

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Exploring the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as a climate financing initiative in Samoa

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of  
International Development

Development Studies  
Massey University  
Manawatū, New Zealand.

Isabella Grace Patrick

2024



## Abstract

This research aimed to explore the potential of a climate financing initiative, namely Green Tourism Bonds, in Samoa. Green Tourism Bonds are a climate financing initiative that allows the tourism sector to adapt and mitigate to the impacts of climate change through providing financial capital where needed. With only one prominent case of Green Tourism Bonds being used globally, there is a research gap in Samoa to explore how these bonds could be implemented in line with Samoan aspirations. Therefore, this research undertook an approach that is driven by the sustainable tourism development aspirations of the Samoan Tourism Authority and the Government of Samoa.

The development research problem is that globally-led climate financing initiatives are hard to access for Small Island Developing States, and do not encourage them to tap into their already present forms of community resilience. An example of this resilience can be seen through Latai-Niusulu, Binns, et al., (2020) cultural-ecological lens on climate change resilience, which directly draws from the knowledge that Samoans have been resilient throughout their history. These historic, dynamic and adaptable patterns of resilience continue to be drawn upon in the contemporary climate change environment (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020).

This research found that for Green Tourism Bonds to have potential in Samoa, they would have to align with their sustainable tourism development and climate financing approaches. Ultimately, for climate financing to contribute to long-term, in-country resilience, cultural-ecological resilience needs to be at the forefront. If it is to be connected to tourism, climate financing needs to also uphold how the sustainability principles established by the Pacific Tourism Organisation are conceptualised in Samoa. Green Tourism Bonds have made proven contributions to the sustainable tourism development in other places. However, due to the challenges posed by the economic COVID-19 recovery, the ‘newness’ of climate financing, capacity of the Government of Samoa and the tourism sector in Samoa, this approach is not recommended in the short- to medium-term in Samoa. This research connects sustainable tourism development and climate financing together in the Samoan context and recommends further options for Samoa.

## Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my leading supervisor, Prof. Regina Scheyvens for all the time and effort you have put into guiding me through this thesis. Your own research and dedication towards international development is inspiring, I am very honoured to be one of your students.

The Massey University Institute of Development Studies (IDS) is a group of passionate and inspiring academics, and I am very appreciative to be a part of such a team. The head of school, Assoc. Prof. Rochelle Stewart-Withers, thank you for encouraging me to pursue development studies and supporting me through the beginnings of my research career.

To my parents, thank you for teaching me the power of education and for those much-needed coffees and homemade meals during the long writing days. To my friends Anna, Gemma, and Joel, thank you for reading over my work, letting me talk for hours about my research and being there through all the ups and downs over the last two years.

I would like to also thank the Eves family; you all made my field research trip in Samoa a deeply enriching and enjoyable experience. You showed me through your daily actions and values the Samoan way. I can't thank you all enough for the kindness and love you showed me.

This research would not have been possible without funding from the New Zealand Post-Graduate Research Award, administered by DevNet on behalf of the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), the generous scholarship from Graduate Women Manawatū, the Jaycee Trust Travelling Fellowship Scheme administered by the Palmerston North City Council, and the Massey University Graduate Research Fund. Thank you all for supporting this research.

# Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i> .....	<i>ii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i> .....	<i>iii</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i> .....	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Figures</i> .....	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i> .....	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i> .....	<i>x</i>
<i>Glossary of Samoan Terms</i> .....	<i>xii</i>
<b><i>Chapter One - Introduction and Context</i></b> .....	<b><i>1</i></b>
1.1 Rationale.....	1
1.2 Research aim and questions.....	2
1.3 Fa’asamoa: the Samoan way.....	2
Structures and Institutions: Fa’amatai:.....	3
1.4 Background of Samoa.....	4
Demographics.....	4
Geography.....	5
History.....	7
Governance.....	7
1.5 Samoa macroeconomic environment and COVID-19.....	8
1.6 Development sought by the Government of Samoa.....	9
1.7 Tourism in Samoa.....	10
Samoa tourism outline and COVID-19.....	11
Samoa Tourism Authority.....	11
Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO).....	13
1.8 Climate change explanations.....	15
Definitions and scope of the issue.....	15
International treaties for climate change.....	16
Climate change in the Pacific Islands.....	17
1.9 Outline of Thesis.....	18
<b><i>Chapter Two - Sustainable Tourism Development</i></b> .....	<b><i>20</i></b>
2.1 The conceptualisation of sustainable tourism development.....	20
2.2 Sustainable tourism development debates.....	21
2.3 Sustainable tourism development explained in the Pacific and Samoan context.....	25
Principle: Country Solutions.....	27
Principle: Community Engagement and Empowerment.....	29
2.4 Samoa’s past and present relationship with sustainable tourism development.....	30
Samoa’s current tourism mix for sustainability.....	35
2.5 Summary.....	35
<b><i>Chapter Three - Climate Change, Financing and, Resilience</i></b> .....	<b><i>37</i></b>
3.1 Climate financing definition and landscape: a global overview.....	37

3.2 Climate financing architecture in the Pacific.....	40
3.3 Climate financing in Samoa.....	45
Climate financing within the tourism sector in Samoa.....	47
3.4 Pacific Small Island Developing States' experience within the climate financing architecture .....	49
Macroeconomic challenges .....	49
General capacity challenges .....	50
Blended financing as a mechanism to close the financing gap .....	54
Green Bonds .....	57
3.5 Climate change resilience .....	57
Resilience theory and the complex adaptative system .....	58
Importance of a place-specific resilience theory in climate change approaches and finance .....	63
3.6 Summary and looking ahead .....	64
<b>Chapter Four - Methodology.....</b>	<b>68</b>
4.1 Research design and approach.....	68
4.2 Field selection: Samoa .....	69
4.3 Ethics, reciprocity, and positionality .....	70
Ethics: Massey University, National University of Samoa and Research Permit .....	70
Reciprocity.....	71
Positionality and reflexivity.....	72
4.4 Participant selection of semi-structured key-informant interviews .....	73
4.5 Data collection methods .....	75
Semi-structured key informant interviews.....	76
Fieldwork journal and observations.....	77
Secondary data sources.....	77
Qualitative data analysis.....	78
4.6 Summary.....	78
<b>Chapter Five - Findings: Climate Change, Tourism, and the Climate Financing Landscape in Samoa.....</b>	<b>80</b>
5.1 The challenge of sustainable tourism development within climate change in Samoa .....	80
Tourism as a 'double-edged sword' .....	82
5.2 Climate change and tourism accommodation in Samoa.....	84
Climate change adaptations of tourism accommodations .....	88
5.3 Climate financing in Samoa.....	90
Climate financing process at the Government of Samoa level.....	91
Government of Samoa's access to climate financing .....	96
External timeframes of climate finance and projects .....	98
5.4 Climate financing for tourism in Samoa.....	99
5.5 Summary.....	103
<b>Chapter Six - Findings: Climate Financing Model that could suit Tourism Accommodation in Samoa.....</b>	<b>104</b>
6.1 Key informants' aspirations for Samoa's climate financing and tourism sectors .....	104
Aspiration One.....	104
Aspiration Two .....	105
6.2 Green Tourism Bonds model.....	106
6.3 Decisions and justifications for the model.....	112

Why focus on accommodation infrastructure? .....	113
Why target locally-owned coastal accommodation? .....	114
Why include a ‘Timeshare’ component? .....	115
Financial Structure: blended approach .....	115
6.4 Barriers for implementation.....	117
Capacity of the Government of Samoa (GoS).....	117
Small economic market and macroeconomic position of Samoa .....	117
Capacity of tourism sector and accommodation operators.....	118
Cautious of debt: appetite and acceptance.....	119
6.5 Summary.....	120
<b>Chapter Seven - Discussion and Conclusion.....</b>	<b>122</b>
7.1 Sustainable tourism development, climate financing and resilience within Samoa.....	122
Sustainable tourism development in the post-COVID-19 recovery era in Samoa .....	123
Climate financing at the tourism accommodation level in Samoa .....	125
Cultural-ecological resilience in climate financing projects .....	127
7.2 Green Tourism Bonds model.....	129
Is now the right time to introduce Green Tourism Bonds to Samoa? .....	130
7.3 Conclusion .....	131
7.4 Recommendations.....	133
<b>References .....</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>Appendix: .....</b>	<b>A</b>
1. Samoa Research Permit .....	A
2. Participant Information Sheet (Samoan and English) .....	B
3. Research Consent Form (Samoan and English) .....	F

## List of Figures

Figure 1:1 Map of Samoa: Upolu and Savai'i (Source: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1998). .....	6
Figure 1:2 Samoa Sector Planning Framework (Source: STA, 2022, p.18).....	12
Figure 1:3 SPTO Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework (Source: SPTO, 2021, p.3).....	14
Figure 2:1 Key issues for sustainable development of tourism in Samoa (Source: Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005, p. 244). .....	28
Figure 2:2 Part 2 Section 2 of the Samoa Tourism Development Act 2012 (Source: STA, 2012, p. 5). .....	32
Figure 3:1 Climate finance commitments for PICs from 2014 to 2019 (Source: Fouad et al., 2021, p. 8). .....	43
Figure 3:2 Climate financing architecture for PICs (Source: Fouad et al., 2021, p. 5). .....	44
Figure 3:3 Multilateral funds supporting SIDS including the Pacific (Source: Watson & Schalatek, 2019, p. 2).....	45
Figure 3:4 Samoa Climate Change Policy objective 4 outcomes (Source: GoS, 2020b, p.13). .....	46
Figure 3:5 IMF identified challenges that PICs face when accessing climate funds (Source: Fouad et al., 2021, p.18). .....	49
Figure 3:6 Assessing the Asia-Pacific region's readiness for climate financing (Samuwai & Hills, 2018, p.7). .....	52
Figure 3:7 Total DFI Blended Concessional Finance Project Volume by Region, 2021 (Source: Sierra-Escalante et al., 2023, p.11).....	56
Figure 3:8 Adaptive renewal cycle (Source: Berkes et al., 2004, p.17). .....	59
Figure 3:9 Conceptual framework (Source: Author & adapted from: SPTO, 2021).....	66
Figure 5:2 The view at top of Mount Vaea, Apia. ....	81
Figure 5:1 Mount Vaea trail, Apia. ....	81
Figure 5:3 Repaired staircase in Samoa that was broken from a king tide.....	85
Figure 5:4 Self-constructed sea wall in Upolu.....	86
Figure 5:5 Manase beach showing where they have manually built up the sand. ....	86
Figure 5:6 Samoan beach fale located on the ocean's edge. ....	87
Figure 5:7 Basic diagram of the climate financing process in Samoa (Source: Author).....	93
Figure 5:8 Diagram of development donors in the climate financing process (Source: Author).....	94

Figure 5:9 Diagram showing complete climate financing process (Source: Author).....	95
Figure 6:1 Green Tourism Bonds model (Source: Author). .....	108
Figure 6:2 Potential private investors for Green Tourism Bonds (Source: Author).....	109
Figure 6:3 Complete Green Tourism Bonds process (Source: Author).....	111
Figure 6:4 Tourism site in Samoa: To Sua Ocean Trench.....	113
Figure 6:5 Tourism site in Samoa: Giant Clam Sanctuary. ....	113

## List of Tables

Table 2-1 12 Guiding principles of sustainable tourism development in the Pacific (Adapted from: SPTO, 2021, pp. 10-11). .....	26
Table 4-1 Key informants interviewed for this research .....	75
Table 5-1 Climate change impacts that are affecting tourism accommodations' in Samoa, from interviews. ....	90

## List of Acronyms

ADB – Asian Development Bank

COP – Conference of Parties

DBS – Development Bank of Samoa

FY – Financial year

GCF – Green Climate Fund

GDP – Gross domestic product

GEF- Global Environment Facility

GoS – Government of Samoa

IFC - International Finance Corporation

IFI – International Financial Institution

ILK - Indigenous and Local Knowledge

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IMF- International Monetary Fund

IPCC – Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

MNRE – Ministry of Resources and Environment (Government of Samoa)

MoF – Ministry of Finance (Government of Samoa)

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NZ MFAT - New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

ODA – Official Development Assistance

OECD - The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PICs – Pacific Island Countries

PSIDS – Pacific Small Island Developing States

SDGs - Sustainable Development Goals

SIDS – Small Island Developing States

SPREP - Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program

SPTO – Pacific Tourism Organisation

STA – Samoa Tourism Authority

TSCP - Tourism Council of the South Pacific

UN – United Nations

UNDP- United Nations Development Program

UNEP – United Nations Environmental Program

UNFCCC - The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNWTO – United Nations World Tourism Organisation

WST – Samoan Tala (local currency)

## Glossary of Samoan Terms

*‘aiga* - immediate or extended family

*alofa* - compassion, love, concern

*ali’i* - a chief title

*fa’avelave* - formal, traditional ceremonies or occasions of exchange

*fa’amatai* – customary system of governance

*fa’asamoa* – the Samoan way according to Samoan customs and tradition

*fale* – traditional Samoan house

*fono* - the governing council of the village, which is comprised of matai, the head of the various ‘aiga. There is also a national fono of pulenu’u

fono - council of chiefs

*matai* - chief (ali’i or tulāfale) a representative of an ‘aiga, custodian of ‘aiga land, sometimes viewed as the head of the extended family

*nu’u* – village

*palagi* - European person

*pulenu’u* - the village mayor, chairman of the fono. Liaison between village and national government

*tala* - Samoan currency as in dollar

*tulāfale* - a talking chief/orator title

(Sources: Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1996; Grattan, 1948; Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009; Meleisea, 1987; Mulitalo-Lauta, 1998; Riddle, 2006; Tamua et al., 2000).

# Chapter One - Introduction and Context

Chapter One provides context for the research by introducing: fa'asamoa (the Samoan way) and relevant concepts within this, background to Samoa, the macro-economic environment and COVID-19, development sought by Samoa, tourism in Samoa and the relevant organisations, and climate change.

## 1.1 Rationale

Exploring the potential of Green Tourism Bonds first came about through the desire from the Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) to investigate innovative climate financing initiatives. Throughout my postgraduate studies at Massey University, I worked part-time with a consultancy firm that had engaged in previous projects with the STA. Through these partnerships, STA expressed their desire to explore climate financing options in tourism. It was during the planning stage of this research proposal that the idea of having a sustainable financial bond that was driven by the tourism sector as a climate financing option was developed. Bonds are a fixed income security, and Green Bonds provide capital to projects designed to enhance sustainability. It was important for tourism to be the leading driver, as tourism in Samoa is strongly connected to sustainable tourism development, and thus the idea of Green Tourism Bonds was developed. Whilst Green Bonds are still relatively new with limited academic research, Green Tourism Bonds are even more sparse in research and practice with only one important case of note. A company in Costa Rica had previously developed a similar initiative, and I was fortunate enough to interview the CEO and explore how they implement their private model. Costa Rica's issue of 'Sustainable Tourism Bonds' was issued to attract responsible investors and encourage tourism to return amid the Covid-19 Pandemic (Ettinger, 2021). The capital that is raised is being used for sustainable expansion for leading luxury resorts and developing enterprises that align with their local environment (Costa Rica Lifestyle Investment, 2022).

This research is of close interest as my undergraduate degree is in accountancy and finance, which created the foundation for this exploratory research. I feel very strongly towards the importance of climate change within sustainable tourism development and ensuring local approaches are used, and this research is a testament to that. The combination of international development and business studies has opened up an exciting perspective that has allowed this

research to rigorously delve into complex intersectional topics. As this research developed over time, the rationale remained the same; to research ways in which Samoa and their tourism sector can access climate financing that contributes to sustainable tourism development and is founded upon community resilience.

### **1.2 Research aim and questions**

This research aims to explore the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as a climate financing initiative in Samoa and whether such bonds could be an initiative that aligns with their sustainable tourism development and climate financing approaches. The following questions were applied to explore this aim:

- 1) What is the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as an initiative which supports the sustainable development of Samoa's tourism sector?
- 2) In what ways might Green Tourism Bonds align with tourism authorities', operators', and the Government of Samoa's aspirations for climate finance and sustainable tourism development?

### **1.3 Fa'asamoa: the Samoan way**

*Fa'asamoa*<sup>1</sup>; 'the Samoan way' is the very essence of what it means to be Samoan (Tamua et al., 2000). It is one's identity and place within society (Meleisea, 1987); the "collection of spiritual and cultural values that motivate people" (Mulitalo-Lauta, 1998, p. 22). Fa'asamoa is a framework for action based on their social structure and relationship that connects Samoans to their environment and cultural affairs (Meleisea, 1987). Contemporary Samoa reflects fa'asamoa through the continued practice and customs of traditional Samoan culture (Meleisea, 1987) that "absorbs change by providing an environment that ensures cultural continuity" (Tamua et al., 2000, p. 15). In other words, Samoan experiences may change with time, but its institutional foundations remain intact: "*E tumau le fa'avae ae fesuia'i faiga*" (Samoan proverb of achieving collective resilience) (Fa'aea, 2020, p. 1; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009).

The commitment to fa'asamoa is fundamental in their approach to sustainability, tourism (GoS, 2020b) and climate change methods (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009). It is important in this

---

<sup>1</sup> Samoan phrases and words are only italicized when they are first introduced in this thesis.

thesis because fa'asamoa encapsulates daily life and the decision-making processes of the social, political and economic systems that introduce new practices, ideas and goods (Tamua et al., 2000). Fa'asamoa is a profoundly complex and multifaceted ideology, but for those who are encompassed by fa'asamoa, it is readily understood and practised (Stewart-Withers, 2007). Mulitalo-Lauta (1998) identified five key components of fa'asamoa (p.32):

- 1) Samoan Heart
- 2) Samoan Way
- 3) Structures and Institutions
- 4) Ceremonies and Ceremonial Practices
- 5) Protocols and Values

Fa'asamoa can thus be described as being both visible and invisible: visible because of their physical form through social structures and cultural practices, and invisible because of their “ideas, beliefs values, skills, moods, passions, attitudes and knowledge” (Mulitalo-Lauta, 1998, p. 29)<sup>2</sup>.

### ***Structures and Institutions: Fa'amatai:***

This section introduces the ‘structures and institutions’ of fa'asamoa, namely: ‘*aiga* (family) and *matai* (chiefly system). This traditional organisation and governance system is referred to as *fa'amatai* (Meleisea, 1987) where a level of political power is still in the hands of the *fono* (the village council) and thus is present in contemporary Samoa's decision-making processes (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020).

#### *The 'aiga*

The ‘*aiga* is your family, marriage, extended family and adopted connections’. It is the foundation for Samoan society, social organisation and, social life within Samoa (Grattan, 1948). It is the leading unit through which fa'asamoa manifests itself (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009; Tamua et al., 2000). Each member of the ‘*aiga* knows their role and has

---

<sup>2</sup> I chose Mulitalo-Lauta (1998) definition on fa'asamoa because it acknowledges both the invisible and visible aspects. In my explanation, I focussed on the systems that relate to the decision-making processes at the village level because they influence daily life and also the national Government of Samoa. Their Chapter Two (pp. 21-54) fully explains what they believe to be fa'asamoa. As a *palagi*, I am attempting to understand these processes that have shaped Samoa and are still present in their traditional form today.

predetermined responsibilities that are important in day-to-day life and at *fa'alavelave* (e.g. funerals, weddings and the bestowal of chiefly titles) (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020).

### *Matai*

The head of the 'aiga is the matai (chief)<sup>3</sup>; in which traditional authority is vested, and who is responsible to all members (Tamua et al., 2000). Matai are the custodian of the 'aiga estate and allocate rights to use land both individually and communally (Grattan, 1948). Matai titles rank the highest in Samoan society and with that are highly respected (Grattan, 1948)<sup>4</sup>. Whilst the roles of the matai have evolved with time, their responsibility to their 'aiga remains (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009). Responsibilities include ensuring the wellbeing of the 'aiga, representation at the fono (village council) and at *fa'alavelave*, and enforcement of village laws and punishment (Tamua et al., 2000).

Multiple groups of 'aiga form the nu'u (village) (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020; Meleisea, 1987) where the organisation, governance, and division of the nu'u is the same as the 'aiga level (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1996). The nu'u management and decision-making are done by the fono which is made up of the matai of each 'aiga<sup>5</sup> (Grattan, 1948).

## **1.4 Background of Samoa**

This section will add context by introducing the demographics, geography, history and, governance of Samoa.

### ***Demographics***

The Government of Samoa recorded a population of 205,557 (accessed 24<sup>th</sup> January 2024) (SBS, 2022). With three-quarters of the population situated on the island of Upolu, and the remaining on 'the big Island' of Savai'i. The capital of Apia is home to 17.5% of Samoa's total population (Government of Samoa, 2021).

---

<sup>3</sup> Meleisea (1987) states that there are two types of matai: *ali'i* and *tulāfale*. Typically, the *ali'i* holds more authority, however at times *tulāfale* can outrank *ali'i*. Each rank can only be fully comprehended with their village context.

<sup>4</sup> This title succeeds from one holder to another and typically follows the succession line to the brother or son, but the right to become a matai is open to every family member because of the notion of the *suli* (heir through blood connection) (Grattan, 1948; Meleisea, 1987; Mulitalo-Lauta, 1998). It is also possible for women to hold the matai title, but does not often occur (Mulitalo-Lauta, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> Government leadership structures are explored below.

***Geography***

The Samoan island group lies in the centre of Polynesia, between 173° and 168° west longitude and 13° and 15° south latitude with a land area of about 2,842 km<sup>2</sup> (Davidson, 1948). It includes the two large islands of Upolu (where the capital, Apia is located) and Savai'i as well as eight islets lying between and off their coasts (Figure 1.1) (Davidson, 1948; U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1998). Samoa's topography consists of narrow coastal plains, and interior mountains with the highest elevation of 1,875m above sea level (Beyerl et al., 2018).

Figure 1:1 Map of Samoa: Upolu and Savai'i (Source: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1998).



### ***History***

From the late 1800s German settlers occupied Samoa (called German Samoa at the time) until 1914 when during WWI New Zealand seized the state. Following Germany's defeat in the war, Samoa was officially allocated to New Zealand under the League of Nations in 1920, renaming it Western Samoa (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1996; Meleisea et al., 1987). This resulted in a controversial and controlling administration under the New Zealand Government (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009; Meleisea et al., 1987). New Zealand administrators had racially driven village development, health, and economic plans. They failed to take into consideration that Samoans were extremely proud of their own way of life and did not necessarily want to conform to European behaviour and attitudes (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009; Meleisea et al., 1987). Samoans began to resent interference in their village matters; "it was not that the Samoans did not want peace, good health and prosperity. They did, but they felt strongly that they should have a voice in planning and policy-making" (Meleisea et al., 1987, p. 132).

Samoa gained independence from New Zealand in 1962<sup>6</sup> through The Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa (1960), in which they celebrate their Independence Day on 1st June (STA, n.d.-b). This also resulted in a Friendship Agreement between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of Western Samoa (Treaty of Friendship, 1962). Samoa was the first Pacific Island state to achieve independence and has provided a model for other Pacific and wider Islands to ensure that traditional institutions are established upon independence (Meleisea et al., 2016). In 1997 the nation dropped 'Western' from its name to become 'The Independent State of Samoa' (STA, n.d.-b). Throughout their fight for independence, Samoans continuously drew on *fa'asamoa* to be resilient and are constantly adapting to new environments yet remain specific and at their core *fa'asamoa* (Damon & Salesea, 2003).

### ***Governance***

Samoa continues to be governed under this constitution and has achieved political stability since its independence in 1962 (GoS, 2020b; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009). The national system is founded on parliamentary democracy that has been adapted to allow for the customs and practices of the Samoan people, e.g. only matai are allowed to stand for election (Malifa, 2021). It is connected to *fa'amatai* through the *pulenu'u* committee which liaises between the central government and the villages (Riddle, 2006). The Village Fono Act 1990 gives village

---

<sup>6</sup> Samoa officially gained independence in 1962, with their Constitution being written in 1960.

councils authority over village law and order, health and social issues (Tamua et al., 2000; Village Fono Act 1990, 1990; Wong et al., 2013).

Land ownership has remained predominately in the hands of Samoans, as all land in Samoa is either customary (80%), freehold (12%) or public (8%), with customary ownership protected under the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa (1960, pt. IX no.101(1)(2); Grant, n.d.). Under fa'asamoa, every Samoan, even if they have migrated internationally, have access to land in Samoa (Grant, 2007; Meleisea, 1987).

### **1.5 Samoa macroeconomic environment and COVID-19**

Samoa's economy is classified as a 'small open economy' that is reliant on development aid, family remittances, agriculture, fishing and, in more recent years, manufacturing and tourism (Wong et al., 2013). Pre COVID-19 they had a GDP<sup>7</sup> per capita in 2018/19 of approximately USD 4,000 (WST 10,977), and a 2019 Human Development Index of 0.707, placing it 111 out of 185 countries (GoS, 2020b). Samoa's macroeconomic performance is influenced by global demand and is often at the hands of the external forces (Sialaoa, 2003). Such forces include: climate change, the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, the 2009 Samoa earthquake and tsunami, Cyclone Evan in 2012, migration, trade, international aid trends, the Samoa measles outbreak in 2019, and COVID-19. As a result, economic growth has been steady due to the recovery of these forces (GoS, 2020b).

In November 2019 Samoa declared their first public health State of Emergency due to a widespread measles outbreak (Samoa Observer, 2019b). This was in place for six weeks and were in economic recovery (Kaspar et al., 2020) when the COVID-19 pandemic led to Samoa declaring its second State of Emergency in March 2020 (GoS, 2020c). The closing of their borders meant Samoa was essentially 'shut off' from the world in terms of both tourism and their economy (Samoa Global News, 2020). Their approach saved countless lives, with Samoa being one of the least impacted countries regarding health (UN, 2020). However, the socioeconomic impact on Samoan households saw two-thirds of their income decline as tourism was the hardest-hit sector (UN, 2020). The closing of their borders until August 2022 had severe economic and developmental impacts which is shown through their GDP declining

---

<sup>7</sup> GDP is the measure of value added through the production of goods and services, measured in current prices (OECD, 2023a). It is typically used to measure the economic level of a country and its citizens.

-7.4% in 2021 and its continued decrease into early 2022 (MoF, 2022a). As well as the 2022 figures show inflation at 11% p.a., which is significantly higher than their medium target of 3.0% p.a. (Mika, 2023). The reopening of the international border in August 2022 (Tokalau, 2022) showed early signs of economic recovery as when tourism increases, it has a flow-on effect to all key areas in Samoa's economy (MoF, 2022c). As a result, Samoa's GDP increased by 5.1% by late 2022 (MoF, 2022c), this is a result of inflation rates continuous rise and an increase in household income (i.e. through tourism services showing a substantial increase in demand) (OECD, 2023b).

It is important to highlight that these measurements do not take into consideration their traditional economy<sup>8</sup>, such as individual contributors: self-employed persons (i.e. some tourism operations), unpaid family, volunteers, domestic workers, and farm hands (SBS, 2023). Which in Samoa contributes an estimated 70-80% of their complete economy (Taua'a, 2021). It is an economy that highlights fa'asamoa through the communal organisation (Meleisea, 1987), that allows Samoans to ensure a decent quality of life that does not rely solely on global market forces. Pacific scholars observe that the islands have their own communal and social-ecological systems that are present in cyclical, evolutionary patterns that are historically dynamic and adaptable (Berkes et al., 2004; Movono et al., 2017; Nunn, 2009). During the tough times of the COVID-19 pandemic, these communal systems were observed to help sustain livelihoods and maintain food security throughout the Pacific (Movono & Scheyvens, 2022).

### **1.6 Development sought by the Government of Samoa**

In 2014 Samoa graduated from being classified as a Least Developed Country to a Lower Middle Income Country (GoS, 2020b). However, due to the inherent vulnerabilities of external forces (as mentioned above), they remain a Small Island Developing State<sup>9</sup> (SIDS) (GoS, 2020b).

Samoa 2040 (GoS, 2021) and The Pathway for the Development of Samoa (MoF, 2021) are their most recent national planning and development documents under the government

---

<sup>8</sup> The International Labour Organization defines the informal economy as "all economic activities by workers and economic units that are – in law or in practice – not covered or insufficiently covered by formal arrangements" (ILO, n.d.). It is made up generally of small-scale activities in traditional sectors of the economy (Morgado, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Small Island Developing States (SIDS) are a distinct group of 38 UN Member States and 20 Non-UN Members/Associate Members of United Nations regional commissions that face unique social, economic and environmental vulnerabilities (UN, 1992).

(Fa'atuatua I le Atua ua Tasi Political Party) elected in 2021. Samoa 2040 has a goal of “transforming Samoa to a higher growth path” (GoS, 2021, p. iv) and the Pathway for Development has a vision of “fostering social harmony, safety, and freedom for all” (MoF, 2021, p. 4). Both have sustainable development approaches incorporated throughout. Samoa 2040 integrates the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)<sup>10</sup> into its guiding foundation as a 20-year reform that aims to facilitate the recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic and other economic challenges (including climate change) (GoS, 2021). This is seen through an increase in production to sustainably grow their economy and improve livelihoods (GoS, 2021). The Pathway for Development has an aspiration to “nurture growth that benefits all of our people” (MoF, 2021, p. 4) that is underlaid by sustainable development. Tourism is recognised in both documents as a facilitator and there is an emphasis on climate resilience as an overall strategic outcome.

Samoa's sustainable development strategy includes taking on a sector-wide approach as a way to meet national, regional and international obligations, including the SDGs and Paris Agreement (explained in section 1.8) and incorporates fa'asamoa (GoS, 2020b). Samoa actively seeks community-based engagement and encourages civil society participation through bottom-up approaches such as steering committees and problem/solution identification at the local level (GoS, 2020b). Through this strategy, they believe that: ownership of decision-making is broadened, coherence is achieved in sectorial policy, minimisation of transaction costs, and it enables stakeholder engagement and integration of sustainable development dimensions (GoS, 2020b, p. 15). This approach is used as it engages all stakeholders (civil society, private sector, development partners, communities and vulnerable groups) in development to be “critical enabler[s] of successful SDG implementation, and essential to effective global, regional, national and sectoral follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda” (GoS, 2020b, p. 23).

### **1.7 Tourism in Samoa**

This section will introduce tourism in Samoa, the Samoa Tourism Authority and the Pacific Tourism Organisation.

---

<sup>10</sup> The Sustainable Development Goals are the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which has been adapted by all United Nations Member States in 2015 (UN, 2015b). There are 17 goals which call for action by all countries in a global partnership (UN, 2015b). This research has been written on the assumption that the reader has a basic understanding of the SDGs.

### ***Samoa tourism outline and COVID-19***

The Government of Samoa (GoS) recognises the importance that the tourism industry has on their sustainable development and achieving the SDGs because it is a leading source of income for communities (STA, 2022b). The tourism industry in Samoa accounts for 20-25% of the GDP and employs 15% of the workforce (IMF, 2022; STA, 2022b). Sustainable tourism development is a key aspect of this thesis and is explored in-depth in Chapter Two. Tourism in Samoa relies significantly on marine and terrestrial resources which are vulnerable to climate change impacts (IMF, 2022).

As mentioned earlier, the tourism industry suffered extensively during the COVID-19 State of Emergency as there was no international tourist inflow from March 2020 to August 2022 (Tokalau, 2022). When the international borders reopened, within five months Samoa recorded tourism earnings of WST 158.42 million (Samoan currency) (USD 57.62 million)<sup>11</sup> and 53,609 tourists which signified the beginning of recovery (MoF, 2022c) that have continued into 2023 (STA, 2023b). The GoS recognises that this recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic will continue for over 24 months (STA, 2022b). Tourism is understood as a driver for development and poverty alleviation (Everett et al., 2018; Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). Therefore, the near collapse of tourism due to national lockdowns disrupted economies and highlighted just how crucial tourism was for these economies, particularly the SIDS in the Pacific Island region (Movono et al., 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic exposed the risks and vulnerabilities of what happens when tourism is relied on solely for economic growth, as it essentially resulted in an abrupt and complete stop to international tourism and its growth for two years (Hutchison et al., 2021). COVID-19 also enabled an opportunity for a ‘tourism reset’, that opened for a renewed focus on a sustainable model of tourism that considers the wellbeing and resilience of the people of the tourism destination and the environment (Campos et al., 2023; Carr, 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020; STA, 2022a; UNWTO, 2020; Westoby et al., n.d.).

### ***Samoa Tourism Authority***

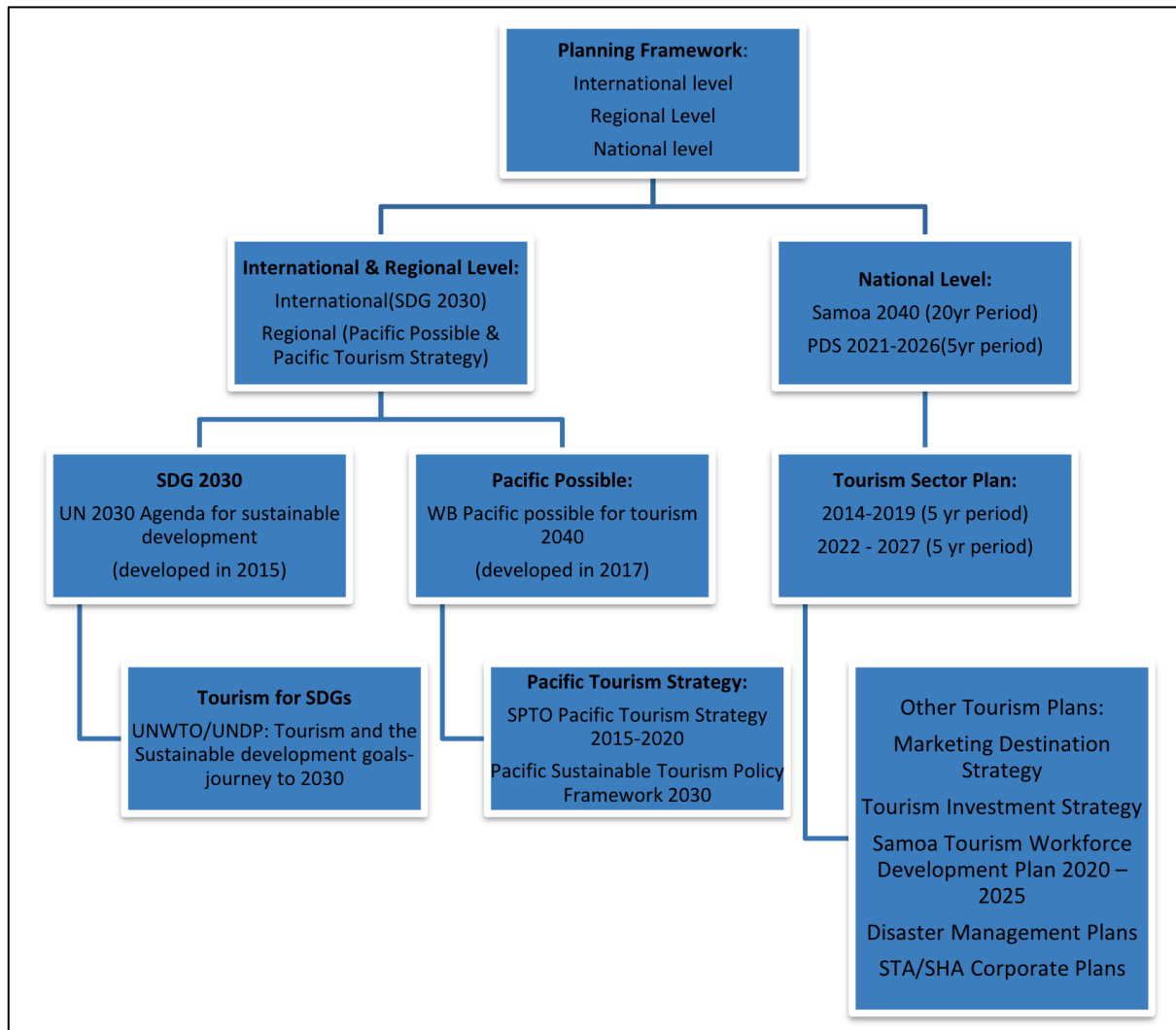
The Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) is a state-owned enterprise that is responsible for advising the sector on their sustainable tourism development (STA, 2014a). Samoa’s overarching tourism goal is “to be a better, more sustainable and resilient tourism destination with the aim of surviving and then thriving post-COVID-19 pandemic” (STA, 2022b, p. 5).

---

<sup>11</sup> All currency conversions in this thesis were done on the 23/02/2024 using Wise Currency Converter.

The STA aims to achieve this through operation within five different divisions: 1) Marketing & Promotions Division 2) Planning & Development Division 3) Research & Statistics Division, 4) Finance & Corporate Services Division and 5) Policy & Tourism Sector Coordination Division (STA, 2014b). Tourism is regarded as an essential source of income for the communities as it has proven to be resilient and lead Samoa’s economic and social recovery (STA, 2022b). The Tourism Sector Plan 2022-2027 further highlights that tourism is aligned regionally and globally with targets outlined in the SDGs, Pacific Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework (explained in next paragraph), Samoa 2040 and Pathway for Development (STA, 2022b) as shown in Figure 1.2.

**Figure 1:2 Samoa Sector Planning Framework (Source: STA, 2022, p.18).**



### ***Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO)***

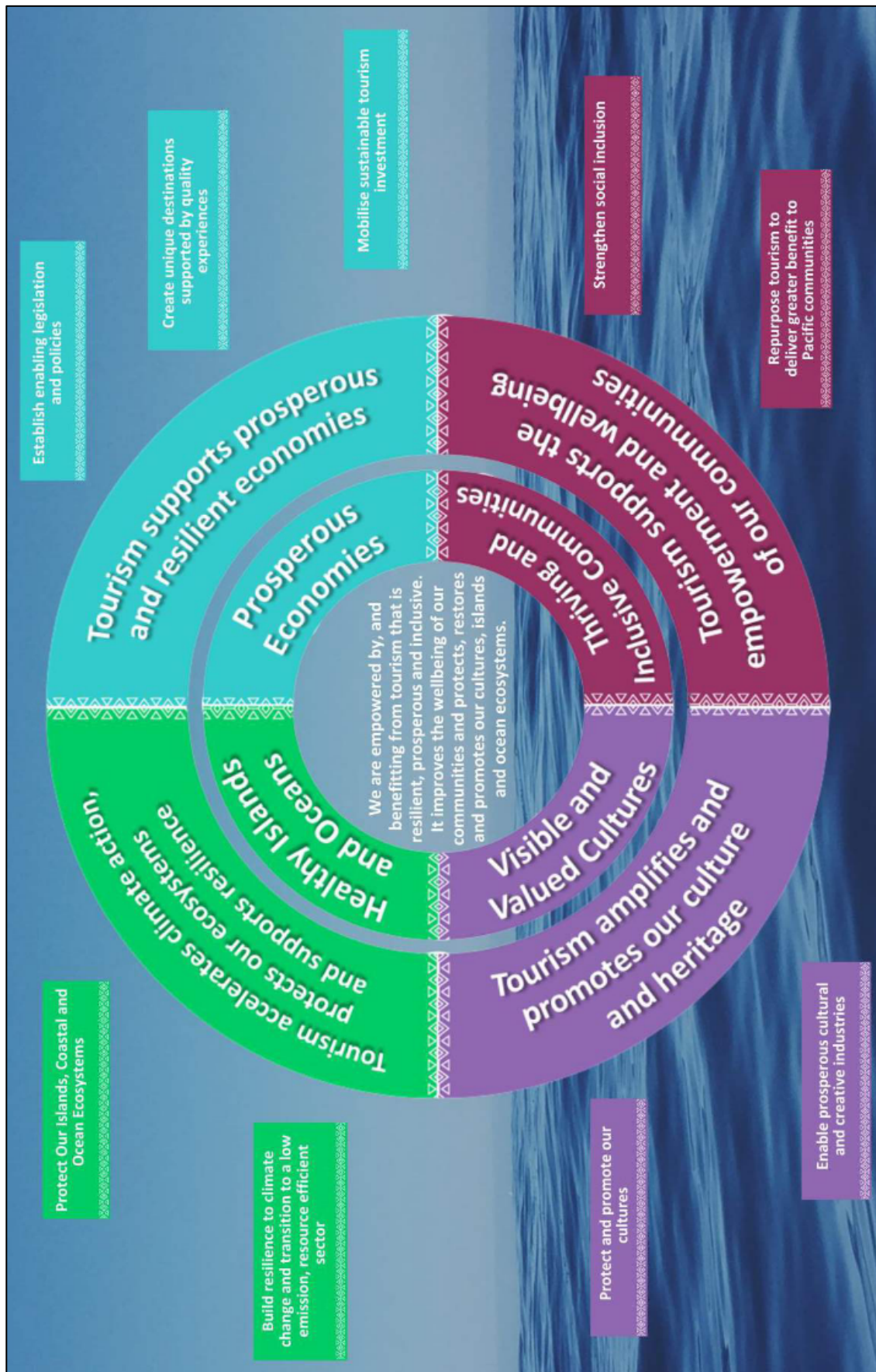
Since its establishment in 1983, the Pacific Tourism Organisation<sup>12</sup> (SPTO) has been a fundamental organisation for tourism in the region (SPTO, 2023c). They are the mandated organisation that represents tourism policy and marketing in the region encompassing 21 government members (states and non-states) and 200 private sector members (SPTO, 2023c). Their vision is “Our Pacific Islands; empowered and benefitting from sustainable tourism” with a mission of “sustainable tourism development through innovative partnerships” (SPTO, 2023c, para. 4). Sustainable tourism for development is their leading ethos in the context of tourism recovery, growth and, climate change as “SPTO in collaboration with partners can guide a recovery that brings tourism back better, and more resilient, and enables Pacific Island economies, people, culture and the environment to thrive” (SPTO, 2023c, para. 6). To achieve these, their three core strategic priorities are 1) marketing the region 2) sustainable tourism planning and development and 3) research and statistics (SPTO, 2023b).

It is under their vision and ethos that they have developed their SPTO Pacific 2030: Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework (Figure 1.3) that sets the foundation for the sector to recover and grow sustainably (SPTO, 2021). The framework is the policy outcomes of their 12 Principles for sustainable tourism development which are explored in Chapter Two section 2.3. It provides a roadmap for navigating the tourism sector by “advancing the important priorities identified by our Member Countries, private sector, civil society, development partners, regional and international organisations” (SPTO, 2021, p. IV). This framework won the Promote Partnerships for Development in the Commonwealth category at the Commonwealth Secretary-General’s Innovation for Sustainable Development Awards 2023 and highlighted the collective efforts of the Pacific nations' dedication to sustainable tourism and its development (SPTO, 2023a). The SPTO framework and principles have been heavily used throughout this thesis making up part of the conceptual framework used to analyse the findings in Samoa.

---

<sup>12</sup> The ‘Pacific Tourism Organisation’ changed its name in 2019 from the South Pacific Tourism Organisation but retained its old acronym, SPTO. This decision was to ensure the inclusivity of its Northern and Central Pacific member countries (TVNiue, 2019).

Figure 1:3 SPTO Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework (Source: SPTO, 2021, p.3).



## 1.8 Climate change explanations

This section adds context to the thesis by exploring climate change, concerns, and treaties to help with adaptation and mitigation.

### *Definitions and scope of the issue*

The United Nations provides two definitions of climate change:

UNFCCC (1992) defines climate change to be:

Change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods. (Article 1, para. 2, p.7).

The IPCC (2011) defines climate change to be:

Change in the state of the climate that can be identified (e.g., by using statistical tests) by changes in the mean and/or the variability of its properties, and that persists for an extended period, typically decades or longer. (p.1).

The UNFCCC describes anthropogenic causes in the climate (Kelman, 2018), resulting from or produced by human beings (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023) and the IPCC definition refers to all changes in the climate.

Climate change, from its anthropogenic detection in 1938 (Hulme, 2009) has been unequivocally caused by human activities, with strong reference to the emission of greenhouse gasses (IPCC, 2013, 2014, 2021, 2023). The global temperature has increased by 1°C since pre-industrial times, with an international goal of limiting this rise to 1.5°C and a maximum of 2°C by 2100 (OECD, 2015a)<sup>13</sup>. This threshold is regarded as the point at which the impacts of climate change will likely become irreversible and extreme, leading to widespread devastation for populations, ecological systems and the global economy (IPCC, 2023).

Climate change became part of formal political discussions in 1972 at the UN Conference on Human Environment. It was recognised as a developmental issue in 1987 at the UN General Assembly, in which the notion of ‘sustainable development’ was first introduced (UN, 2023). Now, the developmental impacts are explored in the mainstream discourse through the SDGs

---

<sup>13</sup> Small Island Developing States (SIDS) were heavily involved and won political victory during the 2015 UNFCCC COP as they advocated limiting global warming to 1.5°C as the Paris Agreement goal, as it was a matter for their survival.

as Goal 13 directly calls for action on climate change and is linked to all other 16 goals for development (UN, 2015b).

A way to help with the climate change impacts is through adaptation and mitigation. The Climate Dictionary (UNDP, 2023) defines adaptation as:

Actions that help reduce vulnerability to the current or expected impacts of climate change like weather extremes and natural disasters, sea-level rise, biodiversity loss, or food and water insecurity. (p. 7).

The Climate Dictionary (UNDP, 2023) defines mitigation as:

Any action taken by governments, businesses, or people to reduce or prevent greenhouse gas emissions, or to enhance carbon sinks that remove these gases from the atmosphere. (p. 55).

### ***International treaties for climate change***

Several international commitments, agendas and agreements have been established in an attempt to have a collective global focus on climate change (Clark et al., 2018). The leading treaty is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and the subsequent protocols and agreements are founded upon this convention. It was adopted in 1992 with the primary goal of addressing climate change and its impacts (UNFCCC, 1992). Known as 'The Convention', its objective is:

Stabilisation of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system. Such a level should be achieved within a time frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, to ensure that food production is not threatened and to enable economic development to proceed sustainably. (UNFCCC, 1992, p. 4).

As of 2022, 198 states are Parties to The Convention, including all 14 Pacific countries (UNFCCC, n.d.-b). The Convention is guided by principles and commitments that all parties must adhere to (see UNFCCC, 1992) as well as the Conference of Parties (COP) established to meet annually to discuss, negotiate and address challenges. For example, in December 2023, the COP 28 in UAE progressed a new international treaty regarding plastic pollution, ingraining sustainability into the blue economy, and how to enhance governance, implementation and enforcement, communication, and advocacy (IISD, 2023b). As well as the first Global Stocktake that assesses the world's collective progress towards achieving its climate goals commencing after the COP 28 (IISD, 2023a).

The 1997 Kyoto Protocol established legally binding emission targets that all parties must adhere to (see UN, 1998). However, the Paris Agreement is now the leading international treaty under the UNFCCC (UN, 2015a). The Paris Agreement has three long-term goals that are articulated in Article 2:2.1 (a) mitigation of climate change; 2.1(b) adaptation to its impacts; and 2.1(c) consistency of finance flows with these low-emission, climate-resilient development pathways (UN, 2015a). The Paris Agreement reiterates that ‘developed’ countries have a responsibility to take the lead in mobilising climate finance (UN, 2015a) and that these financial flows are consistent with low-emission and climate-resilient development (Schalatek & Bird, 2023). These financial obligations are further defined in Chapter Three.

### ***Climate change in the Pacific Islands***

Honourable Tuilaepa Dr Sailele Malielegaoi, (2020) spoke at the Second Pacific Climate Change Conference in Wellington, 2018 stating:

As we strive to address the impacts of climate change, we must at the same time ensure that we invest in the livelihoods of our people. Such challenges and our diversity should be our strength to assist each other in learning from each other's experiences, and best practices...but all of our efforts will be meaningless unless there is a concerted and more ambitious effort by all countries to reduce emissions and scale up financial support for adaptation in the most vulnerable countries. (p.xx)

It is now widely recognised that the Pacific Islands have contributed the least to climate change, yet are one of the regions that have first begun to experience some of the harshest impacts (Carrozza, 2015; Honourable Tuilaepa Dr Sailele Malielegaoi, 2020; Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020; Lazrus, 2012; Nunn, 2009; UNFCCC, 2017). Some of these consequences include sea level rise, greater rainfall and cyclones, longer droughts, a decrease in the PH level of the ocean and, bleaching of coral (Amosa, 2020; Australian Bureau of Meteorology and CSIRO, 2011; Honourable Tuilaepa Dr Sailele Malielegaoi, 2020; Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020; PCCSP, 2011; Renwick, 2020). Combined with the temperature rise, all marine life and biodiversity survival is threatened (IPCC, 2018).

Crook & Rudiak-Gould (2018) discuss that for Pacific Island communities; “living climate change” is more complex and intricate than merely “living *with* climate change” as a separate phenomenon from day-to-day life (p.1). Rather, Pacific philosophies and histories, connect the “oceans, lands and skies as agentive, malleable living forms participating in constitutive of and responsive to cosmological and kinship-based relations” (Crook & Rudiak-Gould, 2018, p.1).

The ocean is the way of life and source of identity for many Pacific people, with it being a major source of goods and income both for household and commercial uses, with the majority of Samoans living on the coastline (Amosa, 2020). Therefore, climate change approaches must represent this understanding and as explored in relation to Samoan resilience in Chapter Three section 3.5.

## 1.9 Outline of Thesis

- 1) ***Introduction and Context:*** Outlines the broad context of the research by introducing the Samoan way: fa'asamoa and relevant concepts within this, background to Samoa, the macro-economic environment and COVID-19, development sought by Samoa, tourism in Samoa and the relevant organisations, and climate change.
- 2) ***Sustainable Tourism Development:*** Explores sustainable tourism development, part of the base of the conceptual framework in this research. Focusing on the conceptualisation and challenges of the concept and then moving into exploring how the Pacific region and Samoa understand their sustainable tourism development using the SPTO Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework.
- 3) ***Climate Change, Financing and, Resilience:*** This chapter discusses the current climate financing landscape, the importance of climate financing within the tourism sector, and climate change resilience within Samoa.
- 4) ***Methodology:*** This chapter will explain how the research took place, namely: research design and approach, ethics, reciprocity, positionality, participant selection and data collection. It also reflects upon the challenges in the field and the changes to the research approach that occurred along the way. This research undertook a qualitative approach and flexible design to allow for the exploratory nature of the study.
- 5) ***Findings - Climate Change, Tourism, and the Climate Financing Landscape in Samoa:*** The first findings chapter begins with an outline of the impacts the tourism accommodation is experiencing from climate change. Then, it aims to establish Samoa's current climate financing landscape at the government and tourism accommodation levels.

- 6) ***Findings - Climate Financing Model that could suit Tourism Accommodation in Samoa:*** This chapter aims to present the research findings on the climate financing initiative that could suit Samoa's tourism accommodation. To do so, the first section explores the aspirations of the groups involved in this research. The second section presents the Green Tourism Bonds model and justifications based on these, and the final section investigates the barriers to operationalising the climate financing initiative, that is Green Tourism Bonds in Samoa.
- 7) ***Discussion and Conclusion:*** The discussion and conclusion chapter connect the literature and context with the findings. The chapter begins by joining sustainable tourism development and climate financing together using the conceptual framework. The second part of the discussion explores Green Tourism Bonds in the Samoan context and makes recommendations for implementation.

## Chapter Two - Sustainable Tourism Development

This research incorporates ‘sustainable tourism development’ as the theoretical framework. Chapter Two begins by exploring the conceptualisation of sustainable tourism development in its own right and the critiques and debates that have emerged over the concept's existence. Sustainable tourism development is now a goal overarching paradigm, and as a result, the conceptualisation is complex and changes in different contexts. This chapter highlights the importance that sustainable tourism development is something to strive towards and needs to be understood within the region and country context, which is explained in the Pacific and Samoan context using the Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO) Sustainable Tourism Principles. Two of the 12 principles are discussed in detail and then Samoa’s experience with sustainable tourism development and the importance of Samoa’s tourism mix is discussed.

### 2.1 The conceptualisation of sustainable tourism development

Sustainable tourism development emerged from its parent paradigm sustainable development which evolved during the 1970s (Du Pisani, 2006), and gained international awareness with the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987). They define sustainable development as:

Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. (WCED, 1987, p. 41).

Sustainable development originally set out to address the interrelationship between economic development and environmentalism (Hardy et al., 2002). It is both a paradigm and approach to development that utilises current resources whilst ensuring their future use for others, where society can interact with the environment whilst not damaging it for future use (Mensah, 2019; Mohieldin, 2017). Shortly after, sustainable tourism development emerged from this sustainable development theorisation, and in its own right gained global recognition in the 1980s and 1990s (Mosedale, 2016; Roblek et al., 2021). It originally emerged as an alternative to mass tourism<sup>14</sup> to challenge the manifestation of neoliberal capitalism and attempt to address the negative consequences that tourism brought onto the environment (Mosedale, 2016; Tiago et al., 2016). This dissatisfaction and emerging acknowledgement of the connection between human development and the environment is what drove sustainable tourism development to

---

<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, international mass tourism is argued by Fletcher (2011) as a means by which “the capitalist world economy seeks to sustain itself” (p.1). In other words, the growth of international tourism is underpinned both by an increase in wealth in emerging economies as well as the neoliberal agenda that enabled the mass growth of the sector and a major component of globalisation (Fletcher, 2011; Sharpley, 2020).

become the prominent paradigm in tourism development (Hashemkhani Zolfani et al., 2015; Mowforth & Munt, 2016; Ruhanen et al., 2015; Sharpley, 2020). Since its entrance into tourism, it has become a global overarching paradigm that is now applied in multiple contexts and adopted by a range of actors from companies, governments, NGOs and local communities (Butler et al., 2017).

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) defines sustainable tourism as:

Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities. (UNWTO, 2005, p. 12).

This definition is purposefully broad to allow for open interpretation as it views sustainable tourism development as “guidelines and management practices” that apply to all types of tourism, including mass tourism (UNWTO, n.d., para. 2). Butler (2018) argues that a definition so imprecise leads to a meaningless definition that is open to free interpretation by stakeholders, however, others have embraced its potential. The Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) and the SPTO have thus both adopted this as their overarching definition incorporated into their policy, framework and tourism sector plans and have curated it into their agenda and principles<sup>15</sup> (see SPTO, 2021; STA, 2022b)

## **2.2 Sustainable tourism development debates**

The early conceptualisations of sustainable tourism development were thus placed firmly within its parent paradigm, sustainable development; with a nexus between economic development and the need to be environmentally sustainable, as well as an element of the broader sustainable development strategy (Butler, 1999; Cronin, 1990; Hunter, 1995). Sharing similarities to the sustainable development debates at the time, the sustainable tourism development theorisation was then placed broadly within two categories that still pose relevance in current debates: those that looked at tourism as part of the wider sustainable development policies (Cronin, 1990) and those that focused on sustaining tourism as an economic activity, or ‘tourism-centric’ (Hunter, 1995). In other words, someplace a greater emphasis on applying the industry to improve the wellbeing of its people while other relevant bodies/businesses focus on growing the sector, expanding markets and optimising profits (Scheyvens, 2007, p. 249). It is within the wellbeing notion that sustainable tourism

---

<sup>15</sup> This is explored in “country solution” SPTO principle in Chapter Two.

development now acknowledges the sociocultural, economic and political aspects of the concept (Bramwell, 2007; Lu & Nepal, 2009; Ruhanen et al., 2015). These two conceptualisations embody differing meanings of the same agenda, yet in policy and practice they regularly converge and diverge with each other. The wellbeing notion is seen to be often applied cosmetically to sustainable tourism development agendas for donor appeal, cost-cutting, increase in profits, and public relations, rather than to enhance development policies (Bramwell & Lane, 2012; Sharpley, 2020). Therefore, the ‘tourism-centric’ notion is structurally applied to ensure the continuation of the neoliberal economic growth agenda<sup>16</sup> and challenge the notion of sustainability (Bramwell & Lane, 2012; Dwyer, 2018; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019; Sharpley, 2020; Young & Laade, 1973).

In the past few decades, the expansion of the global tourism industry has been driven by a neoliberal focus on economic growth that does not consider local context such as cultural social and environmental factors (Hutchison et al., 2021; Wearing et al., 2019), yet is recognised to contribute to development more than any other activity (Harrison, 2003; Schilcher, 2007; Sharpley, 2020). Neoliberalism is the dominant model for economic growth and development, and is the driving force behind globalisation and the capitalist economy (Robbins, 2005). This logic of sustainable tourism development is found within neoliberal’s trickle-down theory that suggests greater profit will lead to an increase in jobs, that any form of growth is good, and that social ‘progress’ is through economic development (Wagner, 2010). However, there is limited proof that suggests trickle-down theory works (Piketty & Goldhammer, 2014). Often when organisations and governments express their involvement in ‘sustainable tourism development’ it is rather that their tourism application is more a means of ‘sustaining tourism’ for economic growth within globalisation (Butler, 2018; Cave & Dredge, 2018; Dwyer, 2018; Fletcher, 2011; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019; Weaver & Lawton, 1999). This is because the tourism sector has historically been an industrial activity; a complex, fragmented, and profit-directed business with short-term decision-making horizons (Dwyer, 2018; Hunter, 1995; McKercher, 1993), that is then somehow linked to socioeconomic progress (e.g. UNWTO, 2018).

The operationalisation of the conceptualisation is, therefore, situated on both alternative and mainstream economic and development agendas; not only does this further embed the

---

<sup>16</sup> Economic growth is defined as “a sustained increase in the net real national product (or income) per inhabitant” (van Meerhaeghe, 1986, p. 55).

difficulties, but it also increases the complexities of practising sustainable tourism development (Butler, 2018; Hunter, 1995). As a result, there is no consensus across the array of actors on how sustainable tourism development should be defined and practised as (Butler et al., 2017; Mowforth & Munt, 2016; Ruhanen et al., 2015; Sharpley, 2000, 2020). Adelman (2018) suggests this is because sustainable development, the parent paradigm, was from the beginning established on a neoliberal economic agenda with a connection to the environment, rather than to address the issues it was originally set out to do, which then manifested itself to sustainable tourism development (p. 7). Now, the majority of definitions are used to “perpetuate instrumental rationality, progress, economic growth and conceive nature as capital”, despite emerging as an alternative to mass tourism (Adelman, 2018, p. 7). Therefore, instead of viewing tourism as part of the wider sustainable development policies (Cronin, 1990), the notion of ‘sustaining tourism’ took precedence to continue the underlying agenda as it was assumed that achieving sustainable tourism regardless of the method would then lead to sustainable development (Sharpley, 2020). As a result, ‘sustainable tourism’ is now mainstream, evolved largely without the alternative development agenda and the critical thought it brings to the discussion (Sharpley, 2020).

Sharpley (2000) argues that under this agenda ‘true’ sustainable tourism development is unachievable, as tourism is justified as a means of development that remains deeply rooted in economic growth agendas (p. 14). Furthermore, too much growth in the economy cannot be sustainable over a long period as it places pressure on the environment and local cultures. Daly (1990) debates that because of this, ‘sustainable growth’ as a term should be rejected. In other words, some of the initiatives that are connected with sustainable tourism development are unable to be implemented effectively as they still operate within the same paradigm that is responsible for the adverse impacts in the first place (Dwyer, 2018, pp. 30–31). It is within this side of the growth debate that Sharpley (2020) suggests that the very notion that sustainable development was created under and the continuance adherence to such goals is no longer appropriate. Furthermore, even when a country is sustainable, they run into the challenge of medium and long-haul flights, particularly in the wake of climate change (Butler et al., 2017).

The ‘degrowth’ case is put forward as a rejection of sustainable tourism development established under neoliberal terms in that economic growth alone is not beneficial to improving wellbeing or compatible with environmental sustainability (Martinez-Alier, 2009). It has also gained attention and advocacy in sustainable tourism development from the damaging

consequences of over-tourism (Andriotis, 2018; Hall, 2009; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019). The fundamental argument within degrowth is that “growth is uneconomic and unjust, that it is ecologically unsustainable and that it will never be enough” (D’Alisa et al., 2015, p. 6). Degrowth is not necessarily about decreasing growth, such as through actively reducing the number of tourists at a location (Sharpley, 2020). Rather, it is about living within sustainable limits, and “...not so much connected to downsizing per se but to the notion of ‘right-sizing’” (Hall, 2009, p. 55). Therefore is about transitioning to a “steady-state economy” that encourages “qualitative development” instead of aggregate quantitative growth which is detrimental to the environment (Hall, 2009, p. 57).

The arguments above suggest a rejection of economic growth when it is disguised in the sustainable tourism development agenda. However, sustainable tourism development itself should not be rejected, rather these debates should be viewed as raising discussions about the nature and impacts of tourism (Butler, 2018; Butler et al., 2017). There is no doubt that tourism can have positive impacts on all areas of sustainable tourism development (economic, socio-cultural and environmental) (Butler, 2018) if the government is involved with true intentions. Sharpley (2020) highlights, in general, that some level of economic growth is both desirable and important for societies to function as a means to fulfil basic needs and benefit from obtaining goods and services that contribute to their wellbeing, but it is the quality rather than quantity that is crucial (Adelman, 2018). Schilcher (2007) suggests that many governments need tourism growth, but often forgo the needs of local communities. As a result, it is equally invalid to claim that all tourism is either sustainable or unsustainable in a destination, but rather that there are types and pockets of tourism that reflect the principles of sustainable tourism development (Sharpley, 2020). Therefore, rather than rejection and grouping together of entire destinations, sustainable tourism development should then be viewed as what tourism destinations should strive towards in practice and policy (Butler, 2018; Butler et al., 2017). It is within this notion that sustainable tourism development is explored in relation to the Pacific Islands, and where possible, Samoa.

### **2.3 Sustainable tourism development explained in the Pacific and Samoan context**

In 2021 the Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO) released its Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework (SPTO, 2021), towards ‘Pacific 2030’, in which they established 12 guiding principles of sustainable development in the Pacific (Table 2.1). The Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) has committed to and incorporated them into their Tourism Sector Plan 2022/23-2026/27 (STA, 2022b) (see Figure 1.2 in context, p. 11).

These 12 principles represent a developmental relationship between cultural, social, and global accountability aspects within sustainable tourism development in a post-COVID-19 era in the Pacific region. With ‘country solutions’ and ‘engagement and empowerment’ explored in detail below (and sustainable financing in Chapter Three, section 3.3) because of their importance in Samoa at showing the principles in a post-COVID-19 era. These principles acknowledge that sustainable tourism development also provides economic growth in Pacific Island tourism destinations. The principles were then developed into their policy framework (see Figure 1.3, p. 13) that has been then adapted for the conceptual framework (Figure 3.9) of this research. This section explores the principles as it explains how the Pacific region aspires to view sustainable tourism development. The policy outcomes then represent the actioning of these principles for tourism partners, such as the STA, which is why they have been used in the conceptual framework rather than the principles, yet they embody the same meanings.

**Table 2-1** 12 Guiding principles of sustainable tourism development in the Pacific  
(Rewritten from: SPTO, 2021, pp. 10-11).

<p><b>Responsible Recovery</b> To respect and protect our natural environment, as well as the social and cultural authenticity of our communities, we need to manage for economic growth in the context of sustainable tourism, particularly in the context of post COVID-19 recovery. It is not one priority over the other - it is both priorities together.</p>	<p><b>Mutual Accountability</b> Sustainable tourism is the responsibility of all partners and there is shared accountability for common challenges and opportunities to advance tourism that is more sustainable.</p>	<p><b>Regional Leadership</b> The Council of Tourism Ministers will bring together decision makers and stakeholders and elevate the development of sustainable tourism to be a regional priority for environmental, socio-cultural and economic development.</p>	<p><b>Country Solutions</b> To be effective and sustainable, sustainable tourism solutions must be enacted at the national level. Strategic regional cooperation and coordination will add value to and support national solutions.</p>
<p><b>Integrated Approach</b> Tourism requires a multi-sectoral approach involving vertical integration between regional, sub-regional, national, and community levels and horizontal integration between tourism and various sectors including environment, economic development, culture and heritage, transportation and access.</p>	<p><b>Global and Regional Cooperation</b> Global frameworks and advice offered by the UNWTO, GSTC, UNESCO and others will inform our approach. At a regional level, the SPTO and its partners will provide guidance to support the implementation of the Framework through capacity building, information sharing and resource mobilisation so that we can advance together.</p>	<p><b>Resilience</b> We will focus our efforts to diversify and strengthen the resilience of the tourism economy, to better prepare for future shocks, to address long standing structural weaknesses, and encourage the digital and low carbon transformations that will be essential to shift to stronger, fairer and more sustainable models of tourism development</p>	<p><b>Capacity Building</b> Sustainable tourism requires support from people with the appropriate skills across government, industry and community. We will direct our efforts to improving knowledge and skills in topics related to the sustainability of tourism, and strengthening the availability and quality of training to meet these needs. We will focus on strategies that benefit women and young people.</p>
<p><b>Community Engagement and Empowerment</b> Engaging and empowering our local communities to engage effectively in tourism planning and management will result in better outcomes for us all.</p>	<p><b>Measuring Sustainable Tourism</b> Sustainability in tourism is our priority, and we must make measuring it a priority also. Availability of tourism data and the need for improvement in how it is collected, together with the use of established processes for understanding the value of the sector through supply and demand side measures and the use of national accounts is critical to our success.</p>	<p><b>Sustainable Financing</b> We will work with our development partners and international finance institutions to build understanding about the need to obtain sustainable and green financing mechanisms to support sustainable tourism development and to provide accessible funding for small to medium enterprises.</p>	<p><b>Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning</b> Regular and systematic assessment of our progress in implementing the Pacific Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework through monitoring, evaluating and learning will inform our decision making and progress toward more sustainable tourism.</p>

***Principle: Country Solutions***

The first SPTO principle explored is ‘country solutions’:

To be effective and sustainable, sustainable tourism solutions must be enacted at the national level. Strategic regional cooperation and coordination will add value to and support national solutions. (SPTO, 2021, pp. 10–11).

Whilst some critique international definitions as being ambiguous (section 2.1), others suggest that for sustainable tourism development, they provide a helpful starting point for local conceptualisation (Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005), such as the UNWTO definition expressed earlier in this chapter. Sustainable tourism development is unique to the locality, as “policy adopted in one particular situation must not be regarded as a model solution for another destination” (Faulkner et al., 1998, p. 9). In other words, Hunter (1997) explains that to achieve sustainable tourism development, the goals and issues are specific to certain countries, regions, and locations (p. 864).

The SPTO recognises that all 21 member states are at different stages of development, vary in mix of tourism (i.e. mass and small-scale tourism) and, incorporate tourism in their economies differently (SPTO, 2023c). For example, Fiji, French Polynesia, Vanuatu, Cook Islands and Samoa are countries in the South Pacific that have tourism as one of their leading industries (Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). Within these countries, Fiji and Vanuatu’s tourism industries are dominated by foreign-owned resorts, whereas Samoa is predominately locally-owned with a few foreign-owned resorts. This means that they have different contextual interpretations of sustainable tourism development, and the framework has been developed purposefully within the Pacific Islands so the communities can negotiate and develop it in their locality (SPTO, 2021, p. 1). Harrison (2004) suggests that sustainable tourism development in the Pacific Islands should be positively related to local peoples’ sense of belonging (p. 18). Therefore, developing from within allows for their collective strengths<sup>17</sup> to be at the forefront of the principles, rather than outsiders’ predetermined conceptualisations that do not reflect their reality and hinder their ability to achieve their own developmental goals (Harrison, 2003; Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008).

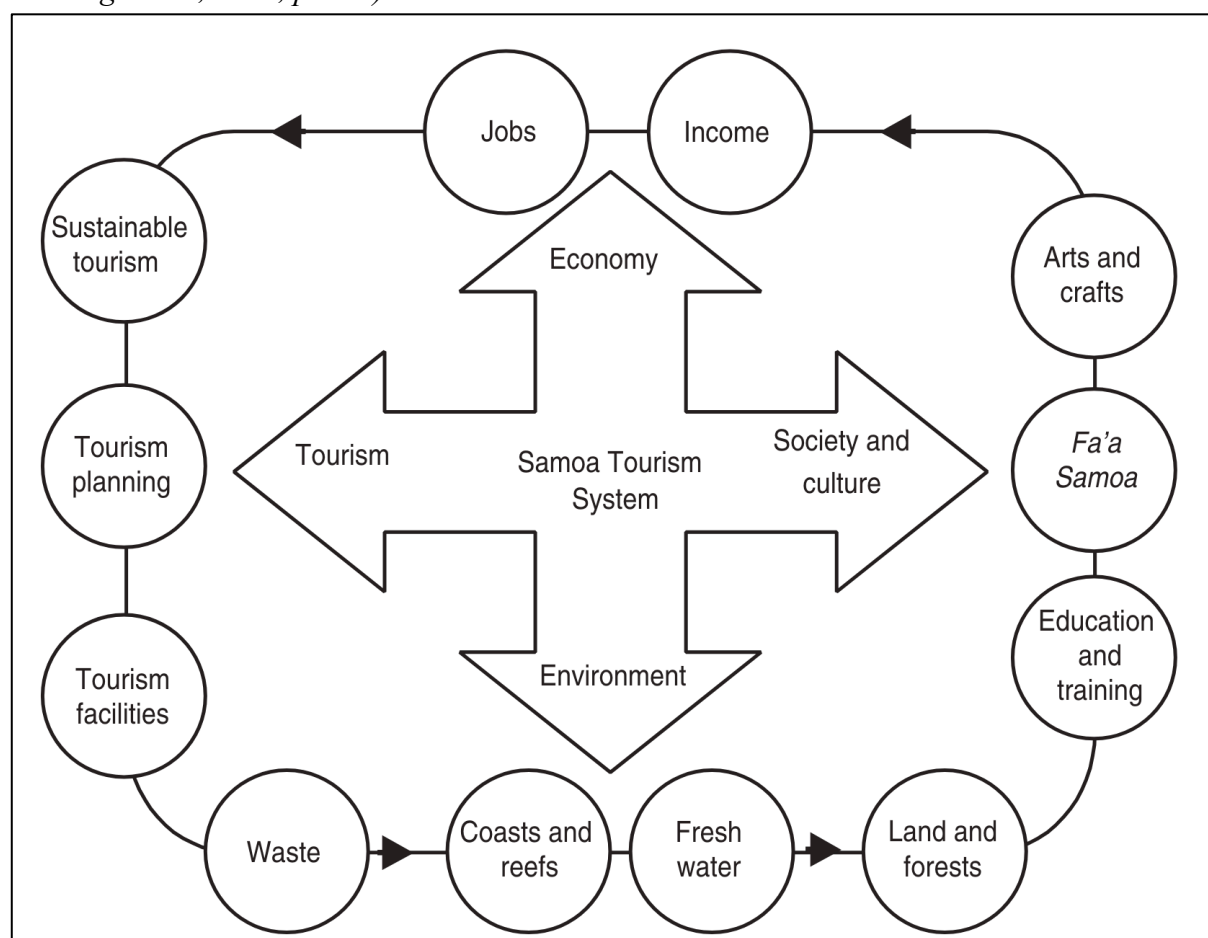
For example, Miller & Twining-Ward (2005) provided an initial theorisation and understanding of what sustainable tourism development was in Samoa through their

---

<sup>17</sup> See Scheyvens & Momsen (2008, pp. 497–505) for a full recount of their strengths.

development of indicators<sup>18</sup>. This was done by establishing objectives that encapsulated: respect for fa’asamoa, conservation of the land and sea, training, income-generating activities, participation, and carefully planned tourism development (Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005, tbl. 10.4). It was within this body of research that they further suggested that it needs to reflect Samoan priorities and concerns in sustainable development, and as a result, they developed 12 key issues within Samoa’s tourism around their Tourism System (Figure 2.1). This shows the importance of an in-country approach, as every country and tourism system, will have unique challenges.

**Figure 2:1** Key issues for sustainable development of tourism in Samoa (Source: Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005, p. 244).



<sup>18</sup> This work consisted of an outcome in developing indicators to assist Samoa in their sustainable tourism development, as they found that there were very few tools available to do so. To do this, they needed to conceptualise what sustainable tourism development in Samoa was.

***Principle: Community Engagement and Empowerment***

The second principle explored is ‘community engagement and empowerment’:

Engaging and empowering our local communities to engage effectively in tourism planning and management will result in better betters for us all. (SPTO, 2021, pp. 10–11).

For tourism to be considered sustainable in the Pacific context, local communities must be engaged in the development and management process (Harrison, 2003; Scheyvens, 1999, 2003, 2005a; Taumoepeau & Addison, 2016). Engagement extends to the fundamental right for host communities to have control over their tourism development in their communities (Scheyvens, 2003, p. 229). Together, engagement and control contribute to empowerment as the host communities can make choices, where they become agents of change rather than beneficiaries of development (McMillan et al., 2011; Scheyvens & Van Der Watt, 2021; Schilcher, 2007). Scheyvens & Van Der Watt (2021) argue that “power and empowerment<sup>19</sup> should be central to discussions of both tourism and sustainable development” (p.2). Samoa has actively chosen to support the growth of locally owned small and medium enterprises (Scheyvens, 2004). Local ownership, management and, involvement in tourism are some of the benefits of small-scale initiatives (Oppermann, 1993). Small-scale tourism emerged as an alternative approach to achieve development through the sustainable tourism development agenda that advocated against mass foreign-owned tourism (Collins, 1999; Ruhanen et al., 2015). They provide opportunities and benefits in Samoa that are within their control, such as self-determination and self-fulfilment (Scheyvens, 2003, p. 237; Tauaa, 2010; Zeppel, 2014).

Interestingly, empowerment through locally owned tourism is determined by social and cultural factors of the enabling environment (Berno & Douglas, 1998). For example, in Samoa locally-owned tourism has been critically explored by Scheyvens through beach fale<sup>20</sup> (see Scheyvens, 2004, 2005a, 2005b). This type of accommodation is typically owned and managed by local families and communities within the fa’asamoa cultural system (Scheyvens, 2005b). Beach fale tourism is overseen by the fono (council of matai) within a village in Samoa (Scheyvens, 2005a, p. 11). The matai establishes rules that safeguard village life against beach

---

<sup>19</sup> In the Encyclopedia of Human Geography, Scheyvens (2020, p. 115) conceptualised empowerment as “activation of the confidence and capabilities of previously disadvantaged or disenfranchised individuals or groups so that they can exert greater control over their lives, challenge unequal power relations, mobilize resources to meet their needs, and work to achieve social justice”.

<sup>20</sup> Traditionally, a Samoan fale is an oval or circular shape, has a domed, thatched roof held up with wooden poles and has no permanent walls (STA, n-d).

fale operations as well as ensuring that visitors (both local and international) are welcomed and comfortable (Scheyvens, 2005a, p. 11). Therefore because of the cultural practices, decisions are made within the community and empowerment is embedded<sup>21</sup>.

Local engagement and control of cultural heritage tourism within locally-owned tourism can also lead to empowerment. Generally speaking, Samoans are known for sharing their culture authentically and having a character value of being friendly and approachable in tourism (A. Ford et al., 2019; NZTRI, 2018; TCSP, 1992). Small-scale tourism accommodations have an emphasis on visitors involving themselves and learning fa'asamoa (Scheyvens, 2005b). Sharing their culture with international and domestic visitors is important as tourism that encompasses local cultural heritage has a positive impact on sustainable tourism development. It is a way to ensure development outcomes for local communities are in their own hands as they can control how tourism is developed and preserved, such as through cultural exchange and continuation of cultural traditions by incorporating cultural heritage within the tourism training (Scheyvens, 1999; Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008, p. 500; Taumoepeau & Addison, 2016). This is connected to Scheyvens & Van Der Watt (2021)'s cultural empowerment, where tourists can learn through people self-representing their culture in an inclusive way (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2020). Therefore tourism products focused within the community need to be created and enabled in a way that enhances the cultural context of Samoa, such as “not only achieving sustainable objectives for their and environmental wellbeing, but also sustainability in the context of ongoing economic enterprises for financial wellbeing” (A. Ford et al., 2019, p. 15).

#### **2.4 Samoa's past and present relationship with sustainable tourism development**

Throughout Samoa's short contemporary history with tourism, the tourism offering has remained predominately in the hands of the local population with the majority of tourism operations in Samoa being small-scale and locally-owned (Lovelock et al., 2022; Scheyvens, 2005a, 2005b). Contemporary tourism in Samoa is reported to have begun in the 1970s and 1980s, where during this time tourism was 'tolerated' and of low priority for the Government of Samoa (GoS). They had reservations about how tourism would impact Samoan culture and whether tourism controlled by foreign investors would negatively impact fa'asamoa

---

<sup>21</sup> As empowerment is not my focus, this is only an overview. It is acknowledged that this does not take a full analysis of empowerment and disempowerment within fa'asamoa.

(Scheyvens, 2002, Meleisea and Meleisea, 1980 as cited in 2005b, 2008; Twining-Ward & Butler, 2002; Yamamoto, 2009).

It was not until the early 1990s that tourism in Samoa started to be advocated for as an alternative development approach. As they were struggling to recover from two cyclones (1990 and 1991) and the Taro leaf blight (1993) which destroyed the majority of the crop that was their main foreign exchange earner (Twining-Ward & Butler, 2002; Twining-Ward & Twining-Ward, 1998). Protecting fa'asamoa and land ownership was viewed as important in their tourism plans so they focused on low-volume and high-yield tourism that discouraged mass tourism numbers; they also prevented the development of multiple large-scale resorts (STA, 2014d; TCSP, 1992). In fact, their 1992-2001 Tourism Development Plan highlighted two key points: 1) that “if tourism were to affect adversely the Samoan cultural heritage, it would be destroying much of the base on which it is founded” (TCSP, 1992, p. 108) and 2) that their sector plan would result in “manageable volumes of visitor flows consistent with the country’s environmental and socio-cultural carrying capacity, while at the same time optimising the sectors optimising the sector’s economic benefits to the community at large” (TCSP, 1992, p. 110). Throughout this period local ownership and sourcing of resources were of high priority, with beach resorts and tourism operations embedded in the social and land tenure structures of ‘aiga-owned enterprises that directly supported the local economy and encouraged indigenous entrepreneurship (Berno & Douglas, 1998; Scheyvens, 2002; TCSP, 1992; Twining-Ward & Butler, 2002; Twining-Ward & Twining-Ward, 1998). Furthermore, to alleviate some of the risks that were associated with tourism growth being uncontrolled and unregulated, in 1998 Samoa was the first Pacific country to develop sustainable tourism indicators (see Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005).

As the annual visitor numbers grew steadily in the early 2000s (Twining-Ward & Butler, 2002; Yamamoto, 2009, fig. 1) Samoa continued to remain strong in wanting to avoid the negative impacts of tourism (Twining-Ward & Butler, 2002). During this time Samoa had become an “early adopter” of the Sustainable Destination Criteria and a member of the Global Sustainable Tourism Council (STA, 2014c, p. 23). Interestingly, during these years the GoS also promoted foreign direct investments<sup>22</sup> through the liberation of investment laws under the support of the

---

<sup>22</sup> Foreign direct investment is “cross-border investment in which an investor resident in one economy establishes a lasting interest in and a significant degree of influence over an enterprise resident in another economy” (OECD, n.d., para. 1).

Asian Development Bank and the European Union-funded SPTO (GoS, 2002; Schilcher, 2007). Liberalisation of such laws is typically associated with neoliberal agendas, as an increase in foreign investment can only occur with the deregulation of foreign investment policies (Schilcher, 2007). Many Pacific Island governments have focused on growing their tourism sectors, particularly in response to disappointing returns from investments in agricultural exports (Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). However, Samoa has a strong sense of pride and a unique culture that they have been able to develop a tourism sector around without ‘selling out’ to tourists (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008, p. 500). Because of this, Samoa has actively chosen to support the growth of small and medium enterprises that have predominately local ownership of the tourism product as well as promote foreign direct investment (Scheyvens, 2004). All tourism development (including foreign-owned resorts) in Samoa is subject to the Samoa Tourism Development Act 2012 and must adhere to certain principles (STA, 2012b, p. 5) (Figure 2.2):

**Figure 2:2** Part 2 Section 2 of the Samoa Tourism Development Act 2012  
(Source: STA, 2012, p. 5).

- (2) When implementing this Act, and applying its provisions to any matter affecting tourism in Samoa, the following guiding principles are to be observed as far as is practicable to promote the interests of tourism:
- (a) tourism development shall -
    - (i) be sustainable and for the general benefit of Samoans;
    - (ii) be consistent with existing traditions, customary practices and rights; and
    - (iii) recognise the authority of the institutions of community governance in Samoa;
  - (b) environmental impacts from tourism developments are to be minimised, and due regulatory processes are to be applied to ensure the protection and conservation of Samoa’s biodiversity, water resources and terrestrial and marine environments;
  - (c) adverse and undesirable impacts of tourism are to be addressed by effective controls over criminal activity, the generation of wastes, the introduction of diseases and the imitation of customary rights to intellectual property; and
  - (d) public safety and security is to be preserved.

Tourism growth in the Pacific is partly attributable to the increase in demand from New Zealand and Australia (Samoa's largest tourism groups). As a result, international arrivals to Samoa increased from 102,000 to 134,000 between 2005 to 2015 (Everett et al., 2018, tbl. 2). During these years Samoa has increasingly adopted a neoliberal growth model that aimed to increase foreign direct investment (Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). The growth strategy in the Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019 was "increased tourism investment and profitability" (STA, 2014d, p. 19) and foreign investment in resorts was encouraged. As a result of this growth, Samoa has responded by growing its supply to meet the demand (Everett et al., 2018). Samoa has recently seen an influx of foreign ownership and development of high-end resorts:

- Tanoa Hotel Group, based in Fiji, opened the Tanoa Tusitala Resort in Apia in 2010 (A. Ford et al., 2019, p. 12).
- Aggie Grey's Hotel and Aggie Grey's Resort began a management partnership with The Sheraton, before being sold to Chinese investors in 2018 (A. Ford et al., 2019, p. 12).
- Taumeasina Island Resort was opened in Apia and funded by three PNG joint venture partners; the Lamana Group (50%) Gobe Landowner company Petroleum Resources (19%) and Mineral Resources Development Company (31%) (MRDC, 2018). The STA provided substantial support by facilitating the interests of all parties' (A. Ford et al., 2019; STA, 2012a).

With this increase in foreign investment, Samoa's deluxe accommodation is now owned half locally and half foreign/wider Pacific region (PSDI, 2021). This growth in the tourism sector was regulated according to GoS requirements and through STA involvement. For example, the development of large-scale resorts needs to be balanced, and at every stage of tourism projects communities must be consulted, and decide whether to support a tourism development or not (STA, 2014d, p. 34).

During the same period, Samoa increased its international visitor reach through the re-development of Faleolo International Airport, which was funded predominately by a USD 31.7 million (WST 85 million) concessional loan from the Chinese Government and a USD 18.5 million (WST 50 million) loan from the World Bank (Samoa Observer, 2019a). The GoS is servicing these debts and is in line with the Samoa Airport Authority's vision of becoming the regional hub of air travel (Samoa Observer, 2019a). The GoS are also embarking on their Apia Waterfront Development with the final stages aimed to be completed in 2026 (Gos, 2016).

These collaborations portray that Samoa has strengths and the capacity to work with international partners on large projects that not only enhance the tourism offerings but also the development of their population (Lovelock et al., 2022). A government's ability to counter and find a middle ground in external pressures from an economic and political stance with social and cultural values can be generally connected to empowerment (Scheyvens & Russell, 2009, p. 50).

In the Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2022/23-2026/7 Program Area 4 objective is “to provide an enabling environment to support growth and investment in tourism-related businesses”, as well as “midrange accommodation providers to beach fale to be included as part of the restricted list” of foreign investment with continuation of the Tourism Development Act 2012 (STA, 2022b, p. 44). This shows that tourism growth in Samoa is regulated, controlled and still in line with the market for tourism in Samoa that is against mass tourism.

Sustainable tourism development is embedded into global policy and sector plans that countries have signed up for, and governments have a role in ensuring the outcomes of these (Scheyvens, 2008; Schilcher, 2007; Sofield, 2003; Torres & Momsen, 2004; Wong et al., 2013). This is partly because of the argument presented at the beginning of this chapter; where different stakeholders within a tourism destination embody varying conceptualisations of sustainable tourism development, and whilst the governments are a part of this, it is also their responsibility in delivering their outcomes. Tourism is recognised as one of the leading drivers to achieving the SDGs in Samoa (GoS, 2020b) and there is a stressed importance on the need to contextualise and localise the SDGs (PIFS, 2015). As a result, extensive planning has been implemented around the goals, with countries integrating the SDGs into national policies and development strategies, such as Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2022-2026, Community Development Sector Plan 2021-2026 and Samoa Climate Change Policy. Samoa has signed up for The Second Voluntary National Review on the Implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals which reports on their SDG localisation experience. It is a key part of Samoa's national planning process and is used for regional and international benchmarking (GoS, 2020b).

### ***Samoa's current tourism mix for sustainability***

The current tourism mix in Samoa has encouraged employment, helped local communities develop their own tourism and increased the average standard in Samoa (Pratt & Harrison, 2015). Scheyvens & Russell (2009) discuss how this approach has been successfully utilised as a model of development in Samoa; where family-owned tourism businesses have thrived alongside a small level of resorts. A resort that: has a strong corporate social responsibility that seeks goals beyond self-interest, has long-term horizons, contributes to community development programs, trains and mentors local people in developing their own business or for a resort and, with practices in place that maximises the use of locally-produced food and other goods makes a major difference to the local economy (Dwyer, 2018; Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). Locally-owned small accommodations can offer a unique cultural experience for tourists, and a relationship between resorts can be beneficial (Scheyvens, 2005a). Small and medium boutiques complement a small number of large resorts and they offer economic impact and employment with minimal negative social and environmental impacts as well as cultural heritage (STA, 2014d, p. 34).

Interestingly, many governments in the Pacific have been able to actively pursue tourism growth whilst striving to respect holistic approaches to development and resource management (Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). Pacific Islands are distinctively situated to pursue diversified tourism sectors that can be developed purposefully in a way that nurtures a balance between economic, environmental and sociocultural goals (Harrison, 2003; Scheyvens, 2004; Weaver, 2002). It is evident that Samoa's approach to tourism encapsulates both sustainable tourism development and economic growth as Samoa actively pursues both foreign investment as well as local and small-scale enterprises. However, it does not adhere to the critique on unregulated growth because Samoa's growth is through regulation via policy and legislation. They have been able to actively seek out ways to grow their tourism within their means that continue to protect local interests, foster empowerment and, protection through local small- and medium-ownership and management.

### **2.5 Summary**

The sustainable tourism development conceptualisation is a complex phenomenon, and different stakeholders perceive the discourse differently. This has led to some authors rejecting the term altogether, whilst others argue that sustainable tourism development is something a

tourism destination should always strive towards. Leading on from this, in 2021 the Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO) released its Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework (SPTO, 2021), towards 'Pacific 2030', in which they established 12 guiding principles of sustainable tourism development in the Pacific and two were used to explore how Samoa views it. In sum, to achieve sustainable tourism development, the goals and issues within are specific to certain countries, regions, and locations, and the SPTO framework is used to be developed within the locality, i.e. Samoa. Community engagement and empowerment are also important and Samoa's local-ownership and social structures have contributed to the social wellbeing, natural environment and cultural heritage. Finally, it was established that Samoa has actively supported sustainable tourism since the early beginnings because they wanted to protect fa'asamoa. Today, however, Samoa's approach to tourism encapsulates both sustainable tourism development and economic growth as they actively pursues both foreign investment as well as local and small-scale enterprises, yet their commitment to sustainable tourism development continues to be highlighted in tourism planning documents, the Samoa Tourism Development Act, their involvement with international councils, and the academic literature.

## Chapter Three - Climate Change, Financing and, Resilience

‘Climate financing improves resilience’ is the common narrative used in climate financing discussions that are linked to development. However, this narrative is often taken without analysis of what climate financing is and how it leads to improved resilience. Furthermore, what is climate resilience and why is it important? This chapter delves into these issues as well as: establishing the climate financing landscape in the Pacific Island region, accessibility to climate finance for Samoa, and the importance within the tourism sector.

### 3.1 Climate financing definition and landscape: a global overview

Climate financing is one of the most essential ways to help in the fight against climate change (Samuwai, 2021). The UNDP Climate Dictionary refers to climate finance as: “Financial resources and instruments that are used to support action on climate change” (UNDP, 2023, p. 23), which aligns with the 2015 Paris Agreement article 9. Essentially, international climate financing is classed as any source, external or internal financial flows as long as it is directed at global mitigation and adaptation efforts; “it can be from local, national or transnational financing and alternative sources (UNFCCC, n.d.-a, para. 1). Funds flow in multiple different ways, both in and out of the UNFCCC and Paris Agreement financial mechanisms<sup>23</sup> (Fouad et al., 2021; Watson & Schalatek, 2020). The UNDP explains that climate finance can be sourced from an array of stakeholders: public, private, national or international, bilateral and multilateral. Which can be from different instruments such as grants, donations, green bonds, debt swaps, guarantees, and concessional loans, these can also be used for multiple climate activities such as mitigation, adaptation and resilience building (UNDP, 2023, p. 23).

International climate financing is indispensable because it offers support to countries and communities that are on the front line of climate change “to address climate damages, to adapt to unavoidable climate change and to advance low-carbon development pathways. It must be based on principles of local leadership, inclusion... if it is to be effective and leave no one behind” (Zagama, 2023, p. 2). In other words, for climate change approaches to be long-term,

---

<sup>23</sup> It is important to briefly note the value of south-south flows within climate finance, which is estimated to be 2% of total flows in 2021/2022, or USD 18.1 billion (Buchner et al., 2023). Whilst it is a small percentage compared to north-south, there is a recognition that south-south is growing because of the ability to share experiences to build resilience and reduce vulnerabilities together, as common values and mutual benefits (IsDB, 2019).

they need to be founded within a country context and connected to the sustainable development agenda. Moreover, it is critical because of the large- and small-scale investments necessary to transition to a low-carbon global economy, which will help society build resilience and adapt to the impacts of climate change (UNDP, 2023, p. 23).

The global definitions are broad and reflect the position of developed<sup>24</sup> countries and promote climate finance as any finance flow from any source directed towards initiatives that reduce emissions and enable communities to adapt (Samuwai, 2021). Therefore, international climate financing is understood as the entirety of financial flows aimed at climate change initiatives (Buchner et al., 2017). These global definitions cannot agree on what constitutes climate finance and how to measure it universally, and as a result, has created complexities around the true financial value as it is conceptualised and measured differently by all stakeholders (Chowdhury & Jomo, 2022; Clark et al., 2018; Reed et al., 2016; Samuwai, 2021; Schalatek & Bird, 2023; Watson & Schalatek, 2020; Zagema, 2023). This leads to the parameters on what constitutes adaptation and mitigation being largely absent, as any project that has a slight relevance to climate change is recorded as climate finance (Qi & Qian, 2023; Zagema, 2023).

The idea of climate financing was first recorded in the UNFCCC; however, they did not articulate a definition. They did establish that there was a moral obligation between countries that needs to be realised within climate financial flows. The narrative is that developed countries have a moral obligation and the capacity to provide finance to address developing countries' climate change needs, prevent future impacts and decrease their carbon emissions. As their vulnerable people have done the least to cause the climate change problem, yet face the greater consequences (Bhattacharya et al., 2023). The UNFCCC created a parameter of how climate finance was to be envisioned with countries obligated both morally and legally under the treaty to provide financing: “new and additional financial resources that meet the agreed full costs incurred by developing country parties” and 2) developed country Parties and other developed Parties included in Annex II4 “shall provide such financial resources” (UNFCCC, 1992 Article 4, Para 3).

---

<sup>24</sup> The climate financing agreements and analysis documents use the terms ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ countries, and as a result, this section has used these terms. However, the author does not agree with these classifications.

This was further highlighted in the Paris Agreement Article 9 subsection 1: “Developed country Parties shall provide financial resources to assist developing country Parties concerning both mitigation and adaptation in continuation of their existing obligations under the Convention” (UN, 2015a, sec. 9). Therefore, one of the most crucial climate financial flows is from ‘developed’ countries to ‘developing countries’ as The Paris Agreement, The Convention, and The Kyoto Protocol (explained in Chapter One) all call for financial assistance from Parties that have greater financial resources compared to those that “are less endowed and more vulnerable” to climate change (UNFCCC, n.d.-a, para. 1). Fair and equitable access to climate financing is a priority for SIDS (Samuwai, 2021). Article 9.9 of the Paris Agreement states that:

Institutions serving this Agreement, including the operating entities of the Financial Mechanism of the Convention, shall aim to ensure efficient access to financial resources through simplified approval procedures and enhanced readiness support for developing country Parties, in particular for the least developed countries and small island developing States, in the context of their national climate strategies and plans. (UN, 2015a, p. 27).

The climate financing flow that is of importance for this research was set by the Paris Agreement, which reaffirmed the financial mobilisation target of USD 100 billion annually to developing countries by 2020, a target originally set in Copenhagen in 2009 (UN, 2015a). This target has been missed, and developed countries are overdue on their commitment to mobilise the USD 100 billion annually (Chowdhury & Jomo, 2022; Hess & Kelman, 2017; Qi & Qian, 2023; UN, 2021). Oxfam argues that even with developing countries’ generous accounting standards, the total climate finance reported in 2020 was USD 83.3 billion, despite this being a substantial amount, it still falls short of the promise made in 2009 (Zagama, 2023). While international organisations discussions mention trillions of dollars available, the literature and accounting standards to verify these claims remain sparse and inconsistent (Clark et al., 2018).

Because of no standardised definition, Oxfam analysis suggests that the true financial value under their standards was rather closer to the range between USD 21 - 24.5 billion as opposed to 83.3 billion in 2020 (Zagama, 2023). Oxfam embodies a narrower definition of climate finance that regards it as “net climate-specific assistance provided by developed countries” (OXFAM, 2018, p. 2) which developing countries typically advocate for as it does not overestimate the financial flows (Samuwai, 2021). Clark et al. (2018) suggest that there is a disconnect between global ambitions and the financial realities of how these commitments can be fulfilled. Shortfalls of such a major commitment on such a major global issue have

undermined trust in climate discussions and could have major consequences on how as a collective the impacts of climate change are dealt with (Bhattacharya et al., 2023; Zagama, 2023).

### **3.2 Climate financing architecture in the Pacific**

Climate financing architecture is the system of public funds and institutions that facilitate countries to implement adaptation and mitigation projects from bilateral donors, multilateral climate funds, implementing agencies, and recipients (Fouad et al., 2021; Thwaites & Amerasinghe, 2017). There is a global financial architecture (see Watson & Schalatek, 2020), however, this thesis will only explore the Pacific and where possible, Samoa architecture in terms of how they access financing.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 2021 developed the following diagram (Figure 3.1) of how the Pacific Island Countries (PICs), in general, can access public OECD climate financing through the Paris Agreement (Fouad et al., 2021). It is within this architecture that the majority of climate finance in the Pacific is delivered through projects (86%), with 2% in budget support and the remaining in “other technical assistance” such as support through research (Atteridge & Canales, 2017). As shown in Figures 3.1 and 3.2, the climate finance needs of the PICs have a greater focus towards adaptation initiatives (44%) over mitigation (29%), which is suggested to be because of their vulnerability to climate change impacts (Samuwai, 2021). It is important to note that the general nature of the private sector and its financing, whereby they have no obligation to publicly disclose financial information due to its competitive nature, which means that it is difficult to measure their contributions to climate financing and development (Clark et al., 2018). With mitigation typically a private sector contribution to climate change impacts, such initiatives are potentially inaccurately represented in diagrams (see Buchner et al., 2023; Fouad et al., 2021).

Due to the limited fiscal space in many Pacific Small Island Developing States (PSIDS), grants are critical. The public debt levels for some are high and rising, and have been exacerbated by the pandemic and increase in disasters (Atteridge & Canales, 2017; Fouad et al., 2021) reporting almost all climate adaptation projects in the Pacific have been financed through

grants<sup>25</sup>. Grants are financial or service transfers from a bilateral or multilateral source for which no repayment is required (World Bank, n.d.). When climate finance is in the form of loans, the high cost of financing has immediate effects on the government balances, especially when it comes to the fiscal space available that was once for development spending (Bhattacharya et al., 2023).

There have been several estimates of the level of financing the PSIDS have received. However, accurately estimating the financial value and types of climate financial flows in the Pacific is difficult because the absence of a definition leads to different interpretations by stakeholders (Samuwai, 2021). For example, estimations use different classifications of the Pacific Islands, such as ‘PSIDS’ or ‘PICs’, this section uses both. Pacific Island Forum Secretariat general assessment estimates that between 2010-2020 they have received USD 2.2 billion in the climate-related finance (Taloiburi, 2021), with USD 3.26 million from 2014-2019. When PSIDS are grouped within the Asia-Pacific categorisation, they are regarded as the highest receivers of climate finance for SIDS (Atteridge & Canales, 2017; Betzold & Weiler, 2017; Watson et al., 2023). However, this is critiqued as an inaccurate reflection of their realities (Dirix et al., 2012) as their geography makes mobilising climate financing both challenging and costly (MacLellan & Meads, 2016). Estimates suggest that they have received only 4.6% of the total adaptation finance that was directed to the wider Asia-Pacific Region (Caravani, Watson and Schalatek, 2015 as cited in Samuwai, 2021).

Bilateral sources and funding are also important because they have a greater ability to be used for urgent priorities as they are disbursed quicker and can take into account country-specific needs (Fouad et al., 2021). Alternatively, multilateral sources like the Green Climate Fund support adaptation projects, yet, projects generally take several years to complete (Fouad et al., 2021). Figure 3.1 (above) shows that 52% of climate financing is sourced bilaterally, and Figure 3.2 shows the bilateral donors that contribute in the Pacific. Figure 3.2 also highlights the multilateral funds that recipient countries have access to, and Figure 3.3 adds to this. Furthermore, how the finance (e.g. multi- and bi-lateral loans and grants) is provided to countries, is just as important as the financial level provided (Zagama, 2023). This is because when there is an excessive amount of loans, non-concessional grants and inadequate funding

---

<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, Zagema (2023) notes that one third of SIDS climate finance was provided as loans rather than grants and despite their extreme vulnerability to climate impacts, which differs from the PIC analysis. This serves as an important reminder of how different stakeholders measure different types of finance.

for adaptation, combined with misleading accounting practices, it can lead to climate financing which is far from fit for purpose (Zagama, 2023).

**Figure 3:1** Climate finance commitments for PICs from 2014 to 2019 (Source: Fouad et al., 2021, p. 8).

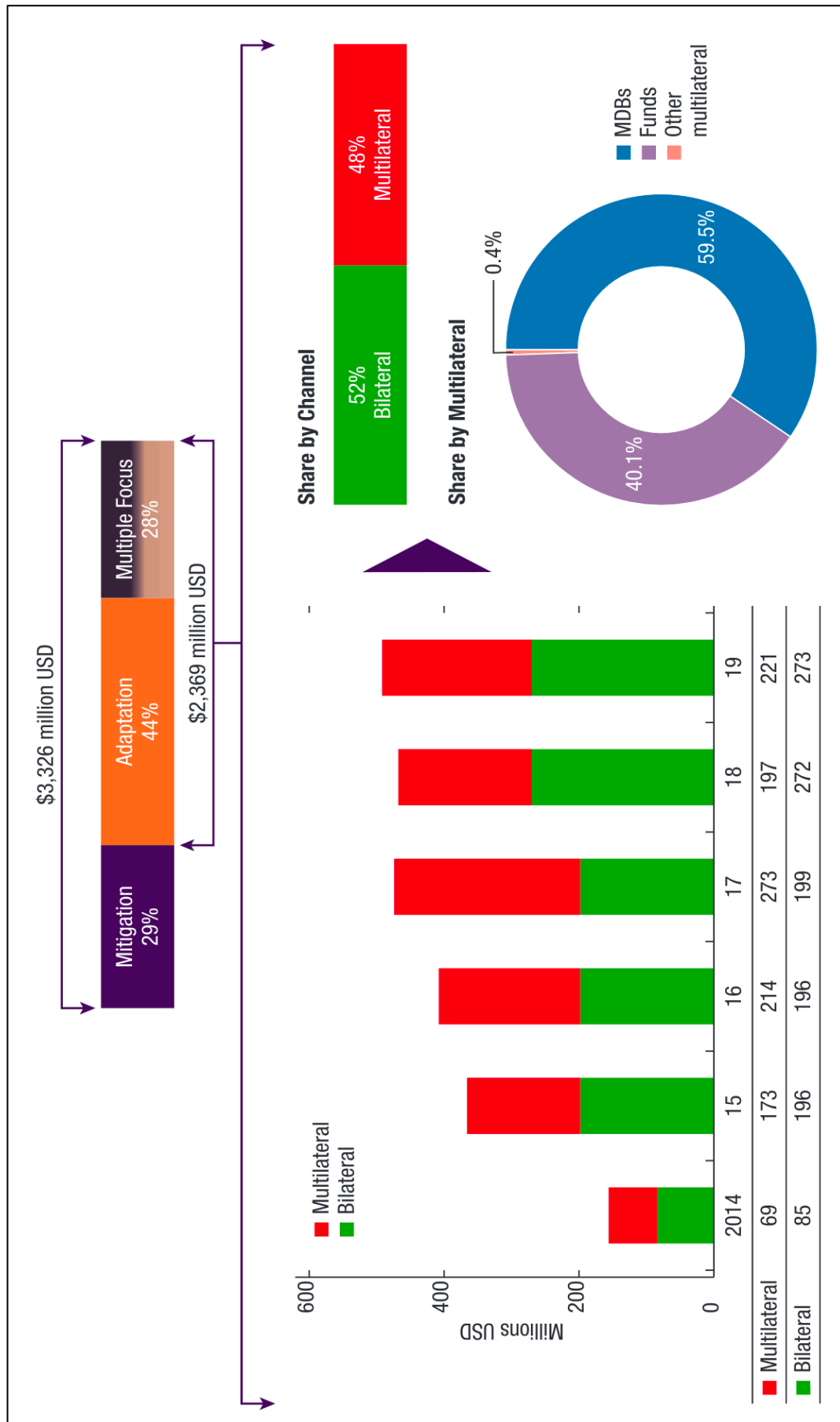
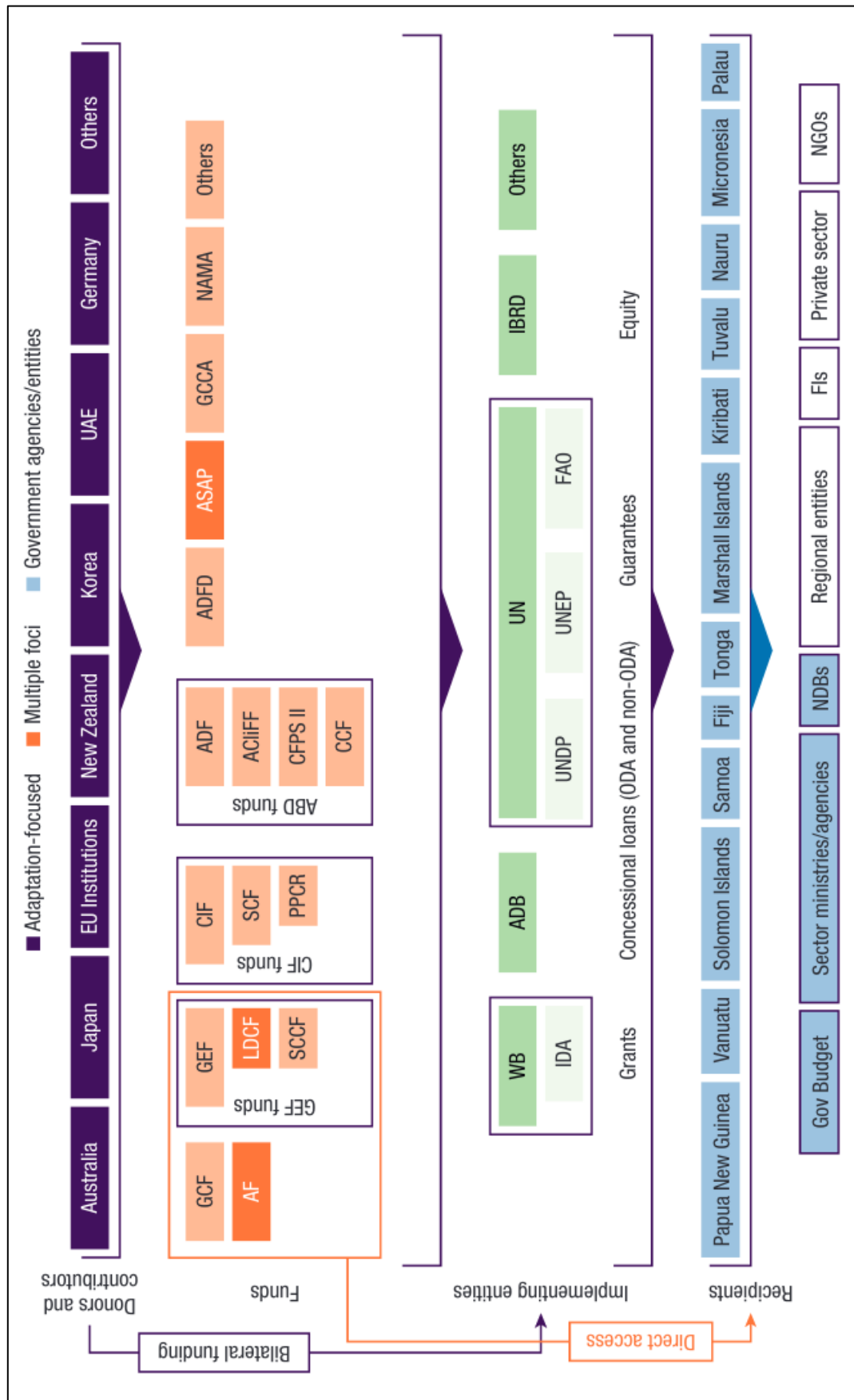


Figure 3:2 Climate financing architecture for PICs (Source: Fouad et al., 2021, p. 5).



**Figure 3:3** Multilateral funds supporting SIDS including the Pacific (Source: *Watson & Schalatek, 2019, p. 2*).

Green Climate Fund (GCF)
Least Developed Countries Fund (LDCF)
Pilot Program for Climate Resilience (PPCR)
Global Environment Facility (4, 5, 6)
Adaptation Fund (AF)
Global Climate Change Alliance (GCCA)
Scaling-Up Renewable Energy Program for Low Income Countries (SREP)
Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF)
Clean Technology Fund (CTF)
Special Climate Change Fund (SCCF)
UN REDD Programme
Adaptation for Smallholder Agriculture Programme (ASAP)

### 3.3 Climate financing in Samoa

Samoa's decision to sign the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol are considered the starting point of Samoa's policies on climate change (Wong et al., 2013). As of 2020, Samoa has a Climate Change 2020-2030 policy that has an objective to "implement measures to enhance sustainable climate finance" (GoS, 2020a, p. 9). It is under this objective that the strategies and expected outcomes are developed (Figure 3.4). Overall, the strategies focus on greater access to climate finance and implementing it in the communities for adaptation and mitigation. Samoa's climate-related national strategy is broadly consistent with its development goals through the SDGs (GoS, 2020a; IMF, 2022). The country's vision of sustainable development is well-defined in high-level policy and plans such as the Pathway for Development and Samoa 2040 with a special focus on climate change and environmental considerations. The Pathway for Development links outcomes to individual SDGs, additionally climate resilience and disaster risk objectives are reflected in every sectoral plan as part of development goals (MoF, 2021).

Together with Samoa’s Climate Change Policy, these national planning documents have allowed for climate change to be mainstreamed across all developmental goals (GoS, 2020b).

**Figure 3:4 Samoa Climate Change Policy objective 4 outcomes (Source: GoS, 2020b, p.13).**

STRATEGIES	EXPECTED OUTCOMES	Policy Focal points / RESPONSIBLE AGENCY
4.1 Accessing climate financing mechanisms from existing and new development partners, multilateral funding mechanisms and financial institutions	- Strengthened partnership and collaboration with development agencies, multilateral funding mechanism and financial institutions	MoF, MNRE, SCCI, NGOs and relevant ministries and sectors
4.2 Providing financial incentives for research and development of climate change adaption and mitigation measures	- Private public partnership strengthen through accessing climate finance	
4.3 Developing medium term expenditure framework and investment planning for national climate change response. This will map out resources available nationally and globally and apply where they are needed	- Enhance capacity to fulfill climate funds requirements and accessibility - Strengthen community and private sector awareness and capacity to access climate funds	
4.4 Enhancing capacity to access and generate climate change financing and implement climate change investments nationally, regionally and globally	- Increase amount of climate change funds accessed - Climate Public Expenditure and Institutional Review (CPEIR) conducted/updated regularly - Increased national funding towards climate change - Sustainable financing mechanisms in place e.g Trust Funds	

Wong et al. (2013) in their research found that the following three policies are the most important in relation to tourism’s adaptation in Samoa: 1) UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol 2) Launch of the National Adaptation Program of Action in 2005 with assistance from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Global Environment Facility (GEF), in which tourism was identified as a priority and 3) The launch of the National Policy on Combating Climate Change in 2007. Samoa is therefore a recipient of climate finance; climate and disaster resilience are a high and cross-cutting national development is a priority for the sustainable development of Samoa (GoS, 2020b, 2020a).

Samoa was the first country to pilot the Climate Macroeconomic Assessment Program which aims to assist smaller low- and middle-income countries in building resilience and developing policies to help with the economic impacts of climate change (IMF, 2022). As a result, the IMF produced a report that has been drawn on significantly for statistics and analysis of Samoa’s climate financing. As a way to learn about international climate finance consistency of article 2.1c of the Paris Agreement, Samoa was one of the seven localised case studies that examined and provided insights into this (Carter, 2023).

Samoa benefits from both multilateral and bilateral development financing to support their government systems, communities and infrastructure. Between 2010-2014, the majority of their climate financing was through grants, with USD 98.2 million (WST 269 million) in grant (or grant equivalent) finance allocated towards their climate change objective activities<sup>26</sup> (Atteridge & Canales, 2017; IMF, 2022). Grants are important in Samoa as they are at high risk of debt distress over the long term because of the impacts of climate change and the increase in natural disasters; in FY2020/21 their debt-to-GDP ratio was 49% and is expected to increase to 70% by 2034 (IMF, 2022). To achieve their outcomes based on their fiscal space, grants and concessional loans are needed as without this Samoa's public debt would likely become unsustainable over the medium term (Carter, 2023).

Samoa's needs between 2022-2026 have been estimated at around USD 650 million (WST 1.8 billion), 17% of their GDP per year, with USD 400 million (WST 1 billion) already committed by donors (IMF, 2022). This leaves a funding gap of USD 250 million (WST 700 million) to achieve their targets which are unlikely to be met without additional donor and private sector support (IMF, 2022). Set against Samoa's economy; they are substantial needs relative to its size, public revenues and, domestic private financial resources. It is critical to obtain international financial support to achieve the country's mitigation and adaptation goals (Carter, 2023).

Climate change projects with a focus on long-term adaptation are of high priority in Samoa due to their vulnerability to climate change impacts. As a result, they embody a community-based approach that ensures an inclusive decision-making process and the involvement of their most vulnerable population in climate change and natural disasters (IMF, 2022). This occurs by encouraging each sector to develop its own adaptation plans within their sector plans, overseen by their MoF and MNRE (IMF, 2022).

### ***Climate financing within the tourism sector in Samoa***

As expressed within Chapter Two section 2.3 Samoa has signed up to the SPTO Tourism Policy Framework and principles (Table 2.1, p. 24), in which one principle is 'Sustainable Financing':

We will work with our development partners and international finance institutions to build understanding about the need to obtain sustainable and

---

<sup>26</sup> An additional USD 59.9 million in ODA that was recorded as having co-benefits with the climate change (Atteridge & Canales, 2017).

green financing mechanisms to support sustainable tourism development and provide funding for small and medium enterprises. (SPTO, 2021, pp. 10-11).

Because climate plays a crucial role in the types of activities and places that appeal to tourists, and as tourism also plays a significant part in development, countries need tourism to adapt and survive (Vieira do Nascimento, 2016). As a result of this connection, climate financing plays a fundamental part in the adaptation projects and initiatives that will provide the required finance for communities and destinations to adapt (Vieira do Nascimento, 2016).

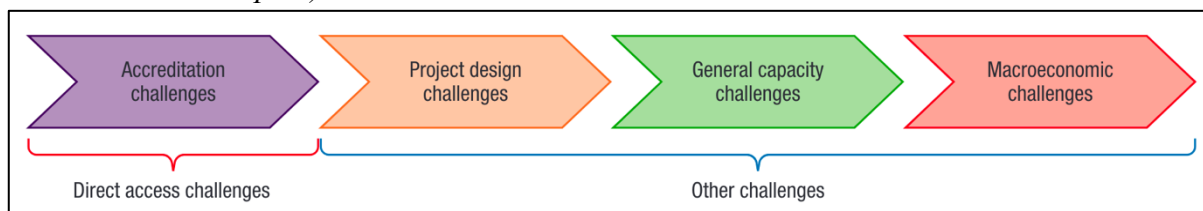
Tourism enterprises can contribute to and invest in adaptation within SIDS (Hess et al., 2015). Different options for tourism accommodations are available such as hotels and resorts contributing by investing in sea walls or energy-efficient measures. The government can endorse this through building policies for such (Hess et al., 2015). On a sub-national level, adaptation funds or taxes could be used as instruments involving private actors operating in the tourism sector (Hess et al., 2015). For example, the STA in 2012 noted a Tourism Climate Change Taskforce to develop their adaptation strategy (STA, 2012a). However, since then there has been limited research on how the tourism sector in Samoa is financing its climate adaptations and its effectiveness. The most significant research is from Wong et al. (2013), in which they analysed the policy environment for Samoa's tourism sector adaptation to climate change over a decade ago. Adaptation in the tourism sector was categorised into five types by (Scott et al., 2009): 1) Technical changes to physical infrastructure, 2) business Management 3) Behavioural changes, 4) Policy and changes in government plans and 5) Research and education.

As background to Wong et al. (2013)'s research, they outlined some of the financing that the tourism sector has received prior to 2013: noting that funding only became available from 2009 for the implementation of adaptation strategies that are specific to the tourism sector. Which included part of adaptation programs with portions of AusAID of USD 3.6 million and the Least Developed Countries fund of USD 1 million towards the tourism sector (Wong et al., 2013). Part of this funding was used to employ a climate change program manager for the STA in 2010 (Wong et al., 2013). Since then, there have been no reports on the climate financing the tourism sector has received in Samoa.

### 3.4 Pacific Small Island Developing States' experience within the climate financing architecture

Because of the limited literature on Samoa's experience (incl. tourism) within the climate financing architecture (Figure 3.2), this section draws on the Pacific SIDS's (PSIDS) experience with accessing climate financing, and then where possible, Samoa<sup>27</sup>. Climate financing is fundamental to achieving low-carbon climate-resilient development, however, the architecture for global climate finance is changing constantly (Watson & Schalatek, 2020). Bhattacharya et al. (2023) calls for a practical urgency in tackling the "broken international finance system for climate and development" (p.3), and to do so 'developing' countries' own views need to be prioritised. Yet, climate action is dictated largely by the funding sources' priorities rather than on-the-ground needs (Clark et al., 2018). As a result, accessibility issues within Pacific Island countries persist, with particular reference to multilateral funds such as the Green Climate Fund (GCF) (Clarke et al., 2019; Fouad et al., 2021). These accessibility issues experienced by PICs can be categorised into four general challenges (Fouad et al., 2021), shown in Figure 3.5.

**Figure 3:5** IMF identified challenges that PICs face when accessing climate funds (Source: Fouad et al., 2021, p.18).



#### **Macroeconomic challenges**

Macroeconomic challenges in accessing climate financing that is channelled to the region through global climate funds can be traced back to the difficulty of a constantly changing complex system in which all climate funds require different accounting requirements (IMF, 2022; Samuwai & Hills, 2018). The allocation based on receipt needs is one of the most prominent issues in climate financing (Rübelke, 2011). Combined with a domestic constraint capacity, it leads to difficulty in meeting the funds' procedures and standards to access finance, low-level capacity to design and enable projects, limited access to climate information, and lack of coherent policies, legal and regulatory frameworks (IMF, 2022; Terpstra & Carvalho,

<sup>27</sup> Chapter Five, the first findings chapter contributes to the limited literature on Samoa's experience.

2015). Even when climate financing has been secured, IMF (2022) notes there is a slow disbursement of funds that leads to projects being undermined and a need for greater streamlining of projects (p. 9). Bilateral funding is crucial in this aspect as due to its simpler foundation it can be disbursed and accessed faster (IMF, 2022).

### ***General capacity challenges***

General capacity challenges were reported, as countries in the Pacific often have capacity and resource limitations. This is because as the system is constantly changing, there can be a lack of awareness and knowledge which has led to missed chances for funding (Samuwai & Hills, 2018). This has been a factor in their financial burden as they are then having to engage with traditional and expensive ways of securing finance to support their national climate financing initiatives, such as through loans (Goundar et al., 2017; Samuwai & Hills, 2018). This issue is common across many countries as at a general level. Stakeholders and recipients may not always be aware of the sources of funding at the local, national and international levels as it can often be scattered across different partners (Terpstra & Carvalho, 2015). Access to such information can be extremely difficult for local governments, civil society and the private sector to access, which can prevent such factors from playing roles in the adaptation (Terpstra & Carvalho, 2015; Wilkinson & Caravani, 2014).

Within the tourism sector in Samoa, Wong et al. (2013) concluded that the policy environment at the time of research was conducive to the tourism industry in adaptation to climate change. Samoa was moving from a project-to-project approach to an integrative way of addressing climate change and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MNRE)<sup>28</sup> showed a reasonable level of commitment to climate change. However, the climate risks that the industry stakeholders experience were being neglected at the government level (Wong et al., 2013).

There was also a lack of understanding in the tourism industry of climate change as cyclones and other immediate natural disasters are given greater attention than slow-burning impacts such as sea level rise (Wong et al., 2013). One of Wong et al.'s (2013) recommendations was for the STA to take a more productive role in helping with the issues of vulnerability and resilience of the tourism sector and engaging the industry to collectively develop solutions.

---

<sup>28</sup> The MNRE is the Government of Samoa's ministry that has taken a leading role in their climate change projects.

As of early 2024, Samoa has a unit for coordination of the National Tourism Climate Change Adaptation Strategy and a Principle Climate Change Officer (STA, n.d.-a). However, IMF (2022) suggest that the private sector adaptation efforts could be strengthened, as the private sector plays an important role in adaptation in tourism, agriculture and fisheries in Samoa (IMF, 2022). The private sector faces challenges such as guidance and resources for adaptation, as well as financial constraints. Samoa's financial market is not well developed, and smallholders or micro-scale businesses have limited access to finance, therefore the private sector is constrained in conducting adaptation activities. Removing these "financial constraints as well as providing guidelines for adaptation across all sectors would support adaptation efforts by the private sector" (IMF, 2022, p. 35) and contribute to the realisation of the SPTO principles.

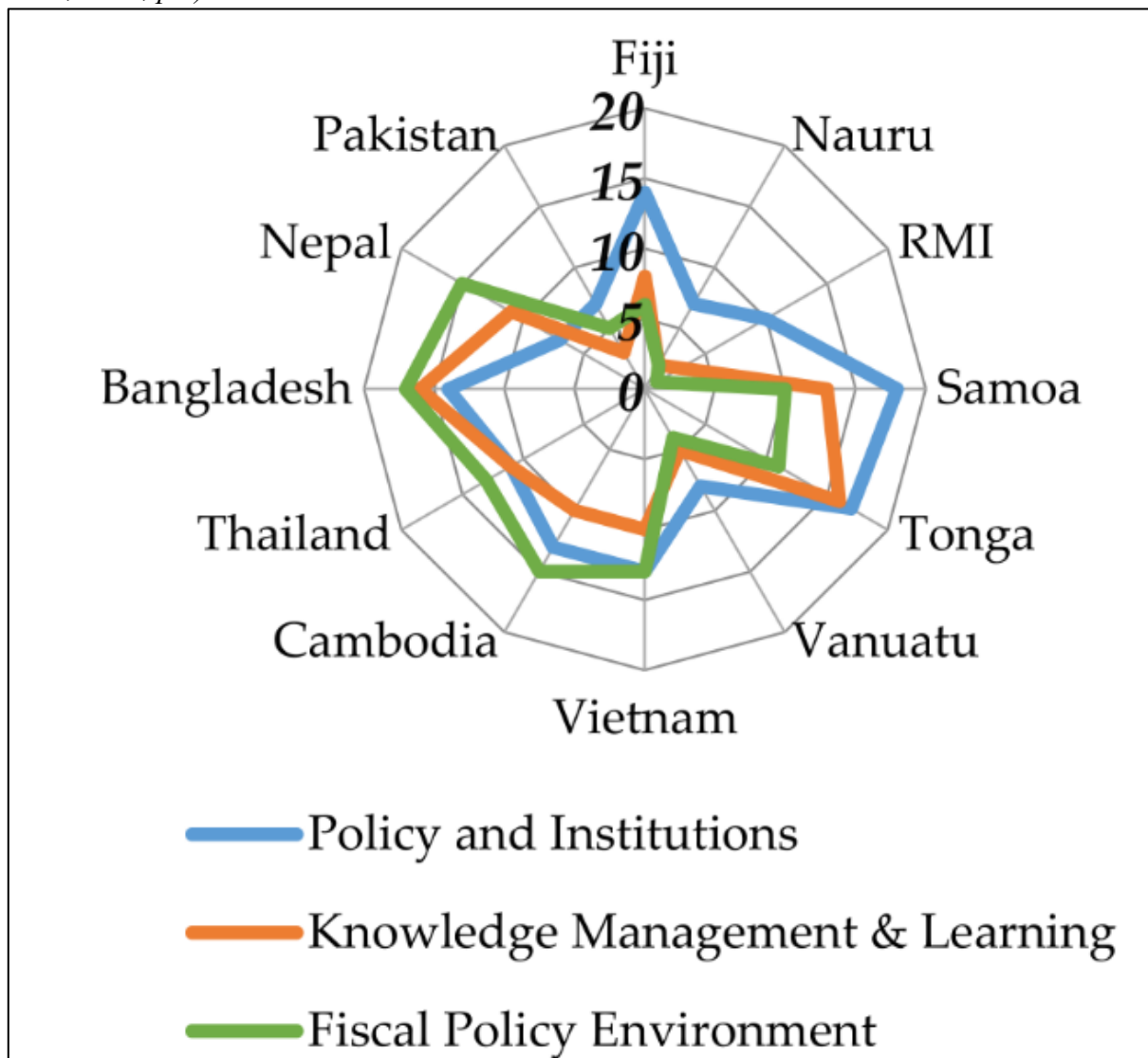
The IMF (2022) further notes that adaptation planning is fragmented and largely driven by the available external funding without common planning strategies. Investing in adaptation would mitigate natural disasters and lead to higher long-term growth and lower financial needs overall. Interestingly, the reports used in this chapter do not focus on the difference between adaptation and mitigation in projects, rather they take a funder perspective and analyse bi- and multi-lateral flows to generalised projects. As a result, it was difficult to accurately analyse the differences between the two.

#### *'Readiness' within climate financing*

'Readiness' within climate financing refers to a "country's capacity to plan for, access, deliver, monitor and report on climate finance from multiple sources in ways that align to their nation development priorities and SDGs" and is now quickly establishing itself as a buzzword in the climate financing community (Samuwai, 2021, p. 15). The process of becoming ready is complex and frustrating, and this is especially prevalent for SIDS (Samuwai & Hills, 2018). Readiness challenges amongst SIDS are a known issue in climate finance and there is an increase in efforts to help provide this readiness support, such as through grants (Fouad et al., 2021; OECD, 2015b; Samuwai, 2021). This is founded on equity around levelling the playing field to allow for all developing countries to have an opportunity to access international climate financing to fund climate change efforts (Samuwai, 2021). However, if not done correctly, changes can exacerbate existing vulnerabilities as a consequence of the misappropriation of resources (Nakhooda, 2012).

Samuwai & Hills (2018) identified three dimensions of climate finance readiness in the Asia-Pacific Region: 1) Policies and Institutions, 2) Knowledge Management and Learning, and 3) Fiscal Policy Environment. To be perceived as ready, recipient countries need to present a realistic level of knowledge to navigate the international climate finance environment so that they can identify potential sources of funds relevant to their circumstances (Samuwai & Hills, 2018). After this, they must have the required capacities, institutions, systems and processes to meet the inflexible and vigorous fiduciary standards, environment and social safeguards that are demanded by the international sources of finance (J. D. Ford & King, 2015). Using these three dimensions they mapped the readiness progress of countries in the Asia-Pacific Region as per the study’s framework (Figure 3.6):

**Figure 3:6** Assessing the Asia-Pacific region's readiness for climate financing (Samuwai & Hills, 2018, p.7).



Samoa's policy and institutions are comprehensive and well-developed, and they have had some success in enhancing the climate consistency of its financial flows (Carter, 2023; IMF, 2022). However, there is a limited focus on climate issues, and their national climate goals have not been fully incorporated into their financial regulation design, and fiscal policies of the disbursement of said public finance (Carter, 2023; IMF, 2022). Carter (2023) notes that this is not the Government of Samoa's fault given the constraints the PSIDS face, such as their small populations means both private and public sectors have limited internal skill sets. Therefore the IMF (2022) suggests that they could benefit from technical guidance and support to integrate climate change into public investment planning.

It is clear that the architecture of climate financing is currently fragmented, and mapping this towards a country's needs requires specialised expertise and comprehension, especially because donors and finance sources all have their own objectives and access requirements (Robinson & Dornan, 2017; Samuwai & Hills, 2018). As a result, countries that have strong political commitments towards tackling climate change, strong institutions and, proven financial management capacity will be more successful in obtaining greater volumes of climate financing (Samuwai, 2021). Therefore, to attract climate financing there are multiple factors involved that go beyond the vulnerability levels of a country or region. Robinson & Dornan (2017) suggest it involves other factors such as total population, level of GDP per capita, aid dependence level and quality of governance. The level of climate financing flows to PSIDS when compared to the Asia-Pacific region indicates that a country's vulnerability to climate change impacts is not the only determinate for accessing climate financing (Samuwai, 2021).

A country's capacity following the concept of readiness is holistic in nature and encapsulates the robustness of their financing environment. This consists of their "robustness level of countries" policy and planning capacities, institutional capacities, its public financial management and expenditure capacities, human capacities, gender and social inclusion capacity and development effectiveness" (Samuwai, 2021, p. 15). The very notion of 'being ready' is now one of the critical prerequisites for directly accessing climate financing from large multilateral funds (Samuwai & Hills, 2018). As a result of countries differing in readiness, there is a major financing gap in international access modalities with access to financing still uneven with some countries being left out, both regionally and internationally (Buchner et al., 2023; Fouad et al., 2021; Taloiburi, 2021). Therefore, all climate financing needs to be on a needs-based foundation that enables greater local ownership and responsiveness to the needs

of the communities it needs to reach (Zagama, 2023). Funding priorities should then not be imposed upon a country or community from the outside (Schalatek & Bird, 2023).

### ***Blended financing as a mechanism to close the financing gap***

There is a growing realisation that public finance alone is not adequate, and policymakers and the international development community are interested in how to leverage and mobilise the private sector's capital to address critical adaptation needs (Adhikari & Safae Chalkasra, 2021; Fayolle et al., 2019; Samuwai, 2021). As mentioned earlier, Samoa has a funding gap of USD 250 million to achieve its targets which are unlikely to be met without additional donor and private sector support (IMF, 2022). Especially due to their high-debt distress and inability to undertake non-grant climate financing. Various scholars (e.g. Clark et al., 2018; Hess & Kelman, 2017; Prasad et al., 2022; Randall, 2022; Sierra-Escalante et al., 2023) have recommended that a 'blended approach' to climate financing can help with bridging climate financing gaps that are common in SIDS. Moreover, Hess & Kelman (2017) found that this is one of the ways for the tourism industry to obtain climate financing<sup>29</sup> (p. 36). Blended Finance is defined as combining public financing from development donors or third parties with private capital from other investors to develop private sector markets, address the SDGs, and mobilise private resources (Sierra-Escalante et al., 2023, p. 6).

One of the ways to do this is through blended financing (GCF, 2022b). Blended finance is suggested to simultaneously be used to achieve the climate goals, as well as unlock investments for sustainable development through the SDGs (Clark et al., 2018; Prasad et al., 2022; Randall, 2022; Sierra-Escalante et al., 2023). It includes mechanisms such as traditional public-private partnerships with development finance institutions (Clarke et al., 2019). Development finance institutions simultaneously maximise profit and provide sustainable development benefits (Clark et al., 2018). Public funds are usually offered on concessional terms that are used to de-risk investment projects as a way to incentivise private capital that would otherwise not be available in such a market (GCF, 2022b; Prasad et al., 2022; Randall, 2022, para. 1). De-risking investments includes both providing financial investment as well as creating strong state capacity, legal frameworks and mechanisms to monitor investment projects so the private sector does not lead to fiscal losses (Prasad et al., 2022). Whilst there is a growing discourse

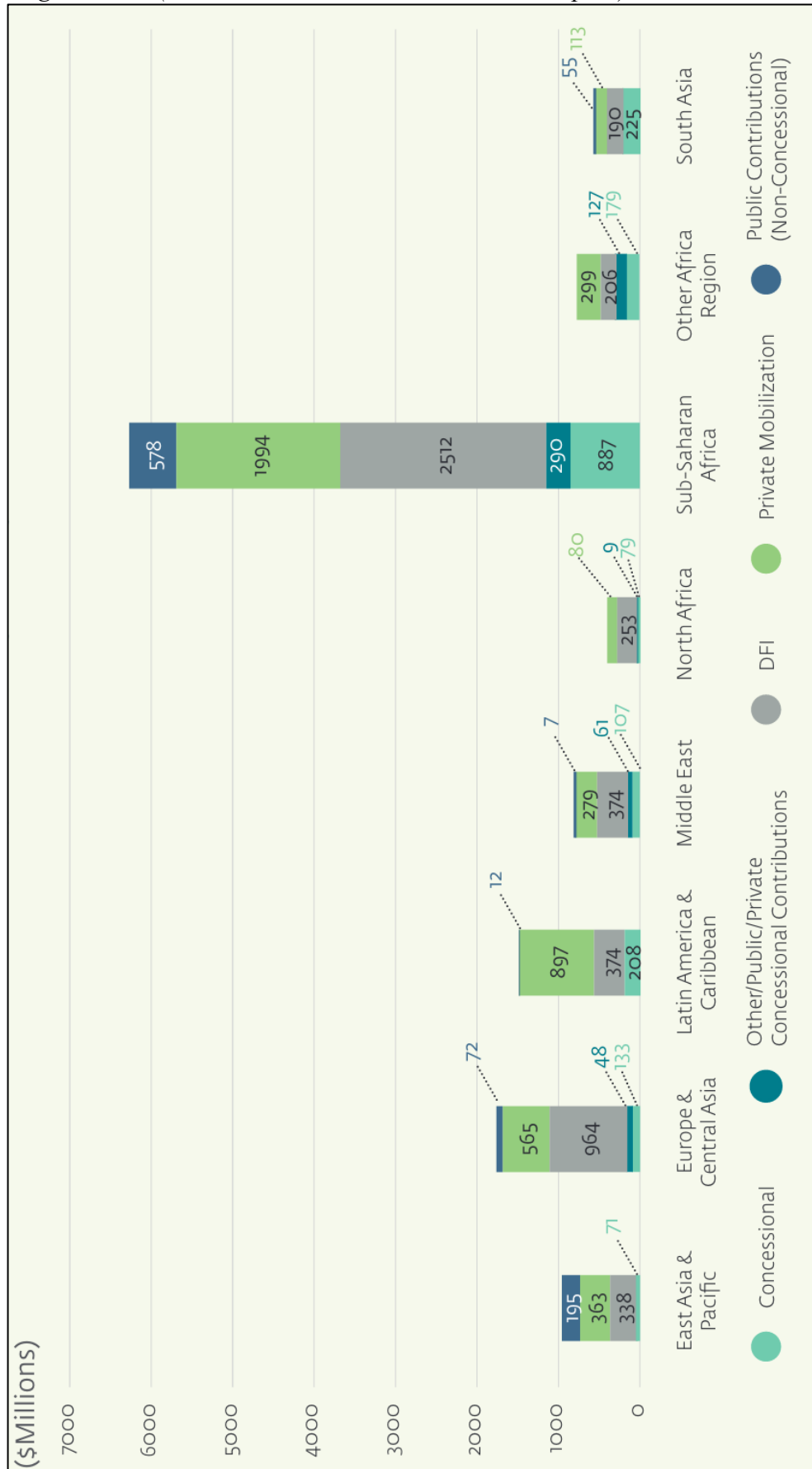
---

<sup>29</sup> It is important to note that this section in general research, unless stated with its direction relationship to Samoa or the wider Pacific region.

around the involvement of private actors in international sustainable development, blended finance is a unique relationship that has surfaced between government, private sector, NGOs and civil society (Clark et al., 2018).

The analysis for blended finance to date is high-level grey literature with limited academic research into its effectiveness within sustainable development. The concept is especially new within the Pacific region (Sierra-Escalante et al., 2023). This is shown in Figure 3.7, where the composition of the total project volume of blended concessional finance projects highlights the differing proportion of blended finance across regions (Sierra-Escalante et al., 2023). 'East Asia and Pacific' is positioned at USD 1,000 million in total blended finance alongside many other regions, which are significantly lower than 'Sub-Saharan Africa'. However, this measurement is to be analysed with caution as the 'East Asia and Pacific' classification does not always accurately reflect the true picture for the Pacific region. How blended finance is facilitated needs to be country and project-specific as both public and private sectors have roles that vary considerably across local economies and institutions (Prasad et al., 2022). However, Taloiburi (2021) notes that in the Pacific projects approved under international public climate financing do not currently target the private sector to leverage private investments, which is a missed opportunity.

**Figure 3:7** Total DFI Blended Concessional Finance Project Volume by Region, 2021 (Source: Sierra-Escalante et al., 2023, p.11).



### ***Green Bonds***

Another way to close the financing gap is through the use of Green bonds and private sector involvement (Fouad et al., 2021). The International Capital Market Association defines Green Bonds as “any type of bond instrument where the proceeds or an equivalent amount will be exclusively applied to finance or re-finance, in part or in full, new and/or existing eligible Green Projects” (ICMA, 2021, p. 3). In other words, Green Bonds are a fixed-income financial instrument<sup>30</sup> which is used to fund projects that have positive environmental and/or climate benefits, where the investor receives periodic interest payments and the eventual return of principal at maturity. Projects currently supported by Green Bonds are; infrastructure, carbon-free energy, conservation and other climate-friendly projects in which businesses rely on the preservation of the environment (DuPont et al., 2016; Flammer, 2021). Despite the recognised potential for Green Bonds, only USD 2.2 billion of the 895 billion market was directed in the Global South (Banga, 2019). When Green Bonds are directly from the private sector with no contribution from development partners or a government (i.e. not blended finance), the corporations’ dedication to climate change and ‘sustainable development’ is put into question (Flammer, 2021). Therefore, there is a need to look at how to connect Green Bonds together with blended financing in the tourism sector.

### **3.5 Climate change resilience**

The first part of this chapter presented the climate financing architecture in the Pacific in general and, where possible, in Samoa in particular. It highlighted that there was a large gap in funding for Samoa, as well as accessibility issues regarding capacity and readiness when accessing international funding. Whilst these international funding sources are important, when climate financing and projects are more place-specific they can have more enduring value for communities. One of the ways to look at ‘what are place-specific climate change approaches?’ is by understanding the type of resilience embedded into a community/country. The following sections add to this argument by stating that in Samoa, one of the ways to be place-specific is through a climate change cultural-ecological resilience lens that supports fa’asamoa and Indigenous Local Knowledge as a basis for climate change approaches in tourism. This section

---

<sup>30</sup> A fixed-income security is an investment that provides a return through fixed periodic interest payments and the eventual return of principal at maturity. Investors are provided with a stream of interest payments and the eventual return of principal at maturity. Bonds are the most common form of fixed-interest payments (Murphy, 2023).

also presents the argument that cultural-ecological resilience to climate change is already present in Samoan communities, government approaches and NGOs, but needs to be fully supported and adopted to provide more culturally embedded strategies and policies regarding climate financing.

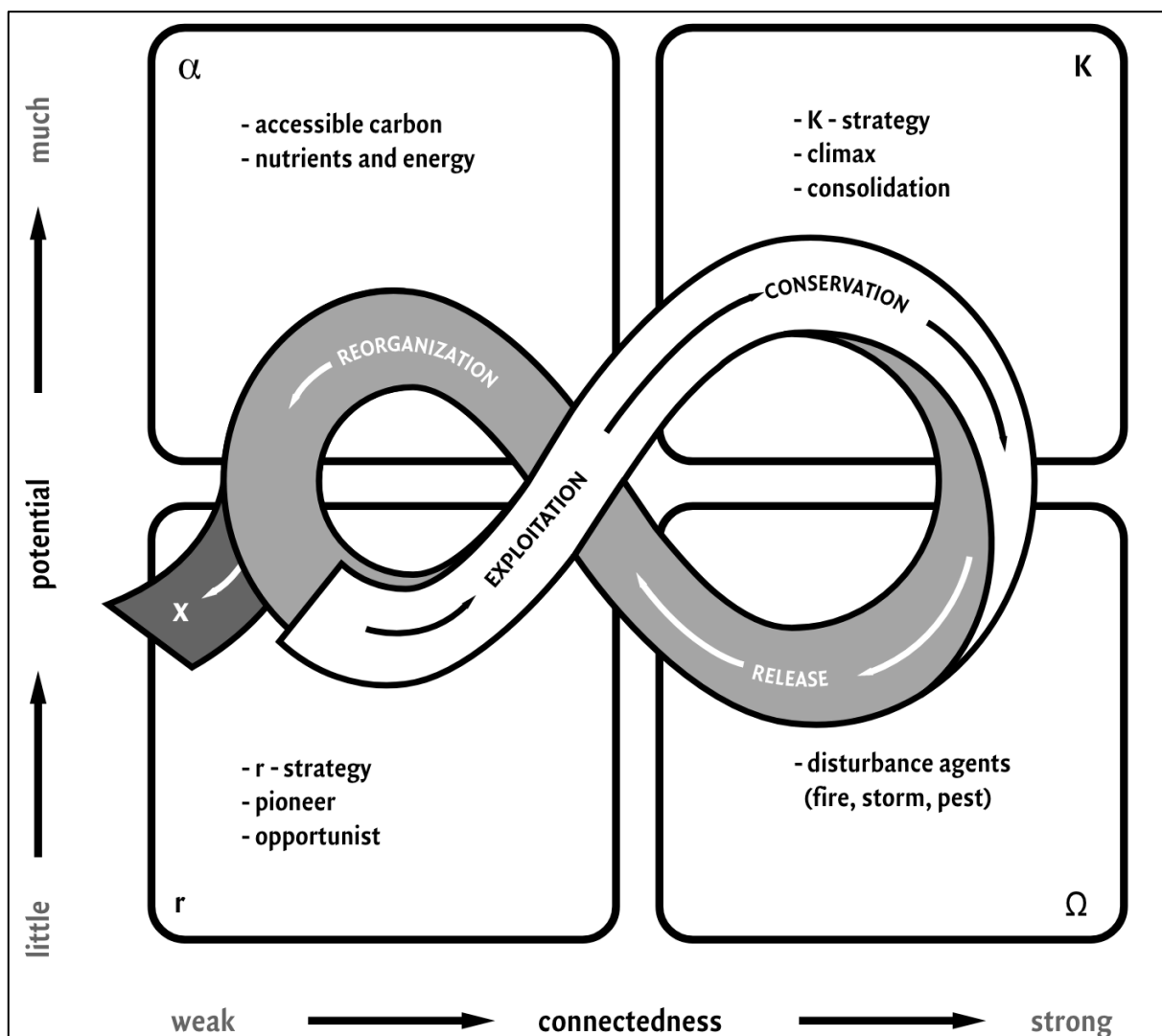
### ***Resilience theory and the complex adaptive system***

To add context to the cultural-ecological lens on resilience, theories of resilience and complex adaptive systems need to be explored. C.S. Holling is considered the seminal author of the contemporary theory of resilience (Gunderson, 2010; Nelson, 2014; Walker & Cooper, 2011). Resilience has theoretical foundations in ecology and natural sciences, with an understanding in early variations of the theory that ecosystems with a static equilibrium are the ideal state (Holling, 1973). Holling challenged the mainstream understanding at the time of a single static environmental equilibrium, describing resilience as “a measure of the persistence of systems and their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations and state variables” (Holling, 1973, p.14). In this, the ecosystems do not have one static point of equilibrium, but rather a zone of stability that “allows for the re-organisation of a system to continually exist and function even in the face of disturbance and change” (Cretney, 2014, p. 628). Therefore, the presence of ‘the zone’ within an ecological system can absorb the change and simultaneously upkeep the existence of the system’s functions, and different points on the equilibrium can be integrated within a hierarchy of systems (Holling, 2001). Overall, through his seminal work Holling (1973) established the foundations of resilience theory for increased awareness of cultural, social and ecological systems (Gunderson, 2000).

This nonlinear notion has led to ideas around complexity and the Complex Adaptive System (Hofkirchner & Schafranek, 2011). Rather than the general systems theory based around wholes and wholeness, the Complex Adaptive System places prominence on connectedness, context and feedback (Figure 3.8) (Berkes et al., 2004). The knowledge of the crucial properties of the parts of a system comes from “an understanding of not only these components but of their interrelations as well”, which together can be observed as a collective through the organisation of several equilibriums (Berkes et al., 2004, p. 5). When these conditions change, the feedback loops have been observed to maintain their current state up to a point. Past this a threshold is reached and a system can change very quickly in a way that might be detrimental

(‘exploitation’ to ‘conservation’ to ‘release’ to in Figure 3.8). It is this change, and what system it will change into, that are often unpredictable (‘reorganisation’ in Figure 3.8) (Berkes et al., 2004). Resilience can then be only understood and predicted by examining the system as a whole, and it is complex; resilience in a system means it absorbs change and provides the capability to adapt to change (Berkes et al., 2004). Resilience theory and the Complex Adaptive Systems theory are thus important to understanding how societies and governments are approaching climate change because they provide a theoretical understanding for cultural-ecological resilience.

**Figure 3:8** Adaptive renewal cycle (Source: Berkes et al., 2004, p.17).



*Cultural-ecological lens on resilience in the Samoan climate change context*

Crook & Rudiak-Gould (2018) refer to ecological, and then cultural resilience:

Ecological resilience comes down to the capacity of an ecological system, including its people, to bounce back from a changing set of physical parameters (p.92).

Cultural resilience encompasses the ways a society and its individuals are fitted to deal with environmental changes and challenges by virtue of their cultural mores, belief systems, their social, religious, economic and political relationships and capacities (p.92).

Together, the term cultural-ecology repositions humans into the conversations of environmental and climate change, as well as incorporating holistic ideologies from ecology and, the systems theory that conceptualises how humans are adaptable to their surrounding environment (Boserup, 1965; Sauer, 1952; Steward, 1972). This cultural-ecological resilience lens appears to be used by Samoan communities in adaptation, which has been present for a long time in communities and with their relationship through their changing Pacific environment (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020). Samoans are then ‘receivers’ and agents of change who can reconstruct and reinterpret messages and communications surrounding climate change (Rudiak-Gould, 2011). Framing resilience in this way is important to this research because it encapsulates the experience between the environment and culture in Samoa through how they are adapting to climate change, and the importance of this in climate financing mechanisms.

The cultural-ecological lens on resilience theory is a way to recognise that climate change approaches need to encapsulate how Samoans associate with natural elements, including land, in a practical, social and spiritual sense (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020). Natural elements are not defined just as physical spaces, but ‘lived in’ places that recognise the people and their islands’ relationship with the environment. In turn, this deepens understanding of how climate change is complex, multi-faceted and builds upon 3000+ years of connection (Walshe & Stancioff, 2018)<sup>31</sup>.

Like Holling’s seminal work above, the cultural-ecological lens on resilience builds from the shift made in the theoretical underpinnings of resilience. This recognises a ‘non-equilibrium’ nature of systems and their capacity to go through change, thus developing new ways of dealing

---

<sup>31</sup> Walshe & Stancioff (2018)’s argument is not specific to the Pacific Islands or Samoa, however they present insightful ideas that connect SIDS to one another. The authors acknowledge that the term ‘island’ is also complex in their work as it encompasses a wide range of people and places.

with it (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020). The cultural-ecological lens on resilience goes beyond preventing uncertainty; it theorises the historically present connection of culture and ecology through the non-equilibrium as an “unstable condition or state with complex, highly dynamic and unpredictable variables” (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020, p.42). Complex systems thinking is therefore used to conceptualise social and physical sciences as being interrelated, for example, bringing together climate, history, culture and human action (Redman, 2002).

### *Indigenous and Local Knowledge (ILK)*

Indigenous and Local Knowledge (ILK) can localise the conceptualisation of resilience and thus adaptation in Samoa (S. M. Fletcher et al., 2013; McMillen et al., 2014). ILK is the collection of:

Knowledge, practice and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment. (Berkes, 1999, p. 8).

ILK recognises that societies and communities are dynamic in response to processes of change; it is a foundational resource in Samoa—as it is for many indigenous societies around the world (Crate & Nuttall, 2009; Nilsson, 2011). This knowledge from historical, indigenous and local backgrounds is the most powerful knowledge: “treasured and guarded in people’s heads, in notebooks, locked in boxes and matai’s briefcases or with their precious mats under mattresses” (Meleisea & Meleisea, 1987, p. vii). Knowledge that comes in the form of stories, poems, songs, proverbs or genealogies, that is, oral tradition, and has been passed from one generation to the next (Stewart-Withers, 2007). Traditional knowledge is then an invaluable asset, it belongs to its people and “reflects their identity, their community’s history, their values, and most importantly, it is used as indicators in their understanding of the surrounding environment” (Nunn, 2009, p.3). Former Prime Minister of Samoa<sup>32</sup>, His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta’isi Efi (2018), stated that Samoan world views on climate change come from both the perspective of other people and of other living beings—of trees, animals, oceans and stars. It is a worldview or life principle that demands humility, sacrifice and respect for sacred origins:

This paradigm comes alive through the poetry, nuances and metaphors of our Samoan language, its legends, rituals and song chants. It tells of the importance

---

<sup>32</sup> Tui Ātua Tupua Tamasese Tupuola Tufuga Efi was Samoa’s Prime Minister from 1976 to 1982, and in 2007 he was elected as Samoa’s Head of State (O le Ao Mamalu o le Malo) from 2007 to 2017.

of the principles of tapu, equivalence and affinity to overcoming arrogance and greed. (His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi, 2018, p. x)

### *Fa'asamoa in Samoan Resilience*

Fa'asamoa underpins Samoan resilience as it is 'the Samoan way' (Meleisea, 1987). Fa'asamoa as a concept is explored in Chapter One section 3.x. As such, fa'asamoa can show how ILK is actioned in people's everyday lives. These values and systems support effective management for the adaptation to climate change that leads people and their environments to recover and be resilient from environmental disasters whilst protecting current systems. There is value in understanding the interconnected areas of change and adaptation through; localised expertise, life-history cycle, interpretations of change of weather, the role of fa'amatai, social institutions and networks, ecological processes and customary management of resources (S. M. Fletcher et al., 2013; McMillen et al., 2014).

Through the understanding of the cultural-ecological lens on resilience, Latai-Niusulu et al. (2020) found that ILK was being used in Samoa in their climate change approaches. Traditional forms of social organisation and governance ('fa'amatai', explained in section 1.3), still have crucial roles in how Samoans make decisions. Latai-Niusulu et al. (2020) assert that fa'amatai is still present throughout the changes and challenges that the last 3000+ years have presented; 'aiga and the surrounding community is the centre of life in Samoa, it is 'family-reliance' over 'self-reliance', the 'we' not 'I'. Furthermore, this means understanding that if you do not have what you need today, your community will look after you, and you will do the same in return: "*O oe nei, ae o a'u taeao; o a'u nei, ae o oe taeae*. Today it is your turn, but tomorrow will be my turn" (Movono & Scheyvens, 2021, p. 93).

From day-to-day life to surviving the aftermath of natural disasters, fa'asamoa is viewed as a safety net (Alefaio-Tugia et al., 2019). Other ways to connect climate change have been through: 1) religion - this has a leading role in many Samoan lives; integrating climate change from a Christian perspective is an expectation for local approaches, such as including these topics in their weekly church discussions (Beyerl et al., 2018). 2) Learnings – these often come from village council meetings, women's committees, untitled men's committees and women's weaving sessions and projects. 3) The media, school curriculum and, community programs from the government level have created climate change awareness in Samoa (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020).

When changes have occurred, fa'amatai in Samoan communities have a strong historical collective experience and knowledge they can draw upon; this is passed down through the complex multi-layered connections within families, villages and at the national level. Combined with the accessibility of customary land and sharing of resources, this opens up ways to address and bring awareness to climate change through the collective effort that is founded on fa'asamoa resilience (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020).

The cultural-ecological lens on resilience, fa'asamoa, and ILK have influenced their global agencies, government and NGOs. They have played a key role in shaping bottom-up localised approaches to climate change that resonate with Samoans. This has also created awareness of the importance of locally-led adaptation, sensitivity to changes, mobility, diversification, many social and placed-based connections, spiritual and mental health and, the capacity to plan for the future (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020).

### ***Importance of a place-specific resilience theory in climate change approaches and finance***

Top-down climate change development strategies that view resilience from an external perspective, often believe Samoans are 'vulnerable victims on isolated small islands' waiting to be saved by outsiders (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020). The island characteristics of small size, population, isolation and exposure to regular environmental challenges are used to describe the reasons for vulnerability, as 'smallness' as a vulnerability factor was determined in 1992 under SIDS (UNStats, 2016). However, when explored through an alternative lens (e.g., cultural-ecological) these same characteristics show islanders are both adaptable and resilient allowing for complex societies to develop strength, be prepared and reorganise themselves for the future (Kelman, 2018; Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020; Walshe & Stancioff, 2018). Crook & Rudiak-Gould (2018) remind us that such Eurocentric Westernised paradigms can often misinterpret or fail to conceptualise Oceanic concepts appropriately due to differing perspectives. In the late Hau'ofa's (1993) words:

Oceania is vast, Oceania is expanding, Oceania is hospitable and generous,  
Oceania is humanity rising from the depths of brine and regions of fire deeper  
still, Oceania is us (p.17).

Oceania is then anything but small and should be viewed as "a sea of islands" rather than "islands in afar sea" (Hau'ofa, 1993, p. 4). This is because the idea of small is relative; Hau'ofa (1993) wrote that historical recounts have misinterpreted their lands and failed to value their

underworlds of epic proportions, and contemporary figures misconstrue the entanglement (i.e. migration) of Pacific islanders across the world (p. 6).

The climate change approaches being imposed are taking the narrative out of local hands; island residents, nor are they seen as able to solve it (Ballu et al., 2011; Crook & Rudiak-Gould, 2018a; Webb & Kench, 2010). The traditional solutions successfully used in the past are viewed as not ‘contemporary enough’ and this attitude can disempower local knowledge holders (Newell, 2018; Veitayaki & Holland, 2018). Latai (2009) found that in Samoa these top-down processes of funding applications were not inclusive of village councils and their climate change approaches. The once small local challenges are now perceived as a collective single ‘mega-problem’ that only the world's largest and politically powerful states can change. This can leave local communities with a sense of helplessness that indirectly contributes to the small and vulnerably narrative (Crook & Rudiak-Gould, 2018).

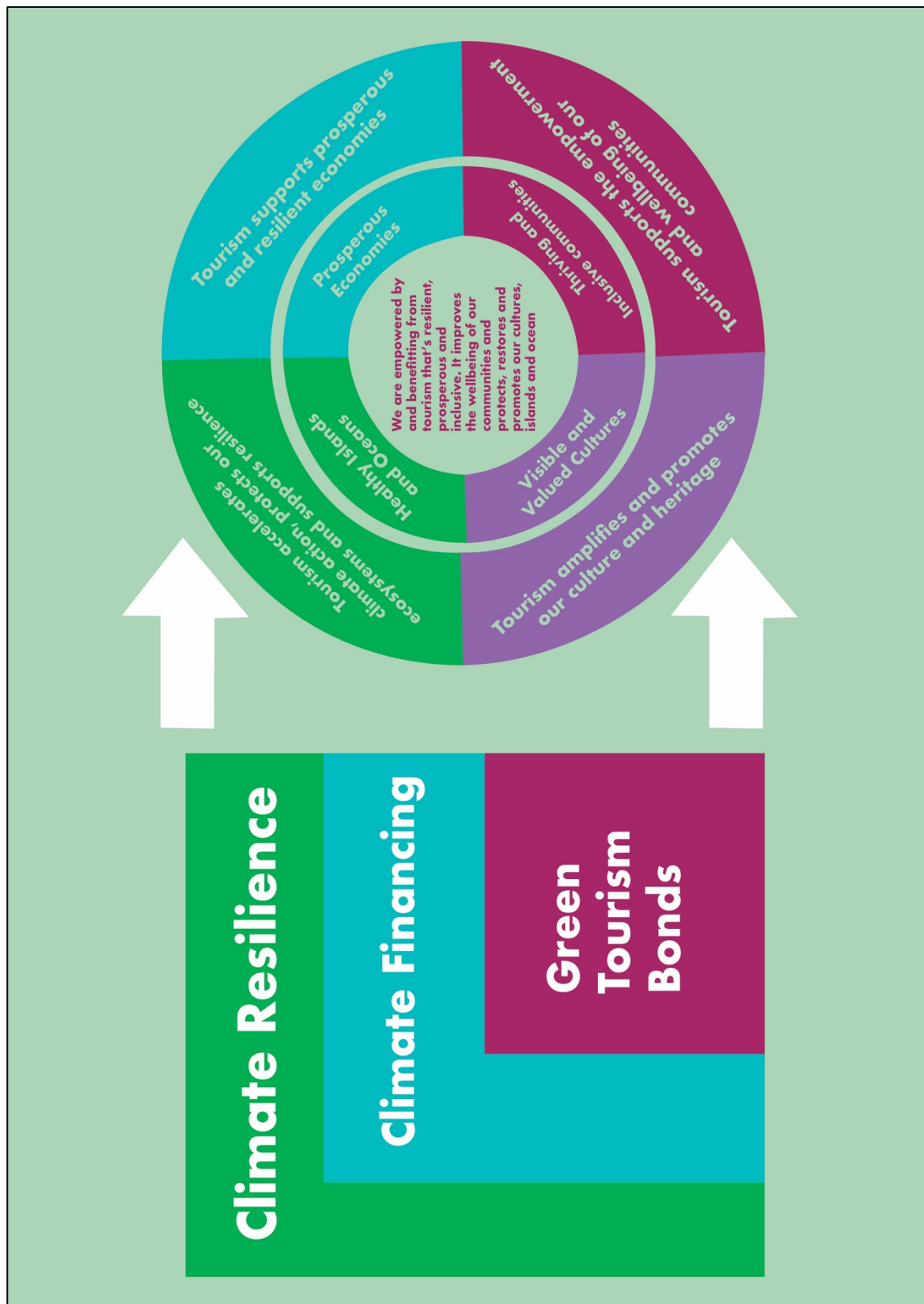
### **3.6 Summary and looking ahead**

Anthropogenic climate change is unequivocally caused by human activities, and if we do not address said human causes now, climate change will likely become irreversible with extremely widespread devastation (IPCC, 2014, 2021, 2023). As we address these impacts, people’s livelihoods and development must be directly considered, and coupled with a global effort (Honourable Tuilaepa Dr Sailele Malielegaoi, Prime Minister of Samoa, 2020). Climate change in Samoa is complex because the ocean is a part of everyday life and is connected through philosophies and histories, it is not a separate phenomenon; “Oceania is us” (Hau’ofa, 1993, p. 17). Therefore, the approach that is taken to understand climate change in Samoa must also be found within its locality.

As explored in this chapter, climate finance is one way to help with the irreversible and widespread devastations of climate change through financing the adaptations needed to survive in the future. Mitigation is just as important globally, however, Samoa and the Pacific islands have contributed the least to global emissions and yet are one of the first regions to experience the impacts of climate change (Carrozza, 2015; Honourable Tuilaepa Dr Sailele Malielegaoi, 2020; Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020; Lazrus, 2012; Nunn, 2009; UNFCCC, 2017). Therefore, their needs are higher in terms of adapting to the change that is occurring now. This chapter highlighted that the external financing architecture is creating accessibility problems with very complex processes, however, it cannot be avoided and is vital in the climate change approach.

The next section of this chapter focussed on the importance of finance, projects and approaches being placed within already present and place-specific understandings of resilience that are then used connected to the external mechanisms. Resilience that is founded upon Hollings' seminal work in non-equilibrium resilience. This was done through Latai-Niusulu et al. (2020) cultural-ecological lens that encapsulates how Samoans associate with land in a practical, social and spiritual sense and recognises the complex, multi-faceted connection to ecology by incorporating holistic ideologies. Together with the inherited knowledge, customary land and sharing of resources, it opens up redress and brings awareness to climate change through the collective effort that is founded on fa'asamoa through the non-equilibrium form of resilience (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020).

Figure 3:9 Conceptual framework (Source: Author & adapted from: SPTO, 2021)



\* 1 The colours used in this framework are consistent with the SPTO Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework. The additional left-hand side created by the author use the same colours to show the connection.



## Chapter Four - Methodology

This chapter will explain the following: research design and approach, ethics, reciprocity, positionality, participant selection and data collection. It also reflects upon the challenges in the field and the changes to the research approach that occurred along the way. This research undertook a qualitative approach and flexible design to allow for the exploratory nature of the study.

### 4.1 Research design and approach

This research aims to explore the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as a climate financing initiative in Samoa and whether such bonds could be an initiative that aligns with their sustainable tourism development and climate financing approaches. The following questions were applied to explore this aim:

- 1) What is the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as an initiative which supports the sustainable development of Samoa's tourism sector?
- 2) In what ways might Green Tourism Bonds align with tourism authorities', operators', and the Government of Samoa's aspirations for climate finance and sustainable tourism development?

To answer these questions it was established early on that the most suitable methodology was a qualitative approach, in which the researcher pursues understandings that are within specific contexts and experiences (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014). A qualitative approach allows for research to delve into the social complexities that go beyond statistical measures to explore people's perceptions, interpretations, behaviours, value systems, aspirations and culture (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; O'Leary, 2017, p. 142).

I see my methodology sitting firmly within the critical branch of social science because I aspire to "uncover non-explicit processes and relations" and then "communicate my findings to promote progressive social change" (Murray & Overton, 2014, p. 23). It explores ways in which climate financing can be appropriately applied to the society that it is supposed to benefit. Whilst researchers in finance and economics may lean more towards the "empirical-analytical" framework, from a development studies perspective I argue there can be a critical

way to explore my research questions that draw upon different fields (Murray & Overton, 2014, p. 23).

#### **4.2 Field selection: Samoa**

A general outline of Samoa's geography has been presented in Chapter One. Samoa was selected as the most suitable country because the Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) requested research into this area verbally through a consultancy firm where I work part-time<sup>33</sup>. This was also indicated in the Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2022-2026. Furthermore, Samoa closing their international borders during the COVID-19 Pandemic (Tokalau, 2022) allowed the STA to review its tourism sector policies and outcomes, which resulted in an emphasis on the possibilities of climate financing.

Samoa's tourism accommodation mix is predominately small to medium locally owned accommodation with a small number of both foreign- and locally-owned high-end hotels (Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). In which the majority are located on the beachfront and are therefore more vulnerable to climate change impacts from the sea. The accommodation mix of high-levels of local ownership with minimal foreign-ownership and the impacts of climate change were critical aspects in deciding on Samoa as the field site.

In total, I had the opportunity to spend five-weeks in Samoa, with the research dates chosen (18 June to 24 July 2023) so that halfway through I was deemed ready for primary data collection. The dates coincided with the school holidays in both Aotearoa and Australia, which is generally speaking, when Samoa would experience an influx of visitors. It was crucial for this analysis to observe Samoa during their tourism season, and with the borders reopening after two years (Tokalau, 2022) I was able to experience how Samoa responded to the unprecedented influx. This duration of time allowed for some immersion into Apian life, such as attending the local gym, regular church services and establishing a daily routine in the village, as well as the ability to complete all interviews, case studies, and observations. I commenced my interviews and case studies after living in Apia for two and a half weeks as I felt it was respectful and valuable to gain a basic understanding of daily life in Samoa, a sense of the people, and a connection to the location. This meant that I was not necessarily seen as a

---

<sup>33</sup> While studying towards my master's, I worked part-time with a consultancy firm that in 2022 had a contract with NZ Māori Tourism to work in partnership with the STA to research the Samoan Tourism Levy. Through these partnerships, STA expressed their desire to explore climate financing options in tourism.

tourist, with no in-country knowledge or connection, as I was able to discuss local agendas and place myself in the research appropriately.

I resided primarily in Moto'otua village in Apia because of its security and location, which was within walking distance to interviews and living necessities. At the time of research, Samoa was a safe country to visit and MFAT did not have a travel advisory issued (Safe Travel, 2022). For personal safety, I took the normal precautions I would also take in Aotearoa, such as not walking alone at night and ensuring my location tracking was on for my family back at home. My research posed a minimal standard risk and this ethics proposal lays out the steps I took to mitigate any risk.

#### **4.3 Ethics, reciprocity, and positionality**

This section outlines the ethical process undertaken, the reciprocity for the time key informants gave to this research and an exploration of how my positionality affected this research.

##### ***Ethics: Massey University, National University of Samoa and Research Permit***

In my research, ethics is used both as a means and an end, as Stewart-Withers (2016) describes development studies as an “edge-walking discipline” (p. 28). In other words, the ethical guidelines were both a formal process and guided how I managed every aspect of this research.

This research was conducted formally in accordance with two ethical complementary codes: Massey University's Human Ethics Committee requirements (MUHEC, 2017) and the National University of Samoa Research and Ethic Requirements (UREC, n.d.). Both of these codes were aligned with the Pacific Research Guidelines and Protocols (PRPC) (PRPC, 2017).

The MUHEC approval process consisted of an in-house ethics review with my leading supervisor Prof. Regina Scheyvens and an independent reviewer from the Development Studies Institute at Massey University. During this review, I presented my ethical and Pacific cultural procedures, awareness, preparedness, ethical issues around doing research with human subjects, personal safety, wellbeing and privacy of participants. After this peer review, it was concluded that my research is low risk and as a result, a low-risk notification went to MUHEC. Ethics Notification Number: 4000027525.

To conduct research in Samoa, it is a requirement to obtain a Temporary Residency Permit (see Appendix 1). I was granted temporary residency on the 5<sup>th</sup> July 2023. This process included:

- Full ethics clearance from the National University of Samoa Research and Ethics Committee. This process consisted of a full and updated research proposal being submitted to the university before entering Samoa, and translating the information sheet, informant consent form and interview questions into Samoan. Ethics clearance was approved on the 21<sup>st</sup> June 2023.
- A fee of ST 1200 (NZD 745) for residency.
- Sponsorship form to declare funds.

I provided both the Samoan and English information<sup>34</sup> and consent forms before interviews and case studies. These forms outlined the research and ethical considerations for the informant and were required to be filled in and signed before the interview/case study began, both sheets are in Appendix 2 and 3.

### ***Reciprocity***

An important aspect of ethical research in the Pacific is reciprocity, which involves recognising the time and knowledge that someone has gifted to you and your research. Reciprocity in Samoan can come in *mea'alofo*, which means a gift “given out of the overflow of one’s heart” from the “relationships that are established through *va fealoaloa'i* (relationships that connect and interweave through face-to-face interaction)” (PRPC, 2017, p. 17). I followed the Pacific Research Guidelines and Protocols (PRPC, 2017) as well as advice from other researchers in-country for best practice.

An important element of reciprocity was to show my appreciation for key informants gifting me with their time and knowledge. After discussions with other researchers, I decided the most appropriate form of reciprocity was to visit the local bakery and provide morning tea for the informants' team. As one elder described food in Samoa is ‘one of their currencies’. When this was not possible, I would take informants out for coffee afterwards to extend my gratitude and appreciation. As my informants were officials with salaries, they were not allowed to accept

---

<sup>34</sup> The information sheet in Samoan was translated and then reviewed twice to ensure the accuracy of technical words. However, it was established that the Samoan copy represented more of a ‘cultural appreciation document’ rather than an informative sheet as all informants were fluent in English, with their organisations’ working language English too.

cash. Following the advice from another researcher, for the two tourist accommodation interviews I gifted ST 50 as a token of my appreciation as well as helping out around the accommodation (PRPC, 2017).

Reciprocity was also shown in my leaving the field practices. I developed close personal relationships for which I wanted to show my appreciation before returning to Aotearoa. I showed my mea'alofo by taking one family I had become close to out for dinner and saying a speech, as well as taking friends out for a final coffee together. This was reciprocated through the relationships also gifting me with mea'alofo from their hearts, which was an experience of mutual reciprocity and respect. Bailey (1996, p. 86) expressed how “[we] don’t so much terminate our field relationships as continue them in another form over greater distances” and this remains true through the power of social media as a way to continue relationships from a distance.

Furthermore, I am returning to Samoa in early 2024 as a Climate Change Finance Assistant through Volunteer Service Abroad. I will be based at the Samoa Tourism Authority for 10 months implementing the knowledge obtained through this research and assisting with the outcomes in their Tourism Sector Plan 2022-2027. I will present my policy brief and thesis with key informants once completed. This policy brief is a DevNet grant requirement, as I was fortunate enough to be awarded the NZPG Development Field Research Award. Furthermore, this thesis will be shared online and could provide benefits to many more people.

### ***Positionality and reflexivity***

My positionality has been rigorously explored in research preparation, as well as of continuous reflection through using my fieldwork journal. I view this process to be fundamental as qualitative research embeds the researcher into their work (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014) and one’s perspective is shaped by their “race, class, gender, nationality, sexuality and other identities” (Mullings, 1999, p. 337). To reflect on my positionality and reflexivity in cross-cultural research was seen to uphold the principle of “Respect for knowledge holders” (PRPC, 2017) as well as “produce richer and more honest accounts” (Cupples & Kindon, 2014, p. 244). Therefore, it was crucial to explore my positionality and recognise the significant influence it had on my research.

I reflected on this in my observations journal and noted how my positionality would shift depending on whether I was in a village outside of Apia or in town. I found that as I became more comfortable within Samoan customs and practices, the ‘outsider’ connotation held less value to who I was. Even though I will always be palagi (European), I became more established in the community through shared experiences, interests, religion, and appreciation for their culture. As my positionality changed, and with that my understanding of fa’asamoa, so did how I perceived and conceptualised the findings and themes during interviews. I acknowledge that five weeks only allows for very minimal immersion into a culture, however, this time grounded and contextualised my research in a way that I was unable to before directly experiencing, observing, and then reflecting on my experiences in Samoa.

As alluded to above, I was exceptionally blessed to have met and been supported by a Samoan family while in Apia. I also developed friendships throughout my time here. These unexpected experiences meant I was able to feel a sense of home and comfort whilst I was away from my own family and friends. Whilst these relationships were not related to data collection, people’s inclusion of me into their lives which was founded upon kindness and shared religion which provided me with the opportunity to be a part of and observe Samoan customs and practices. They gifted me with a lifetime of knowledge and the opportunity to learn by living; knowledge was passed down to me through the elders as well as by the children and as a result, have enriched my understanding of fa’asamoa.

#### **4.4 Participant selection of semi-structured key-informant interviews**

Key informants were to be the main means of data collection because I was attempting to collect expert knowledge and explore their realities (O’Leary, 2017). Therefore, the answers to my research questions could only be uncovered by those who have specialised expertise within the research areas. Before entering the field, I planned to target the Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) and Government of Samoa (GoS) officials whose roles were actively involved in climate financing, climate resilience and tourism.

The STA was the only confirmed connection to an interview, however, this was not of concern as my supervisor, from her experience researching in Samoa, explained that they value in-person connections and trust needs to be established before the meeting. From this initial

interview, I then embarked on purposeful snowballing<sup>35</sup> (O’Leary, 2017) to reach other key informants. This was helpful because I used internal knowledge to gain access to the needed data. Throughout this process, I realised that both the climate financing and tourism sectors had limited people to interview. It was also quickly established that the multilateral and development partners in Samoa are central to their climate financing and tourism approaches as I was being referred to them by the GoS and the STA for interviews. Because of this, I expanded my breadth of informants to incorporate all stakeholders involved in the selected research areas. Overall, I found that people were very enthusiastic to participate as informants because climate financing is an emerging space in Samoa and the people welcomed the opportunity to discuss their experiences.

Ideally, it would have been beneficial to interview private sector organisations such as the Chamber of Commerce and Samoa Business Hub, as well had a wider selection of interviews at different levels of accommodations. Despite this, I am confident that my interview breadth captured the desired key informants as I found towards the end of my research I was being directed to people I had already interviewed, which Strauss (n.d.) refers to as theoretical data saturation.

Before entering the field I had planned on having two case studies of tourist accommodation as it was imperative that the direct voices of the tourism accommodations were heard in terms of whether climate financing could benefit them. However, whilst undertaking this research it was established that detailed case studies were not feasible nor needed in order to obtain the knowledge of their operations and challenges. Instead, I undertook semi-structured interviews rather than case studies. I used the STA accommodation list<sup>36</sup> to identify suitable accommodation providers and then emailed them with all relevant information. Through this process, I selected Litia Sini at Lalomanu as it is classed as ‘budget accommodation’ under the STA directory, located on Upolu’s south coast. The second interview was ‘Hotel Millenia’ in Apia which is classed as ‘superior accommodation’ on the STA directory. The Millenia Hotel was a contact that was established through shared connections.

---

<sup>35</sup> Purposeful snowballing is a research sampling process that involves building a sample for referral through the initial interview (O’Leary, 2017). It was used as I needed to access key informants whom I was not able to establish on my own.

<sup>36</sup>See <https://www.samoa.travel/plan-book/samoa-accommodation/>

**Table 4-1** Key informants interviewed for this research

#	Organisation	Position	Name	Date (2023)	Location
1	Samoa Tourism Authority	Manager Planning and Development Division	Tupa'i Robert Ah Sam	7 <sup>th</sup> July	Office
2	Samoa Tourism Authority	Manager Research and Statistics	Kitionia Pogi	7 <sup>th</sup> July	Office
3	The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP)	Climate Change Adaptation Advisor	Filomena Nelson	13 <sup>th</sup> July	Office
4	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	Country Economist	Kordzo Sedegah	12 <sup>th</sup> July	Office
5	Ministry of Finance (MoF), Government of Samoa (GoS)	Head of Climate Resilience Investment Coordination Division	Litara Taulealo	20 <sup>th</sup> July	Office
6	Development Bank of Samoa (DBS)	Manager of Corporate Services	Seraphine Mataia	9 <sup>th</sup> August	Email
7	New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT)	Senior Development Program Coordinator at New Zealand High Commission	Situfu Salesa	20 <sup>th</sup> July	Office
8	Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MNRE), Government of Samoa (GoS)	Principal Climate Resilience Officer	Elisapeta Areta	21 <sup>st</sup> July	Office
9	Litia Sini	Owner	Lydia Sini To'omalatai	14 <sup>th</sup> July	Budget accommodation
10	Hotel Millenia	Manager	Rosaline Ah Itim	18 <sup>th</sup> July	Hotel
11	N/A	Island Resilience and Conservation Specialist - Former Secretary General at Pacific Islands Development Forum	Francois Martel	12 <sup>th</sup> October	Zoom

#### 4.5 Data collection methods

Qualitative primary data was obtained during fieldwork and is the key focus of these findings, and this thesis also includes data from secondary sources from policy reports, economic data and general reports. This was important as there is limited academic literature on the connection between tourism and climate financing.

Methods need to have credibility in qualitative studies, and a technique to achieve this is through the triangulation of more than one source to authenticate and achieve validation of the sources (O’Leary, 2017, p. 144). I achieved this through document analysis, interviews and an observational fieldwork journal.

### ***Semi-structured key informant interviews***

Semi-structured interviews with key informants were the primary data collection methods with observations adding validity through experiences and engaging in the tourism environment in Samoa. All but two of the semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed manually. Due to the lengthy time of the accommodation interviews (half a day), notes were taken instead and then written up immediately afterwards to ensure the information was accurate, and then the notes went under the same process as the interviews.

Semi-structured interviews allow for open conversation and pursuing tangents (O’Leary, 2014, p.240). It is also the method used to “produce theory rather than test it” in a natural setting (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014, p.59). Semi-structured interviews were the most suitable as my leading data collection method, because their flexible structure allowed for long conversations (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014). Because this research is exploratory, semi-structured interviews allowed me to unearth interviewees’ understandings on the day as they talked (O’Leary, 2017, p. 240). I had a set of two introduction questions and four key questions, which allowed for the interviewee to answer the questions with detail. Each interview was for one hour (excl. accommodation which was half a day). As I was interviewing key informants who all had specific roles and knowledge, I tailored the questions slightly to their expertise which offered me a new perspective and set of ideas that enhanced my findings in different, yet intertwined ways. As an interviewer, I drew on Meo-Sewabu (2014) guidance in adhering to the role of steering the conversations to the open-ended questions I had prepared, yet actively listened to stories and experiences with little interjection. All but two interviewees gave me permission to record, which allowed me to take minimal notes and sit and engage.

English was spoken fluently by all interviewees as it is the working language of the Government of Samoa, Samoa Tourism Authority and development partners. Many people were either New Zealand citizens, or had relational connections to Aotearoa, so establishing geographical connections to Aotearoa was an advantage.

***Fieldwork journal and observations***

Throughout my five weeks in Samoa, I maintained a daily fieldwork journal that kept a detailed recollection of events, experiences and observations (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014). This allowed me to have a safe place to explore and recount the experiences I was fortunate enough to be a part of, as well as my own reflections on cross-cultural living and research. This method informed my research but is not directly quoted, rather builds an overview of my understanding of Samoan culture and helps me to situate my findings in the broader context.

Furthermore, having the experience of observing daily life in Samoa and their tourism offering proved imperative to this research. It was valuable to learn how tourism operates, that at times there is often no distinction between ‘tourism’ and daily life, and general discussions around climate change impacts. Overall, the opportunity to be physically in Samoa for this research has enriched the research.

***Secondary data sources***

Secondary data sources consist of academic, and non-academic sources. Before entering the field, I commenced my academic literature review on the wider topics related to this research. This was to formulate the existing body of knowledge that was needed to enter the field and identify a research gap in the connection between climate financing and sustainable development. However, this research is exploratory, in that I partly needed underlying themes, ideas and conceptions to emerge from the research participants themselves. This meant I limited my engagement with academic literature somewhat to ensure data collection was not driven directly by my theoretical interest (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After returning from the field, my academic literature review chapters were written and finalised as a result of the themes of my research.

To curate a complete and accurate picture I also reviewed Government of Samoa sector policy plans and development partner grey literature. However, McLennan & Prinsen, (2014) express how is important to remember donor bias and the intention for producing grey literature when including secondary research. Therefore, it is important to always cross-check the information as well as research who funded the reports and the reasons behind such.

### ***Qualitative data analysis***

Thematic analysis is a “method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). It thus organises and describes data in rich detail and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). I used Braun & Clarke (2006)’s six-step approach to thematic qualitative analysis, which consisted of:

- 1) Immersion in the data through repeated reading and creation of the transcripts
- 2) Systematic coding of the data
- 3) Development of preliminary themes
- 4) Revision of the themes
- 5) Selection of a final set of themes
- 6) The organisation of the final written product around those themes.

(Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Manual and software thematic analysis was employed to analyse this research (O’Leary, 2017). All recorded interviews were first manually transcribed and cross-checked three times. When recording permission was not given in the two cases, after the interviews I recorded myself speaking, to sum up the notes and what was said, which was then transcribed. The coding of the fieldwork journal was also done manually. Steps two to five were completed using the software tool *Quirkos* which helped to visualise my codes and themes. Using both manual and computer software allowed for rigorous data analysis.

### **4.6 Summary**

This qualitative research used literature reviews, both before and after data collection to understand sustainable tourism development, climate change, climate finance, and climate resilience in their relationship with Samoa. Before the data collection took place, the fieldwork trip was carefully planned, investigated and approved. Key informants were predominately identified throughout the field research, with the scope of interviewees needing to expand to encapsulate the full picture. Once in the field, the semi-structured interviews opened up for purposeful snowballing to identify needed participants. Knowledge was also obtained through being located in Samoa and reflecting on my experiences. Grey literature was a crucial part of this study, and potential donor bias of this literature has been noted. As I returned to Aotearoa I transcribed the interviews and the thematic analysis began to explore the potential of Green

Tourism Bonds as an approach to climate financing in Samoa. The field research was conducted in Apia, Lalomanu Beach and online once returning home. The qualitative exploratory nature of this study was crucial to obtain a context-rich understanding of Samoa's sustainable tourism development and climate financing approaches and needs.

## **Chapter Five - Findings: Climate Change, Tourism, and the Climate Financing Landscape in Samoa**

The first findings chapter begins with an outline of the impacts the tourism accommodation is experiencing from climate change. Then, it establishes Samoa's current climate financing landscape at the government and tourism accommodation levels.

The second findings chapter explores the aspirations of the stakeholders interviewed for this research about how they view tourism and climate financing. Then it presents the Green Tourism Bonds model that could work in Samoa based on key-informant interviews. Finally, the barriers to operationalising this climate financing initiative in the Samoan context are presented.

### **5.1 The challenge of sustainable tourism development within climate change in Samoa**

Tourism was widely expressed as one of the only sectors that can be the driver to benefit communities economically, socially, and environmentally. Those interviewed indicated that one of the ways that tourism can benefit the majority of the population and be a main driver for sustainable development is through encouraging more visitors to the middle and lower standard accommodation in Samoa. To add to this, the STA recognise that tourism development starts with building the community awareness of the benefits that tourism can bring. The following quote captures how non-economic benefits are important to factor into what tourism brings to Samoa:

Tourism brings a lot more to the table than monetary value; it can bring change along the way. There are long-term benefits of tourism but a lot of us do not look at it that way. (Development Partner, interview July 2023).

Two examples of the broader benefits are 1) Tourism can enhance local pride. The UNDP Economist, Kordzo Sedegah, conceptualised development from the lens of dignity and pride: “The prestige and pride that comes with this [tourism] is also important, somebody might tell you pride is not development, but it is” (interview 12 July 2023). When you are proud of where you come from, you want to show people why, and people want to come and see it for themselves. My observations showed this in practice; I encountered a plethora of European and American visitors who desired to experience the culture in Samoa as they had previously

worked with Samoans in Aotearoa New Zealand and/or Australia on the RSE or Working Holiday Visa. Clearly then, culture is important in tourism:

Culture is everything. Everything human beings do is around culture. So, if I speak your language that is your culture, if I am learning from you, coming to your festival, [eating] the food you eat and it is all part of national development. (Kordzo Sedegah, Economist, UNDP, interview 12 July 2023).

And 2) Tourism can also enhance local wellbeing. This understanding of tourism was also expressed through having tourist attractions accessible to local communities. For example, trails such as Mount Vaea (Figure 5.1 and 5.2)<sup>37</sup> and Mount Silisili contribute to development through wellbeing as “it is therapeutic for your own people where they can go and refresh their minds. [Also] infrastructure is very important for national development” (Development Partner, interview July 2023).



**Figure 5:2** *Mount Vaea trail, Apia.*



**Figure 5:1** *The view at top of Mount Vaea, Apia.*

---

<sup>37</sup> All photographs used in this thesis were taken by the author during the fieldwork in Samoa, June and July 2023.

***Tourism as a 'double-edged sword'***

The GoS, according to this research, are starting also to look at ways to increase access to sites and diversify through eco-tourism practices for locals to access. For example, the STA discussed how they are working with divisions in the MNRE to improve infrastructure by having trails exclusively for hikers. In turn, this will help with climate change adaptations by preserving the environment (such as the trees which absorb carbon) and improving the tourism product offering that allows for greater community involvement and use of infrastructure for development<sup>38</sup>. However, the environmental toll from humans was mentioned as needing to be considered in the future as when there is high accessibility to these sites, Samoan people will relocate there to take advantage of economic opportunities, which will create environmental issues around deforestation. For example, locals have requested to have greater access to certain sites, but the GoS has not allowed this as “if we provide access there then people will go and cut down the trees and move there. So, we would be affecting our ways to try and mitigate and for our mitigation issues” (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023). This is interesting because for tourism to contribute to sustainable development, it must uphold responsibility to the community needs, and environment preservation, as well as acknowledge the development that tourism brings into Samoa. This shows reflection on the fact that tourism is a ‘double-edged sword’ in regard to climate change.

It was found that tourism currently contributes sustainable tourism development in certain ways. The STA believes that there is a real opportunity to improve both the share of benefits to Samoans and sustainable growth of the sector with good policy, and they aspire for this to be realised in application. The damage and toll that the tourism industry has on Samoa is currently not measurable. Before COVID-19 tourism, growth was viewed through increasing visitor numbers with one key informant expressing how from a macro level they do not have policy nor the tools to inform how they intend to develop tourism. This was stressed internally by the informants from the STA; they expressed how they are finding that there is no real tool, guideline, or substantial research into measuring the impacts of tourism on the environment. Furthermore, the buzzword ‘sustainable tourism’ means different things and looks completely different for every country in the Pacific, which makes it challenging to implement sustainable measures from a policy perspective.

---

<sup>38</sup> Greater community involvement was discussed through locals running more tours to new attractions.

Furthermore, how to balance the growth of the tourism sector after COVID-19 to ensure it does not negatively impact Samoa was expressed as crucial in ensuring the continuance of sustainable tourism development in light of climate change. Sustainable tourism development was discussed with relation to the international borders in Samoa reopening. The 2023 tourism season experienced visitor numbers that were much higher than predicted:

We forecasted that it is going to take about five years to go back to pre-COVID-19 numbers, but we won't be surprised if we get back to those numbers in the next year. So instead of 5 years, we are looking at two. (Kitionia Pogi, Research and Statistics Manager, STA, interview 07 July 2023).

This meant that Samoa's resources were stretched for the first time in years, with rental cars being near impossible to secure, fully booked deluxe and superior accommodation, and was welcomed by accommodation owners who had not received income from visitors in 2.5 years<sup>39</sup>. However, concern from the STA was expressed about how this increase was going to be sustainably managed. One key informant expressed that this influx of visitor numbers is from the demand of people wanting to travel and events in Samoa occurring for the first time since COVID-19, therefore: "it is too early to tell if this is relatively the new normal that the tourism sector in Samoa is likely to experience, or if it will settle down and dip, and then how low does this dip go?" (Development Partner, interview July 2023). When visitor numbers increase so does the need to grow the tourism sector such as through training employees, having more sights, restaurant availability, and other services. This further extends to an increase in pressure for other sectors such as agriculture with a greater demand for traditional Samoan food as well as being able to manage the toll on the environment that the industry and increase of visitors takes.

This research highlighted how these discussions are starting to translate into policy, increase in awareness, governmental action and, the imparting of knowledge from developmental partners. The STA recently signed up to the Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO) Sustainable Tourism Framework and have incorporated this into their 2022/23-2026/27 Tourism Sector Policy Plan. The STA believes that this is a step in the right direction as they now have guidelines and frameworks that they can curate to be specific to the Samoan tourism sector. Furthermore, there is a strong desire to incorporate new tools within the Samoa tourism sector that will help measure sustainable tourism development policies. The STA in the interviews

---

<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, one key informant discussed how without income from their business, they were able to survive as they grew their own food and traded with others.

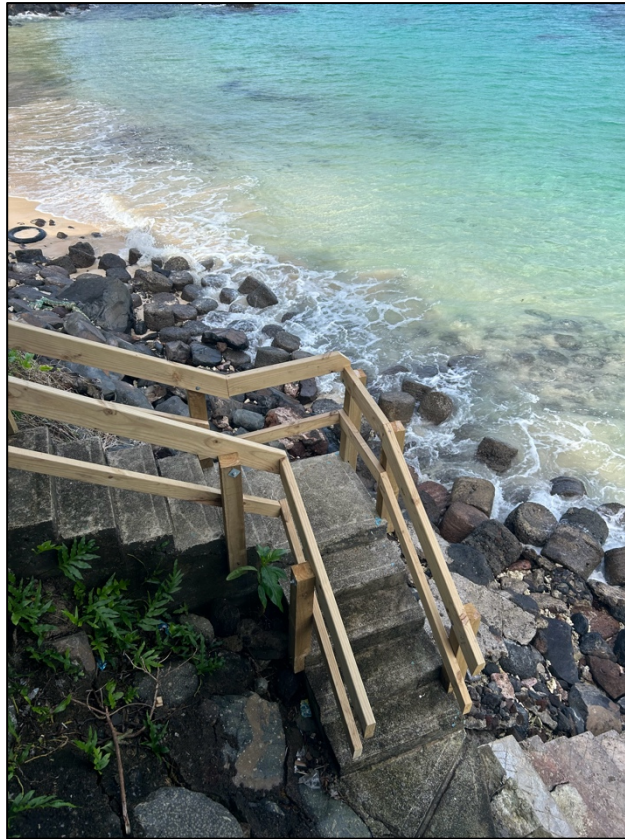
and in their policy plan expressed interest in developing a Tourism Satellite Account<sup>40</sup>, which will allow for greater incorporation of sustainability into their tourism policies and measurements. They also are currently looking into the waste that tourism produces, how many resources are being used and the capacity of the tourism sector in Samoa: “Basically looking at finding the optimum level or carrying capacity of the destination based on the resources and infrastructure” (Kitionia Pogi, Research and Statistics Manager, STA, interview 07 July 2023). As key informants emphasized, to have a goal to increase visitor numbers is not an incorrect statistical measure; rather, it should be accompanied by policy and measures that inform optimal visitor levels, how this can benefit communities sustainably, and inform the wider sector of sustainable practices.

## **5.2 Climate change and tourism accommodation in Samoa**

Climate change, through its environmental and livelihood impacts, affects everyone in the tourism accommodation industry in Samoa; from locally-owned beach fale’s to foreign-owned resorts and everything else in between. The majority of the accommodation offered in Samoa is located on the beachfront, and regardless of their level of standard, all are being affected and need to respond to the climate change impacts. If not, becoming obsolete was seen by owners as a real threat. Because of their vulnerabilities to climate change they are the part of the tourism sector that is predominately explored in this section, with their leading challenges discussed below. Key informants commonly recounted the increase in frequency and intensity of king tides from climate change with the impact this had on the tourism properties, which often need immediate response to repair damage. One of the case studies noted how the recent king tide and the surge following broke their staircase; their main access point for snorkelling. The self-repaired staircase shown in Figure 5.3.

---

<sup>40</sup> The Tourism Satellite Account is the international standard for tourism statistics and measures tourism in macro and micro detail and in relation to other sectors (UN, 2010). However, to implement this requires substantial funding and continuous use of resources and training.



*Figure 5:3* Repaired staircase in Samoa that was broken from a king tide.

It was expressed in all interviews that properties on the coast are now experiencing sand erosion and sea level rise. Concerns were further voiced around the big Island of Savai'i's main tourism stretch of Manase where a beach fale accommodations had they had manually built up the sand higher than the beach to protect themselves from sand erosion and sea level rise (Figure 5.5)

and on Upolu's south coast, where another accommodation had they had constructed a 'seawall'<sup>41</sup> to decrease the damage on their accommodations (Figure 5.4).



**Figure 5:5** Self-constructed sea wall in Upolu.



**Figure 5:4** Manase beach showing where they have manually built up the sand.

The impacts of climate change also extend to energy costs. As an Island whose temperature is noticeably increasing from climate change<sup>42</sup>, so are the operating costs of running a tourism business such as high electricity bills from increased use of air conditioning. This was the leading complaint in all tourist accommodation in Samoa, regardless of where the tourist accommodation is located<sup>43</sup>, in town or on the coast. Together all these challenges are contributing to the availability of rooms on the Islands.

Because of the climate change impacts, there were many concerns expressed about how the tourism product might need to change to ensure its future. An example are their beach fales, Samoa prides itself on their beach fales because they are unique to their country and have value

<sup>41</sup> They constructed their seawall using handmade concrete blocks placed together. Even though it is minimising the impact, it is only a short-term solution and they discussed that it needs a professional upgrade.

<sup>42</sup> Samoa's average temperature have increased since 1950, with the maximum temperature increasing at 0.22°C per decade (PCCSP, 2011).

<sup>43</sup> This information was gathered from NZ MFAT as an overview and not from individual tourism accommodations.

from a visitor perspective. Beach fale are used by visitors and locals alike as a base for day and overnight trips to the beach and are usually owned by local 'aiga (families) or communities. Concern for what the future looks like for beach fale was expressed, as they are in danger of becoming obsolete as their location is meters from the sea (Figure 5.6) and the increase in king tides, sea level rise and coastal erosion:

They can move, but it will not be the same experience, I mean they are probably going to have to move to the other side of the road [inland] and then it won't give you that intimate experience that we are used to. (Kitionia Pogi, Research and Statistics Manager, STA, interview 07 July 2023).



*Figure 5:6 Samoan beach fale located on the ocean's edge.*

Comments during interviews reflected on other tourism practices that can exacerbate the environmental damage that climate change has already caused. This was reported to have impacts on the environment, and affect tourism product and offerings. For example, sand mining was reported as being relatively common practice in Samoa. It is the extraction of sand

from beaches for the construction of roads and infrastructure. This causes challenges to tourism in Samoa as beaches are becoming smaller and changing in appearance. This increases the risk and intensity of sand erosion, which is already occurring due to the sea level rise from climate change. A connection was mentioned in terms of lack of awareness; with both tourism operators and communities sometimes not understanding that some of their actions are contributing to the impacts of climate change being felt quicker.

Tourism in this research was understood as being a complex phenomenon in which both sustainable and unsustainable practices can co-exist. The tourism industry simultaneously suffers substantially from climate change as well as taking an environmental toll on Samoa's environment, such as through emissions from flights to and from Samoa, resulting in increased pressure on resources which can exacerbate climate change impacts.

### *Climate change adaptations of tourism accommodations*

A range of key informants saw change in the tourism accommodation industry as necessary to lessen the impacts of climate change. This was shown to occur through adapting both through a change of mindset and physically such as through infrastructure.

Every sector and everyone must be able to adapt to these changes, but adapting to the changes also requires a change of mindset and change of behaviour. People need to really understand what these changes mean to their day-to-day lives and their livelihoods and that includes tourism as well. (Filomena Nelson, Climate Change Adaptation Advisor, SPREP, interview 13 July 2023).

Infrastructure adaptation and mitigation for tourism accommodation were discussed in a few different ways: Those interviewed from the Government of Samoa and their development partners indicated that an option is building back further from the beach. This is because accommodation located on the coastline has a real threat of becoming obsolete due to the impacts discussed above. Key informants from STA mentioned that the forced relocation inland is the leading issue for accommodation owners as it could damage the tourism product both in visitor expectation and the number of operators as many are already looking at leaving the tourism industry altogether because they cannot afford to relocate. The key informants from STA expressed how they are creating awareness through discussions with communities and operators that they will eventually have to relocate further inland if they want to continue operating in accommodation. The common theme was how it is about accepting that climate

change is, unfortunately, here to stay and the beach-front property will likely look very different in the next 10 years.

The owner and manager of Litia Sini Beach Resort indicated several times that their ‘development’ of their accommodation is not intended to change their ambience, but rather to improve on their current offerings and rebuild damaged infrastructure such as fixing their sea wall shown in Figure 5.5 above. They suggested the reasons for this was because their guests come to them for the current atmosphere, such as their beachfront location and standard of offerings, and they do not want to change this.

A common theme was that future changes in tourism accommodation need to be in the hands of tourism operators as well as embedded within long-term climate change solutions. Together, these changes were reported as ensuring the longevity of the tourism product and businesses whilst protecting the environment and minimising the climate change impacts:

What we are trying to push now is that eventually, they will have to move [tourism accommodations] further inland. I guess in terms of how they adapt – it is about diversifying their product and accepting that climate change is around to stay and you are not going to be able to keep your accommodation there for the next 10 years. (Robert Ah Sam, Development and Planning Manager, STA, interview 07 July 2023).

In addition to climate change, the tourism sector in Samoa over the last five years has experienced other significant events and disasters that have severely impacted the sector. In the interview with the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (NZ MFAT) they pointed out that tourism in Samoa is both a recipient and outcome of the resources available on the Island; it is a visual representation of the resources available in Samoa and how it showcases itself to the world, which all depends on how well its supporting sectors can help achieve this, such as local food suppliers. The tourism industry has been in a continuous recovery cycle since the 2009 Tsunami and, more recently the 2019 Measles Epidemic, COVID-19 pandemic, and having a decreased labour pool as people temporarily migrate for the NZ and Australian seasonal employer schemes. These challenges are further combined with the immediate disaster responses<sup>44</sup> from king tides, increase in cyclones, unexpected downpours and, the slow-burning impacts of climate change such as sea level rise and sand

---

<sup>44</sup> While disaster preparation and recovery is key aspect of Samoa’s climate change plans, it is out of scope of this research.

erosion (Table 5.1). As a collective, these affect the resources available to the tourism sector and the end product that is shown to the world. Therefore, the STA, tourism industry, development partners and the government are in a balancing act of economic, livelihood and disaster recovery whilst simultaneously planning for future adaptation and mitigation that will need to occur to ensure tourism remains a leading contributor to sustainable development and the Samoan economy.

**Table 5-1** *Climate change impacts that are affecting tourism accommodations' in Samoa, from interviews.*

<b>Environmental Impact</b>	<b>Threat</b>	<b>Currently doing</b>	<b>Adaptation or Mitigation? (UNDP definitions on p.14)</b>
Frequency and intensity of king tides	Immediate damage to infrastructure	Repairing once damaged	Adaptation, if building back stronger
Sea level rise and erosion	Properties and infrastructure becoming obsolete	Manually building up sand and sea walls, relocating back from ocean (future)	Adaptation
Increase in temperature	Increase in electricity bills from air conditioning	Paying the bills themselves, move to solar power (future)	Mitigation
Increase in cyclones and natural disasters	Flooding, immediate damage to infrastructure, destroying food crops	creating awareness campaigns, repairing once damaged	Adaptation

### **5.3 Climate financing in Samoa**

The Government of Samoa are actively involved with specific roles and sectors in ministries dedicated to climate financing. T they are involved with the wider Pacific region through: the Green Climate Fund (GCF), the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP), the Global Environment Facility (GEF), and nationally via Community Integrated Management plans and past tourism climate financing. During this research, there were discussions about Samoa introducing their Climate Change Bill with amendments from the original draft in 2017 for a climate financing section. Climate financing as a mechanism for protection was expressed in many sector plans such as the 2030 Climate Change Policy, and Tourism Sector Policy.

The development partners<sup>45</sup> interviewed conveyed how Samoa is beginning to utilise climate financing and see it in its future:

Climate financing, I think is something that the country needs to embrace and see how they can leverage on that climate finance for a green economy (Kordzo Sedegah, Economist, UNDP, interview 12 July 2023).

They need to look at climate finance and see what to do with it. (Development Partner, interview, July 2023).

Furthermore, the development partners indicated that they are actively involved in ensuring that the GoS's capacity is enhanced to facilitate access to funding so that effective climate change projects can be delivered:

You just don't borrow because you want to finance for a budget deficit. You just don't borrow because you think that you need revenue, no. You borrow for a project. And then you implement that project. Which supports climate resilience, and support climate recovery. I think one thing we need to do is to build the capacity of states in climate financing. (Development Partner, interview July 2023).

Key informants who had an expertise in climate financing indicated that there are so many options with climate financing, as it is purposeful finance that incorporates all sectors and stakeholders in Samoa, including the private sector and tourism.

When interviewing government officials, they made comments about how climate financing is in their sector plans and projects, and that they are actively engaging in the regional and international community trying to receive finance for their climate change needs. Yet they are often met with a plethora of challenges in securing, accessing, and implementing the finance for their plans. To investigate this, the next section outlines the climate financing process at the government level and the challenges that were faced.

### ***Climate financing process at the Government of Samoa level***

Samoa is recognised as a middle-income country by the United Nations; however, it is still a 'Small Island Developing State' (SIDS) because of its vulnerability to climate change, natural disasters and its ability to recover from such. Therefore, their climate financing resources are mainly obtained externally through multilateral and bilateral partners from regional and

---

<sup>45</sup> 'Development partners' is the descriptor used in this research to ensure neutrality among the key informants interviewed that were not from the GoS.

international sources. This means that their climate financing process involves a lot of communication with external agencies.

Two ministries who play key roles in the internal and external process are:

- 1) The Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MNRE), which are the focal point for climate change in Samoa and needs financial resources to implement their projects and activities as well as to help facilitate projects for other ministries and sectors.
- 2) The Ministry of Finance (MoF), where the monetary value of approved climate financing for projects is held.

For the MoF to hold funding, the MNRE first have direct contact with donors as they prepare the proposals and apply and secure the funds to enable projects and activities. They are responsible for sending the invoice to the donor, who will then transfer the funds to the MoF who will distribute the funds back to the MNRE and other ministries. Figure 5.7<sup>46</sup> outlines this below.

However, the actual climate financing process involves relationships with multiple donors to enable projects and plans. Where the MNRE is in charge of this with multiple donors, and the MoF receives the invoice for these projects. This shows that as the amount of donors increases, so does the complexity of managing these relationships. Figure 5.8 shows how this was expressed in interviews.

The other ministries in the GoS also require climate financing for their projects. Still led by the MNRE with multiple donors, Figure 5.9 is this researcher's understanding of Samoa's climate financing process as it combines all relevant stakeholders. This shows that the MNRE and MoF have critical roles to play on both securing fundings and then implementing the projects, their own as well as other ministries.

---

<sup>46</sup> The colour schemes of the Figures 5.7-5.9 have been chosen specifically to represent: overall GoS as dark blue, all internal ministries and red, the funding pool as light blue, donors as light green, and grey for government projects.

Figure 5:7 Basic diagram of the climate financing process in Samoa (Source: Author).

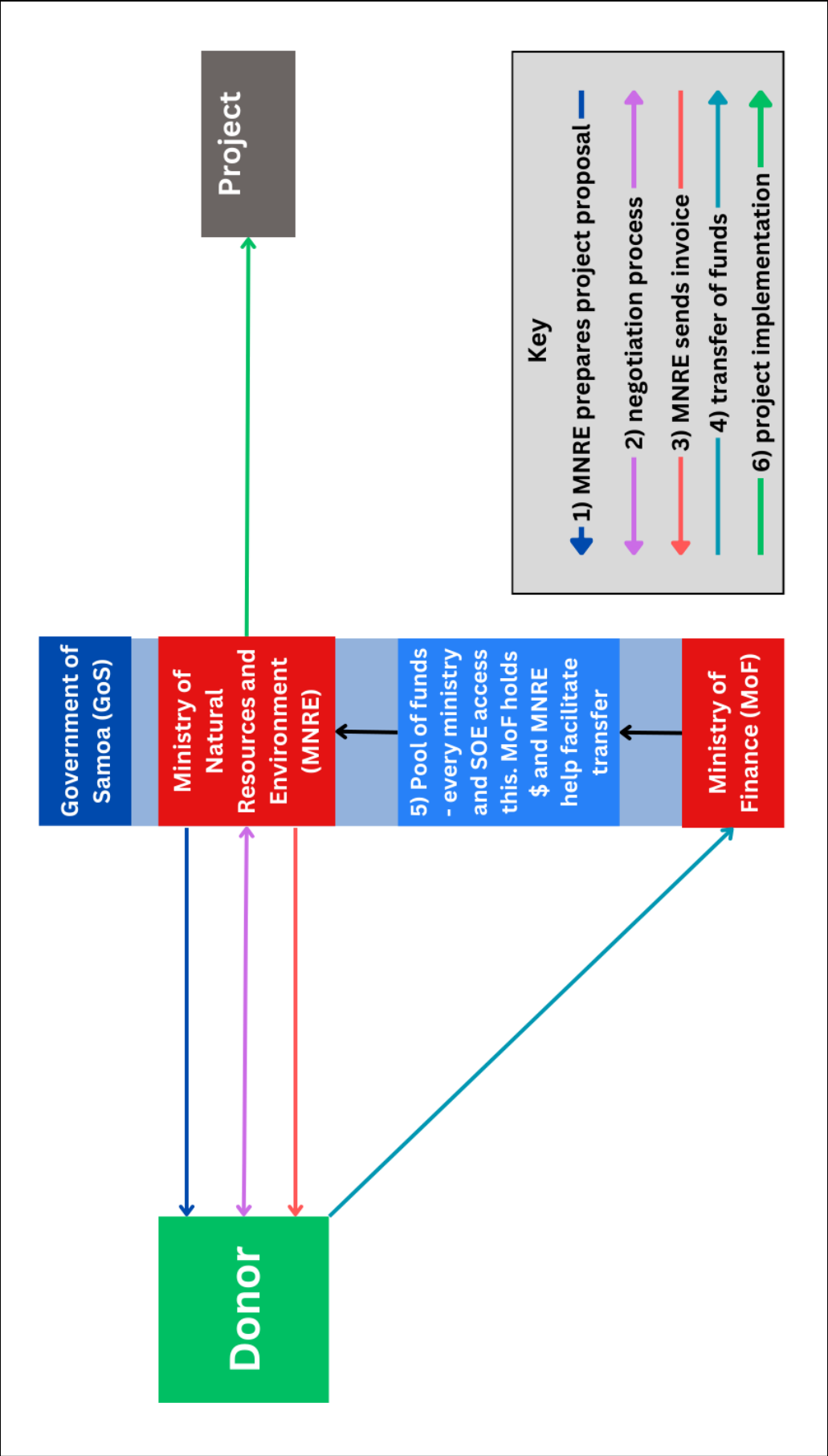


Figure 5:8 Diagram of development donors in the climate financing process (Source: Author).

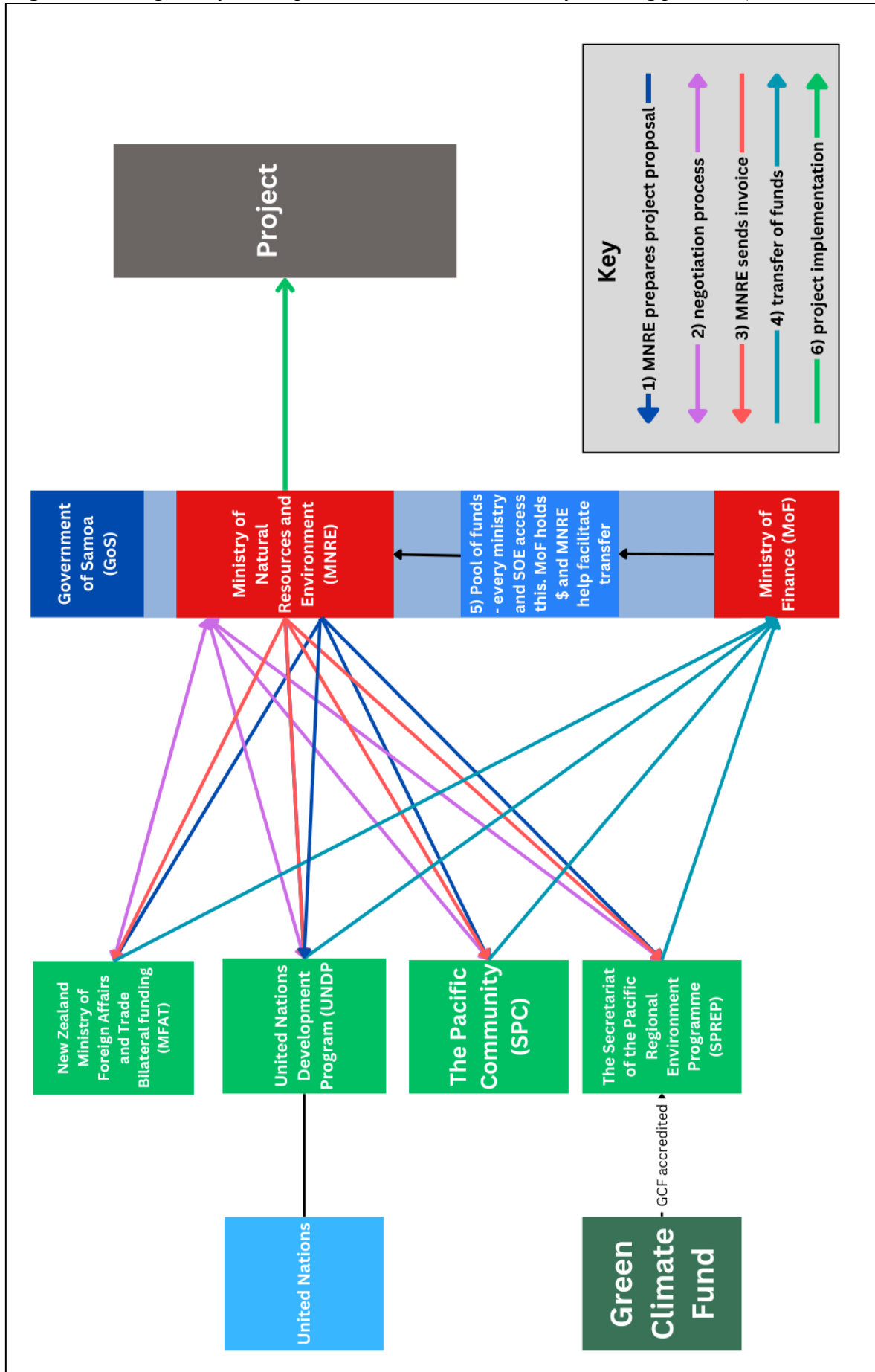
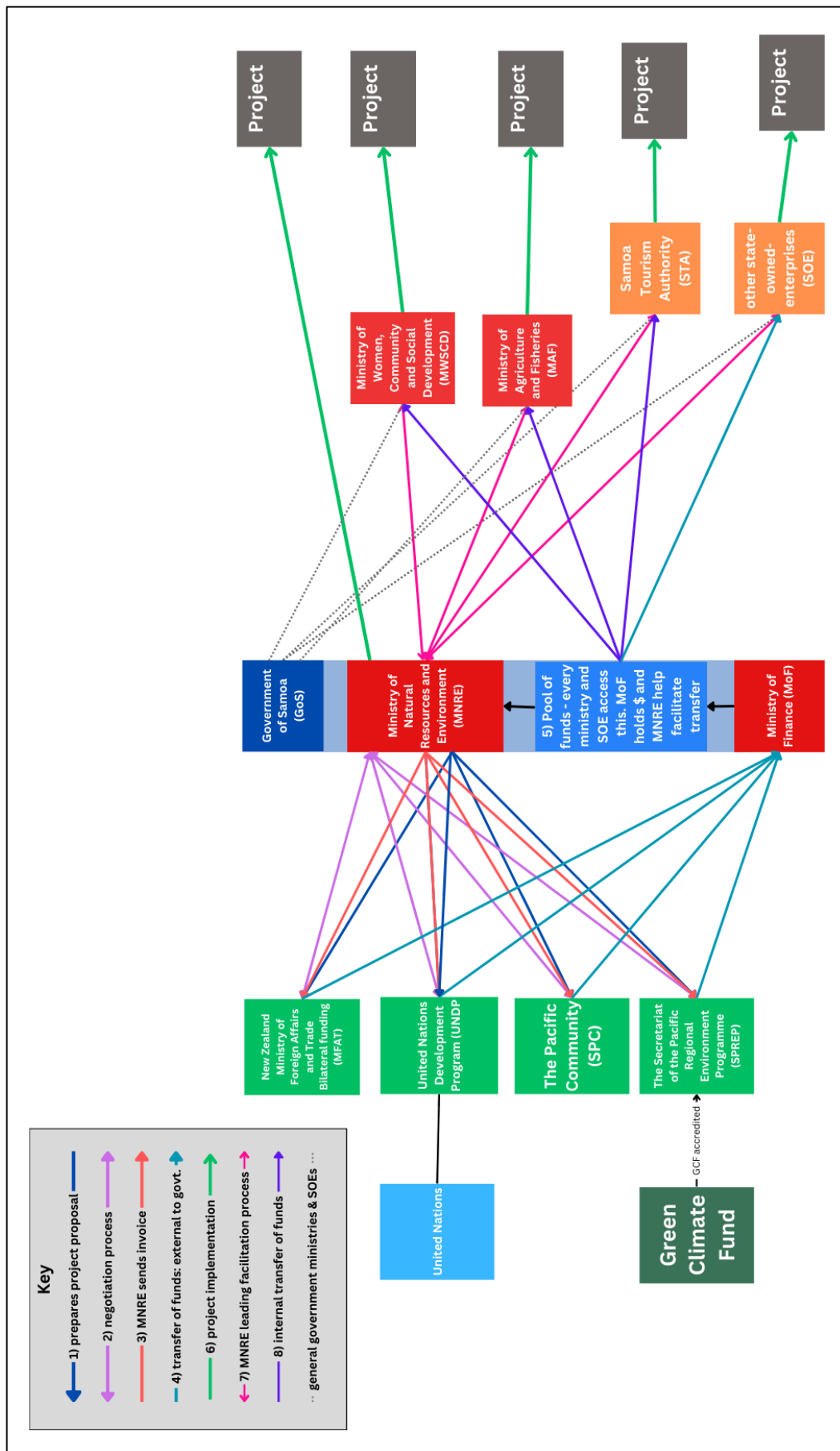


Figure 5:9 Diagram showing complete climate financing process (Source: Author).



### ***Government of Samoa's access to climate financing***

During this research, the 'newness' of climate financing in Samoa was expressed both implicitly and explicitly in interviews. As a consequence, the process itself was shown to have 'teething' issues with capacity and resources unable to meet the demand for projects and needs in-country. The capacity and accessibility of climate financing is an extremely complex issue because climate financing as a form of aid is also relatively new and is constantly changing.

Interestingly, data saturation was reached relatively early on in data collection; I had engaged with all those who were available in-country in the interest areas and was being referred to people I had already interviewed. This suggested that there were limited practitioners and experts in climate financing in Samoa.

Limited or no access to climate financing was discussed in all interviews as being the leading barrier for the GoS to implement their activities and projects for climate change adaptation and mitigation. This is articulated in the following statements:

One of the challenges is accessibility to financing, if you talk about climate finance, it is not as easy as that. It is how we can access this pool of funds and it is so hard; it can take us up to a year to access those funds. (Government Official, interview July 2023).

Before they [GoS] even assess the impact [of climate change] on [their] culture and environment, just access to financing is 10x more difficult. (Development Partner Official, interview July 2023).

It all comes down to financing. We have this list of work plans and ideas and implementation, but it is just a matter of financing that we struggle with. (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023).

Struggles in accessing climate financing were seen as an outcome of internal capacity constraints within the GoS, and the overly complex process. The GoS respondents expressed how they have limited resources (incl. time and specialised staff) when it comes to applying for funding, adapting to changes in external approaches, and implementing the projects. There is a direct flow-on effect to achieving their projects and sector plans. When the government cannot access the level of funding and financing needed, it limits the extent and in what way they can assist the private sector and communities as their level of assistance is dependent on how much financing they can obtain from donors and development partners externally.

Furthermore, it was also expressed how external processes hinder accessibility and thus capacity. A way to explore the complexity of the accessibility and capacity is with SPREP and the GCF. SPREP is one of Samoa's regional multilateral donors; they are the regional implementing and executing agency for the GCF in the wider Pacific region with 21 Island member countries and territories. This means they can access the highest amount of funding in the region, which is up to USD 250 million for medium-sized projects (SPREP, 2020). Other accredited agencies in the Pacific are:

- 1) The Pacific Community (SPC), up to USD 50 million, (GCF, 2019)
- 2) Cook Islands MoF, up to USD 50 million, (GCF, 2018) and,
- 3) Fiji Development Bank, up to USD 10 million (GCF, 2017).

SPREP is currently the only regional organisation accredited under the GCF process that can provide climate financing and funding to Samoa. SPREP conveyed that these financial limitations on other actors regionally and the lack of accredited organisations in Samoa can place pressure on them. According to a key informant being one of the leading actors that is accredited involves significant work output, SPREP needs to put substantial investment into resources to ensure that the technical capacity is available to conduct pre-feasibility projects, cost-benefit analysis of options and other tools they need. Key informants also expressed how the GoS has access to other GCF-accredited agencies internationally, but that their processes are extremely difficult. Furthermore, the GCF accreditation through SPREP has the highest accessibility in the region, but their accreditation is for lower-risk projects compared to the multilateral development banks in the global sphere. This is interesting because it opens up the questions as to why the region that is painted as the most vulnerable to climate change, still does not have a highly accredited and easily accessible GCF process for any fund.

Even though SPREP is greatly involved in Samoa's climate finance, Samoa itself does not have an exclusive in-country accredited organisation and "access for small Island countries such as the Pacific is still very difficult" (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023). During this research, the Development Bank of Samoa (DBS) were in the process of becoming Samoa's first country-specific accredited organisation, which was indicated to potentially ease the capacity strain on SPREP and increase the financing available within Samoa. But this will not be achieved in the short-term as there are a lot of policy instruments that need to be put in place to support climate financing, as well as invest in resources through people to manage that, which is a challenge when capacity is already limited.

To accommodate the financial resources that the GCF provide for climate change projects, the GoS have developed new policies and sector plans to meet the GCF criteria. There was also recognition of how the GCF is still developing, with reports of regular changes to templates and processes. This leads to accessibility issues and constraints because the smaller countries do not have the people to dedicate their time to all these changes: “We are trying to make sure that these issues are seen by the multilateral funds as well, that the modalities established are not suitable for small Island states in the Pacific” (Development Partner, interview July 2023).

Another issue reported was how the current climate financing government process is ‘frustrating’, even though the process itself cannot change because it is mandated by the government: “It has been a headache process, but we are trying to adapt” (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023). External partners concurred that there were issues with the process, including a lack of coordination: “The climate change agenda in Samoa is not well coordinated, it is rather disjointed between the MoF and MNRE and other actors within the agenda, they don’t coordinate very well” (Development Partner, interview July 2023).

As a collective, the above factors lead to an increase in competition between ministries in accessing financing once it is with the MoF as there is not enough funding for all their projects: “The fund sits with MoF then we access it – but when it comes we run to the front of the line [in order to beat others to secure funding for projects]” (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023).

### ***External timeframes of climate finance and projects***

When the capacity of organisations to implement climate financing for projects was discussed, it was accompanied by examples of external challenges as to why finance and then results are often difficult to obtain. One of the most referred to challenges was that the processes, funding, and reporting done at the international multilateral level through their regional development partners did not often take into account on-the-ground action timelines and local key reporting deadlines. The consequences of this were that it impacts the results and hinders community implementation that the project on the ground can achieve.

A direct example of this is a project that the Government of Samoa are currently involved in; at the date of the interview (July 2023) they had completed the required documents and were

awaiting the funds to be transferred. However, the key performance indicators (KPIs) and project reports are expected to be completed when the fund expires in January 2024, even when they had still not received the funding to implement this project: “We are trying so hard, but we still have not signed the agreements, but they said the deadline is still Jan 2024” (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023). The fund is accessed through their development partner, but even they, a regional multilateral organisation, do not have a say in the deadline as they receive their funding via their own international partners. Because of this, there was not able to be any extension of the deadline, even if the results are not what is expected. Emphasis was placed on this as one of the key barriers to implementing climate finance, as now they must work quickly to expedite the project, which could affect their achieved community results.

Government officials further reported how it can take up to a year for a response to their proposals from development partners. This impacts their internal KPIs and work plans as they are required to complete a set number of projects by the end of their financial year (e.g. July 2024). They are struggling to meet the deadline of the fund as they are unable to execute long-term projects without the financing: “That is also a constraint for smaller countries that do not have a lot of people to dedicate the time” (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023). Time is a capacity issue for the government both internally through lack of resources as well as externally through short timeframes for projects from supranational donors outside the region.

The environment of climate financing is still developing within small Island states like Samoa as well as globally. Because of this, key informants reported how it can be difficult to separate the long-term challenges from the short-term ‘teething issues’ that can be resolved. However, it is presented in this research that the capacity to access financing at the government level needs to be addressed so they can implement projects and initiatives in communities as well as encourage private investment.

#### **5.4 Climate financing for tourism in Samoa**

Section 5.2 explored how climate change has impacted everyone involved in tourism accommodation in Samoa, with one of the leading themes that emerged was accessibility issues in securing climate financing:

Operators are finding it a pretty hard time when there is talk of millions and millions of aid money tied to climate change, but tourism operators – which the

majority of them are the most affected, are finding it really hard to access those funds. (Kitonia Pogi, Manager Research and Statistics, STA, interview 07 July 2023).

It appears that the foreign-owned and top-level resorts have greater access to capital for climate change adaptations compared to the middle band of properties<sup>47</sup>. Because of this, there is a greater reliance on initiatives driven by the GoS and STA to help locally-owned tourism accommodations adapt and mitigate climate change. This suggests a gap in who can obtain access to finance to adapt and mitigate to climate change so they can continue their business into the future:

So that is where we are trying to assist them [the tourism accommodations operators] because most of our tourism operators lie across the coastal areas. We are trying to build resilient infrastructure to assist them because there is no point investing in the five-star hotel, but we cannot stop the impacts of climate change coming through sea level rise and other activities. (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023).

However, the financial support that the GoS can mobilise and direct towards the tourism sector depends on their access to climate financing as “it all depends on how much finance we have to assist the private sector” (Official, Government of Samoa, interview July 2023). At the time of this research, there were no climate financing initiatives in Samoa that were directed towards the tourism industry. A reason for this could be that development partners have earmarked their funds towards economic recovery rather than long-term climate change projects.

General private financing<sup>48</sup> in Samoa has other streams of access available to utilise financing for climate repairs, relocations, and other adaptations. However, there were also challenges and limitations, which further point to the need for a climate financing mechanism for the tourism sector. Below are the five different options private financing and the challenges identified in Samoa from the interviews.

---

<sup>47</sup> As I was unable to directly interview the resorts, this data was gathered from interviews with development partners, accommodation owners and the GoS. This has been recognised as a potential limitation as data was retrieved from indirect sources in other interviews.

<sup>48</sup> General financing refers to general financial aid and/or capital to either start a business, renovate/upgrade and improve the services that they provide in the sector.

Firstly, obtaining financing was most commonly expressed through loans via the Development Bank of Samoa (DBS) and/or commercial banks<sup>49</sup>. The DBS is a major resource provider in the country for development through low-interest loans and advisory assistance for small and medium businesses. Their investment portfolio is made up of 60% tourism loans, as well as regular contributions to other sectors such as agriculture, aquaculture and small businesses like general stores. Loans can also be accessed through commercial banks and occasionally the Government of Samoa via development partners. A key challenge is that interest rates have risen internationally, and Samoa is no exception to this. Commercial interest rates fluctuate between 10-15% p.a., and DBS offers a lending rate of 8%. Key informants interviewed expressed how the high cost of financing has led to loans becoming more inaccessible and is a barrier to growing the tourism sector and recovery. Comments also were made during interviews about how under the current economic situation financial institutions are reluctant to supply loans to the tourism sector as they are still monitoring the recovery from COVID-19 and the measles outbreak. As a result, tourism loans were often defaulted due to insufficient collateral. Now banks are hesitant to approve private loans as the tourism sector is viewed as risky.

Secondly, Samoa has a Civil Society Support Program, which facilitates a working relationship between Samoa's financial institutions (e.g. MoF), the NGOs and the private sector. The Civil Society Support Program in Samoa provides small grants to civil society organisations to improve their skills and implement sustainable projects that are aligned with the GoS development agenda, their Samoa 2040 Policy, Development Pathway, and Climate Change policy. This is how Samoan NGOs access funds from the government, and some of the tourism operators also have access to this funding.

Thirdly, financing through returning visitors: one of the case studies expressed how their relationships with returning visitors have encouraged them to continue to be resilient during the challenges over the last few years. According to the case study these relationships hold a give-and-take component in that they see each other like family, and families help each other out. They explained that there have been families who continue to provide resources to them to help with repairs as well as an architect who at no cost assisted with their drawings and

---

<sup>49</sup> During my fieldwork in Samoa, I was fortunate to interview the Development Bank of Samoa. However, I was unable to secure interviews with the commercial banks in Samoa. This has been recognised as a potential limitation as data for this was retrieved from indirect sources in other interviews.

rebuild after the 2009 Tsunami. This source of ‘funding’ was interesting because it is both a means of accessing/providing resources for mitigation and adaptation to climate change as well as disaster recovery<sup>50</sup>. This connection represents an important aspect of the unique relationship that is formed at this level of accommodation; this drives access to funding/resources, leads to resilience, and is why relationships continue to be so valuable to the overall tourism product in Samoa.

Fourthly, the GCF has an option for the private sector<sup>51</sup> which is predominately around providing low-interest loans. However, according to key informants, even though private modalities exist, the businesses in Samoa are predominantly small and medium and are unable to access these kinds of options as the fund is typically for large companies.

Fifthly, over the last few years, the STA informants noted that they have been involved in climate financing adaptation projects. They provided accommodation operators with access to financing through a small contestable grant program that focused on adaptation projects that attempted to increase the resilience of tourism-reliant properties and communities. However, as they looked back at the implementation of these projects they expressed that they did things differently to how they would do them now. For example, they noted that previous projects focused on short-term resolutions of accommodations to make buildings more resilient to withstand climate change and natural disasters. However, they discovered that short-term singular adaptations only hide the climate change impacts for the accommodation and push the climate change impacts further down to other accommodations, so whilst the project was on paper achieving results for the selected accommodation, long-term community resilience was not successful. There were comments made about how the new infrastructure designed by an external engineer did not complement the tourism product and as a result there was a decrease in visitors. Implementation thus revealed that projects need to: incorporate a whole village approach, complement the location, align with tourism outcomes, and have a long-term outlook. Otherwise, this could lead to a decrease in community resilience. These lessons, according to the STA, are foundational for any future climate financing projects: “Lots of lessons learnt and now all we need is financing and a fund” (Kitionia Pogi, Research and Statistics Manager, STA, interview 07 July 2023).

---

<sup>50</sup> Disaster recovery is a crucial aspect of Samoa’s climate change strategy and policy and needs to be recognised as such. However, it is out of the scope of this research.

<sup>51</sup> See ‘Private Sector Strategy’ (GCF, 2022a).

These experiences continue to portray that accessibility to financing is the main barrier to climate change adaptations, however, what also comes after this barrier is removed is just as important, as the projects need to be incorporated into the current Samoan tourism product. Findings suggest that the tourism sector has a shortage of climate financing options suited to their needs and available to them. The STA expressed that their leading aspiration is to have climate financing directly accessible to the locally-owned tourism accommodation operators.

### **5.5 Summary**

The first findings chapter provides the primary evidence for the climate financing landscape for both the GoS and the tourism accommodation in Samoa. Tourism accommodations in Samoa are located on the beachfront, and are severely impacted by climate change and have or will need to respond to adapt. However, there are currently no climate financing mechanisms that they can use to do so and are then required to absorb the cost of adapting into normal business practice, yet even these streams of finance we found to be largely inaccessible too. For the tourism sector to access funds through the GoS, the government themselves need to access financing through the external process. This chapter showed the process of obtaining funds and the challenges the GoS experience led to how the tourism sector can access funds for their own adaptation. This chapter ends with looking at the intangible benefits that tourism provides for Samoa and how tourism growth in the wake of COVID-19 recovery is being regulated. Finally, sustainable tourism development policy in post-COVID-19 is explored and how they are incorporating the SPTO Sustainable Framework to help with the new conceptualisation of sustainable tourism development.

## **Chapter Six - Findings: Climate Financing Model that could suit Tourism Accommodation in Samoa**

The aim of this chapter is to present the research findings on the climate financing initiative that could suit Samoa's tourism accommodation. To do so, the first section explores the aspirations of the groups involved in this research, the second section presents the Green Tourism Bonds model and justifications based on these, and the final section investigates the barriers to operationalising the climate financing initiative, that is Green Tourism Bonds in Samoa.

### **6.1 Key informants' aspirations for Samoa's climate financing and tourism sectors**

This section lays out the range of aspirations of those interviewed from the Samoa Tourism Authority (STA), Government of Samoa (GoS) and tourism accommodation operators regarding how they desire to see climate financing and the tourism sector develop over the next few years. The GoS ministries interviewed were the Ministry of Finance (MoF) and Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MNRE) whose expertise lies within climate change, climate resilience and finance. The development partners interviewed in Samoa then enriched these findings by adding their perspectives on suitable climate financing mechanisms. The aspirations represent the direction of where the key informants aspire to see development from tourism and climate change/financing in Samoa as a whole and are the foundation and reasonings for the creation and design of Green Tourism Bonds.

#### ***Aspiration One***

*Have a form of climate financing that addresses the climate change needs and challenges in accessing finance that tourism operators currently face.*

Both of the STA key informants expressed throughout their interview their desire to have climate financing directed and promoted to those who need it the most, to thus benefit whole communities. In turn, they further aspired for climate financing to encourage local community-driven investment and help with the disconnect between aid and benefits. This aspiration was driven by the identified need to have climate financing options available to the tourism accommodation operators. Chapter Five expressed how climate change is affecting the tourism accommodation sector through environmental impacts and an increase in business pressures. It then concluded that locally-owned hotels and accommodations are notably more affected

than foreign-owned resorts due to their coastal position and the cost of recovery from disasters. General financing mechanisms<sup>52</sup> that could help with financing their climate change needs were found to be inaccessible and ill-suited, and there are currently no funds/projects aimed directly at financing their climate change needs. The two tourism accommodations interviewed both expressed how they have never received any funding but urgently need help to address their adaptation needs to climate change and everyday maintenance; they have been asking for financial assistance, but it is challenging to obtain. Government of Samoa (GoS) ministry officials backed this up by expressing how the tourism operators currently face many challenges in accessing even general finance. This challenge, experienced at the private tourism level, was connected to the challenges at the government level; when the GoS are struggling to access finance, then it is difficult for them to enable projects for the private sector without any funding.

### ***Aspiration Two***

*The tourism sector to grow sustainably and responsibly, which allows for tourism to continue to be the main driver for sustainable development, with policy to enable that.*

The second aspiration was the outcome of understanding the value that tourism in Samoa has on sustainable development, which was canvassed in Chapter Five (first findings chapter). All key informants aspired for tourism to grow sustainably and responsibly, which means that it upholds and promotes the interests of everyone, and every sector. Then when it grows; it uplifts communities, as little as possible environmental impact and, ‘does good’ in terms of creating climate change solutions.

Tourism was widely acknowledged in all interviews as being the main driver for development in Samoa, and informants aspire that it will continue to do so into the future. The STA sought for the benefits from tourism to be shared across the population. Furthermore, ensuring that communities embrace tourism, whilst also balancing environmental protection with tourism development should be of priority.

This aspiration encapsulates the notion that even though tourism in Samoa is widely acknowledged both in research and practically as a driver of sustainable development, it is a

---

<sup>52</sup> General financing refers to the current ways that the tourism sector accesses financing – such as through loans via the Development Bank of Samoa

complex phenomenon and unsustainable practices still occur. For example, there is a high level of local ownership, with the sharing of benefits, in tourism accommodation in Samoa. However, a key-informant expressed how they have very occasionally seen the benefits of their remain in a select few hands. Therefore sustainable tourism development is always strived for, such as through decreasing unsustainable practices, increasing community involvement, and that the benefits from visitors are spread more evenly across Samoa. As well as the STA working towards more sustainable solutions, policies, methods and measuring tools as mentioned in Chapter Five, Samoa is currently working towards realising what sustainable tourism and growth means for them in the policy arena, and to help with this they signed up for the SPTO Policy Framework.

## **6.2 Green Tourism Bonds model**

As explained earlier in the thesis, I raised the possibility of Green Tourism Bonds with key informants in order to get their views on whether Green Tourism Bonds could be a suitable climate financing mechanism in the Samoan tourism context. Their responses were largely positive, with the majority of informants having suggestions on how to develop it to suit their context and address their needs and aspirations, both at the government and tourism operator levels. However, comments were also made on how certain barriers within Samoa could potentially hinder the development of an innovative climate bond for tourism. This section presents the Green Tourism Bond model that has been developed to suit in the current Samoan tourism context.

Below is an outline of the Green Tourism Bonds model and preceding this are the justifications and reasons why particular components of the model were chosen (Figure 6.1). Green Tourism Bonds could aim to provide access to financing that will fund tourism accommodation operators' projects to improve the climate resilience of their infrastructure. This could allow operators and surrounding communities to be resilient through having infrastructure that is adapted to climate change impacts and continuing their business into the future which will also contribute to sustainable tourism development. At the country level, Green Tourism Bonds will help with improving the tourism product and increase visitor numbers ('sustainably'). By improving the tourism product, visitors will be more inclined to visit locally-owned hotels and accommodations and increase visitor numbers sustainably. This will be sustainable through contributing to locally-owned accommodation needs and the benefits that they bring to Samoa.

In general, this will continue to ensure tourism is one of the leading economic contributors to Samoa through providing locally-owned tourism accommodation with financial opportunities to invest into their climate change adaptation and mitigation. This research highlighted that locally-owned tourism accommodations' currently do not have any climate change projects targeted directly to them, thus Green Tourism Bonds could fill this gap and ensure they have access to initiatives designed for them. Moreover, this will also place adaptation and mitigation implementation back in the hands of operators as climate change impacts are complex and can often include exacerbation from human actions. All of these will contribute to the key informant's aspirations of having climate financing better suited to the tourism sector, tourism to be the leading driver for sustainable development and, the sector to grow responsibly. Therefore, Green Tourism Bonds (3) is a financial instrument that an investor (1a) will invest in locally-owned tourism accommodation (3), led by the Samoa Tourism Authority (5). Investment will be made into their projects, expansion or, adaptations to help with the effects of climate change, sustainable development and climate resilience (6), that is approved by the Samoan Tourism Authority (5). It is a financial combination of private investors (1a) and assistance from donors (1b), and the Government of Samoa through the Ministry of Finance (2); a blended financial approach (Figure 6.1)<sup>53</sup>:

During the interviews and general observations, there were four potential investor<sup>54</sup> (Figure 6.2) groups identified:

- Returnees
- Local investors: STA wants to encourage local investment
- Diaspora who want to invest back into Samoa
- International investment.

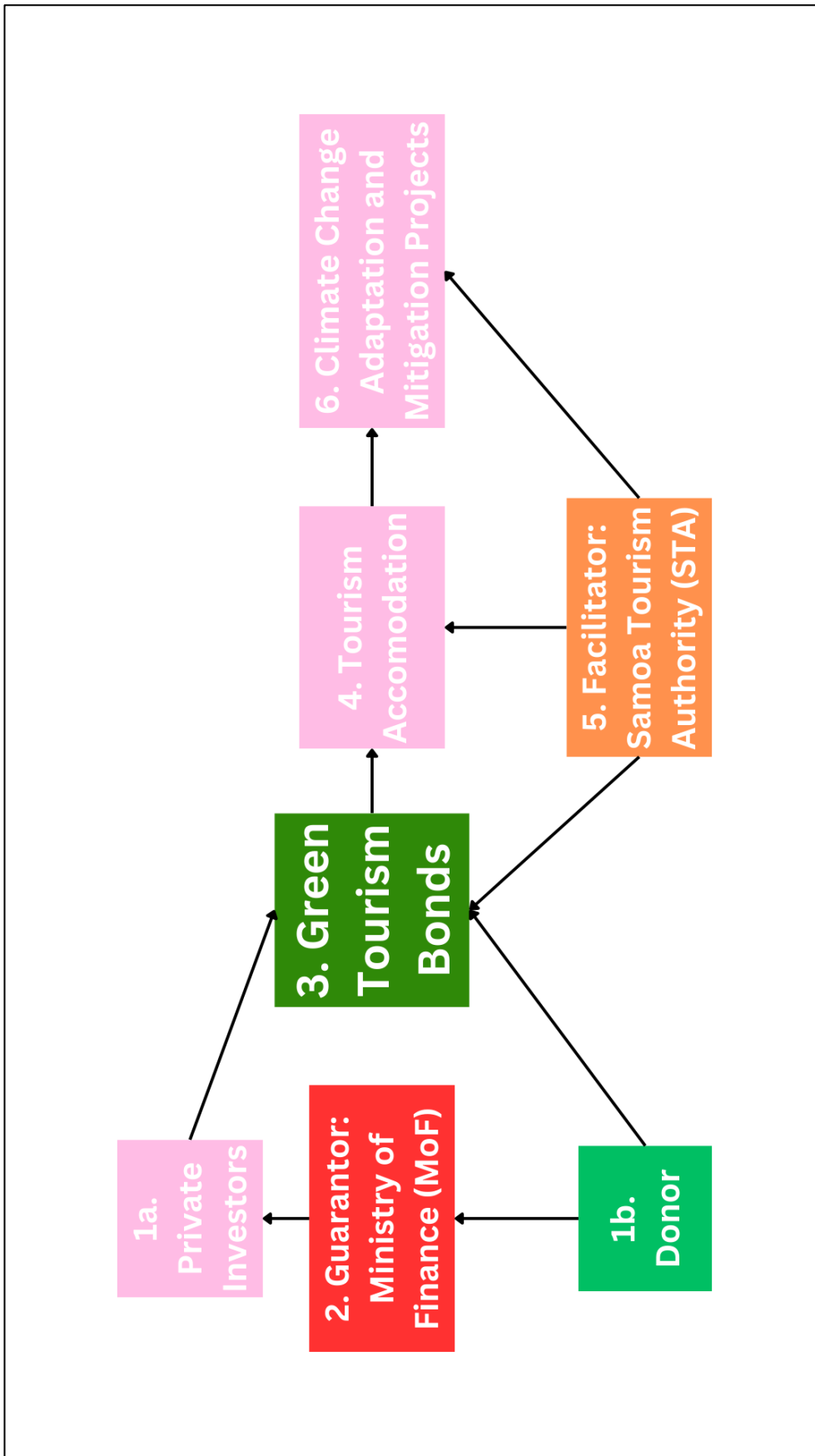
---

<sup>53</sup> The colours on the Green Tourism Bonds models (Figures 6.1 – 6.3) follow the same colour scheme as the GoS climate financing Figures 5.7-5.9. With the following additions: dark green to represent the bonds, and light pinks to represent all other aspects.

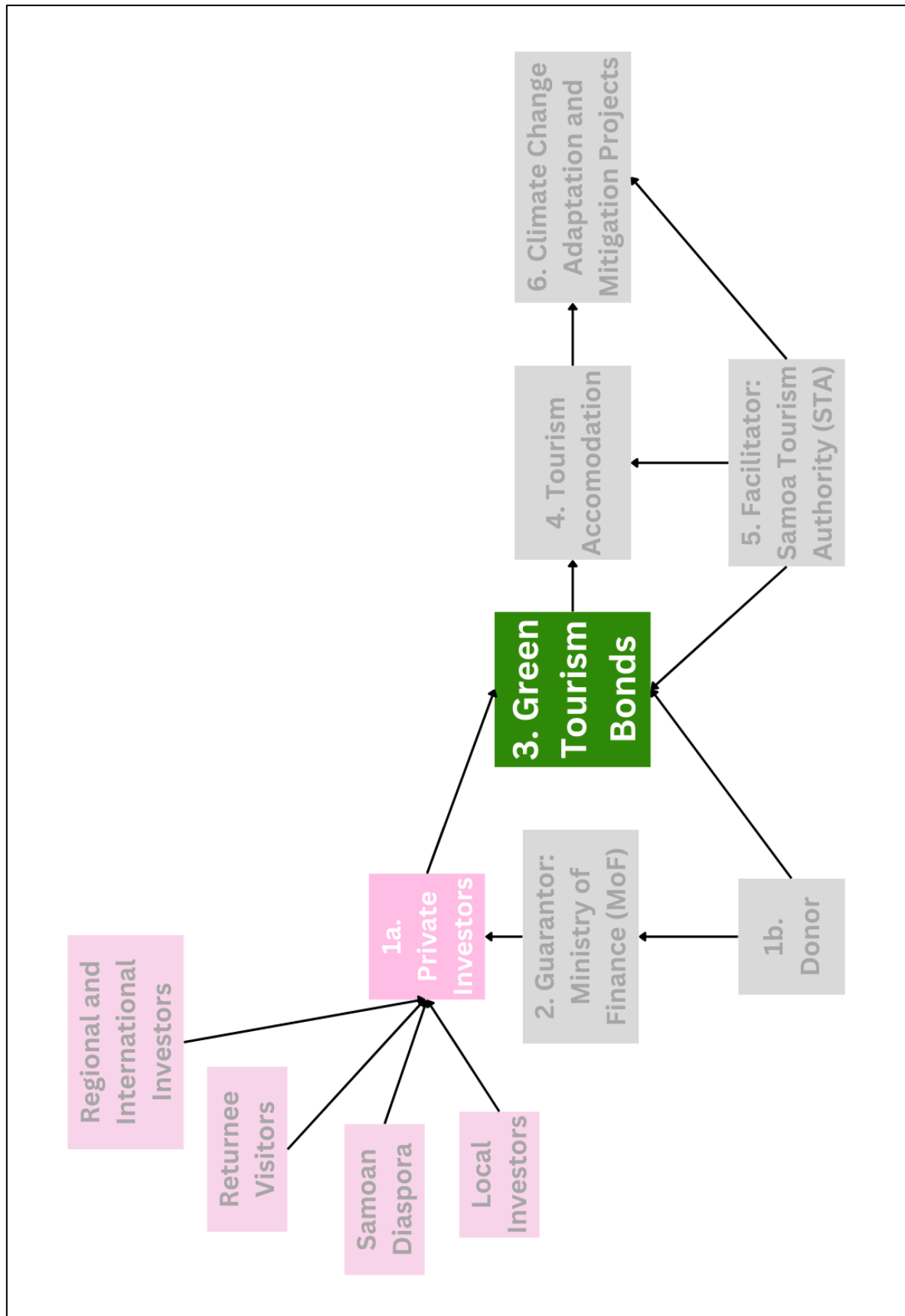
<sup>54</sup> From my observations and general discussions in Samoa, the visitors predominately consisted of:

- Samoan diaspora travelling to their motherland for reunions, to visit family and, for holidays.
- Tourists from Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, as well as Europeans and Americans on working holiday visas in NZ and AUS
- Annual church conferences which were being held for the first time in years.

**Figure 6:1** Green Tourism Bonds model (Source: Author).



**Figure 6:2** Potential private investors for Green Tourism Bonds (Source: Author).



These investments would offer a return for the identified investors which could consist of (Figure 6.3):

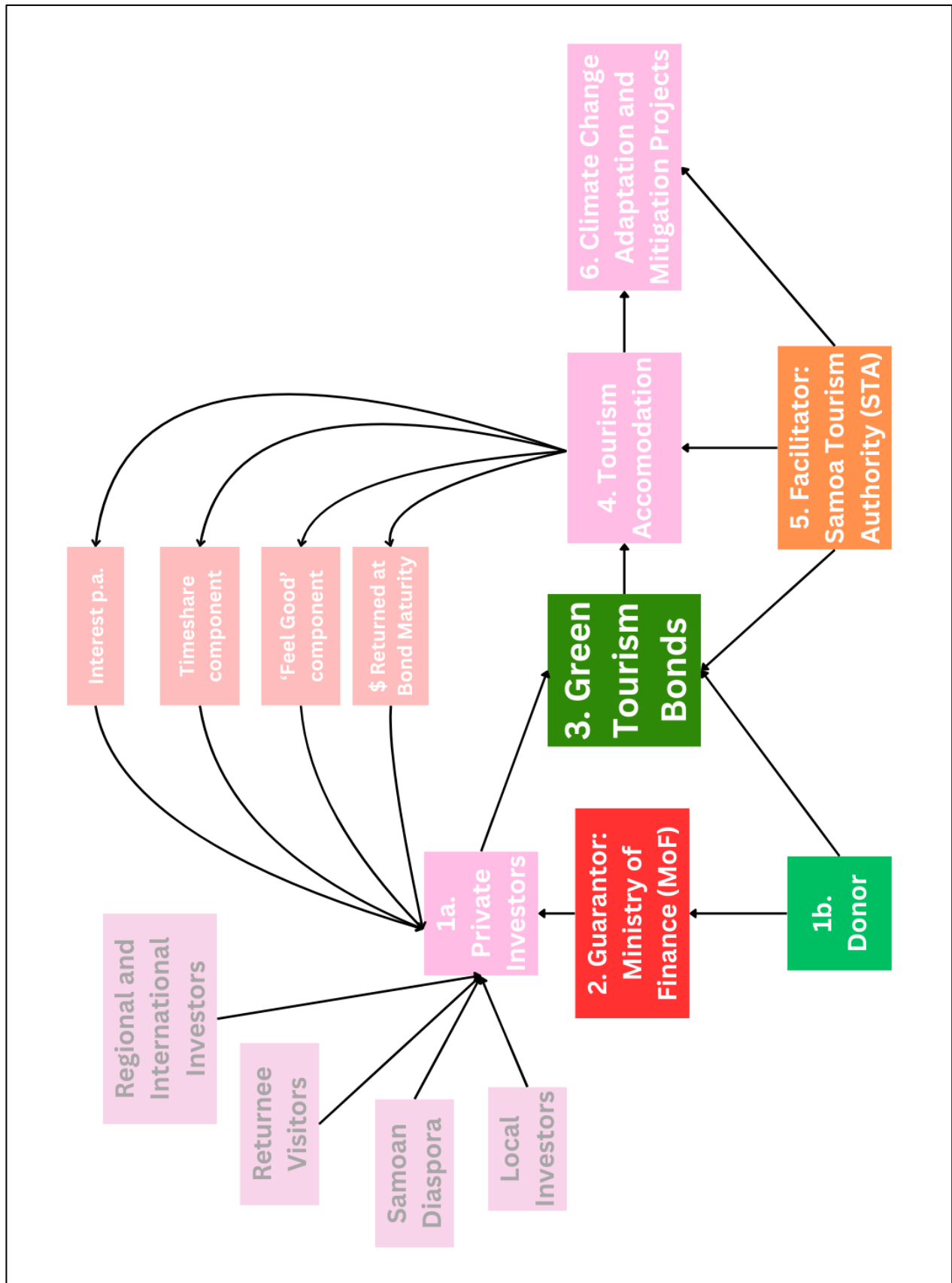
- 1) Interest p.a., The percentage of interest is currently undecided as the market and economy are unpredictable
- 2) ‘Timeshare’ component where an investor has the opportunity to stay in a property for a select amount of days per year for free
- 3) The ‘feel good’ return, the investor knows that their capital is going towards projects that align with their social values.

The investor will receive the investment back at the end of the period.

The STA (Figure 6.1) were chosen specifically as the potential facilitator because of their collective expertise in organisation and management across stakeholders to operationalise projects. They will be responsible for making the final decision on the financial implementation. In all interviews, the STA was reported as needing to be the facilitators of this climate financing initiative because they are the leaders and policy facilitators for sustainable development from tourism. They are a State-Owned Enterprise with their funds administered by the Ministry of Finance (MoF), as well as the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (NZ MFAT) being the tourism industry’s only donor. Therefore, a blended approach in this space is the most viable option because to include STA you need to include the GoS too. The MoF (Figure 6.1) were indicated to act as guarantors with assistance from the development partners to hold the private sector accountable via the STA. The financial structure is thus a blended approach that involves the private sector, development partners (donors) of Samoa and the Government of Samoa. For example, MFAT and the International Finance Corporation (IFC) were proposed by some key informants as being the development partners involved in the climate financial mechanism.

Informants highlighted the importance of any innovative mechanism being integrated into current climate finance approaches, and Green Tourism Bonds align with this. This is to ensure the long-term sustainability of a project, which was reported as a common challenge in Samoa for projects to maintain viability after their externally invested funds mature, which is explored in the following section. All of these components are shown in Figure 6.3.

**Figure 6:3** Complete Green Tourism Bonds process (Source: Author).



*Example*

A private investor, such as a Samoan couple who return regularly to Samoa have started to notice changes to the Samoan coastline that some of their favourite locally-owned accommodation is located, and they are worried about their future. The owners discussed with them how they need to build a seawall and convert their electricity into solar power in the short-term, and begin to look at how they can continue their operations into the long-term, as they enjoy being owners of tourist accommodation. However, they are currently unable to finance such a project on their own but want to ensure they have control over any of their projects. They have heard of the STA recently promoting Green Tourism Bonds and registered their interest.

This couple have always talked about investing back into Samoa, and want to ensure that their investment contributes to the livelihood of Samoans' and the protection of their environment. After researching how they can do this, they decide to invest into the Green Tourism Bonds scheme as the blended approach mitigates some of the risk that is associated with a pure private investment of tourism accommodations, the Government of Samoa and development partners as guarantors provides financial safety and the tourism accommodations' re directly involved, which ticks all of their needs as investors. The couple want the projects being financed are in the hands of the accommodation, which is why they have decided on investing into a blended approach which support from the STA. Still expecting some form of financial compensation, the investors will receive a set percentage of interest per annum, free accommodation for a week where they usually stay, their investment returned at the end of the period and the knowledge that they are contributing to the future of Samoa.

**6.3 Decisions and justifications for the model**

This section serves as justification for the bolded sections of the Green Tourism Bonds model outlined above and aligns with aspirations.

### *Why focus on accommodation infrastructure?*

My observations and overall interpretation from interviews indicated that the accommodation sector in Samoa is generally considered the foundation for the overall tourism product. The tourism product in Samoa consists of natural attractions (two of which are shown in Figures 6.4 and 6.5), restaurants, craft markets, cultural sites and other tourism operators such as shuttle services and tour services which provide support to the sector. The tourism sector therefore encapsulates sectors such as hospitality, agriculture, aquaculture, transport, and infrastructure. The tourism product in Samoa is both a recipient and a product of the resources available on the Island. It is a visual representation of the resources available in Samoa and how it showcases itself to the world. As a visitor, your accommodation is your home base, and the rest of the product is situated around this.



**Figure 6:5** *Tourism site in Samoa: Giant Clam Sanctuary.*



**Figure 6:4** *Tourism site in Samoa: To Sua Ocean Trench.*

Interviewees would often cite issues that the tourism accommodation experienced when asked about the challenges faced by the general tourism sector. Specifically, there appeared to be two main issues: 1) The majority of the accommodation operators are located on the coast and beachfront in Samoa, with many properties situated on the sand. 2) Most of the tourism infrastructure is from the accommodation sector. This suggests that these challenges need addressing and are of concern.

***Why target locally-owned coastal accommodation?***

Accommodation offerings in Samoa range from ST 80 (NZD 48.10) per night beach fales to ST 3,300 (NZD 2,039) Samoan level of five-star resorts<sup>55</sup>, and ‘everything in between’. The majority of key informants indicated that it was important to focus on all *locally-owned coastal accommodation* that encapsulates any level of accommodation, as long as it is locally-owned and has viable infrastructure. The Samoa Tourism Authority website (STA, 2023a) describes the following accommodation groupings used in this research:

- 4) Locally-owned Resorts and Deluxe accommodation
- 5) Superior accommodation
- 6) Standard accommodation and;
- 7) Selected budget accommodation.

It is worth noting that one informant suggested that the focus should be instead, *foreign-owned Resorts and Deluxe accommodation* due to their higher level of offshore earnings and local employment. However, this opinion was not shared by anyone else; in fact, it was apparent that the foreign-owned accommodations do not face the same financial struggles as other operators due to their ability to access capital<sup>56</sup>. Furthermore, whilst acknowledging they do provide many benefits to Samoa such as employment and high accommodation standards, this research has a focus on sustainable tourism development from locally owned accommodation services. This is what the selected accommodation band was identified to provide and can be further enhanced with the blended approach.

Locally owned resorts and accommodations were decided because: they have the capacity for timeshare (a possible return to private investors in Green Tourism Bonds), they value returning visitors and cultural interaction, benefit the community in sustainable ways (sustainable development aspiration, section 6.1) and, they currently have no climate financing initiative directed towards them. Other benefits include: help towards their business aspirations to improve what they have to offer and also diversify and help increase the number of visitors to their accommodation if desired.

---

<sup>55</sup> Is it worth noting that informants described Samoa’s 4- and 5-star resorts as ‘island level’ of high-end resorts, and not to be compared with other high-end resorts in other countries.

<sup>56</sup> I did not conduct interviews directly with the foreign-owned resorts, this opinion was obtained indirectly from key informants.

***Why include a 'Timeshare' component?***

This consists of providing investors with a set amount of free accommodation days in Samoa annually as part of the reward package. This 'timeshare' component is important because it helps with the economic and non-economic benefits of tourism. Some of the benefits expressed in the interviews were: encouraging the return of visitors and an increase in money spent on tourism in Samoa, being able to fill empty rooms at the middle level that are struggling to be filled, incentives for investors to 'do good' that are greater than financial reward, continuing to build upon the relationship and connection between the locally-owned accommodations and their visitors, it would serve as a reminder to the accommodation operators that they are responsible for the investment and, allows the investor to visit the project and see for themselves the progress.

***Financial Structure: blended approach***

Key informants indicated that a blended financial approach (Figure 6.1) was the best suited to the Green Tourism Bonds because of Samoa's current economic outlook, fiscal position<sup>57</sup>, tourism private sector capacity and, current position of climate financing in Samoa. As a development partner stated: "I think that getting a tourism green bond it is very important [and] that it must be driven by 1) government and 2) the private sector 3) development partner" (Development Partner, interview July 2023).

This was an unexpected finding for this researcher because a blended approach was not considered prior to entering the field, but was heavily suggested in multiple interviews as an approach that could be operationalised in Samoa. Because of the private sector issues, as a result of this research, I believe that it has to be connected to the government and developmental partners to ensure it does not amplify already present challenges for the tourism sector.

A blended approach therefore is operationalised by having the GoS and development partners as a guarantee and help raise the bonds so the tourism operators can focus on their projects and as an incentive for investors to trust and then invest and hold the private sector accountable:

If you have the government and IFC behind you, you are likely to have that bond and you can work on it. The IFC ensures that management meets targets

---

<sup>57</sup> Samoa's fiscal strategy includes ensuring public debt is kept within 50% of their GDP and is consistent with the is consistent with the "Pathway for the Development of Samoa" (PDS) (MoF, 2022b).

and that the business is in operation. What the government can do is ask the World Bank to package it in such a way that that company will have a guarantee; the IFC and government can be used as a guarantee to ensure that the private sector gets those bonds. (development partner, interview July 2023).

The blended approach further builds on the already established relationships in Samoa, it was an aspiration to have any new financial instruments mainstreamed into their current development plans and systems, and Green Tourism Bonds as a blended approach carries this on. This includes ensuring that the STA are the key facilitators and that all communication is done through them.

#### *Interest p.a.*

Interest per annum, or a coupon, is a typical financial reward in the bond market. It is the cost that the project pays for borrowing an investor's capital; the investor views this as payment for lending their equity. Because Green Tourism Bonds are a financial instrument, investors will expect financial compensation for their lending. Interest rate determination is extremely complicated as they are calculated in a free market where supply and demand interact, and a full financial analysis would need to occur to determine what the potential interest rate would look like for Green Tourism Bonds. This calculation is out of scope and cannot be accurately determined for this research into the potential of Green Tourism Bonds. However, to attract investors, particularly because this type of investment would be classed as 'higher risk' in the market, the interest rate would need to be above inflation, which is currently historically high, as well as potentially higher than Samoa's other investment opportunities to create an incentive to invest.

With the blended approach taken, there were suggestions that the government and/or development partners could contribute to ensuring the interest rate is at the market level as not all projects have the potential to be profitable from commencement, as some might be long-term adaptation and mitigation projects and still in economic recovery from the pandemic and epidemic. As expressed earlier, a key barrier to accessing general loans for operators was the high-interest rates from banks, and the same barrier will occur for Green Tourism Bonds unless there is support from development partners or the GoS. Informants suggested that this could take one of two forms: 1. GoS, or development partner contribute to interest throughout the life of the bond until maturity, or; 2. interest is covered for the first few years of a project by the GoS or development partner to ensure that the project can grow without restrictions.

Government or development assistance to ensure early growth was identified as a way to help with climate change projects.

#### **6.4 Barriers for implementation**

The Green Tourism Bonds model presented is aligned with the aspirations of key informants. The model attempts to rectify some of the barriers and challenges that are currently being faced in Samoa such as climate change impacts and accessibility/lack of climate financing for tourism operators. However, below are the barriers that have been identified regardless of the approach or financial model taken with Green Tourism Bonds. Key informants also discussed how the current economic environment would lead to barriers of implementation. This section explores how even if Green Tourism Bonds align with key informants' aspirations and support their sustainable development policies, some barriers are unable to be minimised.

##### ***Capacity of the Government of Samoa (GoS)***

It has been established that Green Tourism Bonds will need to involve the GoS, and therefore the capacity challenges that they are currently facing regarding access to time (see Chapter Five section 5.3) and ability to absorb more debt (see below) have the potential to be manifested in the model. Furthermore, as Green Tourism Bonds strive to enable access to climate financing for the tourism private sector, the GoS contribution then depends on their own accessibility to finance with their development partners, which was recognised as a challenge.

The STA was also recognised as needing to be the facilitators, communicators and leaders for the Green Tourism Bonds. This is because they are the leading tourism organisation in Samoa and reputable in the wider Pacific tourism arena. To incorporate the STA will require additional time and resources, however as a government-owned enterprise, they are limited in their own expansion through the same challenges the GoS are reported as experiencing.

##### ***Small economic market and macroeconomic position of Samoa***

Whenever Samoa's market was mentioned, it was followed with comparative comments on how geographically small it is compared to other countries that have issued sustainable bonds.

Fiji's Blue Bonds<sup>58</sup> were commonly expressed in interviews as an example. Fiji is widely referred to as the 'hub of the Pacific' with a tourism industry that is 'financially developed' and internationally connected to a high-volume of investors through their tourism product being predominantly foreign-owned resorts. On the other hand, Samoa's tourism product is predominantly locally-owned medium and small-scale enterprises, with a few foreign-owned resorts<sup>59</sup>. Therefore, informants in Samoa suggested that you cannot directly compare or replicate Fiji's experience of issuing sustainable bonds because of their inherent differences in investment and tourism products.

One of the leading concerns was expressed about the uptake of a financial instrument in a small market and economy that is geographically far from major markets. This is because there were recounts of GoS having difficulty with general financial instrument/investment uptake in the past. This then was found to flow onto what interest rate/coupon you can offer to investors; one informant suggested to set a competitive yet attractive interest rate you need to open up the base to the wider regional market. This is to get the buy-in from a wider region which will in turn drive the interest rate up. Samoa's current macroeconomic position outlined in Chapter One also has the potential to be a barrier; with a historically high inflation rate and COVID-19 recovery, there is an element of unpredictability in their market, as well as globally.

### ***Capacity of tourism sector and accommodation operators***

It is paramount that the operators end up in a better position than before entering Green Tourism Bonds. Sustainable tourism development and climate financing fundamentally need to create opportunities; however, the capacity of the tourism sector undertaking a long-term investment was questioned (see Chapter Five section 5.4). This barrier has been partly mitigated through the use of the blended financial approach by having development partners and the GoS share the financial responsibility as guarantors. However, key informants expressed that the capacity of the tourism operators to undertake this initiative could potentially be a barrier to implementation under this model.

---

<sup>58</sup> In 2017 Fiji issued the FJ 100 million Fiji Sovereign Green Bond ('FSGB') to help raise additional finance to fill the resourcing gap and in 2023 announced the issue of their Fiji Sovereign Blue Bond. Both to help with Fiji's climate change financing.

<sup>59</sup> The tourism mix of Samoa is explored in detail in Chapter Two

The aim of Green Tourism Bonds is identified to provide access to climate financing that will contribute simultaneously to the accommodations' adaptation to climate change and the sustainable tourism development of their own accommodation. Key informants also hoped the bonds would improve the tourism product, show potential tourists that they valued a sustainable approach and help the industry to be more sustainable overall. However, the tourism accommodation also the same group identified as having the highest risk of default in general financing such as loans. Because of these past defaults, questions were raised by multiple informants about their capacity and ability to be responsible for Green Tourism Bonds and to uphold their duties to investors. For example, there would need to be policy and contingency plans around if some of the smaller accommodation providers are not able to pay by the end of the period, sell the property or default on the bond. This can also lead to the operators potentially seeing Green Tourism Bonds as an immediate injection of cash and omitting the fact that it is capital that needs to be paid back with interest after a predetermined period. This is where selected development partners were identified as helping to ensure responsibility and mitigate part of the concern by taking on some of the risks, but an element of risk remains.

### *Caution of debt: appetite and acceptance*

Caution of debt was discussed at both the government and private levels. A recurring theme during interviews was how it is common for the government and private sector to be cautious of debt, purposeful<sup>60</sup> or not. The government was seen to be cautious for two reasons: 1) they are currently at debt capacity; the MoF stressed that its short- to medium-term debt strategy is unable to undertake additional substantial debt or new financial instruments with the multilateral banks. This is because the GoS has already reached their full grant basis from recovery from the recent events and the remaining fiscal base that is open to potentially undertake more debt is solely reserved for extreme disaster recovery. 2) The private sector was cautious of debt because of past experiences that led them to be wary of debt, this has manifested into a low level of appetite and then acceptance.

Throughout the interviews, there were reasons to suggest that Samoans were cautious about external ideas and debt, which this theme was presented by both Samoans and Palagis alike. The GoS key informants indicated that they have grown intolerant of externally driven

---

<sup>60</sup> Purposeful debt refers to 'good debt' that has long-term benefits and is borrowed with a purpose, rather than debt from over spending.

development as external researchers, agencies' ideas and programs were often reported as not considering local agendas. This caution was further elaborated to not always be a negative thing; because to carry a level of cautiousness with you was found to also mean you are critical of external ideas and thus encourage locally driven development and sovereignty. This cautious attitude was seen at both the government and private sector levels, as well as developmental partners expressing how they are aware of this and do not overstep their roles. Furthermore, a connection was established between accessibility issues to financing and debt capacity; if financing is inaccessible, then it will lead to little debt in the sector because any form of debt is unattainable, which creates this cycle of operating without debt or understanding it.

Green Tourism Bonds has an element of 'purposeful debt' in the composition that you are 'borrowing' capital from investors to improve your accommodation which will in turn increase your visitors as they increase all over Samoa and you are required to pay back, with a percentage of interest as 'payment' for using someone else's finances. This leads to questions about their appetite and acceptance of a future climate financing bond. Additional questions were raised about whether the private sector/tourism sector would be interested. In the two tourism accommodation interviews it was evident that both had an appetite for this sort of fund. As well the STA stated that the industry will be open to the idea, especially the properties that need extra capital at no extra debt.

## **6.5 Summary**

This chapter provides the primary data for the climate financing model for the tourism accommodation sector being proposed for Samoa. It began by highlighting how the key informants aspire for climate financing to address the needs and challenges in accessing financing, which were detailed in Chapter Five, and for their tourism sector to continue to be sustainable and be their main driver for development, which was also detailed in Chapter Five. These aspirations were then the foundation for the Green Tourism Bonds, that is a financial instrument that an investor will invest into locally-owned resorts and accommodation, led by the STA. In turn, investments are made into projects, expansion or other adaptations to help with the impacts of climate change through an increase in resilience and continuation of sustainable tourism development. This chapter then explored the barriers of implementing a mechanism with specified stakeholders and in the current economic and post-COVID-19 environment, showing that some barriers are unable to be minimised. The model, structure,

benefits and connection to aspirations for Green Tourism Bonds above suggest a very strong case for implementation in what it can provide in access to climate financing and sustainable tourism development.

## Chapter Seven - Discussion and Conclusion

This research aims to explore the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as a climate financing initiative in Samoa and whether such bonds could be an initiative that aligns with their sustainable tourism development and climate financing approaches. The following questions were applied to explore this aim:

- 1) What is the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as an initiative which supports the sustainable development of Samoa's tourism sector?

This was achieved in Chapters Two and Three through reviewing the relevant literature and policy documents to establish Samoa's approach to sustainable development, and it will be discussed further in the current chapter by honing in on possibilities for a Green Tourism Bonds model.

- 2) In what ways might Green Tourism Bonds align with tourism authorities', operators', and the Government of Samoa's aspirations for climate finance and sustainable tourism development?

This question was answered primarily through the fieldwork and then the aspirations of various key informants were used to create the Green Tourism Bond model presented in Chapter Six (Figures 6.1-6.3).

The discussion part of this chapter is separated into two sections: 1) Sustainable tourism development, climate financing and resilience within Samoa. 2) Concerns that now is not the right time to introduce Green Tourism Bonds in Samoa. Following on from this, the thesis conclusion, then recommendations from this research, will be presented.

### **7.1 Sustainable tourism development, climate financing and resilience within Samoa**

The principles within the policy framework established by the SPTO provide good guidance on how climate finance could support sustainable tourism in Samoa.

***Sustainable tourism development in the post-COVID-19 recovery era in Samoa***

The literature indicated that globally, there is no single definition of sustainable tourism development (Butler et al., 2017; Mowforth & Munt, 2016; Ruhanen et al., 2015; Sharpley, 2000, 2020). Despite this lack of agreement over a definition, Samoa has demonstrated a commitment to sustainable tourism over a relatively long period of time. The Government of Samoa (GoS) have been actively involved in protecting fa'asamoa and encouraging sustainable tourism development through policy since the introduction of tourism in the 1980s (see Chapter Two, section 2.4). In the early 2000s they were involved in a process of developing indicators and principles specifically for sustainable tourism development (Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005).

However, in this post-COVID recovery era in tourism, the Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) informants in this research made comments about how they are finding it challenging to conceptualise what sustainable tourism development looks like in Samoa; but they did articulate that sustainability in Samoa could look different to the other countries in the Pacific. The comments made by key informants suggest there is a need for sustainable tourism development conceptualisations to be reframed in a post-COVID-19 era to encapsulate the emerging needs from climate change impacts (expressed in sections 1.8 and 5.2) as well as addressing the economic recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic in the Pacific region.

Respondents indicated that the SPTO Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework provided useful principles and policy to guide Samoa and the other 20 member states by encouraging them to set parameters within which they can conceptualise their own tourism development. The 12 guiding principles (Table 2.1, p. 25) highlight the Pacific recovery from COVID-19, tourism growth and a sustainable tourism sector through their four sustainable tourism development goals: prosperous economies, thriving communities, visible and valued cultures and healthy islands and oceans (SPTO, 2021, p. 12). The goals align with the wellbeing notion that sustainable tourism development now acknowledges the sociocultural, economic and political aspects of the concept (Bramwell, 2007; Lu & Nepal, 2009; Ruhanen et al., 2015). These principles were then used in their Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework (Figure 1.3, p. 13), as established in sections 1.7, 2.3 and 5.1, this framework is innovative for the sector and has been incorporated by the STA in their Tourism Sector Plan 2022-2027.

The findings of this research highlighted how the tourism numbers in Samoa are improving after the economically difficult years of COVID-19 border closers. Authors argue that the general tourism sector has historically been dominated by profit-directed businesses with short-term decision-making horizons (Dwyer, 2018; Hunter, 1995; McKercher, 1993), and as a result, it is extremely difficult to truly achieve sustainable tourism development (Daly, 1992; Sharpley, 2000, 2020). However, some level of economic growth is crucial (Sharpley, 2020) as research participants would discuss how returning of tourism numbers is allowing the STA to look into how tourism can contribute to their sustainable tourism development. Butler (2018) and Butler et al. (2017) argue that sustainable tourism development should be viewed as what tourism destinations should strive towards in practice and policy. The research findings align with Scheyvens & Russell's (2009) discussions on how governments of the Pacific Island countries have actively pursued tourism growth while also endeavouring to respect holistic approaches to development and resource management (p. 57). Therefore, the Pacific Islands are distinctively situated to pursue diversified tourism sectors that can be developed purposefully in a way that nurtures a balance between economic, environmental and sociocultural goals (Harrison, 2003; Scheyvens, 2004; Weaver, 2002). In a post-COVID era, the notion of economic growth and sustainable tourism development has continued, with "prosperous economies" being a key segment in the SPTO Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework (see Figure 3.9, p. 65). This research thus suggests an alignment with the argument laid out in Chapter Two section 2.4; that tourism growth in Samoa is regulated through careful consideration of protecting fa'asamoa.

This research indicated that Samoa post-COVID-19 are striving towards having a more sustainable tourism sector. For example, research participants highlighted how they aspire to find the optimum level of tourism for Samoa that provides sustainable benefits to communities whilst not damaging their environment. This requires the balancing and effective management of the 'double-edged sword' in meeting both the environmental and community needs within tourism. The STA informants aspire for sustainable tourism development to continue to be the main driver within Samoa post-COVID-19. Conceptualising sustainable tourism development within the idea that it is a goal to be strived towards opens up for this balancing act to be met. This is because under this notion it does not disregard destinations as either entirely 'sustainable' or 'unsustainable' but rather it acknowledges that there are types and pockets of tourism that reflect the principles of sustainable tourism development (Butler, 2018; Butler et al., 2017; Sharpley, 2020).

***Climate financing at the tourism accommodation level in Samoa***

The general tourism industry has recognised that climate change poses a threat to tourism destinations and there needs to be investment into the infrastructure to adapt (Simpson et al., 2008; Vieira do Nascimento, 2016). Furthermore, adaptation and change were used as interchangeable concepts by research participants, with a common theme that climate change will lead to different ways of practice in the tourism industry's future. One of the ways to change is through adapting tourism accommodation to lessen the impacts of climate change (Hess et al., 2015). The tourism industry in Samoa is a significant part of the private sector, and the active engagement of the tourism sector is crucial for long-term adaptation (Hess et al., 2015; IMF, 2022). Hess et al. (2015) identified that there are long-term ways to adapt to climate change, and these were categorised into five types by Scott et al. (2009): 1) Technical changes to physical infrastructure, 2) Business management 3) Behavioural changes, 4) Policy and changes in government plans and 5) Research and education. Informants identified that their options in adapting can be achieved through moving back from the beachfront, diversifying offerings, and continuing to rebuild infrastructure and protecting it with sea walls (Table 5.2, p. 92), which are all technical changes under Scott et al. (2009)'s classifications. This indicates that informants took a narrow view of their options for adapting to climate change. Thus it is not surprising that the IMF (2022) highlighted that the private sector adaptation efforts could be strengthened in Samoa.

However, the research findings indicated that Samoa's tourism accommodation sector is unable to engage actively with climate change adaptations because they cannot access finance, both privately and through government/STA projects. They face challenges in guidance and resources: simply put, locally-owned small and medium businesses have limited access to finance (IMF, 2022, p. 35). This research found that tourism accommodation in Samoa have limited private financial flows, which were connected to the lack of financial flows from the COVID-19 economic impacts, as well as that there are currently no climate financing initiatives directed towards the tourism sector from the government. As a result, this research emphasised that the private sector is constrained in conducting adaptation activities.

As shown in the research findings, key informants rarely distinguished differences between adaptation and mitigation actions that the tourism sector could take in response to climate change. In fact, at times they were referred to as the same process, as opposed to the definitions outlined in Chapter One section 1.8. Mitigation is an important area of climate change response

(UNDP, 2023), yet was not well understood or engaged within the accommodation sector in Samoa. It could, for example, involve Samoa's tourism accommodation sector converting to using solar power (Table 5.2, p. 92). The literature showed that Pacific Island states have predominately received funds for climate change adaptation (Atteridge & Canales, 2017; Fouad et al., 2021). Therefore, there should be potential for more climate change mitigation projects to occur in the tourism sector in Samoa if accommodation providers and support agencies had their awareness raised about the possibilities.

#### *At the GoS level*

This research found that the capacity to access financing at the government level needs to be addressed so they can implement projects and initiatives in communities as well as encourage private investment. It was evident that the financial support that the GoS can mobilise and direct towards the tourism sector depends on their own access to climate financing. The GoS are actively involved in accessing this climate financing for adaptation, with specific processes and ministries dedicated towards this (IMF, 2022; Wong et al., 2013; see also Figure 3.2, p.43). Meanwhile climate financing and climate change projects are embedded into their sector plans to realise their community projects (Wong et al., 2013). However, Samoa's biggest barrier highlighted in this research is that they are met with a plethora of challenges in accessing and securing funds which go on to directly impact the implementation of their community projects and engagement with the private tourism sector. Struggles in accessing climate financing were seen as an outcome of internal and external capacity constraints within the GoS and due to the overly complex processes in place at international and regional levels.

Externally, these challenges are grouped into what has been termed "readiness" within the climate financing agenda (Samuwai & Hills, 2018). Chapter Three outlined "readiness" within the Asia-Pacific region, identifying that countries must be 'ready' in all three dimensions for direct access to climate financing, namely: 1) Policies and Institutions, 2) Knowledge Management and Learning, and 3) Fiscal Policy Environment. In their assessment, Samoa scored highest on policy and institutions, middle for knowledge management and learning, and low on fiscal policy and environment (see Figure 3.6). This research also backs up these findings that their climate finance policy is strong, yet their process is still in the learning phase, and their knowledge and management are similar; however, it is mainly their fiscal environment (high-debt distress) that is what is minimising their "readiness" for climate

financing. This combined with their vulnerability to climate change highlights that access to climate financing is not on a needs-based approach, and that vulnerability alone is not the sole determiner in access to finance to adapt to climate change impacts. Rather countries must prove themselves ready in a system that was designed by states who are largely to blame for climate change. They must have the needed capacities, institutions, systems and processes to meet the inflexible and vigorous fiduciary standards, environment and social safeguards that are demanded by the international sources of finance (J. D. Ford & King, 2015). All climate financing needs to be on a needs-based foundation that enables greater local ownership and responsiveness to the needs of the communities it needs to reach (Zagema, 2023).

Not only is there a gap between countries that can access financing, but this research indicates that there is also a gap within the tourism sector in who can access it. Foreign-owned resorts were reported to have less reliance on the GoS due to a higher ability to access capital elsewhere; thus locally-owned accommodations have a greater reliance on climate change initiatives driven by the GoS and the STA. It is evident that the GoS wants to help the tourism sector, but when they are unable to access the level of financing they need, there is a flow-on effect to their projects.

### ***Cultural-ecological resilience in climate financing projects***

Chapter Three argued that climate change approaches need to be determined by those affected, not imposed from the top down (Ballu et al., 2011; Crook & Rudiak-Gould, 2018a; Webb & Kench, 2010). Therefore, even though governments need to be involved in enabling access to climate financing, actual projects should be place-specific and in the hands of tourism operators and nearby communities. Hess et al. (2015) presented similar findings; that tourism operators are more likely to be interested in investments if they are involved in climate change programmes. For example, when discussing adapting to climate change or future changes to tourism accommodation in Samoa owners expressed how they did not want the ambience of their experience to change. To them, change is about improving what they already offer in terms of location and experience. There is a need for in-country approaches to climate change adaptation as they are then ‘receivers’ and agents of change who can reconstruct and reinterpret messages and communications (Rudiak-Gould, 2011). This means that all climate financing should not be imposed upon a country or community from the outside (Schalatek & Bird, 2023).

For in-country approaches to climate change to be realised, they need to be conceptualised in a way that is locally meaningful, which is why Latai-Niusulu et al. discuss cultural ecological resilience (2020). This suggests that climate change adaptation and mitigation approaches need to encapsulate how Samoans associate with natural elements, including land, in a practical, social and spiritual sense. To explain the importance of this and how outside interventions might not align, the recent STA climate resilience project that was highlighted in the findings (section 5.4, p. 101) will be used. A small amount of funding was provided through the STA climate financing adaptation project where they provided accommodation operators with a contestable grant programme that focused on adaptation projects linked to resilience of tourism-reliant properties and communities. However, according to the STA informants, in some examples, their projects did not achieve the long-term resilience because they encouraged use of more durable – but less attractive or authentic – building materials, which resulted in a loss of visitors. Essentially, in one case concrete blocks replaced walls of fale made of wood, woven coconut fronds and other natural materials. As a result, the traditional infrastructure that has been relied upon prior to this, and what tourists come to experience, was not used to adapt to climate change. This could be suggested to have disempowered the local knowledge and thus source external solutions that are out of the hands of local tourism operators and communities (Newell, 2018; Veitayaki & Holland, 2018).

Latai-Niusulu et al. (2020) further notes that the cultural-ecological resilience lens appears to be used by Samoan communities in small-scale adaptation, which has been present for a long time in communities and with their relationship through their changing Pacific environment. It is used, for example, to diversify food and water sources, collection techniques, being geographically mobile, having more than one place of residence, and developing mental and spiritual strength (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020, p. 54). These adaptations revealed that their fa'amatai networks of their extended families have opened for resilience strategies.

Whilst this lens on resilience is not directly related to tourism in Samoa, it is used in this research to conceptualise the interconnectedness within Samoa. That adaptation through localised expertise, life-history cycle, interpretations of change of weather, the role of fa'amatai, social institutions and networks, ecological processes and customary management of resources is fundamental (Fletcher et al., 2013; McMillen et al., 2014). One of Wong et al. (2013) recommendations was for the STA to take a more proactive role in helping with the issues of vulnerability and resilience of the tourism sector and engaging in the industry to

collectively develop solutions. This research has indicated that they are currently doing this as STA staff shared that implementation of a climate change fund needs to: incorporate a whole village approach, complement the location, align with tourism outcomes, and have a long-term outlook.

## **7.2 Green Tourism Bonds model**

The Green Tourism Bonds model I presented in Figure 6.3 is a climate financing initiative that was researched as a way to connect the nexus between climate financing and sustainable tourism development in the Samoan context. Chapter Six presented the Green Tourism Bond model that is founded within key informants' aspirations about how it could support their sustainable tourism development. Chapter Six sections 6.2 and 6.3 details the articulate process of how this is achieved. To recap, Green Tourism Bonds were proposed as a financial instrument that an investor will invest into locally owned resorts and accommodations, coordinated by the STA. In turn, investments are made into projects, expansion or other adaptations to help address the impacts of climate change, ideally through utilising already present resilience systems. Targeting locally owned tourism accommodation was seen as important, as for tourism to be considered sustainable it should local communities must be engaged in the development and management process (Harrison, 2003; Scheyvens, 1999, 2003, 2005a; SPTO, 2021; Taumoepeau & Addison, 2016).

Blended finance is a mechanism that combines public financing from development donors or third parties with private capital from other investors (Sierra-Escalante et al., 2023, p. 6). Public funds are usually offered on concessional terms that are used to de-risk investment projects as a way to incentivise investment of private capital that would otherwise not be available in such a market (GCF, 2022b; Prasad et al., 2022; Randall, 2022, para. 1). Blended finance as such, has not been noted as being used in Samoa, however, as Movono & Hughes (2020) found in their research in Fiji, partnerships are crucial in enabling local development outcomes and this potentially could be a strategic way of partnering with the private sector. Furthermore, the notion of blended finance was discussed in the primary data collection as being a way for the GoS to incorporate the private sector into the sustainable tourism and climate change adaptation agenda. In the model developed in Chapter Six, the STA are the facilitators, which is important for sustainable tourism development as one of the SPTO principles is an integrated approach. For tourism to be connected to the wider developmental goals, the responsibility is through a

partnership of the state/local authorities, the private sector of local populations as well as transnational operators, rather than the tourism industry alone (Harrison, 2003). As there is a growing discourse around the private sector in sustainable development, with questions around their motives (Banga, 2019; Bhutta et al., 2022; Clark et al., 2018; Flammer, 2021), blended finance through an integrated approach would ensure the motivations of all are adhered to, with most importantly tourism accommodation tourism adaptations achieved in their own cultural-ecological resilience.

### ***Is now the right time to introduce Green Tourism Bonds to Samoa?***

Chapter Six (section 6.4) explored the barriers towards implementing the Green Tourism Bond model in the current environment. Identified barriers were: the capacity of the GoS, the small economic market and macroeconomic position of Samoa, the capacity of tourism sector and accommodation owners, and the caution of debt in Samoa. Interestingly, whilst the blended approach was undertaken to mitigate some of the challenges and the very creation of Green Tourism Bonds was identified as helping with the access for tourism accommodation to climate financing, the challenges that the GoS themselves and the literature presented around limited time and ability to take on more debt is still a significant challenge. For Green Tourism Bonds to achieve the aspirations of sustainable tourism and tourism operators' accessibility of climate finance, the GoS need good access to international and regional sources of climate financing.

#### *Concessional loans and grants as the preferred climate financing modes for Samoa*

On the broader subject of climate financing for Samoa, it is important to consider what modes of climate financing could work best. The tourism sector in Samoa over the last five years has experienced a significant number of disasters and events that have impacted the way the sector operates with finance and their economy has been in a continuous recovery cycle for a long time. Therefore, the STA, tourism industry, development partners and the government are in a balancing act of economic, livelihood and disaster recovery whilst simultaneously planning for future adaptation and mitigation. The public debt levels of all Pacific SIDS are rising and have been exacerbated by the pandemic and the increase in disasters (Atteridge & Canales, 2017; Fouad et al., 2021). As a result, how the Pacific SIDS receive their climate financing has been predominately through grants where no repayment is required (World Bank, n.d.). Therefore when climate finance is in the form of loans, the high cost of financing has immediate effects

on the government balances, especially when it comes to the fiscal space available that was once for development spending (Bhattacharya et al., 2023).

This is the same in Samoa, as it was reported both in the research findings and by several authors (e.g. Carter, 2023; IMF, 2022): they are at a high risk of debt distress over the long term. Therefore, concessional loans and grants are needed as without this Samoa's public debt would likely become unsustainable over the medium-term (Carter, 2023). The findings further indicated that the GoS is cautious of any additional debt as their remaining fiscal base in the short- to medium-term is reserved for undertaking debt needed in disaster recovery. Green Tourism Bonds would require the GoS to undertake a small level of debt, and even with backing from a development partner, it requires an element of risk. Since this research highlighted that are unable to take on additional substantial debt or utilize new financial instruments with the multilateral banks, Green Tourism Bonds are unable to be recommended in the short term for tourism accommodation climate financing. This research indicated that the tourism sector suffered economically from COVID-19, and as a result, many tourism enterprises defaulted their loans with the banks. The blended approach was suggested in Chapter 6 to de-risk this sector, yet the assumption still remains within the key informants that the tourism sector is a risky investment. Furthermore, there were indications to suggest that the tourism sector is still in a recovery phase rather than growth, which means a planning rather than an implementing phase. Therefore, grants are recognised as being favourable in the short-medium term.

### **7.3 Conclusion**

This research aimed to explore the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as a climate financing initiative in Samoa and whether such bonds could be an initiative that aligns with their sustainable tourism development and climate financing approaches.

Climate finance is a way to help with the irreversible and widespread devastations of climate change through financing the need to survive in the future. Samoa is a recipient of climate financing and this is a national priority for the sustainable development of Samoa. However, the external financing architecture that countries like Samoa use to access such financing is extremely complex and the research findings highlighted that the GoS can often struggle to access climate financing for their projects. The challenges the GoS experiences in accessing

climate finance led to the tourism sector also being unable to access financing, with currently no climate change tourism fund or project active in Samoa. The tourism sector in Samoa is mainly located on the beachfront and is already experiencing the effects of climate change, and therefore needs to adapt and mitigate these effects. However, not only do they struggle to access financing, but when they do it the advice they get sometimes does not align with them drawing from their own ideas about community resilience thus the interventions can be seen as inappropriate. This research drew from Latai-Niusulu et al.'s (2020) cultural-ecological lens to highlight the importance of community resilience in climate change. Specifically, climate change interventions need to appreciate how Samoans associate with land in a practical, social and spiritual sense and recognise the complex, multi-faceted connection to ecology by incorporating holistic ideologies. Together with the passed down knowledge, customary land and sharing of resources, it brings awareness to climate change through the collective effort that is founded on fa'asamoa (Latai-Niusulu et al., 2020). Community resilience theory is important in climate financing approaches because it allows for projects to be directed by the community and the tourism sector.

To show how Green Tourism Bonds could contribute to both an increase in climate financing access and to support sustainable tourism development, it required the development of a conceptual framework that partly drew from existing conceptualisations (Figure 3.8, p. 65). The literature and findings established that for Green Tourism Bonds to be implemented, it needs to be within climate financing that is understood within climate resilience, therefore this is represented on the left-hand-side of the conceptual framework. This study thus was also founded upon the SPTO Pacific Sustainable Tourism Principles (Table 2.1, p. 24) and the Policy Framework developed from this (Figure 1.3, p.13) that is integrated into Samoa's tourism development plans. Even though this thesis concludes that Green Tourism Bonds are not recommended in the short-medium term in Samoa, the thesis shows that future climate financing mechanisms in Samoa and other tourism destinations in the Pacific should be aligned with their own tourism destination's understanding and aspirations with respect to the SPTO Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework. Ideally, this will lead to climate finance that is accessible to those who need it (i.e. the tourism accommodation operators) and thus adaptations within Samoa contribute to long-term community resilience and sustainable tourism development. It would be appropriate for tourism accommodations can continue to operate as they are adapting to climate change, with government involvement to ensure that sustainable tourism development is always strived for in practice.

#### 7.4 Recommendations

This research does not recommend Green Tourism Bonds in Samoa in the short- and medium-term due to the country's high public fiscal debt and lack of a strong enabling environment. Rather, it is a model that could be integrated into their long-term goals, potentially after further COVID-19 recovery or at a smaller scale on a trial first.

To achieve more sustainable locally-driven tourism in Samoa, this research recommends that there is a need for climate financing mechanisms to directly involve the tourism accommodations in Samoa so that they have control over the initiatives that are financed. Such as incorporating the conceptual framework within their plans. The STA have previous experience in tourism climate change projects and could investigate a blended approach to financing.

Furthermore, whilst this research is concentrated in Samoa, there is evidence to suggest that a similar model and development strategy could be applied to other Pacific Island states that follow the SPTO Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework conceptualisation at the country level. At the regional level, the SPTO should look into conducting a trial into Green Tourism Bonds.

This research is the first known academic source to conceptualise this type of climate financing as applied to sustainable tourism development in the Pacific region. Thus it is recommended that further research occurs in this area. It is recommended that research continues into Green Tourism Bonds and the benefits that blended finance can achieve for climate financing and sustainable tourism development. Further research is also needed into the opportunities for sustainable tourism development of blended finance in climate change projects based in the Pacific Island region. As noted by one key informant:

*“The topics that the researchers are focusing on are important. The problem is there are not a lot of people who understand climate financing or sustainable tourism development. There is not a lot of information that is focused on just this country. So, we embrace opportunities like your research”* (Development Partner, interview July 2023).



## References

- Adelman, S. (2018). The sustainable development goals, Anthropocentrism and Neoliberalism. In D. French & L. J. Kotzé (Eds.), *Sustainable Development Goals: Law, theory and implementation*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Adhikari, B., & Safae Chalkasra, L. S. (2021). Mobilizing private sector investment for climate action: Enhancing ambition and scaling up implementation. *Journal of Sustainable Finance & Investment*, 1–18.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/20430795.2021.1917929>
- Alefaio-Tugia, S., Afeaki-Mafile'o, E., & Satele, P. (2019). Chapter 7: Pacific-Indigenous community-village resilience in disasters. In J. Ravulo, T. Malfile'o, & D. B. Yeates, *Pacific Social Work* (pp. 68–78). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315144252-7>
- Amosa, P. (2020). Chapter 4: The Current State of the Pacific. In A. Costi & J. Renwick (Eds.), *In the Eye of the Storm: Reflections from the Second Pacific Climate Change Conference* (pp. 45–58). Victoria University of Wellington, SPREP, NZACL.  
[https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/StreamGate?is\\_mobile=false&metadata=xsl&is\\_rtl=false&dps\\_dvs=1680599068244~827&dps\\_pid=FL69620712](https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/StreamGate?is_mobile=false&metadata=xsl&is_rtl=false&dps_dvs=1680599068244~827&dps_pid=FL69620712)
- Andriotis, K. (2018). *Degrowth in Tourism: Conceptual, Theoretical and Philosophical Issues* (1st ed.). CABI Publishing.
- Atteridge, A., & Canales, N. (2017). *Climate finance in the Pacific: An overview of flows to the region's Small Island Developing States* (Working Paper 2017–04; SEI Working Papers Series, p. 74). Stockholm Environment Institute.
- Australian Bureau of Meteorology and CSIRO. (2011). *Climate Change in the Pacific: Scientific Assessment and New Research: Vol. Volume 1: Regional Overview*. CSIRO Publishing.
- Bailey, C. A. (1996). *A guide to field research* (1st ed.). Pine Forge Press.

- Ballu, V., Bouin, M.-N., Siméoni, P., Crawford, W. C., Calmant, S., Boré, J.-M., Kanas, T., & Pelletier, B. (2011). Comparing the role of absolute sea-level rise and vertical tectonic motions in coastal flooding, Torres Islands (Vanuatu). *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *108*(32), 13019–13022.  
<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1102842108>
- Banga, J. (2019). The green bond market: A potential source of climate finance for developing countries. *Journal of Sustainable Finance & Investment*, *9*(1), 17–32.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/20430795.2018.1498617>
- Berkes, F. (1999). *Sacred ecology: Traditional ecological knowledge and resource management*. Taylor & Francis.
- Berkes, F., Colding, J., & Folke, C. (2004). Navigating social–ecological systems: Building resilience for complexity and change. *Biological Conservation*, *119*(4), 581.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2004.01.010>
- Berno, T., & Douglas, N. (1998). Tourism in the South Pacific: A Polynesia/Melanesia discussion. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, *2*(2), 65–73.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10941669808721998>
- Betzold, C., & Weiler, F. (2017). Allocation of aid for adaptation to climate change: Do vulnerable countries receive more support? *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, *17*(1), 17–36. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-016-9343-8>
- Beyerl, K., Mieg, H. A., & Weber, E. (2018). Comparing perceived effects of climate-related environmental change and adaptation strategies for the Pacific small island states of Tuvalu, Samoa, and Tonga. *Island Studies Journal*, *13*(1), 25–44.  
<https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.53>

- Bhattacharya, A., Kharas, H., & McArthur, J. W. (2023). Introduction: The Role of Developing Countries in Driving Global Success and Local Prosperity. In *Keys to Climate Action*. The Brookings Institution.
- Bhutta, U. S., Tariq, A., Farrukh, M., Raza, A., & Iqbal, M. K. (2022). Green bonds for sustainable development: Review of literature on development and impact of green bonds. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, *175*, 121378.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2021.121378>
- Boserup, E. (1965). *The Conditions of Agriculture Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure* (1st ed.). George Allen & Unwin LTD Ruskin House Museum Street.
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Sage.
- Bramwell, B. (2007). Opening Up New Spaces in the Sustainable Tourism Debate. *Tourism Recreation Research*, *32*(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2007.11081519>
- Bramwell, B., & Lane, B. (2012). Towards innovation in sustainable tourism research? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *20*(1), 1–7.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2011.641559>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Buchner, B. K., Naran, B., Padmanabhi, R., Stout, S., Strinati, C., Wignarajah, D., Miao, G., Connolly, J., & Marini, N. (2023). *Global Landscape of Climate Finance 2023*. Climate Policy Institution. <https://www.climatepolicyinitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Global-Landscape-of-Climate-Finance-2023.pdf>
- Buchner, B. K., Oliver, P., Wang, X., Carswell, C., Meattle, C., & Mazza, F. (2017). *Global Landscape of Climate Finance 2017*. Climate Policy Institution.

- <https://www.climatepolicyinitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/2017-Global-Landscape-of-Climate-Finance.pdf>
- Butler, R. (1999). Sustainable tourism: A state-of-the-art review. *Tourism Geographies*, 1(1), 7–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616689908721291>
- Butler, R. (2018). Sustainable Tourism in Sensitive Environments: A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing? *Sustainability*, 10(6), Article 6. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10061789>
- Butler, R., Goodwin, H., Abegg, B., Alberts, A., Amoamo, M., Baldacchino, G., Becken, S., Berbés-Blázquez, M., Buultjens, J., & Gnanapala, A. C. (2017). *Tourism and Resilience*. CABI.  
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/massey/detail.action?docID=4987109>
- Cambridge Dictionary. (2023). Definition of anthropogenic. In *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus*. Cambridge University Press.  
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/anthropogenic>
- Campos, C., Gutiérrez, D., Dias, A. C., Quinteiro, P., Herrero, Á., Gallego, M., Villanueva-Rey, P., Laso, J., Albertí, J., Fullana-i-Palmer, P., Bala, A., Mélon, L., Fullana, M., Sazdovski, I., Roca, M., Xifré, R., Margallo, M., & Aldaco, R. (2023). 'Small-scale' tourism versus traditional tourism: Which will be the new key to achieve the desired sustainable tourism? *Science of The Total Environment*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2023.168964>
- Carr, A. (2020). COVID-19, indigenous peoples and tourism: A view from New Zealand. *Tourism Geographies*, 22(3), 491–502.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1768433>
- Carrozza, I. (2015). *Climate Finance in the Asia-Pacific: Trends and Innovative Approaches* (MPDD Working Paper WP/15/08; Working Paper Series Macroeconomic Policy and Development Division).

<https://repository.unescap.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12870/1254/ESCAP-2015-WP-Climate-finance-in-the-Asia-Pacific.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Carter, S. G. (2023). *Samoa 2.1(c) Case Study: Actions supporting Article 2.1(c) of the Paris Agreement in Samoa* (Climate-Consistency of Finance Flows: iGST Case Study)

[Case Study]. ClimateWorks Foundation and ODI. [http://cdn-odi-production.s3.amazonaws.com/media/documents/2.1c\\_Samoa\\_paper\\_-\\_iGST\\_Report\\_FINAL\\_SD\\_OM\\_IG\\_OM39\\_cwf\\_003.pdf](http://cdn-odi-production.s3.amazonaws.com/media/documents/2.1c_Samoa_paper_-_iGST_Report_FINAL_SD_OM_IG_OM39_cwf_003.pdf)

Cave, J., & Dredge, D. (2018). Reworking Tourism: Diverse Economies in a Changing World. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 15(5), 473–477.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2018.1510659>

Chowdhury, A., & Jomo, K. S. (2022). The Climate Finance Conundrum. *Development*, 65(1), 29–41. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41301-022-00329-0>

Clark, R., Reed, J., & Sunderland, T. (2018). Bridging funding gaps for climate and sustainable development: Pitfalls, progress and potential of private finance. *Land Use Policy*, 71, 335–346. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2017.12.013>

Clarke, T., McNamara, K. E., Clissold, R., & Nunn, P. D. (2019). Community-based adaptation to climate change: Lessons from Tanna Island, Vanuatu. *Island Studies Journal*, 14(1). <https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.80>

Collins, A. (1999). Tourism development and natural capital. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(1), 98–109. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(98\)00059-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00059-0)

Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa (1960).

<https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/44021/124322/F-82949215/WSM44021.pdf>

*Costa Rica Lifestyle Investment*. (2022). Costa Rica Tourism Bonds.

<https://www.tourismbonds.com>

- Crate, S. A., & Nuttall, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Anthropology and climate change: From encounters to actions*. Left Coast Press.
- Cretney, R. (2014). Resilience for Whom? Emerging Critical Geographies of Socio-ecological Resilience: Resilience of What, for Whom? *Geography Compass*, 8(9), 627–640. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12154>
- Cronin, L. (1990). A Strategy for Tourism and Sustainable Developments. *World Leisure & Recreation*, 32(3), 12–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10261133.1990.10559117>
- Crook, T., & Rudiak-Gould, P. (2018a). Introduction: Pacific Climate Cultures. In T. Crook & P. Rudiak-Gould, *Pacific Climate Cultures: Living Climate Change in Oceania*. De Gruyter Open. <https://doi.org/10.2478/9783110591415>
- Crook, T., & Rudiak-Gould, P. (2018b). *Pacific Climate Cultures: Living Climate Change in Oceania*. De Gruyter Open. <https://doi.org/10.2478/9783110591415>
- Cupples, J., & Kindon, S. (2014). Chapter 12: Returning to University and Writing in the Field. In R. Scheyvens (Ed.), *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide* (2nd ed., pp. 236–252). SAGE Publications, Limited.
- D’Alisa, G., Demaria, F., & Kallis, G. (Eds.). (2015). *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Daly, H. (1990). Toward some operational principles of sustainable development. *Ecological Economics*, 2(1), 1–6.
- Daly, H. (1992). U.N. conferences on environment and development: Retrospect on Stockholm and prospects for Rio. *Ecological Economics*, 5(1), 9–14. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0921-8009\(92\)90018-N](https://doi.org/10.1016/0921-8009(92)90018-N)
- Damon, T., & Salesea, I. (2003). ‘Travel-Happy’ Samoa: Colonialism, Samoan Migration and a “Brown Pacific.” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37(2), 171–184.

- Davidson, J. W. (1948). Political Development in Western Samoa. *Pacific Affairs*, 21(2), 136.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2752511>
- Dirix, J., Peeters, W., & Sterckx, S. (2012). Equal per capita entitlements to greenhouse gas emissions: A justice based-critique. In T. Potthast & S. Meisch (Eds.), *Climate change and sustainable development* (pp. 121–127). Wageningen Academic Publishers. [https://doi.org/10.3920/978-90-8686-753-0\\_16](https://doi.org/10.3920/978-90-8686-753-0_16)
- Du Pisani, J. A. (2006). Sustainable development – historical roots of the concept. *Environmental Sciences*, 3(2), 83–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15693430600688831>
- DuPont, C. M., Levitt, J., & Bilmes, L. (2016). *Green Bonds and Land Conservation: The Evolution of a New Financing Tool* [Policy Brief]. Harvard Kennedy School.  
<http://www.ssrn.com/abstract=2700311>
- Dwyer, L. (2018). Saluting while the ship sinks: The necessity for tourism paradigm change. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 26(1), 29–48.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1308372>
- Ettinger, J. (2021, December 5). With Its First Sustainable Tourism Bonds, Costa Rica Aims to Attract Responsible Investors and Tourists. *Ethos*. <https://the-ethos.co/costa-rica-sustainable-tourism-bonds/>
- Everett, H., Simpson, D., & Wayne, S. (2018). *Tourism as a Driver of Growth in the Pacific: A Pathway to Growth and Prosperity for Pacific Island Countries* (Policy Brief 2; The Pacific Private Sector Development Initiative, p. 26). Asian Development Bank, AUS AID & NZMFAT.
- Fa’aea, A. (2020). E tumau le fa’avae ae fesuia’i faiga: Pasifika resilience during COVID-19. *Oceania; a Journal Devoted to the Study of the Native Peoples of Australia, New Guinea, and the Islands of the Pacific*, 90, 75–80.

- Fairbairn-Dunlop. (1996). *Tamaitai Samoa: Their stories*. Institute of Pacific Studies, USP ; KIN Publications.
- Faulkner, B., Laws, E., & Moscardo, G. (Eds.). (1998). *Embracing and Managing Change in Tourism* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203360491>
- Fayolle, V., Fouvet, C., Soundarajan, V., Nath, V., Acharya, S., Gupta, N., & Petrarulo, L. (2019). *Engaging the private sector in financing adaptation to climate change: Learning from practice* (Action on Climate Today) [Learning Paper]. ACT.
- Flammer, C. (2021). Corporate green bonds. *Journal of Financial Economics*, 142(2), 499–516. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfineco.2021.01.010>
- Fletcher, R. (2011). Sustaining Tourism, Sustaining Capitalism? The Tourism Industry's Role in Global Capitalist Expansion. *Tourism Geographies*, 13(3), 443–461. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2011.570372>
- Fletcher, S. M., Thiessen, J., Gero, A., Rumsey, M., Kuruppu, N., & Willetts, J. (2013). Traditional Coping Strategies and Disaster Response: Examples from the South Pacific Region. *Journal of Environmental and Public Health*, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2013/264503>
- Ford, A., Thompson-Carr, A., Mildwaters, N., Fonoti, D., & Jackmond, G. (2019). *Promoting cultural heritage for sustainable tourism development: Samoa* (Promoting Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Tourism Development). New Zealand Institute for Pacific Research.
- Ford, J. D., & King, D. (2015). A framework for examining adaptation readiness. *Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change*, 20(4), 505–526. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11027-013-9505-8>

- Fouad, M. M., Novta, N., Preston, G., Schneider, T., & Weerathunga, S. (2021). *Unlocking Access to Climate Finance for Pacific Island Countries* (Asia-Pacific and Fiscal Affairs Department Paper Series). International Monetary Fund.
- GCF. (2017, October 2). *Fiji Development Bank (FDB)*. Green Climate Fund; Green Climate Fund. <https://www.greenclimate.fund/ae/fdb>
- GCF. (2018). *Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, Cook Islands* [Text]. Green Climate Fund; Green Climate Fund. <https://www.greenclimate.fund/ae/mfem>
- GCF. (2019). *Pacific Community (SPC)*. Green Climate Fund; Green Climate Fund. <https://www.greenclimate.fund/ae/spc>
- GCF. (2022a). *Private Sector Strategy* (GCF Documentation) [Policies, strategies, and guidelines]. Green Climate Fund. <https://www.greenclimate.fund/document/private-sector-strategy>
- GCF. (2022b, April 20). *Making blended finance work for adaptation* [Executive Director Speeches]. Lahti Adaptation Finance Ministerial, Lahti, Finland. Green Climate Fund. <https://www.greenclimate.fund/speech/making-blended-finance-work-adaptation>
- GoS. (2002). *National investment policy statement: Update 2001/2002*. Government of Samoa, Department of Trade, Commerce, and Industry.
- Gos. (2016). *Apia Waterfront Plan 2017—2026*. Government of Samoa: Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, Government of Samoa. <https://samoa-data.sprep.org/dataset/apia-waterfront-plan-2017-2026>
- GoS. (2020a). *Samoa Climate Change Policy 2020-2030*. Government of Samoa. <https://www.mnre.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Samoa-Climate-Change-Policy-2020-2030.pdf>
- GoS. (2020b). *Samoa's Second Voluntary National Review on the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs Taskforce). Government of Samoa.

[https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/26429Samoa\\_Samos2ndVNR2020reduced.pdf](https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/26429Samoa_Samos2ndVNR2020reduced.pdf)

GoS. (2020c). *State of Emergency Declared*. Government of Samoa.

<https://www.samoagovt.ws/2020/03/state-of-emergency-declared/>

GoS. (2021). *Samoa 2040: Transforming Samoa to a higher growth path*. Ministry of Finance. <https://www.mof.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Samoa-2040-Final.pdf>

Goundar, A., Newell, A., Nuttall, P., Rojon, I., & Samuwai, J. (2017). King Canute muses in the South Seas: Why aren't Pacific Islands transitioning to low carbon sea transport futures? *Marine Policy*, *81*, 80–90. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2017.02.012>

Grant, C. (2007). *Accessing land for public purposes in Samoa* (Case Study 13 2; Making Land Work, pp. 265–281). Land Administration Consultant.

Grattan, F. J. H. (1948). *An introduction to Samoan custom*. Samoa Printing & Pub. Co.

Gunderson, L. (2000). Ecological Resilience—In Theory and Application. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, *31*(1), 425–439. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ecolsys.31.1.425>

Gunderson, L. (2010). Ecological and Human Community Resilience in Response to Natural Disasters. *Ecology and Society*, *15*(2), art18. <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-03381-150218>

Hall, C. M. (2009). Degrowing Tourism: Décroissance, Sustainable Consumption and Steady-State Tourism. *Anatolia*, *20*(1), 46–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13032917.2009.10518894>

Hardy, A., Beeton, R. J. S., & Pearson, L. (2002). Sustainable Tourism: An Overview of the Concept and its Position in Relation to Conceptualisations of Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *10*(6), 475–496. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580208667183>

- Harrison, D. (2003). Tourism in Pacific Islands. *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 26(1 & 2), 1–28.
- Harrison, D. (2004). *Tourism in Pacific Islands*.
- Hashemkhani Zolfani, S., Sedaghat, M., Maknoon, R., & Zavadskas, E. K. (2015). Sustainable tourism: A comprehensive literature review on frameworks and applications. *Economic Research-Ekonomska Istraživanja*, 28(1), 1–30.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1331677X.2014.995895>
- Hau'ofa, E. (1993). Our Sea of Islands. In E. Waddell, V. Naidu, & E. Hau'ofa, *A New Oceania: Rediscovering our Sea of Islands* (pp. 2–17). University of the South Pacific.
- Hess, J., & Kelman, I. (2017). Tourism Industry Financing of Climate Change Adaptation: Exploring the Potential in Small Island Developing States. *Climate, Disaster and Development Journal*, 2(2), Article 2.
- Hess, J., Pauw, P., & Papyrakis, E. (2015). *Can the tourism industry contribute to international adaptation finance?* (Research Report 2/2015). Briefing Paper.  
<https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/199743>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2020). Socialising tourism for social and ecological justice after COVID-19. *Tourism Geographies*, 22(3), 610–623.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1757748>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F., Carnicelli, S., Krolkowski, C., Wijesinghe, G., & Boluk, K. (2019). Degrowing tourism: Rethinking tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1926–1944. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1601732>
- His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi. (2018). Prelude: Climate Change and the Perspective of the Fish. In T. Crook & P. Rudiak-Gould, *Pacific Climate Cultures:*

*Living Climate Change in Oceania*. De Gruyter Open.

<https://doi.org/10.2478/9783110591415>

Hofkirchner, W., & Schafranek, M. (2011). *General System Theory—An overview*.

ScienceDirect Topics. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/computer-science/general-system-theory>

Holling, C. S. (1973). Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 1–23.

Holling, C. S. (2001). Understanding the Complexity of Economic, Ecological, and Social Systems. *Ecosystems*, 4(5), 390–405. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10021-001-0101-5>

Honourable Tuilaepa Dr Sailele Malielegaoi. (2020). Opening Address Second Pacific CLimate Change Conference. In A. Costi & J. Renwick (Eds.), *In the Eye of the Storm: Reflections from the Second Pacific Climate Change Conference* (pp. 1–191).

Victoria University of Wellington, SPREP, NZACL.

[https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/StreamGate?is\\_mobile=false&metadata=xsl&is\\_rtl=false&dps\\_dvs=1680599068244~827&dps\\_pid=FL69620712](https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/StreamGate?is_mobile=false&metadata=xsl&is_rtl=false&dps_dvs=1680599068244~827&dps_pid=FL69620712)

Hulme, M. (2009). *Why We Disagree about Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction and Opportunity*. Cambridge University Press.

Hunter, C. J. (1995). On the need to re-conceptualise sustainable tourism development.

*Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 3(3), 155–165.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589509510720>

Hunter, C. J. (1997). Sustainable tourism as an adaptive paradigm. *Annals of Tourism*

*Research*, 24(4), 850–867. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(97\)00036-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(97)00036-4)

Hutchison, B., Movono, A., & Scheyvens, R. (2021). Resetting tourism post-COVID-19:

Why Indigenous Peoples must be central to the conversation. *Tourism Recreation*

*Research*, 46(2), 261–275. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2021.1905343>

- ICMA. (2021). *Green Bond Principles: Voluntary Process Guidelines for Issuing Green Bonds*. IMCA. <https://www.icmagroup.org/assets/documents/Sustainable-finance/2021-updates/Green-Bond-Principles-June-2021-140621.pdf>
- IISD. (2023a). *Event: 2023 UN Climate Change Conference COP 28*. SDG Knowledge Hub. <http://sdg.iisd.org/events/2023-un-climate-change-conference-unfccc-cop-28/>
- IISD. (2023b). *Summary report 5–8 December 2023*. IISD Earth Negotiations Bulletin. <http://enb.iisd.org/barcelona-convention-cop23-summary>
- ILO. (n.d.). *Informal economy (Partnership for improving prospects for forcibly displaced persons and host communities (PROSPECTS))*. International Labour Organization. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://www.ilo.org/global/programmes-and-projects/prospects/themes/informal-economy/lang--en/index.htm#>
- IMF. (2022). Samoa: Technical Assistance Report—Climate Macroeconomic Assessment Program. *IMF Staff Country Reports*, 2022(083), 1. <https://doi.org/10.5089/9798400205569.002>
- IPCC. (2013). *Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*.
- IPCC. (2014). *AR5 Synthesis Report: Climate Change*. <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/syr/>
- IPCC. (2018). *IPCC Special Report on Impacts of Global Warming*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009157940>
- IPCC. (2021). *Climate Change 2021 The Physical Science Basis Summary for Policymakers*. AR6, 32.
- IPCC. (2023). *AR6 Synthesis Report: Summary for Policymakers Headline Statements*. IPCC. <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/syr/resources/spm-headline-statements/>
- IsDB. (2019). *Developing National Ecosystems for South-South and Triangular Cooperation to Achieve Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development.pdf*. Islamic Development Bank. <https://www.isdb.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/2022->

02/Developing%20National%20Ecosystems%20for%20South-South%20and%20Triangular%20Cooperation%20to%20Achieve%20Agenda%202030%20for%20Sustainable%20Development.pdf

Kaspar, A., Pifeleti, S., & Whitfield, B. C. (2020). The measles emergency is over, but the crisis continues – a call to action for the Pacific Islands. *Journal of Global Health, 10*(2), 020301. <https://doi.org/10.7189/jogh.10.020301>

Kelman, I. (2018). Islandness within climate change narratives of small island developing states (SIDS). *Island Studies Journal, 13*(1), 149–166. <https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.52>

Latai, A. (2009). *Toe timata le upega: A critique of coastal governance in Samoa* [Thesis, University of Otago]. <https://ourarchive.otago.ac.nz/handle/10523/9866>

Latai-Niusulu, A., Binns, T., & Nel, E. (2020). Climate change and community resilience in Samoa. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, 41*(1), 40–60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sjtg.12299>

Lazrus, H. (2012). Sea Change: Island Communities and Climate Change. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 41*(1), 285–301. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-092611-145730>

Lovelock, B., Tuipoloa-Utuva, L., & Carr, A. (2022). Sustainable tourism planning in Samoa. In M. L. Stephenson, *Routledge Handbook on Tourism and Small Island States in the Pacific* (1st ed., pp. 313–327). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429019968-26>

Lu, J., & Nepal, S. K. (2009). Sustainable tourism research: An analysis of papers published in the Journal of Sustainable Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 17*(1), 5–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580802582480>

Maclellan, N., & Meads, S. (2016). *After Paris: Climate finance in the Pacific islands* (September 2016; Oxfam Research Reports). Oxfam New Zealand and Oxfam Australia.

- Macpherson, C., & Macpherson, L. (2009). *The warm winds of change: Globalisation in contemporary Sāmoa*. Auckland University Press.
- Malifa, E. (2021). Pacific Wayfinder: Samoa's election surprise. *Australia Pacific Security College*. <https://pacificsecurity.net/pacific-wayfinder-samoas-election-surprise/>
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing qualitative research* (4th ed). Sage Publications.
- Martinez-Alier, J. (2009). Socially Sustainable Economic De-growth. *Development & Change*, 40(6), 1099–1119. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2009.01618.x>
- McKercher, B. (1993). Some Fundamental Truths About Tourism: Understanding Tourism's Social and Environmental Impacts. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1(1), 6–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589309450697>
- McLennan, S., & Prinsen, G. (2014). Chapter 5: Something Old, Something New: Research Using Archives, Texts and Virtual Data. In R. Scheyvens (Ed.), *Development Field Work: A Practical Guide*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473921801>
- McMillan, C. L., O'Gorman, K. D., & MacLaren, A. C. (2011). Commercial hospitality: A vehicle for the sustainable empowerment of Nepali women. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 23(2), 189–208. <https://doi.org/10.1108/095961111111119329>
- McMillen, H. L., Ticktin, T., Friedlander, A., Jupiter, S. D., Thaman, R., Campbell, J., Veitayaki, J., Giambelluca, T., Nihmei, S., Rupeni, E., Apis-Overhoff, L., Aalbersberg, W., & Orcherton, D. F. (2014). Small islands, valuable insights: Systems of customary resource use and resilience to climate change in the Pacific. *Ecology and Society*, 19(4). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26269694>

- Meleisea, M. (1987). *The making of modern Samoa: Traditional authority and colonial administration in the history of Western Samoa*. Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific.
- Meleisea, M., & Meleisea, P. S. (Eds.). (1987). *Lagaga: A short history of Western Samoa*. University of the South Pacific.
- Meleisea, M., Meleisea, P., Va'ai, I., & Suafole, I. (1987). Chapter Eight: New Zealand Samoa 1914-1960. In *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa* (pp. 125–146). University of the South Pacific. <https://samoanudies.ws/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Chapter-8.pdf>
- Meleisea, M., Schoeffel' Meleisea, P., & Peseta Sib, G. (2016). United Nations Trusteeship. *The National University of Samoa*, 147–157.
- Mensah, J. (2019). Sustainable development: Meaning, history, principles, pillars, and implications for human action: Literature review. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 5(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2019.1653531>
- Meo-Sewabu, L. (2014). *Cultural constructs of health and wellbeing amongst indigenous Fijian women in Fiji and New Zealand* [Unpublished doctoral thesis]. Massey University.
- Mika, T. (2023). *Samoa's inflation rate is highest in the Pacific*. Samoa Observer. <https://www.samoaoobserver.ws/category/samoa/103383#>
- Miller, G., & Twining-Ward, L. (2005). *Monitoring for a sustainable tourism transition: The challenge of developing and using indicators*. CABI Pub.
- MoF. (2021). *Pathway for the Development of Samoa FY2021/22—FY2025/26*. Ministry of Finance: Economic Policy and Planning Division. [https://www.mof.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/MOF\\_PATHWAY-DEVELOPMENT-SAMOA.pdf](https://www.mof.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/MOF_PATHWAY-DEVELOPMENT-SAMOA.pdf)
- MoF. (2022a). *Finance Sector Plan 2023-2027*. Ministry of Finance: Government of Samoa.

- MoF. (2022b). *Fiscal Strategy Statement: FY2022/2023 Main Estimates*. Ministry of Finance: Government of Samoa. <https://www.mof.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/Fiscal-Strategy-202223-202425-ENG-for-Printing.pdf>
- MoF. (2022c). *Quarterly Economic Overview: Second Quarter FY2022-2023* (99; Quarterly Economic Overview). Government of Samoa. <https://www.mof.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Final-QER-Dec-FY2022-23.pdf>
- Mohieldin, M. (2017). *The Sustainable Development Goals and Private Sector Opportunities*. World Bank Group, University of Medellin, Colombia. <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/394231501877501769-0270022017/original/TheSustainableDevelopmentGoalsandPrivateSectorOpportunities.pdf>
- Morgado, A. (2007). The informal economy: Enabling transition to formalization. *The Informal Economy*.
- Mosedale, J. (2016). *Neoliberalism and the political economy of tourism* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Movono, A., Dahles, H., & Becken, S. (2017). Fijian culture and the environment: A focus on the ecological and social interconnectedness of tourism development. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 26(3), 451–469. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1359280>
- Movono, A., & Hughes, E. (2020). Tourism partnerships: Localizing the SDG agenda in Fiji. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 30(10), 2318–2332. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1811291>
- Movono, A., & Scheyvens, R. (2021). *Mana of the Pacific: Wisdom from across Oceania*. Potton & Burton.
- Movono, A., & Scheyvens, R. (2022). *Adapting and reacting to Covid-19: Tourism and resilience in the South Pacific*. 1(6). <https://doi.org/10.26021/12509>

- Movono, A., Scheyvens, R., & Auckram, S. (2022). Silver linings around dark clouds: Tourism, Covid-19 and a return to traditional values, villages and the vanua. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 63(2), 164–179. <https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12340>
- Mowforth, M., & Munt, I. (2016). *Tourism and sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the Third World* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- MRDC. (2018). *PNG Owned Luxury Resort Wins Samoa Tourism Excellence Award*. Custodians of Tomorrow. <https://www.mrdc.com.pg/png-owned-luxury-resort-wins-samoa-tourism-excellence-award.html>
- MUHEC. (2017). *Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants—Revised Code*. Massey University. <https://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/Human%20Ethics/Documents/MUHEC%20Code.pdf?2F3CBE296DD2345CC01794BF9CFCA13A>
- Mulitalo-Lauta, P. T. (1998). *The Role of Fa'asamoa in Social Work in Aotearoa New Zealand* [Thesis]. Massey University.
- Mullings, B. (1999). Insider or outsider, both or neither: Some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum*, 30(4), 337–350. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(99\)00025-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00025-1)
- Murphy, C. (2023). *Fixed-Income Security Definition, Types, and Examples*. Investopedia. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/f/fixed-incomesecurity.asp>
- Murray, W., & Overton, J. (2014). Designing Development Research. In R. Scheyvens (Ed.), *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications, Limited. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/massey/reader.action?docID=4714119&ppg=40>
- Nakhooda, S. (2012). *Climate Finance: Readiness and Strengthening Institutions: Technical Meeting Summary* (ODI Discussion Paper).

- Nelson, S. H. (2014). Resilience and the neoliberal counter-revolution: From ecologies of control to production of the common. *Resilience*, 2(1), 1–17.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2014.872456>
- Newell, J. (2018). Chapter 7: Weathering Climate Change in Samoa: Cultural Resources for Resilience. In T. Crook & P. Rudiak-Gould, *Pacific Climate Cultures: Living Climate Change in Oceania* (pp. 88–105). De Gruyter Open.  
<https://doi.org/10.2478/9783110591415>
- Nilsson, C. (2011). Climate Change from an Indigenous Perspective: Key Issues and Challenges. *The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs*, 8(1 & 2).
- Nunn, P. (2009). Responding to the challenges of climate change in the Pacific Islands: Management and technological imperatives. *Climate Research*, 40, 211–231.  
<https://doi.org/10.3354/cr00806>
- NZTRI. (2018). *Samoa International Visitor Survey—January 2018 to June 2018* (Samoa International Visitor Survey) [Survey]. New Zealand Tourism Research Institute Auckland University of Technology. <https://hdl.handle.net/10292/12078>
- OECD. (n.d.). *Foreign direct investment (FDI)*. OECDiLibrary. Retrieved January 8, 2024, from [https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/finance-and-investment/foreign-direct-investment-fdi/indicator-group/english\\_9a523b18-en#](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/finance-and-investment/foreign-direct-investment-fdi/indicator-group/english_9a523b18-en#)
- OECD. (2015a). *Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action*. OECD.  
<https://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/parisdeclarationandaccraagendaforaction.htm>
- OECD. (2015b). *Toolkit to Enhance Access to Adaptation Finance for developing countries that are vulnerable to adverse effects of climate change, including LIDCs, SIDS and African states* (G20 Climate Finance Study Group). Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2015/Toolkit-to-Enhance->

Access-to-Adaptation-Finance-for-Developing-Countries-that-are-Vulnerable-to-the-Adverse-Effects-of-Climate-Change.pdf

- OECD. (2023a). *GDP and spending—Gross domestic product (GDP)* (Total, US Dollars/Capital Gross domestic product; 2022 or latest available) [Chart]. <http://data.oecd.org/gdp/gross-domestic-product-gdp.htm>
- OECD. (2023b). *National Accounts of OECD Countries*. 2022(2). <https://doi.org/10.1787/3e073951-en>
- O’Leary, Z. (2017). *The essential guide to doing your research project* (Manawatū Short Loans (Level 1) 001.42 OLe; 3rd ed.). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Oppermann, M. (1993). Tourism space in developing countries. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 20(3), 535–556. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(93\)90008-Q](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(93)90008-Q)
- OXFAM. (2018). *Climate Finance Shadow Report 2018: Assessing progress towards the \$100 billion commitment*. OXFAM International.
- PCCSP. (2011). *Current and future climate of Samoa* (Pacific Climate Change Science Program). Australian Government. [https://world.350.org/pacific/files/2014/01/3\\_PCCSP\\_Samoa\\_8pp.pdf](https://world.350.org/pacific/files/2014/01/3_PCCSP_Samoa_8pp.pdf)
- PIFS. (2015). *2015 Pacific regional MDGs tracking report* (Technical Working Group). The Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat. <https://www.forumsec.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/2015-Pacific-Regional-MDGs-Tracking-Report.pdf>
- Piketty, T., & Goldhammer, A. (2014). *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Harvard University Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wpqbc>
- Prasad, A., Loukoianova, E., Feng, A. X., & Oman, W. (2022). *Mobilizing Private Climate Financing in Emerging Market and Developing Economies* (Notes 7; Staff Climate Notes). <https://www.elibrary.imf.org/view/journals/066/2022/007/article-A001-en.xml>

Pratt, S., & Harrison, D. (2015). *Tourism in Pacific Islands: Current Issues and Future Challenges*. Taylor & Francis Group.

<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/massey/detail.action?docID=1975271>

PRPC. (2017). *Pacific Research Guidelines and Protocols—The Pacific Research and Policy Centre*. Massey University.

<https://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/Colleges/College%20of%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/pacific-research-and-policy-centre/192190%20PRPC%20Guidelines%202017%20v5.pdf?4D6D782E508E2E272815C5E3E1941390>

PSDI. (2021). *Samoa: Pacific Tourism Sector Snapshot: November 2021*. The Pacific Private Sector Development Initiative. <https://pacificpsdi.org/assets/Uploads/PSDI-TourismSnapshot-SAM3.pdf>

Qi, J., & Qian, H. (2023). Climate finance at a crossroads: It is high time to use the global solution for global problems. *Carbon Neutrality*, 2(1), 31.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s43979-023-00071-7>

Randall, T. (2022). *How can 'blended finance' help fund climate action and development goals?* Grantham Research Institute and the London School of Economics and Political Science. <https://www.lse.ac.uk/granthaminstitute/explainers/how-can-blended-finance-help-fund-climate-action-and-development-goals/>

Redman, C. L. (2002). Review: The Way the Wind Blows: Climate, History, and Human Action: Edited by R.J. McIntosh, J.A. Tainter, S. Keech McIntosh,. *Ecological Economics*, 42(3), 501–502. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0921-8009\(02\)00134-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0921-8009(02)00134-9)

Reed, J., Van Vianen, J., Deakin, E. L., Barlow, J., & Sunderland, T. (2016). Integrated landscape approaches to managing social and environmental issues in the tropics:

- Learning from the past to guide the future. *Global Change Biology*, 22(7), 2540–2554. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gcb.13284>
- Renwick, J. (2020). Chapter 2: Physical Science. In A. Costi & J. Renwick (Eds.), *In the Eye of the Storm: Reflections from the Second Pacific Climate Change Conference* (pp. 7–20). Victoria University of Wellington, SPREP, NZACL.  
[https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/StreamGate?is\\_mobile=false&metadata=xs1&is\\_rtl=false&dps\\_dvs=1680599068244~827&dps\\_pid=FL69620712](https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/StreamGate?is_mobile=false&metadata=xs1&is_rtl=false&dps_dvs=1680599068244~827&dps_pid=FL69620712)
- Riddle, K. (2006). *The Pulenu 'u in Sāmoa: The Transformation of an Office* [University of Hawai'i]. <https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/48f60e44-b019-49ec-9b96-9851184fb44e/content>
- Robbins, R. H. (2005). *Global problems and the culture of capitalism* (3rd ed.). Pearson/Allyn and Bacon.
- Robinson, S., & Dornan, M. (2017). International financing for climate change adaptation in small island developing states. *Regional Environmental Change*, 17(4), 1103–1115. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10113-016-1085-1>
- Roblek, V., Drpić, D., Meško, M., & Milojica, V. (2021). Evolution of Sustainable Tourism Concepts. *Sustainability*, 13(22), Article 22. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su132212829>
- Rübbelke, D. T. G. (2011). International support of climate change policies in developing countries: Strategic, moral and fairness aspects. *Ecological Economics*, 70(8), 1470–1480. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2011.03.007>
- Rudiak-Gould, P. (2011). Climate change and anthropology: The importance of reception studies (Respond to this article at <http://www.therai.org.uk/at/debate>). *Anthropology Today*, 27(2), 9–12. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8322.2011.00795.x>

- Ruhanen, L., Weiler, B., Moyle, B. D., & McLennan, C. J. (2015). Trends and patterns in sustainable tourism research: A 25-year bibliometric analysis. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 23(4), 517–535. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2014.978790>
- Safe Travel. (2022). *Samoa*. New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. <https://www.safetravel.govt.nz/samoa>
- Samoa Global News. (2020, April 5). *Samoa's COVID-19 Response – Support Each Other Locally and Take Lessons from Overseas*. <https://samoaglobalnews.com/covid-19-support-each-other-locally-and-take-lessons-from-overseas11/>
- Samoa Observer. (2019a). *Faleolo International Airport flies into new era in*. <https://www.samoobserver.ws/category/article/42733>
- Samoa Observer. (2019b). *Govt. Issues state of emergency orders*. <https://www.samoobserver.ws/category/samoa/53425>
- Samuwai, J. (2021). *Understanding the climate finance landscape and how to scale it up in Pacific small island developing states* (ESCAP Working Paper Series). ESCAP: Macroeconomic Policy and Finance for Development Division. <https://repository.unescap.org/handle/20.500.12870/4045>
- Samuwai, J., & Hills, J. M. (2018). Assessing Climate Finance Readiness in the Asia-Pacific Region. *Sustainability*, 10(4), Article 4. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10041192>
- Sauer, C. O. (1952). *Agricultural Origins and Dispersals*. American Geographical Society.
- SBS. (2021). *Samoa Bureau of Statistics*. Government of Samoa. <https://www.sbs.gov.ws/>
- SBS. (2022). *Samoa Population and Housing Census (PHC) 2021* [Samoa population and housing census 2021 fact sheet.]. Samoa Bureau of Statistics. [https://www.sbs.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Factsheet\\_Samoa\\_PHC2021-final.pdf](https://www.sbs.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Factsheet_Samoa_PHC2021-final.pdf)

- SBS. (2023). *Employment Report March 2023 Quarter* (Quarterly Reprt 30). Government of Samoa: Samoa Bureau of Statistics. <https://www.sbs.gov.ws/images/sbs-documents/Finance/Employment/2023/Employment-Report-March-2023-Quarter.pdf>
- Schalatek, L., & Bird, N. (2023). *A Normative Framework: The Principles and Criteria of Public Climate Finance* (1; Climate Finance Fundamentals). Climate Funds Update.
- Scheyvens, R. (1999). Ecotourism and the empowerment of local communities. *Tourism Management*, 20(2), 245–249. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(98\)00069-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(98)00069-7)
- Scheyvens, R. (2002). *Tourism for development: Empowering communities* (1st ed.). Pearson Education.
- Scheyvens, R. (2003). Local involvement in managing tourism. In S. Singh & R. K. Dowling (Eds.), *Tourism in destination communities* (pp. 229–252). <https://cabidigitallibrary.org/doi/abs/10.1079/9780851996110.0229>
- Scheyvens, R. (2004). Chapter 12: Growth of Beach Fale Tourism in Samoa: The High Value of Low-cost Tourism. In C. M. Hall & S. W. Boyd (Eds.), *Nature-Based Tourism in Peripheral Areas* (pp. 188–202). Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845410025-014>
- Scheyvens, R. (2005a). *Beach fale tourism in Samoa: The value of indigenous ownership and control over tourism = Fale turisi tu matafaga i Samoa : o le aoga i tagata nu'u moni o le umia ma pulea o atina'e turisi* (6/2005; CIGAD Working Paper Series). Centre for Indigenous Governance and Development, Massey University.
- Scheyvens, R. (2005b). *The growth of beach fale tourism in Samoa: Doing tourism the Samoan way = O le tupu a fale matafaga i Samoa : atina'e o turisi i le ala Fa'aSamoa* (3/2005; CIGAD Working Paper Series). Centre for Indigenous Governance and Development, Massey University.

- Scheyvens, R. (2007). Chapter 6: Exploring the Tourism-Poverty Nexus. In C. M. Hall (Ed.), *Pro-poor Tourism: Who Benefits?* (pp. 121–144). Multilingual Matters.  
<https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845410766-006>
- Scheyvens, R. (2008). On the beach small-scale tourism in Samoa. In J. Connell & B. Rugendyke (Eds.), *Tourism at the Grassroots: Villagers and Visitors in the Asia-Pacific* (0 ed., pp. 131–148). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203938027>
- Scheyvens, R. (2020). Empowerment. In A. L. Kobayashi (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of human geography* (Second Edition, pp. 115–122). Elsevier.
- Scheyvens, R., & Biddulph, R. (2020). *Inclusive Tourism Development* (1st ed.). Routledge.  
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003108245>
- Scheyvens, R., & Momsen, J. (2008). Tourism in Small Island States: From Vulnerability to Strengths. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(5), 491–510.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580802159586>
- Scheyvens, R., & Russell, M. (2009). *Tourism and Poverty Reduction in the South Pacific* (Sharing the Riches of Tourism: Exploring How Tourism Can Contribute More Effectively to Poverty Alleviation in the Pacific, p. 77). Massey University.
- Scheyvens, R., & Van Der Watt, H. (2021). Tourism, Empowerment and Sustainable Development: A New Framework for Analysis. *Sustainability*, 13(22).  
<https://doi.org/10.3390/su132212606>
- Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth Versus Equity: The Continuum of Pro-Poor Tourism and Neoliberal Governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3), 166–193.  
<https://doi.org/10.2167/cit304.0>
- Scott, D., de Freitas, C., & Matzarakis, A. (2009). Adaptation in the Tourism and Recreation Sector. In K. L. Ebi, I. Burton, & G. R. McGregor (Eds.), *Biometeorology for*

- Adaptation to Climate Variability and Change* (pp. 171–194). Springer Netherlands.  
[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-8921-3\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-8921-3_8)
- Sharpley, R. (2000). Tourism and Sustainable Development: Exploring the Theoretical Divide. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 8(1), 1–19.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580008667346>
- Sharpley, R. (2020). Tourism, sustainable development and the theoretical divide: 20 years on. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 28(11), 1932–1946.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1779732>
- Sialoa, A. (2003). The Samoa economy. *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 18(2).
- Sierra-Escalante, K., Abdel-Ati, I., Lewis, T., Wang, X., Melin, A., Brenton, J., Levena, M., Pegon, M., & Buyukmutlu, O. (2023). *DFI Working Group on Blended Concessional Finance for Private Sector Projects* (Joint Report March 2023 Update).
- Simpson, M., Gössling, S., Scott, D., Hall, C., & Gladin, E. (2008). *Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation in the Tourism Sector: Frameworks, Tools and Practices*. UNEP, University of Oxford, UNWTO, WMO.
- Sofield, T. H. B. (2003). *Empowerment for Sustainable Tourism Development*. Emerald Group Publishing.
- SPREP. (2020). *Green Climate Fund Projects now approved for all Pacific islands*. The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme.  
<https://www.sprep.org/news/green-climate-fund-projects-now-approved-for-all-pacific-islands>
- SPTO. (2021). *Pacific Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework*. South Pacific Tourism Organisation. <https://southpacificislands.travel/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Pacific-Sustainable-Tourism-Policy-Framework.pdf>

- SPTO. (2023a). *Pacific Tourism Organisation Clinches Top Honour at Commonwealth Innovation Awards 2023 for Pioneering Pacific Sustainable Tourism Policy Framework*. Pacific Tourism Organisation. <https://southpacificislands.travel/pacific-tourism-organisation-clinches-top-honour-at-commonwealth-innovation-awards-2023-for-pioneering-pacific-sustainable-tourism-policy-framework/>
- SPTO. (2023b). *What We Do*. Pacific Tourism Organisation. <https://southpacificislands.travel/what-we-do/>
- SPTO. (2023c). *Who We Are*. Pacific Tourism Organisation. <https://southpacificislands.travel/who-we-are/>
- STA. (n.d.-a). *CEO & Management*. Samoa Tourism Authority. Retrieved January 16, 2024, from <https://www.samoatourism.org/articles/93/ceo-management>
- STA. (n.d.-b). *Uncover the History of Beautiful Samoa*. Samoa Tourism Authority. Retrieved June 8, 2023, from <https://www.samoa.travel/discover/our-history/>
- STA. (2012a). *Samoa Tourism Authority Annual Report 2011-2012*. Samoa Tourism Authority.
- STA. (2012b). *Tourism Development Act 2012*. <https://www.samoatourism.org/articles/160/tourism-%20development-act-2012>
- STA. (2014a). *Functions of the Authority*. Samoa Tourism Authority. <https://www.samoatourism.org/articles/37/functions-of-the-authority>
- STA. (2014b). *Functions of the Divisions*. Samoa Tourism Authority. <https://www.samoatourism.org/articles/38/functions-of-the-divisions>
- STA. (2014c). *Samoa Tourism Authority Annual Report 2013- 2014*. Samoa Tourism Authority. <https://www.samoatourism.org/Content/SiteResources/PAGE/43/Annual%20Report%201314.pdf>

- STA. (2014d). *Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2014-2019*. Samoan Tourism Authority.  
<https://pafpnet.spc.int/attachments/article/684/Samoa-Tourism-Sector-Plan-2014-2019.pdf>
- STA. (2022a). *Industry—Supporting Tourism Recovery*. Samoa Tourism Authority.  
<https://www.samoa.travel/BeautifulAnticipation/view/what-is-samoa-doing-to-restart-tourism>
- STA. (2022b). *Samoa Tourism Sector Plan 2022-2027*. Samoan Tourism Authority.  
<https://www.mof.gov.ws/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Samoa-Tourism-Sector-Plan-2022-2027.pdf>
- STA. (2023a). *Samoa Accommodation | Find & Book Online Here*.  
<https://www.samoa.travel/plan-book/samoa-accommodation/>
- STA. (2023b). *Samoa Tourism industry on the right path to recovery*. Samoa Tourism Authority. <https://www.samoatourism.org/articles/462/samoa-tourism-industry-on-the-right-path-to-recovery>
- Steward, J. H. (1972). *Theory of culture change: The methodology of multilinear evolution*. University of Illinois press.
- Stewart-Withers, R. (2007). *Contesting Development: The Experience Of Female-Headed Households In Samoa* [Massey University].  
<https://mro.massey.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10179/604/02whole.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Stewart-Withers, R. (2016). Edge walking ethics. *New Zealand Sociology*, 31, 28–42.
- Stewart-Withers, R., Banks, G., Mcgregor, A., & Meo-Sewabu, L. (2014). Chapter 4: Qualitative Research. In R. Scheyvens (Ed.), *Development Field Work: A Practical Guide* (2nd ed., pp. 59–80). SAGE Publications, Limited.
- Strauss, A. L. (n.d.). *A Time For Dying*. Transaction Publishers.

- Taloiburi, E. (2021). *Pacific regional perspectives on Climate Finance* [Workshop]. ESCAP-PIFS Workshop on Innovative Climate Financing Instruments Session 1: Introduction to Climate Finance in SIDS.
- Tamua, E., Lay, G., Murrow, T., & Meleisea, M. (2000). *Samoa*. Pasifika Press.
- Tauaa, S. (2010). Tourism Issues in the Pacific. *eJournal of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Pacific Studies*, 1.2.  
<http://intersections.anu.edu.au/pacificcurrents/tauaa.htm>
- Taua'a, S. (2021). Conceptualizing the Informal Economy in Samoa. *Samoa Studies Journal*, 8(1), 7–32.
- Taumoepeau, S., & Addison, A. (2016). Cultural and heritage subjects in a national tourism curriculum framework: A Samoan case study. *Open Journal of International Education*, 1(2).
- TCSP. (1992). *Western Samoa Tourism Development Plan 1992-2001*. Tourism Council of the South Pacific (TCSP) for the Government of Western Samoa,.
- Terpstra, P., & Carvalho, A. P. (2015). *Tracking Adaptation Finance*. OXFAM & World Resource Institute. <https://www.wri.org/research/tracking-adaptation-finance>
- Thwaites, J., & Amerasinghe, N. M. (2017). *The Climate Finance Architecture the World Needs*. <https://www.wri.org/insights/climate-finance-architecture-world-needs>
- Tiago, T., Dias Faria, S., Luís Cogumbreiro, J., Pedro Couto, J., & Tiago, F. (2016). Different shades of green on small islands. *Island Studies Journal*, 11(2), 601–618.  
<https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.369>
- Tokalau, T. (2022, May 2). *Covid-19: Samoa to reopen to tourists from August after two-year border closure*. Stuff. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/travel/news/128521671/covid19-samoa-to-reopen-to-tourists-from-august-after-twoyear-border-closure>

- Torres, R., & Momsen, J. H. (2004). Challenges and potential for linking tourism and agriculture to achieve pro-poor tourism objectives. *Progress in Development Studies*, 4(4), 294–318. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1464993404ps092oa>
- Treaty of Friendship, 5, Department of External Affairs, Wellington, B1962/05 (1962).
- TVNiue. (2019, October 8). SPTO changes name to ‘Pacific Tourism Organization.’ *Television Niue*. <https://tvniue.com/2019/10/spto-changes-name-to-pacific-tourism-organization/>
- Twining-Ward, L., & Butler, R. (2002). Implementing STD on a Small Island: Development and Use of Sustainable Tourism Development Indicators in Samoa. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 10(5), 363–387. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580208667174>
- Twining-Ward, L., & Twining-Ward, T. (1998). Tourism Development in Samoa: Context and Constraints. *Pacific Tourism Review*, 2(3,4), 261–271.
- UN. (1992). *About Small Island Developing States | Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States*. <https://www.un.org/ohrlls/content/about-small-island-developing-states>
- UN. (1998). *Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/kpeng.pdf>
- UN. (2010). *Tourism satellite account: Recommended methodological framework 2008* (Studies in Methods 90; Series F). United Nations.
- UN. (2015a). *Paris Agreement*. United Nations. [https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english\\_paris\\_agreement.pdf](https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english_paris_agreement.pdf)
- UN. (2015b). The Sustainable Development Agenda—SDGs. *United Nations Sustainable Development*. <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/>

- UN. (2020). *COVID-19 Socio-Economic Response Plan: United Nations in Samoa*. United Nations. [https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/2020-08/WSM\\_Socioeconomic-Response-Plan\\_2020.pdf](https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/2020-08/WSM_Socioeconomic-Response-Plan_2020.pdf)
- UN. (2021). *COP26: Together for our planet*. United Nations: Climate Action; United Nations. <https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/cop26>
- UN. (2023). *From Stockholm to Kyoto: A Brief History of Climate Change*. United Nations; United Nations. <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/stockholm-kyoto-brief-history-climate-change>
- UNDP. (2023). *The Climate Dictionary: Speak climate fluently*.
- UNFCCC. (n.d.-a). *Introduction to Climate Finance*. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Retrieved December 21, 2023, from <https://unfccc.int/topics/introduction-to-climate-finance>
- UNFCCC. (n.d.-b). *Parties | UNFCCC*. Retrieved December 26, 2023, from <https://unfccc.int/process/parties-non-party-stakeholders/parties-convention-and-observer-states>
- UNFCCC. (1992). *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. United Nations. <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/conveng.pdf>
- UNFCCC. (2011). *Fact sheet: Climate change science—The status of climate change science today*. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.
- UNFCCC. (2017). *COP 23*. <https://unfccc.int/event/cop-23>
- UNStats. (2016). *The Sustainable Development Goals Report: Leaving no one behind—SDG Indicators*. <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2016/leaving-no-one-behind#>
- UNWTO. (n.d.). *Sustainable development*. United Nations World Tourism Organisation. Retrieved December 5, 2023, from <https://www.unwto.org/sustainable-development>


- UNWTO (Ed.). (2005). *Making tourism more sustainable: A guide for policy makers*. United Nations World Tourism Organisation.
- UNWTO. (2018). *Why Tourism?* United Nations World Tourism Organisation.  
<https://www.unwto.org/why-tourism>
- UNWTO. (2020). “Sustainability as the New Normal” a Vision for the Future of Tourism | UNWTO. United Nations World Tourism Organisation. <https://www.unwto.org/covid-19-oneplanet-responsible-recovery>
- UREC. (n.d.). *UREC • Centre for Samoan Studies*. Centre for Samoan Studies. Retrieved December 12, 2023, from <https://centreforsamoanstudies.ws/urec/>
- U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. (1998). *Map of Samoa* [Map].  
[https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/islands\\_oceans\\_poles/samoa\\_rel\\_1998.pdf](https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/islands_oceans_poles/samoa_rel_1998.pdf)
- van Meerhaeghe, M. A. G. (1986). The Theory of Economic Growth. In M. A. G. van Meerhaeghe (Ed.), *Economic Theory: A Critic’s Companion* (pp. 55–68). Springer Netherlands. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-1365-8\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-1365-8_7)
- Veitayaki, J., & Holland, E. (2018). Chapter 9: Lessons from Lomani Gau Project, Fiji: A Local Community’s Response to Climate Change. In T. Crook & P. Rudiak-Gould, *Pacific Climate Cultures: Living Climate Change in Oceania*. De Gruyter Open.  
<https://doi.org/10.2478/9783110591415>
- Vieira do Nascimento, D. (2016). Exploring climate finance for tourism adaptation development: An overview. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 8(5), 593–605. <https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-06-2016-0036>
- Village Fono Act 1990, 3 (1990). <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/sam37645.pdf>
- Wagner, P. (2010). Successive Modernities and the Idea of Progress: A First Attempt. *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 11(2), 9–24.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2010.9672761>

- Walker, J., & Cooper, M. (2011). Genealogies of resilience: From systems ecology to the political economy of crisis adaptation. *Security Dialogue*, 42(2), 143–160. JSTOR.
- Walshe, R. A., & Stancioff, C. E. (2018). Small island perspectives on climate change. *Island Studies Journal*, 13(1), 13–24. <https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.56>
- Watson, C., & Schalatek, L. (2020). *The Global Climate Finance Architecture*.
- Watson, C., Schalatek, L., & Evéquoz, A. (2023). Climate Finance Regional Briefing: Small Island Developing States. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 45(1). <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-012320-083355>
- WCED. (1987). *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future*. Oxford University Press. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/5987our-common-future.pdf>
- Wearing, S., McDonald, M., Taylor, G., & Ronen, T. (2019). Neoliberalism and global tourism. In D. J. Timothy (Ed.), *Handbook of Globalisation and Tourism*. Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781786431295.00010>
- Weaver, D. B. (2002). The evolving concept of ecotourism and its potential impacts. *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, 5(3), 251. <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJSD.2002.003753>
- Weaver, D. B., & Lawton, L. (1999). *Sustainable Tourism: A Critical Analysis* (1; Tourism Report Series). Cooperative Research Centre for Sustainable Tourism.
- Webb, A. P., & Kench, P. S. (2010). The dynamic response of reef islands to sea-level rise: Evidence from multi-decadal analysis of island change in the Central Pacific. *Global and Planetary Change*, 72(3), 234–246. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloplacha.2010.05.003>

- Westoby, R., Loehr, J., & Fleming, C. (n.d.). *Pacific islands tourism during COVID-19: Time for a rethink*.
- Wilkinson, E., & Caravani, A. (2014). *Going in the right direction? Tracking adaptation finance at the subnational level*. <https://odi.org/en/publications/going-in-the-right-direction-tracking-adaptation-finance-at-the-subnational-level/>
- Wong, E., Jiang, M., Klint, L., DeLacy, T., Harrison, D., & Dominey-Howes, D. (2013). Policy Environment for the Tourism Sector's Adaptation to Climate Change in the South Pacific – The Case of Samoa. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 18(1–2), 52–71. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2012.688511>
- World Bank. (n.d.). *Glossary | DataBank*. Retrieved January 1, 2024, from <https://databank.worldbank.org/metadataglossary/world-development-indicators/series/BX.GRT.EXTA.CD.WD#>
- Yamamoto, M. (2009). Migration and Tourism Development in Samoa. *People and Culture in Oceania*, 24, 51–56.
- Young, G., & Laade, W. (1973). *Tourism: Blessing or blight?* (1. publ). Penguin Books.
- Zagama, B. (2023). *Climate Finance Shadow Report 2023: Assessing the delivery of the \$100 billion commitment*. <https://doi.org/10.21201/2023.621500>
- Zeppel, H. (2014). Indigenous peoples and rainforest tourism. In B. Prideaux (Ed.), *Rainforest tourism, conservation and management: Challenges for sustainable development* (pp. 226–238). Routledge.

# Appendix:

## 1. Samoa Research Permit

  
Government of Samoa  
**MINISTRY OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET**  
www.npmc.gov.ws, Telefoni: (685) 25013/ 22940/ 63222 Fax: (685) 21339 P.O. Box L1861, APIA, SAMOA

Our Ref:  
Your Ref:  
Please address all  
correspondence to:  
The Chief Executive Officer

---

**IMMIGRATION DIVISION**

---

**PERMIT TO REMAIN IN SAMOA**

Immigration Act 2004, Section 13 (2) (d)

**TEMPORARY RESIDENCE FOR RESEARCH**

PERMISSION IS HEREBY GRANTED TO: **Ms. Isabella Grace Patrick**

Date of Birth: [REDACTED] Place of Birth: [REDACTED]  
Nationality: **New Zealand** Passport Number: [REDACTED]  
Address: [REDACTED]

TO REMAIN IN SAMOA FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH WITH: **THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SAMOA** UNTIL: **30 AUGUST 2023**

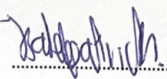
**CONDITIONS OF GRANT OF PERMIT**


1. Must hold a valid passport during employment in Samoa
2. Must arrive in Samoa within 6 months from date of issue
3. Must remain in good mental and physical health
4. Must remain as a good character and abide by the laws of Samoa
5. Must have sufficient funds for onward travel
6. Employment is not allowed unless authorised
7. Shall leave at completion / termination of grant of entry.
8. Activities must remain consistent with the purpose approved by this permit.

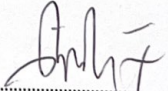
The holder of this permit may make multiple trips during the currency of this permit.

Issued at: **APIA** this: **05-Jul-2023**

Permit Number: [REDACTED]

  
Signature of Holder



  
Assistant CEO - Immigration

---

"Delivering quality advice & excellent service"

## 2. Participant Information Sheet (Samoan and English)



MASSEY UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
TE KURA PUKENGA TANGATA

### Sa'iliga o le Faatupeina o le Tau i Samoa : o le tulaga o Fesoota'iga Lanulau'ava I Turisi

#### PEPA FAAILOA

##### 'Autū

O fesili nei o le su'esu'ega:

1. E iai se agavaa o Fesoota'iga Faa-Turisi Lanulau'ava e mafai ona faama'ite ai le lagolagoina o tulafono faatino o atina'e gafataulimaina a Samoa?
2. O a auala e mafai ai e Fesoota'iga Faa-Turisi Lanulau'ava ona o gatasi ma tagata i ofisa ma e galulue i le atina'e turisi, ma le naunauta'iga a le malo o Samoa mo le faatupeina o le tau ma atina'e gafataulimaina?

O leni su'esu'ega o loo faatino e se tama'ita'i a'oga i le lala o le International Development Master's a le lunivesite o Massey, Aotearoa, New Zealand. O a'u o Isabella Patrick ma ou te 'umia faailoga nei: Postgraduate Diploma in International Development, Bachelor of Business in Accountancy and Finance. O o'u faiaoga lagolago (Professor Regina Scheyvens ma Dr. Apisalome Movono) ua iai o la tomai faapitoa i le faia o su'esu'ega faatatau i penefiti o turisi i atunuu o le Pasefika, ma o Dr. Movono fo'i sa galue faapitoa i aiaiga o le tau i le World Bank.

##### Faamatalaga o le Poloketi

O leni poloketi e sa'ili ai ni auala agavaa e mafai ai ona faaaogaina Fesoota'iga Faa-Turisi Lanulau'ava e faaala atu ai le faatupeina o le tau i Samoa.

O Fesoota'iga Faa-Turisi Lanulau'ava e aafia ai le tuluiina o tupe teu faafaigaluega i fausaga faavae o turisi ma isi atina'e e mafai ona umi ona tetee atu i fesuiaga o le tau. E na o Costa Rica le atunuu o loo faaaogaina Fesoota'iga Lanulau'ava i tagata faimalaga (turisi), ma ua mae'a fo'i ona 'ou faatalanoaina i latou e uiga i le faatinoga o leni atina'e.

Iā latou, o Fesoota'iga Faa-Turisi Lanulau'ava, o ni mea faigaluega faatupe e mafai e soo se tasi o loo fia teu faafaigaluega sana tupe ona teu ai (faata'ita'iga: i se fale talimālō la'ititi o loo fia sui le paoa mai le malosi'aga faaeletise i le malosi'aga faa lā (solar)) ma maua mai ai sana initalesi ma se tupe mamā i le i'uga o le fesoota'iga, ae tainane ai fo'i le faaaogaina o le fale talimālō mai lea taimi i lea taimi o le tausaga.

O le tomai ua maua mai leni su'esu'ega o le a sa'ilia ai ni auala agavaa mo se 'Fesoota'iga Faa-Turisi Lanulau'ava a Samoa', ma se auala e faatino ma faatulaga ai ina ia o gatasi ma tulafono faatino a Samoa.

##### Vala'aulia

Ua 'ou vala'auliaina oe e te auai ona e tāua ia te a'u lo'u a'oa'oina mai ou tomai ma manatu, ma o le a atia'e ai se malamalamaga pe talafeagai Fesoota'iga Faa-Turisi Lanulau'ava mo le teteeina o aafiaga o le tau i Samoa, faapea ma auala e mafai ona faatino ai.

Ua tofia oe e te auai i se tasi o mea nei e lua:

- Faatalanoaina o se tagata 'autū tāua (30 minute I le 1 le itula), poo



MASSEY UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
TE KURA PŪKĒNGA TANGATA

- Se su'esu'ega faapitoa faatagata galue i le atina'e turisi – o le taimi o lenei faatinoga e tuu atu ia te oe i le maua ai o sou avanoa.

#### Faatulagaina o Faamatalaga Ao. (data)

O faamatalaga e te tuu mai, e lē faailoaina i seisi tagata ma o le a teu i se nofoaga sefe. O faamatalaga o su'esu'ega e iai faatalanoaga, leopu'e ma tusitusiga, o le a teuina lea i sisitemi (cloud) a le poloketi su'esu'e e iai lana password faapitoa.

#### O Manaoga Faapitoa a Lē e Auai

O le a faagaetia i matou pe a fai o le a e 'auai, ae faamolemole e tuu atu lava le avanoa e te faamaamulu ai, ma e lē faamalosi fo'i oe pe a e lē loto iai. A fai o le a e 'auai, e ia te oe le sa'olotoga e:

- *lē tali ai ni fesili lē talafeagai*
- *alu 'ese mai le su'esu'ega i soo se taimi*
- *e te fesili ai i soo se taimi a o e auai i lenei su'esu'ega*
- *tuumai ni faamatalga faapitoa ma lou iloaina o le a lē faaogaina lou igoa se'i iloga e te avea le faatanaga i le tagata su'esu'e.*
- *o le iai le avanoa e te taga'i ai i le aotelega o le poloketi pe a mae'a.*
- *e mafai ona e talosaga e tapē le pu'eleo i soo se taimi o le fatalanoaga.*

#### Tagata faafesoota'i o le poloketi

Isabella Patrick

Mobile [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Regina Scheyvens

Mobile [REDACTED]  
R.A.Scheyvens@massey.ac.n  
z

Api Movono

Mobile [REDACTED]  
[A.Movono@massey.ac.nz](mailto:A.Movono@massey.ac.nz)

#### Faatanaga a le Komiti

O lenei poloketi ua uma ona liuliuina e le 'au Iloilo ma ua faamaonia e lē tele sona afaina. O le numera o le Ethics Notification o le 4000027525. Ae peita'i e le'i iloiloaina e le komiti o le Human Ethics a le Iunivesite. O le tagata su'esu'e o loo faaigoaina i [lenei](#) tusitusiga e gafa ma le faamaoniga ma le faaamionuina o lenei su'esu'ega. A fai e iai ni popolega i le faatinoga o lenei su'esu'ega ma ua e mana' e logo i seisi tagata ae lē o le tagata su'esu'e, faamolemole faafesoota'i Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics); email: [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz)



## Exploring Climate Financing in Samoa: the place of Green Bonds in Tourism

### INFORMATION SHEET

#### Introduction

This research asks the following questions:

1. What is the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as an initiative which supports Samoa's sustainable development policies?
2. In what ways might Green Tourism Bonds align with tourism authorities', operators', and Samoan government aspirations for climate finance and sustainable development?

This research is being conducted by an International Development Master's student from Massey University, Aotearoa New Zealand. I, Isabella Patrick, hold the following qualifications: a Postgraduate Diploma in International Development and a Bachelor of Business in Accountancy and Finance. My supervisors (Prof. Regina Scheyvens and Dr Apisalome Movono) have significant experience in doing research on tourism that benefits Pacific Island communities, and Dr Movono has also been a World Bank climate fellow.

#### Project Description

This project explores the potential of Green Tourism Bonds as an approach to climate financing in Samoa. Green Tourism Bonds involve an investment in tourism infrastructure and development that allows for long-term climate change resilience. Costa Rica is currently the only country that implements Green Bonds in Tourism, and I have previously interviewed them about how this works. For them, Green Tourism Bonds are a financial instrument that an investor will invest into (e.g. a small hotel's conversion to solar power) and receive a set amount of interest and the capital returned at the end of the bond, as well as getting to use the property/resort for selected times during the year.

The knowledge generated from this study will explore the potential of a 'Samoan Green Tourism Bond', and how this could be implemented and situated to align with Samoan policies.

#### Invitation

I am inviting you to participate as I would value drawing on your experience and insights to help build an understanding of whether Green Tourism Bonds would be good for climate resilience in Samoa, and how they could potentially be implemented.

You have been selected to participate in either:

- a key informant interview (30 minutes-1 hour) or,
- a case study as a tourism operator, in which the time frames will depend on your availability.

#### Data Management

Te Kunenga  
ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning  
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand. T +64 6 350 4343 F +64 6 350 5737. <http://pep.massey.ac.nz>



The information you provide will be kept confidential and stored safely. All data, including interview recordings and notes, will be stored in the research project's password-protected iCloud system.

#### Participant's Rights

We would be delighted if you agreed to participate, but please be assured that you are under no obligation to do so. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study at any time;*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.*
- *ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.*

#### Project Contacts

If you have any questions about this research please contact the following investigators:

Isabella Patrick

Mobile: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Regina Scheyvens

Mobile: [REDACTED]

[R.A.Scheyvens@massey.ac.nz](mailto:R.A.Scheyvens@massey.ac.nz)

Api Movono

Mobile: [REDACTED]

[A.Movono@massey.ac.nz](mailto:A.Movono@massey.ac.nz)

#### Committee Approval Statement

*This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. The Ethics Notification Number is: 4000027525. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named in this document is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz)*

### 3. Research Consent Form (Samoan and English)



MASSEY UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

**Su'esu'ega o auala eseese e fa'atupe ai a'afiaga o le suiga o le tau I Samoa: O le tulaga o nōnōgatupe fa'afeagaiga tusitusia faatatauina mo le manuia o le siosiomaga I totonu o atina'e tau tagata tafafao**

#### TUSI MO LE MALIEGA A LE TAGATA 'AUAI

Ua ou faitau i le Pepa Faailoa ma ua mae'a fo'i ona faamalamalama mai le auiliiliga o le su'esu'ega ia te a'u. Ua ou malie i tali o a'u fesili ma ua ou malamalama fo'i e mafai ona ou fesili i soo se taimi.

Ou te ioe/lē ioe i le pu'eleoina o le faatalanoaga.

Ou te mana'o e faailoaina a'u i lenei su'esu'ega iā: (faatumu le igoa e te mana'o iai).

- O lo'u igoa ma la'u galuega .....  
(faata'ita'iga : Sione Fuimaono, Matagalieuaga o Tupe ma Atina'e, Malo o Samoa).
- O la'u galuega ma lona aotelega.....  
(faata'ita'iga : Ofisa Iloilo Sinia, Matagalieuaga o Tupe ma Atina'e, Malo o Samoa).

Ou te ioe i lo'u auai i lenei su'esu'ega e tusa ai ma aiaiga ua faatapulaaina mai i le Pepa Faailoa.

Ou te mana'o/lē mana'o i se lipoti o le aotelega o le su'esu'ega e aumai ia te a'u i le mae'a ai o lenei galuega.

Sainia .....Aso.....

Tusi lou igoa atoa .....

Imeli: .....

Telefoni fe'avea'i .....



MASSEY UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

**Exploring Climate Financing in Samoa: the place of Green Bonds in Tourism**

**PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL**

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being recorded.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (fill in your preference):

- My name and title e.g. ....
  - (e.g. Sione Fuimaono, Policy Analyst, Ministry of Finance, Government of Samoa)
- My title or a descriptor e.g. ....
  - (e.g. Official, Ministry of Finance, Government of Samoa)

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I would/would not like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research.

**Signature:** ..... **Date:** .....

**Full Name - printed** .....

**Email address:** .....

**Mobile number:** .....