whole is essential. Restraining
yourself as to not talk and move excessively is considered dignified and achieving this

Oral traditions are still very much alive in Samoa. There are legends that explain many
phenomenons, like the many stories about the grave of 99 stones in Manono, how the river
Vailima came to be and what certain caves have been used for. Sometimes the legends can be
used to try and prove your familys’ right to a certain pieces of land; this is why it is of such
great importance to keep legends alive by reciting them over and over again. This is also
why legends exist in many diverse forms; different families have different versions of the
story to accommodate their needs.

Aside from the strong Polynesian culture, religion plays an important role in everyone’s life
in Samoa. Most Samoans are Christians and Protestants foremost, but the Mormon Church is
growing fast and Catholics, Methodists, Baha’i and Jehovahs witnesses’ congregations are
present among others. Missionaries started their work in 1930 and founded the
congregational church, translated the bible into Samoan and successfully adapted the new
faith to suit the old traditions to make the transition run smooth.

There are three different theories about the settlement of Samoa, all discussed in the year 12
history textbook (Bornefalk 2007 p 24). One of these theories concerns the part played by oral
traditions in the quest to find out how Samoa and the Samoan people came to be. One of
Nords interviewees claims that “I believe we came from here. This is where it all started and it’s
never going to change” (2005 p. 51).

The other two settlement theories consist of the hypothesis that Polynesia was inhabited
from South America and the contradicting hypothesis of South East Asian colonization by a
migrating part of the Lapita society.

One of my respondents, a Bishop of the Mormon Church, described for us how the
settlement took place; “People of Samoa come from overseas, there’s a connection between Hawaii
and Savai’i. Polynesian people came from America, floating on the current.” (Anon. September 10th
2008) Also, our guide when travelling to Savai’i, Eti Sapolu, expressed concerns about the
settlement theories: “I think we came from South America, right?” (Personal communication
August 28th 2008) The Norwegian author, ethnographer and explorer Thor Heyerdahl (1914-
2002) was convinced that the earliest settlers of Polynesia came from America, based on
observations of currents outside British Columbia and a legend among the Incas about a
defeated ruler who escaped Lake Titicaca to appear again at the Pacific Coast before
vanishing out to sea with his closest companions. (Martinsson-Wallin personal communication, May 14th 2009) In 1947 Heyerdahl set out on an expedition with the raft “Kon-Tiki” made of balsa wood to prove that the South American Indians could have sailed all over the Pacific on rafts like this. He and his team sailed from Peru to Raroia in the Tuamotu Islands in 101 days, covering a distance of 8000 kilometers (ibid). This and the fact that the sweet potato, native to South America is grown and consumed throughout the Pacific (Wallin 1999, Hurles, et al. 2003 p. 535) are some of the arguments for this theory. However, current archaeological research indicates that Polynesia and Samoa was initially settled by migrants from South East Asia, and that this occurred around 3000 years ago (Martinsson-Wallin 2007 p.11; Hurles, et al. 2003 p. 531; Davidson 1979 p. 88 ). Hurles et al. use linguistics, molecular genetics and studies of humans’ impact on the ecological system to prove their point. Ancient DNA has further been used to prove that Polynesians spread as far as to Rapa Nui and inhibited the island when bones from the Polynesian rat was found in excavation layers believed to be the oldest human occupation layers and thereby strongly challenging the South American theory (Barnes et al. 2006 p.1539). Linguistics show that the Polynesian words for sweet potato are fairly new and archaeological evidence confirm that cultivation spread is of a later date, so it seems that interaction between Polynesians and South Americans occurred recently, but before European contact (Wallin 1999 pp 25-27, Hurles et al. 2003 p. 535).

After the archipelago was inhabited, the culture started evolving, away from the distinctive Lapita culture that seems to have been the ones to settle the islands in the first place. The characteristics of the Lapita are a special kind of decorated pottery as well as obsidian tools and shell artifacts (Rieth and Hunt 2007 p. 1902). The pottery decoration consists of indented markings sometimes along with cutout or added ornaments; however, plain vessels are outnumbering the ornamented, as finds are comprised of about 85-95 % undecorated shards (Rieth and Hunt 2007 p. 1902). In Samoa, only one Lapita pottery bearing site has been discovered, submerged outside the wharf of Mulifanua on Upolu.

The prehistory of Samoa is currently divided into five different ages

A. Initial settlement c. 2850 BP
B. Development of Ancestral Polynesian Culture c. 2500-1700 BP
C. Aceramic Period or Dark ages c. 1700-1000 BP
D. Monumental Building Period c. 1000-250 BP
E. Historical Period c. 250 BP- present

After the initial settlement, a new culture stared taking shape, inland areas were cleared and inhabited, predecessors to the oval Samoan fales were constructed and new adz types were
developed (Davidson 1979). Pottery lost its typical lapitiod decoration elements and the number of vessel types decreased within a few centuries, after which it gradually degraded to become more and more coarse and thick walled (Rieth and Hunt 2007 p. 1904). Remains show that the degraded pottery form finally went out of use sometime in the first millennium A.D. (Martinsson-Wallin 2007 pp 11, Davidson 1979 p 94) due to reasons yet uncertain. Changes in exchange systems or preparation of food and increased use of wood for vessels holding liquids might be possible causes (ibid.).

Davidson has called the period between 1700 and 1000 BP “The dark ages” due to the lack of dateable artifacts, but suggest a continuous use of the inland settlement along with the extension of these areas to include less fertile land at hill slopes (1979 pp 94-95, Rieth and Hunt 2007). The established horticulture is assumed to continue on (ibid.). During this time the grounds were laid for the society that provided Samoa with all of the grand platforms that are now to found throughout the island.

The monumental structures like the Pulemelei mound in Savai’i are significant material remains often hidden in jungle growth today but highly visible once vegetation is cleared. Beside the mounds there are other stone constructions to be found including fences, smaller platforms, paved walkways, fortifications and large earth ovens; umu ti’ (Davidson 1979 pp 95, Rieth and Hunt 2007 pp. 1904-1905). Also the much debated star mounds were created at this age (Herdrich 1991). The monuments and the period during which they were built have gained a lot of attention, and attempts have been made to figure out the social structures present at that time (Davidson 1979 pp 96, Rieth and Hunt 2007 pp. 1904-1905).

In 1722, Roggeeven sailed past Samoa, as did Bouganville in 1768, without landing and with only a minimum of contact (Davidson 1979 p. 83). It was not until 1787 that La Pérouse landed that the first thorough observations were made. This first encounter ended in an unfortunate way though, with several of La Pérouses men killed resulting in a bad reputation, and apart from a minor visit by HMS Pandora it was not until 1830 that missionaries dared to settle in at last (ibid.).

In 1838-1839 treaties were signed between Samoa and European states, after that there was a struggle for who would control Samoa; USA, Germany or Britain who all tried to gain confidence from local matais, resulting in internal battles among the chiefs (http://www.govt.ws/). In 1889 the treaty of Berlin offered Samoa a chance to become independent, but as the internal struggles continued Western Samoa was annexed and became German territory. New Zealand occupied Western Samoa in 1914 (ibid.), and in 1918 7500 Samoans died after being infected with influenza brought in on a ship from New Zealand (http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/influenza-pandemic-hits-samoa), leading to discontent and the strengthening of the Mau- movement, Samoa’s independence movement. A peaceful demonstration by the Mau in 1928 was used by the New Zealand administrator to try and arrest the Mau leader, the situation got out of control, the police
opened fire and killed 8 persons, including the leader; Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III (http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/timeline&new_date=28/12) (see cover for a picture of his tia - a sacred site to some of the villagers in Vaitoloa). At last, in 1960 Western Samoa became independent, 1997 the word “Western” was removed from the country’s name (http://www.govt.ws/), and in 2002 New Zealand officially apologized for the wrongdoings during their rule (http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/influenza-pandemic-hits-samoa).

2.2. Vocabulary

Aiga ......................... Extended family
Aitu .............................. Spirit, ghost, monster
Alofa .............................. Love
‘Ava .............................. Ceremonial drink
Fa’afafine ....................... A female born in a man s body, literary it means “the way of the woman”, transvestite
Fa’a lavelave ..................... Ceremonial gift giving/ gift exchange
Fa’a Samoa ....................... Traditional Samoan ways, the traditional culture of Samoa
Fagogo .......................... Myth, legend or fairy-tale
Matai .............................. Head of the family, chief
Lavalava ........................ Fabric worn around the waist, like a wraparound skirt
Lupe ............................. Pigeon
Pake .............................. Slit-drum
Palagi ............................. White person. Literary it means the bomb that burst out of the sky
Sa’ ................................. Sacred
Siosiomaga ........................ the Environment
Tapu .............................. Taboo, forbidden
Tia ................................. a stacking of stones, mound or platform
Togo .............................. Mangrove tree
Toga togo ......................... Mangrove forest
Ula ................................. Flower garland worn around the neck
Vai ................................. Water
3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Among the first archaeological observations in Samoa were reports of earth mounds in Vailele by Thompson and Freeman in 1927 and 1944 respectively but no excavations were carried out at these monuments (Martinsson-Wallin 2007 pp 12, Davidson 1979 p 86). However, Freeman made a minor dig in the centre ring of the “o le fale o le fe’e”, the house of the octopus and concluded that it might have been used as a place of worship (Martinsson-Wallin 2007 p 12). In 1957 the first real investigations of archaeological sites in Samoa was made by Golson and Ambrose (Martinsson-Wallin 2007 pp 12-13, Davidson 1979 pp 86-87) Minor excavations as well as surveys of different sites were carried out, the largest one in one of the before mentioned mounds in Vailele that was being damaged by bulldozing. Finds from there included plain pottery and stone adzes along with three radiocarbon dates pointing to the first century A.D.(ibid)

Between 1963 and 1967 Janet Davidson and Roger Green from University of Auckland carried out more extensive surveys and excavations, focusing on sites on Upolu and finding settlement areas both inland and near the coast. Houses, platforms, fortifications and mounds were mapped and analysis of constructions as well as finds from excavations made it possible to start working out a foundation for the chronology of Samoan prehistory (Martinsson-Wallin 2007). Jennings, University of Utah, continued with further projects in their footsteps and also contributed considerably to the overall picture of the prehistory of Samoa and the Pacific (Martinsson-Wallin 2007 p 13, Davidson 1979 p 88, Jennings 1979). However, Samoa should not be regarded as an isolated group of islands during prehistory, as research in Tonga, Fiji and American Samoa show the same patterns of settlement and cultural development with exception for ceramics in Fiji, which have been produced up until recently (Davidson 1977, Clarke and Michlovic 1996). Extensive exchange of goods have taken place like the basalt adzes from a quarry in Tutuila now found during excavations in Fiji, Tonga, Tokelau, Phoenix Islands, Taumako and the Cook Islands (Rieth and Hunt 2007 p. 1905).

Since 2002 investigations of the Pulemeleil or Tia Seu in Savai’i have been conducted by Helene Martinsson-Wallin and Paul Wallin, the Kon-Tiki Museum of Oslo and University of Gotland initially in cooperation with Geoffrey Clark, University of Otago/Australian National University (Martinsson-Wallin 2007). Pulemelei is the largest known individual monument in the Pacific with its square base of 60x65 meters and height of 12 meters. The platform is surrounded by over 3 000 rock constructions consisting of fences, paved walkways, raised areas and earth ovens (Wehlin 2006 p. 15). The Swedish couples’ concern for the archaeological awareness in the area led them to take part in a project where archaeology courses were initiated and are now offered at the National University of Samoa along with the Linneus-Palme exchange program for teachers and students from the University of Samoa and Gotland University funded by SIDA.
Tautala Asaua, Samoas only residing archaeologist, currently a lecturer at the National University of Samoa, is investigating sites in the Apolima Island. When visiting the island in 2005, a cultural deposit layer was found at the beach front, where the sea had washed away parts of the beach. The layer was about 1.5 meters below ground level, containing large quantities of pottery, some obsidian, chert flakes, a broken adze, and lots of faunal remains as well as a rib apparently deriving from a human. Results from analyses are pending, but one charcoal sample showed an age of about 2 500 B.P. Future studies might include a search for traces of the Lapita culture below sea level in the lagoon (Tautala Asaua, personal communication May 15th 2009).

In 2005 Moa Nord conducted a Minor Field Study in Samoa, “Linking Local and Universal Values” where she, through interviews, tried to establish a picture of the perceptions of history and ancient remains, how the cultural heritage is managed and what is considered as cultural environment. Her in-depth interviews reveal several interesting facts. One is regarding history; while western societies tend to consider history as the history of a country, history in Samoa is the history of the family. Lands and titles are dependent on the ability to deliver the history properly, making a western style, common history of the country of Samoa impossible to create (2005 p. 54).

The cultural heritage is identified as strong oral traditions like the family history, recited and memorized, along with the daily practice of the deeply rooted fa’a Samoa. This close and very much alive link to the past makes deeper knowledge about the material remains redundant. Material remains in the shape of monuments can even be regarded as threatening since it could prove myths to be wrong. Further, recent archaeological proof of the origin of the first settlers of Samoa is not at all welcomed by everyone, one respondent claims to be insulted by anyone who argues that Samoans were not created by God. Christianity has a strong foothold here, as has the respect for the ancestors who after all were the ones who constructed the remnants in the first place and this provides for unconsciously protection of the material remains of which many “have been left untouched up until today” (ibid).

Joakim Wehlin also carried out a Minor Field Study in Samoa, in 2006. While gathering data for his relational analysis of the remains in the Letolo plantation in Savai’i he compiled a questionnaire in Samoan with the help of the host family’s daughter who had a good knowledge of English. He wanted to find out the relationship between the plantation and the people living close to it today and the final question of the form was “What is history for you”. The answers further prove the fact suggested by Nord (2005 p. 54), that history in Samoa is the history of one’s family, one of Wehlins interviewees even claimed that he had no history (2006 p. 12). Wehlin moreover states that:

“The cultural heritage of Samoa is their “day by day living”, to live the Samoan way (Fa’a Samoa) and many Samoans proclaim that the cultural heritage of Samoa is the living history and the story of the ancestors.”
Living with his host family in the village of Satupaitea he gained a good view of everyday life in Samoa, and realized that most of the people he was in contact with had only gone to school for about two years. Matais and members of the priest’s family had more schooling though, and they were the ones contributing with answers to the questions regarding history (Wehlin 2006).

This brings us to the subject of what is taught in the schools of Samoa regarding history, cultural heritage and material remains, a topic covered by Andreas Bornefalk in his paper “A new Approach to old Remains” (2008). He examines the educational system in Samoa, how cultural heritage is defined and which issues are established within the school curriculum. He also investigates how cultural heritage and history is presented at the museum, and finds that even if there is still a lot of work to be done; there is a growing awareness (Bornefalk 2008). He is especially troubled by the handling of material remains, and he considers that their true value is not fully appreciated by all levels of society. He suggests that efforts to include material cultural remains in the school curriculum should be made already at early stages since this is the age when a person is most perceptive (ibid.).

In 2004 Ilse Hammarström and Elin Brödholt took part in the excavations of the Pulemeli mound and a fortification in the vicinities. They worked out a plan to develop the area to a cultural center with a culture/nature trail that would lead visitors from Pulemeli to the fortification; Pa Toga, with signs explaining the remains in the area, as well as natural features. They stressed the need to provide local schools with information about this important heritage site, and that the site should be considered an option when selecting World Heritage sites in Samoa (Hammarström and Bröhlott 2004).

All in all, research up until now has shown that the public in general is not aware of the material cultural remains, and public opinion is that archaeological sites are not considered important to the living Samoan culture. These opinions seem to prevail though there is a considerable amount of archaeological remains in different shapes present throughout the islands.

But the public has yet to be heard; one of the intentions of this paper is to investigate how representatives from the general population perceive the archaeological remains, and if this corresponds to the general opinion within the ministries and institution.

Fig. 3 Traditional siva dance, Sa'anapu. Photo by Marie Jonsson
4. PRESENTATION OF THE MATERIAL

4.1. Legislation and land ownership

There is existing legislation that covers cultural and archaeological remains, but you have to look closely, for instance:

- **PUMA act 2005**, 
  46. Matters the Agency shall consider:  
  (h) Likely effects on cultural and natural heritage;

- **Lands Surveys and Environment act 1989**:

  **PART VIII CONSERVATION AND ENVIRONMENT**

  **116. Management Plans** – (4) In the preparation of the management plan regard shall be had to the following objects: (c) The protection of special features, including objects and sites of biological, archaeological, geological, and geographical interest in those areas within the plan;

- **National Parks and Reserves Act 1974**

  8. Historic reserves –  
  (1) Where in the opinion of Cabinet, any public land that is not set aside for any other public purpose is of national, historical, legendary, or archaeological significance, the Head of State, acting on the advice of Cabinet, may by Order declare the land to be an historic reserve for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of Western Samoa.

  (2) The Minister may from time to time, by notice published in the Gazette and the Savali: (a) Prohibit any persons from altering, damaging, destroying, removing, defacing, or interfering with any natural or artificial feature in historic reserves or in a specified historic reserve;

- **Forests Act 1967**

  **PART X**
  **MISCELLANEOUS**

  - 68. Historic places – When at any time the Minister is of the opinion that any place in any forest land is of historic, traditional, archaeological or national interest to Western Samoa, the Minister may, by notices in writing, require the owner of that land and any holder of any licence, lease, permit, right or authority in respect thereof, to preserve that place undamaged as far as possible for any specified period not exceeding 3 years until the Government has had time to decide and give effect to any further action which the Government thinks should be taken in respect thereof.
It seems that the material remains are covered by these laws, but apparently regulations only apply to government land, or land leased by the government. In the Constitution of the Independent state of Samoa (reprint 2001) article 101, different land types are defined as:

(2) Customary land means land held from Western Samoa in accordance with Samoan custom and usage and with the law relating to Samoan custom and usage.

(3) Freehold land means land held from Western Samoa for an estate in fee simple.

(4) Public land means land vested in Western Samoa being land that is free from customary title and from any estate in fee simple.

Lands Surveys and Environment Act 1989 offers a definition of government land:

“Government land” means public land which is not for the time being set aside for any public purpose; and includes land which has become the property of the Government as bona vacantia.

Samoa Bureau of Statistics show that in 2006, government land constitutes 10.7 % of the total land area in Samoa, while Customary land make up 81.1 %, and freehold land 2.4 % (http://www.sbs.gov.ws/Statistics/Environment/SamoaLandOwnership/tabid/3459/language/en-US/Default.aspx) remaining land area is Samoan land and town area. In other words, there is legislation to protect the cultural heritage and places of archaeological interest, but this only applies to the 10.7 % of the country’s total land area. A new bill regarding landownership has just been passed though (Land Titles Registration Act 2008), and its effects on legislation will be revealed during the course of time.

Neither of the documents defines the words Culture or Archaeology, however, the new Samoa National Culture Policy (2008) offers a more complete picture of what cultural heritage and archaeology signify in Samoa, thoroughly covering both the intangible heritage, counting traditions and language as well as the tangible, including traditional artwork, ceremonial sites and historic places among others. Regarding the tangible heritage the following action is suggested:

Preservation, Protection, Safeguarding and Promotion of Tangible Cultural Heritage.

a) As an important part of our Cultural heritage, all types of tangible evidence as listed below and are appearing on the landscape shall be preserved and protected.

b) Cultural Heritage materials are a significant resource for Tourism Industry, because they have economic potential through Tourism (Samoa National Culture Policy 2008 p.8).
4.2. Notes on interview questions

All interviews were conducted in Samoa between September 5th and October 8th 2008. The interviews within institutions all took place in the office or on the premises of the workplace, and in one instance, in the interviewee’s home. Interviews in the villages were carried out solely in the homes of the respondents, always with one person escorting us and introducing us to the family, making sure we were welcome.

Both categories of interviews were semi-structured, with room for discussion and personal reflections. The first two questions for the villagers were very loosely defined because I wanted to know how people spontaneously reflect over their surroundings and what is of primary importance in their lives. After that they were guided into thinking of history and prehistory, without given different options to find out as many details as possible about their thoughts on the subjects. Still it was possible to sum up the responses and establish the following tables.

N/A means either; No Answer or that I could not make my question clear enough for the respondent to be able to answer it.

![Ancient wall outside O le Pupupue National Park. Photo by Marie Jonsson](image-url)
4.3. Results of interviews

One interviewee mentions a specific ancient monument. It is a Pa ma’a, a stone wall, between the villages of Luatuan’u and Lufilufi, with a gate and a meeting place for preparations for war. This corresponds well with Davidson mentioning Luatuan’u as one of the Samoan settlements with a continuing history throughout the first millennium AD (1979, pp 94-95).
More than half of the respondents can tell me something about the prehistory of Samoa, and the answers are varied, even opposing, some mentioning life being easier, while others consider it as having been harder for example. I am introduced to detailed descriptions of how clothes and houses were made and how they are different from today, and also that food was different and that it could not be bought, and that all of these items had to be produced or prepared by hand. Some of the accounts reflect the Samoan legends of creation like the information regarding people being half human and half creature or wicked and that strong men and women of the old legends lived in Samoa in those days. Furthermore I am told that there were many conflicts with the Tongans and that large  *Tias* were built, some higher than houses, by hardworking ancestors. An older man states that when he was young, about 70 years ago, all the houses in the village were real Samoan *fales*, with roofs made of sugarcane leaves. Neich conclude the same (1985 p. 19), based on observations of the Samoan material culture in 1980, in comparison with a study made by Buck in 1927-28 (Neich 1985).
Cannibalism is mentioned by a younger boy, and there is actually one find, from Lotofaga, that could prove this right. Human bones were found at the bottom of an earth oven during an excavation of a midden, and dated to around A.D. 1215 ± 85 (Davidson 1979 p 101). Furthermore, it is absolutely possible that the rest of the group would know something if I could have asked them in Samoan, this was a question that was hard to draft correctly in order to make myself understood.

Some interviewees in Vaitoloa declare that all of Lepea village is sacred. Further I am told that Lepea is a reconstructed village, built in the old way with the fales surrounding a large open space, the center of the village (see fig. 5). Neich summarizes the structure of the traditional village with the open space called malae and how it is most often laid out with a road leading straight through the village (1985 pp 8-10).

Most of the respondents who know anything about Tias believe that they were once used for pigeon snaring, some say that only the Matais were allowed to take part. Others claim that the forest is full of these monuments and this indicates that it must have been a sport for everyone. One interviewee thinks it is important to keep the tias intact so that people can keep snaring pigeon and catch bats, and teach their children these traditional games in the traditional place. She ends her words with laughter though, and says that she has never caught bats and that it is forbidden by law.

The detailed work on the star mounds by Herdrich, or tia ave (mound with rays) as suggested by Herdrich himself as an alternative term including all mounds with protrusions disregarding the number of arms, show that mounds with protruding arms and associated structures most likely have been used for pigeon snaring (Herdrich 1991). This was a highly ritual and complex act that served purposes beyond that of merely catching pigeons (ibid.). Another interesting fact observed while conducting research was that on all the star mounds we visited a certain vine grew. While being guided at the first star mound we came across, just outside the O le Pupupue national park the local plantation owner showed this plant growing on top of the mound and told us that this was the vine used for making the snares for catching pigeons.
These tables speak for themselves. The representatives from the general population care very much for the prehistory of Samoa and feel that it is important to know about it; “Because the history of a country makes what the present/future is” (anon. September 17th 2009). Moreover, it seems that the greatest reason for preserving archaeological sites is for research and education.
The table above shows the awareness of the importance for the Samoan culture of one of Samoa’s natural features. Only four claim that there is no connection between the mangroves and the fa’a Samoa, and even if the six who didn’t answer the question all think it’s of no importance, that still doesn’t even make up one third of the whole group.

Leaves, branches, trunks and flowers from mangrove trees are all essential to some traditional medicines, ulas (flower garland) and pakes (slit drums) as well as building material for the traditional fales. Tila Pia, a kind of fish that live among the mangroves roots are caught and cooked at special occasions. One interviewee says that “Culture is how we survive. My grandparents got all of their building material from the mangroves, and most of their food, they survived off of the mangroves. Therefore it must be important to our culture”

Since traditional Samoan culture is based on oral traditions I also asked if respondents knew of any legends connected to mangroves, or if they knew of any fagogo at all that they’d like to share with us. There were many interesting responses, and these are some of them:

In Vaitoloa there is a friendly Aitu named Sama’afe who travels the road through the mangroves to go fishing. In the mangroves lives Moso (a giant) and the Aitu named Aulao’o. Togo A’asa is a story about one mangrove tree that didn’t catch fire though the whole mangrove forest around it was going up in flames.

One teenager from Vaitoloa claimed not to care for fagogos, and that there are other, more important things to learn about the country of Samoa. Others could hardly stop enlightening me with stories once they had started.

Now let us turn to the other set of interviews, the one conducted with people working in ministries, NGO’s and others involved in conservation. A compilation of all responses is offered in the appendices section, here only a summary will be presented.
Within the field of preservation of ecological values, respondents agree that environmental awareness is increasing, and that operation like the Manumea awareness campaign have paid off. Some believe it is the devastating effects of the cyclones Ofa and Val in 1990 and 1991, and the fact that some rivers have run dry for the first time that has opened people’s eyes to the importance of keeping nature in balance. Where conservational efforts have been made, the positive effects are starting to show, as illustrated by fishermen reporting how fishing has improved since the use of dynamite and chlorine for fishing has ceased. Many consider the situation in Samoa to be ahead of other South Pacific countries when it comes to protective activities, benefiting from major new funding, while more and more lands as well as marine areas are set aside for preservation. Some feel that customary land is safeguarded automatically, since it is not owned by one person alone it cannot be exploited in the way that government land can. Also, there is a growing trend in Apia to use the Mt. Vaea Park for recreational walks in a natural environment.

When it comes to the positives of preserving archaeological values the Museum of Samoa is mentioned repeatedly. The museum is trusted to be the deliverer of the prehistoric message, and as educator in archaeological matters. Material remains should be preserved because of their importance for education, as there will come a time when the young won’t know what is local and what is not. Awareness of the monuments is rising and the National University of Samoa is offering archaeology courses for the first time ever. Within some institutions there are high expectations on the future Samoan archaeologists graduating from the University, since there is lack of expertise in archaeology nowadays. PUMA had a key role in the removal of the telephone mast that was erected on top of a star mound in Manono Island and were supported by locals in this action.

The threats to preservation of ecological values are multiple and varied, some are even contradicting. Some say that a change in government would be a great threat, while others say that the government themselves are a threat due to lack in training on how to manage a modern economy. A few say that there is not enough legislation or, in some instances that it is too late. There is a lack of resources; the department responsible for evaluation of projects is under staffed, resulting in that remote areas are left without support and appraisal. In community projects there are no resources for capacity building, and the promised benefits from eco-tourism have not come true. Other threats are:

- Plantation development
- Climate change
- Issues on management responsibility
- Lack of respect for the importance of education

Archaeological values face the same types of threats, with plantation development, and lack of resources both within institutions and at local level. Land issues are also mentioned, many archaeological remains are located on customary land, where the government is unable to
protect it, so preservation is really up to the villagers to initiate and care for. Furthermore there is lack of expertise in preservation methodology, and a lack of funding since the government cannot afford to pay for archaeological conservation. First and secondary schools do not talk about archaeology or prehistory, focusing instead on other countries, resulting in little appreciation of Samoan prehistory. Lack of awareness is brought up, by several interviewees, with different examples to show the results of not caring for your material remains. The remains are not considered part of the cultural heritage, as legends and the Fa’a Samoa are. Then there is a contradicting response “There is not a lack of awareness in the villages, but many villages have to agree on projects or conservation so it is a complicated process. It really is the behavior that has to change”. Along this line there is another comment; “people want the change, but they are not willing to make a change”.

However, respondents feel that in the end it all boils down to that “The urge for money rules”. Conservational activities have to beneficial -economically- to arouse interest in villages.

When it comes to legislation regarding the preservation of archaeological sites, some consider that there is no legislation at all, but that there should be. However, there are subsections in a number of acts that cover the cultural heritage in theory. And there are policies i.e. the Culture policy that deals with the material remains but unfortunately the Samoan and English versions are not congruent as yet. There is a wish that all matters of culture including archaeology, archives and the museum should be gathered under one authority, now they are divided between MNRE and MESC, which can confusing to a person not familiar with the system.

Conservation of the environment seems to be well covered by legislation, as the only suggestion is that MNRE need to “take a more active role for passing propositions in cabinet”. Nevertheless, when answering “what more is needed?” quite a few say that legislation need to be implemented and enforced, and that it needs revision. Funding needs to keep coming in, and support for community based projects need to be provided even after initial project is finished. Local sites and products need promotion, as “this will generate multiplying effects on local businesses… Ideas of how to must be planted within communities.” Awareness needs to be raised through programs, and targeting young children could be the key.

Other suggestions are:

- Mapping of archaeological sites
- More family operated businesses
- Dedicated staff
- The need to share information between authorities
- The Museum of Samoa needs more promotion
- Getting the World Heritage concept into Samoa
- Integrating Archaeology as a part of the existing school curriculum
Moreover, legislation and government control could and should be tighter; this should be initiated gradually, meanwhile developing administration and ways of enforcement and through educating the generations to come.

Opinions on the new Land Titles Registration Act 2008 differ widely between respondents; some consider the situation as confusing and inadequately explained to the public with a complete change of the system of ownership where land in the future can be registered to a person instead of as for now, to a title. Personal ownership of property would create opportunities for those with money to take control over more land than what would be possible nowadays. Others maintain that it is beneficial, and clearly excludes customary land, saving the traditional ways of owning land as it is today.

Regarding maintenance of natural and cultural values we are faced with a question “How do you maintain awareness?” While ecological values are somewhat preserved through their connection to the traditions, the material remains do not share this connection and is therefore not conserved involuntarily. Again, targeting the children is suggested as a first step to bring the remains closer to the Fa’a Samoa.

Co-conservation of archaeological and natural features is perceived as a positive step in creating more substance to projects, even if there are no areas where this has been done intentionally yet. MNRE are on the roll with some community based developments though. From a donor’s point of view this is feasible, and would mean double the value for the same amount of money, it would also mean more resources to get things done. But when it comes to a common legislation opinions differ, some consider it too difficult to join while others emphasize that nature and culture are intertwined in Samoa and “should therefore also be able to be so legislation wise”

On possibilities of the combination of sustainable and economical development suggestions are made to maintain traditional knowledge and promote natural resources, culture, history and traditions as assets. Project funding need to be controlled in a more restricted way than before, where many projects got too much money up front. Ministries must work together, and a single authority concerned with long time issues is needed. Keep up the capacity building and make PUMA stronger as more development in ecotourism is favourable.

Or, as one respondent puts it: “People don’t understand benefits of the fa’a Samoa and the costs of the fa’a Palagi”.
5. DISCUSSION

There are different approaches toward the material cultural heritage in Samoa, especially within the institutions, but this seems to be due to the fact that a number of respondents are not in any way involved in the preservation of the cultural heritage but work solely on conservation of the environment. Some are uncertain if there is existing legislation that covers ancient material remains, while others point out the acts which cover this. So, when it comes to the differences in perception between preservation of the cultural heritage versus the ecological values it is obvious that the environment has a head start. Some respondents are in fact surprised that there exist any archaeological remains at all in Samoa.

Protection of the environment is well established in Samoa, with a certain level of public awareness, and many NGO’s (SPREP, JICA, CI, AusAid) on site prepared to help out with funding and expertise. The devastating cyclones in the early 1990’s worked as a wake-up call, triggering a need to start assessing what could be done to strengthen the environment, which is part of the natural protection from disasters caused by weather. Destruction of archaeological remains are far less dramatic, as there is nothing life threatening about their removal. The great loss lies in the future generations, among those who might not live with the traditions and everyday life of fa’a Samoa, as the remains might be the only existing link between the people and the country.

Other studies, along with the second category of interviews in this paper show that the general perception among people working within the field of cultural management in Samoa is that the public is unaware of their material cultural remains. The prehistory is also thought to be irrelevant to most people, and even threatening as it could overturn age-old family history. Moreover there are those who believe that the only way to make the public responsive and interested in preserving these sites is to prove to them that there are economical benefits from conservation.

However, everyone agrees that ancient remains should be maintained, and promoted as a part of the cultural heritage for the sake of educating the young and for adding value to the tourism industry. When it comes to how to accomplish this, all respondents except one believe that projects need to be initiated by communities and carried out by the same, the one who disagrees claims that this has never worked and that the government needs to take control and enforce the legislation that is supposed to preserve ancient remains.

During the course of this study it became apparent that there is in fact legislation that covers the safeguarding of archaeological remains. It doesn’t apply to all land areas of Samoa though, since most of the land is registered as customary. This form of ownership makes it virtually impossible for the authorities to take action no matter what the present owners choose to do with their land. However, customary land is not considered as belonging to you as a person, but to your title, and after you are gone, when your successor is bestowed with the title, the land will be in his use. This works as a form of preservation in some instances,
since the title- and land- holder feel more like a caretaker than an owner. The new Land and Titles registration act may change this traditional way of ownership, or it may not, this topic was the one that people within the institutions had the most differing opinion on.

One of Moa Nord’s interviewees, Longo, shares a reflection on the changing habits of westerners in contact with Samoan culture. The first whites to settle in Samoa treated the Samoans as wild natives, introduced clothes to them and made them wear the clothes. Longo says “we covered ourselves and then we see them coming back almost naked” (2006 p 43).

The same thing is going on with the ancient remains; once missionaries told Samoans they were of no importance, while Samoans now are told by the “modern missionaries”; the scientists, to preserve them because of their importance. How can we ever make sense of the western actions when we contradict ourselves this way?

It can be equally hard to understand how the government of Samoa works, considering that until recently all the rubbish from Apia was dumped in the seemingly useless mangroves of Vaitoloa (Enström 2009 p. 6). Now the mangroves are the target of awareness campaigns and clean-up programs and the residents are informed about the significance and value of the mangroves. These programs have paid off though, as it was clear during interviews that the message from the government has been understood and that suggestions for maintenance and development are considered valuable.

Most interviewees in the villages are of the opinion that there is a connection between the Fa’a Samoa and the mangroves. The mangroves have a wide use; leaves and bark can be used for traditional medicines, flowers can be used for ulas, the timber for housing material and drums and it is considered the best firewood as it burns even if wet. It is also considered an important source of different foods, and its protective values are appreciated. No protection through taboos were distinguished during the interviews, but it could be that some trees are protected by the taboo that says that you are not allowed to cut down the trees next to a spring, since many springs are situated in mangrove areas.

More than half of the interviewees in the villages made a relevant response to the question of what they knew of the prehistory of Samoa, many of which correspond to scientific research results. Almost all villagers, 31 respondents or 88 %, think that it is important to know about prehistory, but only one declared that it is not important. Out of the 77% that consider prehistoric remains important to keep for the future, 60% think that it is most important for educational purposes, while 17% also think that it is important for attracting tourist or to make money.

This is somewhat in contradiction to the aim of the culture policy, which states that cultural heritage materials are a significant resource for tourism (Samoa National Culture Policy 2008 p.8). Half way between these almost opposites the interviewees from the instituting are found, claiming that preservation is important both for research and education as well as a means of income through tourism.
I would have to agree with the one respondent from the second set of interviews that claims that it is not the lack of awareness that is the reason for not tending to archaeological remains but that it is such a complex process making everyone involved see eye to eye, and it is the behavior that really needs to change. This study shows that half of the people interviewed, whether living in the capitol or in the countryside, are aware of the remains. In Sa’anapu where mounds and caves have been visually investigated (Martinsson-Wallin 2007p. 14), interviewees gave detailed descriptions of appearance and where to find them. In Vaitoloa which is partly built on reclaimed land from the mangroves and very much exploited there are no prehistoric remains I am told, and as far as we could see while exploring, there were none. Nonetheless, Tias are explained to me as being a large stack of stones made by ancestors and used for snaring pigeons, but that we are more likely to find Tias and other remains in Savai’i.

One option to establish a mindset positive towards the preservation of archaeological remains is to point out the close connection between nature and culture when conducting the already successful environment programs throughout the country. By preserving the remains, you strengthen the value of preserving the environment. There seem to be a positive attitude towards the possibilities for co-conserving cultural heritage and ecological values. Fund contributors feel that this would double the value for the same amount of investment and that it would add to the substance of projects possibly opening up to more funding.

Ways to make this work long term, independent of funds, is through capacity building, establishing an understanding of maintenance and promotion of local products. Furthermore, an understanding that the Samoan material cultural remains are important for locals, archaeologists and students as well as visitors needs to be recognized by everyone. Incorporating all this into family owned businesses vouch for sustainable development of the visitors industry with a desirable growth without large investments and exploiting nature. A sustainable development in agriculture including aspects of the indigenous knowledge is beneficial not only economically and ecologically (Pitakia Tikai & Aaron Kama, 2003 p. 65, Namulauulu G.V.Tavana 2002) but also to the archaeological remains as culture and nature are linked within the fa’a Samoa.
6. CONCLUSIONS

It seems that the environmental awareness is thoroughly established in the places we visited, partly because of the many programs carried out by the government and partly because of the environmentally friendly ways of the Fa’a Samoa, where for example the trees next to a spring are not supposed to be cut down due to being taboo. To maintain the incipient awareness of the importance of the prehistoric remains it is advisable to learn from environmental projects in schools and communities and/or incorporate culture in the preservation of nature, since it seems to have a strong connection. Work hand in hand with environmentalists, and develop programs together, this should not be impossible, since a sustainable development incorporating indigenous knowledge in for instance agriculture will vouch for a controlled level of plantation development. Another reason for cooperating is that more funding is still needed, and co-conservation would add value to programs by giving more substance to projects without overly large additions in economical support.

The public is not unaware of their material cultural heritage, but there seem to be an inconsistency in opinion between the public and those in charge regarding why the remains are important. It appears that the public wants to preserve the ancient remains as a way to educate the next generation on the prehistory of Samoa, while the government sees the remains as a way of generating income. Coordinating the objectives, so that communities and the government work towards the same goals is desirable.

There seem to be a bit of confusion about legislation covering the preservation of the ancient remains, but it appears that the 10.7 % of Samoa’s land area that is registered as government land is covered by certain legislation. Another puzzling topic is the new Land Titles Registration Act 2008, which divide the institutional respondents in two halves, those in favor, who believe that there will be benefits for all Samoans from this act, and those who fear that this will put an end to a vital part of the Samoan culture and only benefit those who are already well off. So far the outcome is unclear and it is too soon to say if the act will have any effect on the preservation of archaeological remains.
7. SUMMARY

This paper deals with attitudes toward preservation of material cultural remains in Samoa. Since the project was of interdisciplinary nature with an archaeologist and an ecologist working together some attitudes concerning safeguarding the environment are compared with perceptions of protection the cultural heritage. Two different sets of interviews were carried out, one focusing on the public and their awareness of the material remains, the other dealing with persons working within the field of conservation in different institutions, ministries and NGO’s.

Studies before this and the second category of interviews in this paper have shown that the general opinion among those working with conservation, education or tourism is that the public is unaware of the significance of the ancient remains. Nevertheless, the interviewees out in the villages seemed aware of the presence of the remains, and the general opinion was that preservation of sites is important, mostly for educational and research purposes, but to some extent also as a source of income from visiting tourists.

Legislation is examined since this has been an obscure issue, mostly thought to be nonexistent, but as it turns out there are laws that control the preservation of archaeological remains, even if they seem to only cover the part of the land owned by the government.

The possibilities for co-conservation of archaeological and ecological features are found to be both favorable and possible. Fund contributors feel that cooperating gives substance to projects making more funding accessible. Different ways of making this happen are discussed, with most interviewees within institutions thinking that it should be initiated at community level.

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Forests Act 1967, Samoa

**Online sources**


New Zealand History Online *‘Black Saturday’ - NZ police open fire in Apia.* URL: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/timeline&new_date=28/12 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage) [Accessed May 21th 2009]


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Fig. 6 Mangroves in Sa’anapu. Photo by Marie Jonsson
9. APPENDICES

9.1. Appendix A, Interview questions

**Interview questions for villagers**

What in your village do you think is important to save the way they are for future generations? / Why?

What values do you think will be important for future generations?

Did you study the history of Samoa in school?

What parts of Samoan history do you find interesting?

Do you know of any place that is tapu in your village? YES/NO Where?

Do you know of any prehistoric sites in your village? YES/NO What kinds of sites are these?

Do you think it is important to keep prehistoric sites for the future? YES/NO Why?

Can ancient remains be good for / used for anything today or in the future? YES/NO How?

Do you think knowing about prehistory is important for the Samoan culture? YES/NO Why?

In what ways can mangroves be important to the Samoan culture?

Do you know of any fagogo (myths or legends) that are connected to mangroves? YES/NO

Do you know of any prehistoric sites that are connected to mangroves? YES/NO Where (in your village)?
Interview questions for people employed at different institutions

1a. What are the positives of preservation in Ecological values?

1b. Archaeological values?

2a. What are the greatest threats and obstacles to preservation of Ecological values?

2b. Archaeological values?

3a. What is needed in legislation to be able to preserve Archaeological sites / objects and sites of cultural value?

3b. Ecological / environmental values?

4. What more is needed?

5. How would you prefer it to be?

6. How is preservation of ecological and cultural values maintained? What types of reserves / conservation are there?

7a. Would it be easier or harder to receive acceptance for conservational activities of Archaeological sites / objects when also including ecological / environmental aspects?

7b. Or is Archaeological sites / objects considered as preserved alongside when creating ecological / environmental conservation?

8. Would it be possible to co-conserve archaeological and ecological values?

9. What would it look like and how could it work?

10. Are there possibilities for a common Legislation?

11. How is it possible to combine sustainable conservation with daily subsistence and economical development?
### 9.2. Appendix B, Basic data compilation type 1 interview

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| **Culture, Fa'a Samoa** | 1 |
| **Behaviour and morals** | 1 |
| **Economy** | 1 |
| **Family** | 1 |
| **Education** | 1 |
| **Other, tourism** | 1 |
| **Religion** | 1 |
| **N/A** | 1 |
| **What parts of Samoan history do you find interesting?** | **Prehistory** | 1 |
| **Colonization** | 1 |
| **Independence** | 1 |
| **Fa'a Samoa** | 1 |
| **Answer irrelevant** | 1 |
| **N/A** | 1 |
| **What do you think will be important for future generations?** | **Enviornment** | 7 |
| **Culture, Fa'a Samoa** | 10 |
| **Behaviour and morals** | 7 |
| **Economy** | 8 |
| **Family** | 2 |
| **Education** | 6 |
| **Other, tourism** | 4 |
| **Religion** | 4 |
| **N/A** | 1 |
| **Did you study history of Samoa in school?** | **Yes** | 5 |
| **No** | 8 |
| **Doing it now** | 6 |
| **N/A** | 16 |
| **Prehistory** | 5 |
| **Colonization** | 4 |
| **Independence** | 8 |
| **Fa'a Samoa** | 11 |
| **Answer irrelevant** | 3 |
| **N/A** | 7 |
| **What parts of Samoan history do you find interesting?** | **Prehistory** | 1 |
| **Colonization** | 1 |
| **Independence** | 1 |
| **Fa'a Samoa** | 1 |
| **Answer irrelevant** | 1 |
| **N/A** | 1 |

| **Other, beach, store, people, everything** | 10 |
| **Nothing** | 2 |
| **N/A** | 2 |
| **What values do you think will be important for future generations?** | **Family** | 2 |
| **School** | 3 |
| **Church and christian ways** | 3 |
| **Other, beach, store, people, everything** | 10 |
| **Nothing** | 2 |
| **N/A** | 2 |
| **Environment** | 7 |
| **Culture, Fa'a Samoa** | 10 |
| **Behaviour and morals** | 7 |
| **Economy** | 8 |
| **Family** | 2 |
| **Education** | 6 |
| **Other, tourism** | 4 |
| **Religion** | 4 |
| **N/A** | 1 |
| **What parts of Samoan history do you find interesting?** | **Prehistory** | 1 |
| **Colonization** | 1 |
| **Independence** | 1 |
| **Fa'a Samoa** | 1 |
| **Answer irrelevant** | 1 |
| **N/A** | 1 |

| **Did you study history of Samoa in school?** | **Yes** | 5 |
| **No** | 8 |
| **Doing it now** | 6 |
| **N/A** | 16 |
| **Prehistory** | 5 |
| **Colonization** | 4 |
| **Independence** | 8 |
| **Fa'a Samoa** | 11 |
| **Answer irrelevant** | 3 |
| **N/A** | 7 |
| **What parts of Samoan history do you find interesting?** | **Prehistory** | 1 |
| **Colonization** | 1 |
| **Independence** | 1 |
| **Fa'a Samoa** | 1 |
| **Answer irrelevant** | 1 |
| **N/A** | 1 |

| **Other, beach, store, people, everything** | 10 |
| **Nothing** | 2 |
| **N/A** | 2 |
| **What values do you think will be important for future generations?** | **Family** | 2 |
| **School** | 3 |
| **Church and christian ways** | 3 |
| **Other, beach, store, people, everything** | 10 |
| **Nothing** | 2 |
| **N/A** | 2 |
| **Environment** | 7 |
| **Culture, Fa'a Samoa** | 10 |
| **Behaviour and morals** | 7 |
| **Economy** | 8 |
| **Family** | 2 |
| **Education** | 6 |
| **Other, tourism** | 4 |
| **Religion** | 4 |
| **N/A** | 1 |
| **What parts of Samoan history do you find interesting?** | **Prehistory** | 1 |
| **Colonization** | 1 |
| **Independence** | 1 |
| **Fa'a Samoa** | 1 |
| **Answer irrelevant** | 1 |
| **N/A** | 1 |

<p>| <strong>Other, beach, store, people, everything</strong> | 10 |
| <strong>Nothing</strong> | 2 |
| <strong>N/A</strong> | 2 |
| <strong>What values do you think will be important for future generations?</strong> | <strong>Family</strong> | 2 |
| <strong>School</strong> | 3 |
| <strong>Church and christian ways</strong> | 3 |
| <strong>Other, beach, store, people, everything</strong> | 10 |
| <strong>Nothing</strong> | 2 |
| <strong>N/A</strong> | 2 |
| <strong>Environment</strong> | 7 |
| <strong>Culture, Fa'a Samoa</strong> | 10 |
| <strong>Behaviour and morals</strong> | 7 |
| <strong>Economy</strong> | 8 |
| <strong>Family</strong> | 2 |
| <strong>Education</strong> | 6 |
| <strong>Other, tourism</strong> | 4 |
| <strong>Religion</strong> | 4 |
| <strong>N/A</strong> | 1 |</p>
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9.3. Appendix C, Compilation of answers from type 1 interview

*What in your village do you think is important to save the way they are for future generations?*

- The mangroves.
- Beach, surroundings.
- School, store, church.
- Mangroves, good for the reef.
- Big trees.
- Culture, language, lifestyle.
- The beauty of our country, many things about our culture, the respectful ways of the culture.
- Family ways, how we lived and survived.
- Respectful ways in how we treat people from overseas. ‘Ava ceremonies are very important, welcoming people.
- Wants to set up a business in the village when he has made money enough, but keep the culture.
- We have no forests, but I’d like to keep something like that, where animals live. Unspoiled nature!
- Church, so that next generation knows which church I went to.
- People.
- Tradition and Samoan Christian ways, evening prayer and bedtime.
- The land, unspoiled mangroves, everything.
- Nature.
- Not much to keep the village is so small.
- Culture and surroundings.
- Culture, teach the future generations the way of the village.
- Fa’a Samoa.
- The myths that make legends to protect the youth.
- The matai.
- Peace, the family, the fishing. It is so easy to live in our own village; life is easy since we grow so many of our own crops. I am never scared in Samoa, not even when going out on a boat.
- The Pa ma’a between Lautanu’u and Lufilufi. It’s like a gate made of stone. Wall between villages. Vau Manugi, the meeting place when getting ready for war. Fighting for the power of the whole district.
- It is important to protect all the people of the family.
- Important to keep clean.
- Save timbers.
- The way we live. Life is more important.
- The school.
- The plantations, the taro patch, cooking. Just working in the plantation.
- The way of the future.
- The coconut plantation because it was in Vaitele that the first ever coconut plantation were grown and where most indentured laborers worked and were owned by Germans.
- Keep outdoors clean so that there are no more cans or bottles lying around.
- Umm... well... There is nothing much to save except just the culture and traditions.
- The river. The river is one source of water for some families.
- Our property? Because our children, grand children and great grand children will look after the property.

What values do you think will be important for future generations?

- Preserve nature, tourism will be important.
- Prices of things, learn to be good.
- Nature, money.
- Kids are important, good environment-good people and vice versa.
- Most important to make money and to get food.
- Respect, manners, how you express yourself to others, beliefs.
- Culture (I am asked not to take it the wrong way, but culture has changed because of palagis) Maintain the standards of the culture by youth-programmes. Take care of what is now (what is left). The lifestyle is moving on.
- Education.
- Nature and whatever helps people is valuable.
- We need cure for more diseases.
- Culture and morals.
- Samoan ways are good for our children.
- Protect the mangrove, food and shelter.
- Religion and culture.
- LDS church and the Samoan culture.
- Culture and earning money.
- Making money.
- Fa’a Samoa.
- Making money, but also culture. The people of Fangalii always need to support the culture.
- Jehovahs way, it is known by everyone in the family.
- Remember the importance of legends and sites.
- Special things about education to make good for the family.
- To learn the Samoan culture and behavior.
- Relatives, family members.
- Education.
- Learn about the good future.
- Education, taking the children to school.
- School.
- Speaking our native language, being respectful to elders and learning the oral traditions of Samoa.
- Being respectful. They keep the traditional values and more greens, less buildings.
- The Land cruiser, plasma TV, computers, home theater surround sound systems & PS3.
- Respect for others and family

**Did you study history of Samoa in school?**

- **Yes**, Every year from first.
- Studied Samoan history.
- Studied history in school.
- Studied a little bit of history.
- I studied the Fa’a Samoa, and generations of families
- **Doing it now**
- **No**, Studied no history in school, only biology and science.
- Has not studied history, but know some from her parents.
- Only studied Samoan.
- No, lack of knowledge by teacher in those days. Learned some from radio.
- Did not study history.

**What parts of Samoan history do you find interesting?**

- Long Samoan history, prehistory interesting.
- *Alofa*, gift exchange example; at funerals
- Most interesting was the meaning of words, faaloalo.
- How to use Samoan words.
- Knowing and understanding culture.
- The culture of my country.
- To know how to make the Samoan ways, to know how to make Samoan culture.
- Tourism and culture were most interesting.
- Stories from long time ago and how the names of the villages came to be are also very interesting.
- Most interesting was the way people lived long ago, and the unique Samoan culture.
- How the Samoan people survived. Palagis made Samoan slaves and used them for copra harvest for the government.
- There was a warship that sunk and now there’s a building on top of it!
- How older people were raised, the way that they developed.
- People of Samoa come from overseas, there’s a connection between Hawaii and Savai’i. Polynesian people came from America, floating on the current.
- Stories from ages ago are interesting, what happened ages ago.
- Colonization.
- Religion is the good thing that palangis brought.
- Independence.
- Colonization and Samoan history.
- Influenza epidemic.
- Independence.
- Palagi means the bomb (pa) that burst the sky (lagi). Before then people were half human half wicked. Strong famous people lived in Samoa at that time. Legends and myths.
- History of our family.
- Cultural values, I prefer modernization.
- Easy life before.
- Parents told him the story of when the palagis came and the church.
- The years 1926 until independence in 1962 because it was the time period that carved the way we Samoans are living now in a life of freedom.
- Tales and older day stories about what happened in Samoa.
- The theories of where the Samoans came from and the Mau movement in 1926.
- Everything, but especially the period the people fought for independence.
- The year the cyclone Ofa hit Samoa, and the year we became independent.

What do you know about the prehistory of Samoa (before the palagis arrived)?

- Prehistory is interesting.
- Smaller houses before the Palagi
- People didn’t wear many clothes.
- Culture was very strict, not twisted like now.
- People have learned more and Christian influences have changed it.
- Tia is a stacking of stones; people back then built them higher than houses.
- Before the palagis the Tongans tried to take over.
- People ate other people in the past.
- How they dressed. The tipuka was used instead of clothes, it’s like making a hole of siapo and put it on, or just step into.
- Tapa cloth was used for clothing. Sugarcane leaves for fale roofs, people had to use their hands and not machines.
- Before palagis life was easy but people were facing problems with diseases. Palagis brought cure for diseases.
- In prehistory war with Tongans.
- Prehistory equals no church and other foods.
- Has no knowledge of prehistory.
- Different and rude times. Fights, death and people were half ghosts, half human.
- The prehistory was sometimes good, sometimes bad.
- During prehistory there were a lot of wars. People killed each other. Now it’s OK, people understand the good things.
- A lot. But the most interesting time in Samoan prehistory were the times Samoa was in total darkness, time of war, a time when giants such as Vaea and goddess such as Nafanua were feared by many.
- Very cool.
- Tonga used to rule Samoa and there are a lot of legends about Samoa in prehistory And there’s a lot more.
- Quite a lot. I know the pre-European period and the three theories of where we originated.
- The year that the volcanic eruption happened at Savai’i in Samoa.

**Do you know of any place that is tapu in your village? YES/NO Where?**

- **Yes,** The *tia* in Lepea. Burial for high chiefs.
- The temple.
- No long hair or beard for boys, no shorts for girls, only ok if covered by *lavalava,* no alcohol.
- Vailoa, you show respect to older people by not wearing the wrong clothes and keep your hair neat.
- The chapel.
- Yes, All the trees around the springs, if we cut them down there’s no more good water.
- Aleipata.
- The village service time is *sa’.*
- At Fagamalo where the Tufiti was studying.
- The land is sacred because it’s what we fought and died for
- **No,** All over Samoa the forest beside the rivers is *tapu,* it is good to keep it, for nature.
- Lepea village is *sa’,* also Vaimoso. It keeps the people from doing the wrong things.
- Lepea Village is sacred, a holy place. Spirits are looking after the place. Gravesite by the main road, at intersection where road comes down to the Vaitoloa.
- Mormon grounds are sacred.
- *Sa’* time is sacred, and the time at night when everyone goes to sleep.
- When he was young the healer was called when someone was sick, when he came he talked to the sick person to find out if any *tapu* had been broken, if that was the case the person was told not to repeat this behavior and the sickness would go away.
- Vaimoso, the whole village. It means the giants water, there was water where the giant stepped in ancient times.
- Falealupo were the sun sets and the Robert Louis Stevenson museum.
A place in Manono where there are six stones, there were six people that turned into stones, maybe they were witches.
No I don’t, but I just moved there two months ago, so I’m not sure.

Do you know of any prehistoric sites in your village? YES/NO What kinds of sites are these?

- No, Only in Manono and Savai’i.
- Savai’i is better for interviews, old people there know more about prehistory.
- Heard of Tia seu lupe, but have never seen one, she says they are to be found for sure in Savai’i.
- Have herd of sites like tia, there should be many out in the villages, out of the town of Apia.
- Her dad is better at those things.
- That’s the kind of things that the chiefs know of.
- Not in Vaitoloa, there will be places for us to visit on the south side of the island which is more traditional. Vaitoloa is privately owned land, (German bought it long ago for the mangroves.) He himself owns part of the mangroves.
- Heard of tia’s. Graveyards.
- Robert Louis Stevenson, there are prehistoric sites in other villages.
- Papase’ea- sliding rock.
- Has heard of Tia seu lupe in Savaii.
- Yes, Open space for the dead.
- There was an old chapel, but now they built a new one.
- Burial ground by the road in Lepea, the ancestors rest there.
- Monument of Mau leader in Lepea.
- Special fence (in Fagali’i) that goes all the way up the hill made by people in the old days.
- Has heard of such things, but there are none in this area (Fagali’i).
- Yes, the Tia is a tomb for high people. There are many in the area. And a very big one in her plantation, maybe 30 meters (she points out a distance and my estimste is 30 m, authors comment) to one side and high as the fale we are sitting in (3-4 m) It is made of smooth stones, like sea polished stones.
- The twin mountain; Utu mou Utu ma.
- There are many Tia sue Lupes in the forest, they were used for catching the Lupe. And there is a cave.
- There are some.
- There are so many tias. They were used for catching doves, I have seen them higher than houses. Pigeon snaring was for everyone.
- Tia seu lupe. Tias are buildings from the old days. There is one close and another one farther, closer to the mountains.
- There’s this bar at the Penina golf course, it used to be a bar for the German soldiers, now it’s used as a bar for the golfers but it looks like a prison.
Do you think it is important to keep prehistoric sites for the future?

- **Yes**, it is good for the children.
- To make money and kids need to learn about it in school.
- Important for everybody to know of.
- How they were named, for another generation so that they can fully understand the culture.
- Important to know-to keep the history.
- Good to know how the ancestors lived and what they used.
- In honor of the dead people.
- Really important, we are so young; we need to know the old stories.
- We need to teach our children to know the future.
- It might be important to know about prehistoric sites, to understand about the ancestors. The world is moving on, we need the places to prove that we still have the culture.
- For the memory of the ancestors who fought for our freedom.
- Remember the old lifestyle.
- They are landmarks to look at and remember-when you see it everything comes back to you. When she looks at them she sees the whole history of Samoa.
- Really important, at school when they are out on the self-assessment they collect information on special places like those. You have to do a good job or you fail that class.
- Everything happens because of the people before us.
- Things happen the way they do because of what our ancestors did.
- Brings memories of past, history, ancestor leaders who has suffered for us. It reminds us of their hardship; they tried to protect our future.
- Difficulties to explain why.
- It should be kept clean, and safe to show to the children and grandchildren (and tourists)
- For tourists and guests with the stories, interesting.
- They are too big to be moved, so they will stay the way they are.
- To teach the students how to catch the birds.
- For the future of the family.
- Very important, returning Samoans like to come back and look at them.
- We can tell our children about them and how things happened.
- It is very important because these sites or monuments can be used to identify us as Samoans if we ever lose our identities but they are also important because our future generations can understand the difficulties that our ancestors faced in order getting our independence and freedom.
- So that the new generation will learn about the past.
- Because it’s part of Samoa’s history/traditions and the future generations would like to know about it.
- Because the history of a country makes what the present/future is.
- Cause the locals and tourists can know a lot of history about these prehistoric places.
- **No**, Has no knowledge about these things.

**Can ancient remains be good for / used for anything today or in the future?**

- **Yes** Faamuina Anapapa, can be used for more burials within the family.
- For knowledge and making money.
- For snaring pigeon-laugh- or catch bats at nighttime to eat.
- For protection, if the Tongans attack-laugh-, interesting for tourists, watch for free.
- Use to make money.
- Places can be used for making money, for working, tourists might be interested.
- Use at culture time or for tourists.
- For tourists.
- Help to remember-remember our roots and ancestors who fought to keep this country for us.
- To know prehistory.
- For research.
- She heard someone made guided tours there.
- Because it is such a big place tourists could have a rest there.
- Haven’t heard of people visiting.
- For tourism and school field trips.
- Keep them clean and show others, like tourists.
- They could be useful for students who take history to study these remains to know more about the history of their country.
- For example for us students if we have to do projects about historical places.
- Ancient remains can always be useful.
- Artifacts and also historical sites. Good for knowing what/where we came from.
- Now today the locals and tourists pay a lot of visits to the national museum in town.
- **No**

**Do you think knowing about prehistory is important for the Samoan culture?**

- **Yes** Important to culture and us, culture is based on prehistory.
- Kids learn it in school.
- Some stories are important.
- Important to know about the culture.
- Kids need to learn and know more when they grow up, about the culture.
- They should learn it in school for Samoan subject.
- Good to know that it has changed.
- We cannot go on with our parents, one day they will be gone. To show that you are a real Samoan you need to know. It’s no use saying that you’re Samoan if you don’t know what Samoan is.
- Important to understand the culture. Most things are connected to culture.
That is how we lived and died in one place.

Important to keep for the future.

Lack of history means that you don’t know your past. You need our past to know who you are. Old people don’t like the fact that the young nowadays cannot speak correctly.

When you go overseas you can still be proud and amazed of the culture wherever you are.

It’s a way of keeping the culture.

Before we had no stores to get food, important to know what people ate.

Children should learn in school.

So important, we should know how to face others the Samoan way.

Samoa is a free country. Brings memories of the struggle to get there.

People from overseas ask for those things, for us as well.

Why not!

It is a help when imagining stories from the past, and to prove that they are true.

From our elders and parents, our past is a way to make future.

Yes, but not sufficient language understanding for us to communicate on why.

To know about the Samoan culture from ancient times.

For an understanding the Samoan dance; Wants to perform overseas.

Useful for the stories of Samoa, for the next generation to remember.

It is important to know what happened in Samoa.

Because it tells us where some of the culture or traditions came from.

Because we were born with it.

Because it’s their past. It’s about their ancestors, I would if I would be Samoan like to know about my ancestors.

Because if we didn’t know our history we wouldn’t know who we are.

So that way the locals and the tourists know a lot of history about the Samoan culture.

No, Don’t know

In what ways can mangroves be important to the Samoan culture?

- Medicine, branches for spoons, good wood for making wood items.
- Branches used for Matai stick.
- Poles for houses.
- To make the 'Ulas, and for protection for the wind.
- Important, but English skills not sufficient to explain how.
- Cultural tools, music instrument, pake- slit drum.
- Medicine, skin and leaves are used, very important.
- For the surviving of the people=culture. It gives food too, for special occasions.
- Mangroves not that important for the culture, more for everyday living.
- The mangrove is where it began, in those days the people were half good and half evil. They had had this good power to help people. They were possessed with animal power.
- Fishing is important to the Polynesian cultures, *Tila Pia* is a fish used for eating at special occasions, fished in the mangroves but is rare now days, maybe even gone. Laumei is a museum in Malua where fish are saved.
- Important for everyone-everyone can use them.
- Important to the village. When he was little there was a lot of sea food and his great grandparents lived off of it.
- Home of the fish.
- To make soup like medicine for sick people. From small plant (referred to as *tongo*).
- Yes, cut leaves weaved in the clothes.
- Mangroves are very important. It is a tree that grows for many years, and the birds best home. It is an important protection from storms, they still grow in the same place, but people have to move from the beach since it is disappearing. Even the coconut trees have been taken by the sea; there is no sand for them to grow in.
- They have a long history, protected in past times ‘til now. Very important to Sa’ananupu, the mangrove area is so large.
- The mangroves are important for him and his family.
- Shelter for fish and crabs, and for decorating our country.
- Really important, use for fish=food.
- For building houses.
- Has no knowledge about the *togo*.
- *Siosiomaga* is very important for the conservation; Saved by conservation for the future.
- For making money by fishing and breeding to get more food. Crabs.
- Food for Samoa, protection for people, covers the winds.
- Health, shelter and for food.
- The medicine.
- Medicine made out of mangroves is usually traditional medicine.
- Because culture of Samoa includes all that is Samoan.
- By not cutting all of them down because that’s how the marine animals in the area die.
- **No**, they don’t connect.
- I don’t know of any way.

*Do you know of any fagogo (myths or legends) that are connected to mangroves?*

- **Yes**, Moso lives in the mangroves.
- Samafe, a nice monster on the road.
- The name of the local taxi stand is *Togo A’asa*.
- *Togo a’asa* comes from a story about a fire that was really hot, big fire, but this one mangrove tree wasn’t hurt from the heat and flames
- *Aitu* in the mangroves in Vaitoloa/vaitoloa road called Aulao’o.
- The road is the road that *aitus* use when they go fishing. Vaitoloa is the village with the treasures.
- Mangroves have always been there.
- The togo was already here when he was born
- No, not interested in fagogo, he likes to learn more important thing about the country.
- Never heard one but there is.

**Do you know of any prehistoric sites that are connected to mangroves?**

- Yes, To Sua, *(sea cave, authors comment)* you’re not supposed to go swimming after it gets dark or the aitus will take you and you’ll never see your parents again*(I actually shiver when she tells the story, authors comment)*
- No, They are closer to the mountains
9.4. Appendix D, Compilation of answers from type 2 interviews

Responses from Institutions

“We don’t have a lot of room for making mistakes, it is too small here”

“We’re small and what we have can be lost in the blink of an eye”

1a. What are the positives of preservation in Ecological values

- Awareness in schools has increased, along with general awareness of why conservation is needed. People are aware; many working with conservation have been traveling overseas and have gained knowledge there, they also seem to understand the importance of the environment as they now see changes in tree species and water that is running dry in rivers for instance. Past 5-6 years has seen a change in attitudes towards more awareness.

- More funding than ever, UNDP, JICA, GEF. There are a lot of activities going on with the aid of foreign NGOs, institutions etc. for such a small country that Samoa is, the situation for conservation is quite good compared to other places.

- Never before has so much land been put aside for conservation (MPAs, forest etc). The phase now is reassessment of what works and what doesn’t.

- Key biodiversity and gap analyses have started to find out what there is to manage. Work that has been done since -89 is evaluated. Conservation areas for; mangroves, good legislation for birds, bats, marine life. Expanding MPA’s, Nu’utele rat eradication project – good pilot project if it works out.

- Cyclones Ofa and Val were an eye opener. After that, assessments of water, climate change, biodiversity, deforestation and marine areas were initiated to establish the damages from cyclones. 20 years ago there was no Environmental Dept. – now longer than many S.P. countries – based on willing leadership in Government.

- Manumea awareness campaign further became a symbol for conservation, climate change and ocean depletion. Conservation values in Samoa are well looked after. People are starting to be aware. MNRE expanded to 11 divisions, including legal and GEF.

- Cabinet is supportive of MNRE proposals. MNRE has pulled together different departments and become more cohesive which ensures better planning

- Three land systems; customary lands (82%) that belong to the people – works well no abuse or over use, on government land development is not questioned in the same way, it can be exploited. There is a balance in sustainable land management and development.

- It is not economically feasible to start big plantations or companies and as Samoa is small and remote it is not good for exporting products. Population has stabilized and there is less need for more land by expanding into forested areas.

- More interest for recreation and being out in the nature has been developed in the last 15 years. Example is more people going up the Mt Vaia for exercise in the natural environment. This is in urban areas like Apia, in more rural areas nature is still something that you can make practical use of.

- In some villages anyone caught or reported using damaging fishing methods will receive a huge penalty. Reports from fishermen state that the fishing outside the
villages is getting better. People are no longer fishing with dynamite or chlorox, but still use poison from *ava new gunniea* (root).
- Forestry is now a conservational ministry as there is a ban on commercial logging since 2007.
- Preserving mangroves will minimize the effect of global warming.
- The growing trend is “no enter – no take”, but preserving a whole area without providing an alternative place for the people living there is not solving anything as they have to live of of something.

1b. Archaeological values

- Archaeological sites should be preserved, because of their importance for education. Green and Davidsons publications are well known to everyone within the field of Archaeology but have not reached the locals of Samoa or the schools.
- The museum is trying to present more prehistory because of its educational values. There will be a time when the young ones will not know what is local and not, but preservation of archaeological values will help. Older people don’t appreciate the value of material cultural heritage, they take it for granted. It should be embraced as part of the living heritage. Prehistory is represented in the museum, Falamataaga, and they are trying to make the exhibition larger.
- People live from the Pulemelei area; it’s not fenced in any way, so they can keep on using it as a plantation.
- It is up on the agenda, last 5-6 years also more awareness of monuments, site collection of heritage value by MNRE is getting better. There is a wish to include archaeology in the preservation activities performed by the MNRE.
- NUS are offering courses – the first ever. Things are happening; Gotland University is also playing a part.
- After the building of the telephone mast on the Manono star mound PUMA had support from the public to relocate the mast. The telephone company had only dealt with one village, and not involved PUMA before construction.
- There is a minimal contribution for archaeological preservation; the focus is on environment and culture. There is no expertise or resources, but hopefully the future Samoan archaeology students will be able to contribute.

2a. What are the greatest threats and obstacles to preservation of Ecological values

- School is not necessarily respected and considered important in many families.
- The biggest challenge is for community-based conservation to get the benefits from conserving, the key to make conservation work is the economical benefits. The urge for money rules.
- For government-based conservation, the government is in charge, at least in theory.
- The expectations and promises that ecotourism would lead to financial benefits did not come true. There are also management and maintenance problems where reserves are not being maintained and the understanding of how to sustain economic incentives (providing services, guides etc) is not there.
The biggest culprit is the government, legislation and PUMA act are in place, but still economic development is of greater interest and the governments own “rules” can be broken. Example is the building of a wharf on the nicest beach at Lalomanu where ships can be hauled up for maintenance and paintjobs that will affect the waters where turtles are living and the islands where they are nesting.

The juridical system is not completely independent from the government so it is hard to appeal if the government steps outside of the law. It is like a conspiracy of silence, you can’t really speak your mind.

Matai system has worked and the structure can be of good use for conservation. It may also slow down the processes of forming conservational projects in a good way. It can be good to use the matai system but also to empower the broader public. Unfortunately the matai system is breaking down a bit; it is also difficult to fit the traditional system with the modern westernised one. Samoa is caught between two worlds, the old matai system and new more westernised governance. The matai governance both in villages and in cabinet should be educated, they are now focusing to much on the economic values and conservation is overridden.

A change in or wrong leadership in Government.

The government in power is lacking knowledge and training on how to manage a modern economy. “There will be a backlash in a few years, things are so bad that people will react soon. This will lead to getting people with the knowledge of how to manage into power.”

Plantation development. There is a growing population in the urban areas (2,3% per annum). Creates problems with water catchments downhill and clearing of vegetation uphill. People in general don’t recognize the importance of the environment, it is just there to be used.

Sand was taken from the beaches to be used for concrete on roads and for buildings. The beaches are now eroding heavily. now a licence and survey are needed for sand to be taken, but it is too late for regulations.

A lot of issues on management responsibility, is it the governments or the villages who are in charge? There is a very wide gap between national governance and village authorities

Under staffed departments, remote areas are not evaluated so the processes are complaint driven and reliant on people daring to criticize their neighbours.

It is often difficult to say no to development on someone’s land as they cannot choose an alternative site. People do what they have to to get by.

There has to be disasters for change to happen (cyclones in the 90’s).

In fishing there are regulations on minimum size catch, but still the fish caught are too small. The regulations need to be implemented properly in daily society, but people fish to get an income due to monetization.

Climate change threat to biodiversity, flora and fauna.

Community conservation is poorly funded, there is not enough capacity in the villages and there is no exit for the projects so they are left unable to grow. Communities lack capital to invest in promotion of sites.

The capacity, staff and tools are there, but it is not enough in the big picture. There are no resources for capacity building and there are not enough libraries for people to gather information from.
There is no legislation to stop people from doing what they want on their customary land. If money is needed for example to pay off a loan after building a church, the forest will be cut down.

People don’t understand benefits of the fa’a Samoa and the costs of the fa’a Palagi, that goes for archaeology too.

2b. Archaeological values

- Archaeology not recognized by locals, monuments are falling apart or are overgrown. The built monuments are not valued – mainly legends are. Pride in culture i.e Fa’a Samoa (traditions, folklore) not related to archaeology or prehistory.
- Plantation development.
- High cost of living, money is everything, there has to be an economical advantage in saving it. There is a failure in seeing the commercial values. There has to be an income from conservation today, but the key is for people to understand the value of these sites etc and then they will not only maintain but develop the sites example for tourists.
- The government is only interested in mass tourism.
- Lack of Awareness.
  - Example; where the Police building is today, was previously the building where a New Zeeland soldier shot the Mau Leader. This building was torn down without recognition of it being a historical building.
  - Example is ancient burial grounds that are not being sustained for instance Tia Maa tomb where 1000s of Samoans were buried during the influenza epidemic after New Zealanders arrived.

Without raising awareness people will not engage in preservation. We need to get the locals to agree that there are benefits from preservation of material remains. Also there is a certain resistance to change, people want the change, but they are not willing to make a change. And of course without returning investment there’s no interest.

- There is not a lack of awareness in the villages, but many villages have to agree on projects or conservation so it is a complicated process. It is really the behaviour that has to change.
- There are Land issues that are hard to work around; many monuments are on private land. Government agencies cannot just go in and tell the landowner that this monument on his property has to be preserved. There are policies and acts, but it really comes down to the villages.
- There is a lack of expertise in preservation methodology.
- Political interests. The people responsible for the management. No programs are put into practice. There’s a lack of human resources.
- Samoans are not very curious. Things are just there until pointed out, that might arouse some interest. Little appreciation of prehistory
- Hard to create long term solutions, awareness may be risen, but then forgotten again.
- Not much archaeology at all.
- Traditionally families and islands were connected through culture but economic development has led to a change in values.
- There is a lack of funding, the government cannot afford to pay for conservation. The financial focus is on infrastructure.
- Archaeological data is old, more than ten years, so it is not so reliable. (hopefully people will want to take up archaeology studies to help in updating the information)
- “Archaeology is a grey area, who is supposed to look after it?” Archaeology is not the focus of the MNRE, even though it supposedly is under this institution.
- 1st and 2ndary schools do not talk about archaeology or prehistory in the curriculum. There is a focus on learning about other countries, but a lack of teaching about Samoan history and nature etc.

3a. What is needed in legislation to be able to preserve Archaeological sites / objects and sites of cultural value?

- Legislation is the first step for archaeology. If there is none there should be.
- The only existing framework is a Culture Policy. The Samoan and the English versions are not congruent. We need legislation and an authority who handles all parts of our culture including archaeology, a ministry of culture. Now the ministry of education, sports and culture is handling the museum and the archives while the MNRE are handling the archaeology. This can get very confusing for people with little knowledge of the governmental work. In Fagaloa bay for example there was much confusion when the ministry came to talk to the people regarding the will to become a site on the world heritage list. There is already a conservational project going on and when the local learned that this was another agency they were very reluctant, and chose not to agree on becoming a list item.
- Joint management would be a step further. The best would be responsibility under one ministry and a separate department for archaeology.
- MNRE don’t have the time to push trough projects like the tentative list. At least two staff on full time would be needed to do all the work that is involved, and there’s a lack of funding to do that.
- MNRE could be good for promoting archaeology. It should not be difficult to promote since F’a Samoa is based on prehistory.
- If you don’t have legislation you cannot enforce it, but there is still room for a tighter legislation and capacity-building.
- Department of Lands, Surveys and Environment Act (DLSE) 1989, include small subsection that gives power to the MNRE? to preserve conserve sites etc. (the policy only gives authority to promote awareness not to conserve?)
- The following acts all include environmental and heritage conservation in some way; Forest, Water resources, Natural Parks.

3b. Ecological / environmental values?

- NEMS proposition in place plus international conferences are already happening,
- The MNRE need to take a more active role for passing propositions in cabinet.
4. What more is needed?

- Without international aid nothing is happening in conservation. The government spends money on schools, hospitals etc (changing to left hand drive – authors commentary). The O Le Pupu-Pu’e National Park is the first established in the Pacific, but has not been developed or maintained before the JICA management project.
- Keep providing support for community-based conservational projects even after the project has finished, the villages need help with maintenance.
- Legislation needs revision
- Archaeology should be integrated as a part of the existing school curricula.
- Capacity-building is needed on what archaeological remains are but there is no budget within the government for this.
- Awareness raising is the key and starting point to all preservation but producing awareness campaigns are the easy parts, changing people’s behaviour is a completely different thing.
- NGOs have to be politically careful and work with professional people within ministries; hopefully they will be the future leaders.
- Implementing and “enforcing” the legislation and making people abide by it. Even educated people who may have lived overseas come back to Samoa and think “this is Samoa; we do what we like here”. It is hard for court orders to be carried out when legislation has been violated. It may work in Apia, but not outside.
- Mapping of archaeological sites.
- Maybe for the head of State to champion a Historical Trust Fund!
- There is a struggle right now what sort of development to have. Rapid will impact the culture. The responsible thing would be to develop small resorts.
- There are opportunities in family operated businesses.
- Archaeology as a means of generating income must be implemented. Having ownership of our own artifacts, like in Sweden, otherwise we will lose our history, it is the heritage, the children should know about it is their history and it should be promoted.
- Promote local sites, products and ecotourism, this will generate multiplying effects on local businesses and would also promote more growing of local products. Home stay is a good and sustainable idea. Ideas of how to must be planted within communities. Projects tourism + MNRE + agriculture = local organic production and businesses.
- More education is needed on diversifying activities and preserving.
- Other means of income to be able to preserve the village area and not just use the resources.
- DEDICATED STAFF
- We need to share information.
- Start targeting children, especially kids from areas known for having archaeological remains, they know the value and also many sites and stories connected to them.
- For archaeology a program is needed on how to create awareness and start preserving.
- The Museum of Samoa needs more promotion.
- To achieve a larger appreciation of prehistory, evidence is needed to link the time before colonization (i.e. prehistory) with today’s Fa’a Samoa since this is the basis of the culture.
- More tagging of archaeological sites etc is needed; it could also contribute as a value in enhancing community pride.
- Samoan culture is traditionally based on material values such as the Fa’alavelave (gift-exchange ceremonies). One example is the fine mats that very much have lost their value today in that the quantity has become more important than the quality. This has most likely come as a result of the intrusion of economy into the Fa’a Samoa. A reestablishment of the traditional meaning of culturally significant phenomena goes hand in hand with the introduction of archaeological values as a part of conserving the culture.
- We’ve got to get the world heritage concept into Samoa.
- MNRE bill proposes to create an authority to take on any conservational work natural, cultural or archaeological. The bill has not passed but if it does it will give authority to ministry to preserve and prosecute.
- Policies and legislation have to be enforced.
- There seems to be a general confusion on the Land Owner Bill which has not been explained properly by the government. The idea seems to be to put the ownership of the land under a name rather than a matai title to open up for land to be used as collateral when taking loans in a bank. But what happens if a loan is defaulted and payments are not met? It seems that it is opening up for land to be alienated even though it says in the constitution “no customary land can be alienated”. There may be benefits, but at what cost? There is already a law in place for government to acquire land for it to become government land. The land can then be leased for development.
- The land owner Bill is poorly understood. It applies only to freehold land and it clearly states that it excludes customary land. Banks require a land tenure system to repossess, but the present system does not allow that. The Act is advantageous for the financial system and the banks.
- Land and Titles registration act; there is a right for everybody to own the land. The land is never owned or registered to one name or person.

5. How would you prefer it to be?

- Developing a policy to work under the legislation (PUMA Act) to enforce legislation. The law is in place and now it is a matter of administration. It all boils down to education in non-statutory (village-based) conservation.
  A. A zoning law that prohibits development within certain areas. This takes a lot of resources as it should be enforced by government and not community based.
    o This is because capacity building towards the villages has been going on for some time from many directions and it is not working.
  B. It should be incremented over time and slowly move over to stronger enforcement as adjustment takes place.
  C. Stronger laws on development.
- The way would be to manage public resources by slowly tightening the governmental management over time.
- Environment was only brought up in the school’s curriculum a few years ago; archaeology has to be addressed in the same way.

6. How is preservation of ecological and cultural values maintained?

- How do you maintain awareness?
- Targeting the children would be the start
- Ecology is linked to the F’aa Samoa. Archaeology and prehistory is not yet linked to Fa’a Samoa or the environmental movement.
- Conservation is not maintained so much in the form of programs but in traditions. Tradition is somewhat preserving ecological values.
- A Government ceremony is needed to implement an activity and make it proper in the eyes of the village. The writing down of legends and stories continue oral practice and different versions of the same story is acknowledged today.

7a. Would it be easier or harder to receive acceptance for conservational activities of Archaeological sites / objects when also including ecological / environmental aspects?

- From a donors point of view it would be more likely to provide funding for archaeological values if ecology is also incorporated though it depends on the site and project.
- Eco village or other sustainable community projects could be an entry point for preservation of archaeology. Ecological and archaeological values could be preserved “arm in arm” as they are both community resources.
- This is an excellent idea. Example; By the Faleata Sports Complex there is a forest grown with climate change funding; it is also an archaeological site, even though not recognized and presented as such.
- Archaeological sites have ecological values, plants and birds live on and around. If it is the ecological or archaeological values that are more important for conservation to take place differs from site to site.
- Yes, it would create more substance if archaeology is included and it will also raise awareness for history.

7b. Or are Archaeological sites / objects considered as preserved alongside when creating ecological / environmental conservation?

- It is - if implemented correctly, but it needs to be promoted from the top (Head of State) in media.

8. Would it be possible to co-conserve archaeological and ecological values?

- Would like to see a combination of archaeology and environmental conservation. It would mean double the value for the money for a project fund giver. Unfortunately it cannot be done like that today as there is no legislation for archaeology.
- It would be more feasible, you could use the same methodology for two fields and there would be more resources to get things done. Cooperation with the MNRE
would be helpful, on environmental values the museum and the ministry are already cooperating.

- Co-conservation is only half-hearted today. MNRE are on the roll with village projects. Conservational work should be carried out through the villages. Both archaeological and ecological values are interrelated and community owned, so yes there should be good grounds for conservation.
- They could be co-conserved in a wider perspective. Someone needs to take the lead.

10. Are there possibilities for a common Legislation?

- Yes, maybe under the PUMA act for development consent.
- Very important to develop legislation for the material remains, but a common legislation would probably be too complex since you have to see to both sides, problems might not be able to address in that case. Better to keep them separate.
- Common legislation should work and a strengthening of legislation is needed, especially for archaeology where only policies are implemented. The procedure for Environmental Impact Assessments could also be used for archaeology.
- Epistemology. Culture and nature are intertwined in Samoa and should therefore also be able to be so legislation wise.

11. How is it possible to combine sustainable conservation with daily subsistence and economical development?

- Previous projects have paid out too much funding up front. A better solution is setting up trust funds with strict rules and yearly benefits that are being paid out if the project or area is being maintained as agreed.
- Lots of ways to make it possible! Starting from having one authority with legislation and policies in one place. All strategies should be outlined. Single conservational or preservation projects will not stay alive, but ongoing activities will ensure and keep the awareness. An authority to direct the way on long time issues.
- The coming together of different services, such as ministries working together, is gradually being appreciated. It needs mainstreaming and legislation for development as different sectors within ministries are still trying to maintain their own goals and agendas.
- PUMA (Planning and Urban Management Agency) needs strengthening! The process for more development is needed in ecotourism and for this an increased knowledge is needed. Today owners and operators work a lot only with fales, sea and sun without realizing that tourists usually appreciate the whole environment. The connection has not been made between why tourists come and the Fa’a Samoa, i.e. that culture, history and traditions also are assets that can be marketed in a sustainable way.
- Natural resources should be considered as assets.
- Before there were only don’t’s and then people were left to manage their land on their own. Now, there is capacity-building and understanding of climate change to offer other sustainable sources of income.
- Traditional knowledge should be maintained. Today there is no understanding of what happens when you are throwing that knowledge away.