Promoting Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Tourism Development: Madang, Papua New Guinea

A. Ford, A. Carr, N. Mildwaters and G. Summerhayes
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Promoting Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Tourism Development: Madang, Papua New Guinea

A. Ford¹, A. Carr¹, N. Mildwaters² and G. Summerhayes¹.

IBSN: 978-0-473-48282-4

¹ University of Otago
   PO Box 56
   Dunedin
   New Zealand

² Otago Museum
   419 Great King St
   Dunedin
   New Zealand
Executive Summary

Tourism has been identified as an important economic industry for Small Island Developing States (SIDS), including Papua New Guinea (PNG). One of the important niche markets for tourism is cultural heritage, which involves “travellers seeing or experiencing built heritage, living culture or contemporary arts” (Timothy 2011: 4). While cultural heritage tourism comprises 40% of the total global tourism market, in the Pacific cultural heritage tourism remains underdeveloped.

One of the benefits of cultural heritage tourism is its ability to involve local communities, using their own heritage as tourism assets, therefore potentially providing sustainable economic development. The purpose of this study is to investigate the current opportunities and constraints for local communities in developing cultural heritage tourism projects, using Madang in PNG as a case study.

The methodology for this report involved a desktop review of tourism-related literature for Papua New Guinea and two fieldtrips to Madang/Port Moresby for site observations and to meet and discuss with community members, cultural heritage specialists and tourism stakeholders their attitudes and opinions towards cultural heritage tourism in Madang. The first trip in February 2018 included a three-day workshop held in Madang involving cultural heritage and tourism stakeholders from both the provincial and national levels. The second trip in June 2018 involved a week of semi-structured interviews in Port Moresby and Madang with industry stakeholders and members of local communities involved with tourism projects. The project team was joined by staff from Divine Word University and the National Museum and Art Gallery of Papua New Guinea. Their participation was a critical factor in the success of the fieldwork, as they assisted with translation and the transcription of interviews.

The research identified that cultural heritage tourism is an unfamiliar concept to the communities interviewed that needs to be rectified by awareness and advocacy. Communities and stakeholders, however, both noted that cultural heritage resources could provide a tourism opportunity for local communities for sustainable development, particularly as it requires low levels of investment in capital and infrastructure, and builds upon existing assets – their own cultural heritage. Cultural heritage tourism was seen as an industry which could be readily and sustainably incorporated into communities’ livelihoods. At the same time, however, numerous challenges and constraints were noted, including a need for further investment by government at all levels in respect to funding, resources and training to assist communities with capacity building, product development, marketing and guide training. In short, there is great potential in Madang (and Papua New Guinea in general) for local communities to be involved in cultural heritage tourism, but there needs to be a coordinated and holistic strategy for tourism development at both provincial and national government levels for this to be sustainable.
Acknowledgements

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Introduction

Tourism has been identified domestically and internationally as a key economic and development opportunity for South Pacific nations, with entities such as the UN World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO 2017), World Bank (2017) and the Asian Development Bank (Everett et al. 2018) focusing upon the need for these smaller nations to develop sustainable tourism that draws upon their rich natural and cultural heritage (Scheyvens 1999; Rayel 2012). Tourism is often positively portrayed as providing multiple benefits to developing nations, including the stimulation of economic growth; the creation of employment opportunities and enterprises; the promotion of infrastructure development; the provision of tax revenue to governments; the import of foreign currency and potentially foreign investment; and finally, the potential spread of economic opportunities into rural areas and local communities (Cole 2006; Scheyvens 2015; Telfer and Sharpley 2016). Furthermore, tourism involving the cultural heritage of communities can deliver beneficial outcomes such as cultural exchange and the potential for continuation of cultural traditions. It is acknowledged that mismanagement, especially during times of tourism growth, can be detrimental to communities (Scheyvens 1999). The aim of this report is to examine the potential for developing cultural heritage tourism opportunities for sustainable local community development in Madang, Papua New Guinea (Figure 1).

Figure 1 Map of Papua New Guinea.
The methodology for this report involved a desktop review of tourism-related literature for Papua New Guinea and the wider Pacific, as well as two fieldtrips to Madang/Port Moresby for site observations and to meet with and discuss community member and stakeholder attitudes and opinions towards cultural heritage tourism. The first trip in February 2018 included a three-day workshop on cultural heritage tourism held in Madang. This involved stakeholders from the Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority (PNGTPA), the National Museum and Art Gallery of Papua New Guinea (NMAG), Divine Word University (Cultural Heritage and Tourism specialists), the National Research Institute (NRI), the Madang Visitors and Cultural Bureau (MVCB) and local tourism providers.

The second trip in June 2018 involved a week of semi-structured interviews in both Port Moresby and Madang. These interviews followed up on issues discussed at the original workshop and involved stakeholders from the PNGTPA, NMAG, the MVCB, Madang Provincial Government (Tourism) and local tourism providers. In addition, three local village communities currently running tourism attractions were interviewed regarding their experiences. For these communities, group interviews were held in each village, conducted in a mixture of English and Tok Pisin, and supplemented by site observations. For this fieldwork, the project team was joined by staff from Divine Word University and NMAG. The inclusion of the latter was a critical factor in the success of the field work, as they assisted with recording, translation and transcription of the interviews.

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

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

An important tenet of the case studies was to identify how specific local and cultural factors might impact upon the creation of cultural heritage tourism development opportunities. It is therefore important to understand how tourism is currently organised in each context. This report will begin with introducing the current situation of tourism in PNG and identify and understand tourism opportunities and obstacles nationwide, before examining how local communities currently participate within the tourism industry. As cultural heritage tourism is a relatively new concept within the Pacific, highlighted by the current research, this report will then explain the concept of cultural heritage tourism and how it differs from more traditional tourism approaches in the Pacific.

As noted above, each case study will have different cultural heritage opportunities, depending on their unique cultural situation. This report will briefly describe PNG’s broad cultural heritage context, before focusing specifically on the targeted context of Madang. The current tourism situation in Madang will be reviewed before highlighting cultural heritage opportunities within surrounding areas of Madang. This will be followed by analyses of interviews carried out with communities and stakeholders to reveal perceptions and views on cultural heritage tourism. While this report focuses on Madang and its environs, many of the findings are applicable to the wider context of PNG. Finally, obstacles and problems for developing cultural heritage tourism opportunities in Madang are identified and recommendations for the future development of this industry are suggested.
Tourism in Papua New Guinea

Tourism has been recognised as having significant potential for the future of Papua New Guinea, in terms of its capacity to deliver economic growth whilst maintaining social/cultural and environmental wellbeing for the country (Imbal 2010; Kau 2014; Markwell 2018; Rayel et al. 2014). The stated goal of the Papua New Guinea Tourism Sector Review and Master Plan 2007-2017, for example, was to “increase the overall economic value of tourism to the nation by doubling the number of tourists on holiday in PNG every 5 years and maximizing sustainable tourism growth for the social and environmental benefit for all Papua New Guineans” (PNGTPA 2006: 8). The Papua New Guinea Vision 2050 (Govt of PNG 2009) also discusses the need to diversify the current economy, including the development of ecotourism.

Between 2014 and 2016, visitor numbers have fluctuated between 191,000 and 198,000 (Figure 2), but PNG has yet to experience the steady growth displayed in other Pacific nations, such as in Fiji. Tourism therefore currently remains a small part of the economy, particularly when compared to the numbers of visitors travelling to other Pacific destinations.

Papua New Guinea also has a very different visitor profile compared to other Pacific nations where about 70% of annual international arrivals comprise holiday visitors (with the exception of Samoa which has a large visiting friends and relatives (VFR) market) (SPTO 2014). In contrast, a significant number of visitors to Papua New Guinea arrive for business and employment purposes (Figure 3). Although numbers of holiday makers have been steadily increasing – from 22% of the market in 2013 to 29% in 2016 – they still comprise a much lower share of the total visitors compared to other Pacific nations.
Figure 3 Visitor purpose for travel to Papua New Guinea.

Of the holiday visitor market, by far the largest group of travellers arrive from Australia with a market share of 43% (Figure 4). This reflects both geographical proximity as well as historical connections between the two countries. Other important holiday markets include the USA, UK and Germany.

Figure 4 Citizenship of holiday visitor arrivals in Papua New Guinea.

Source: PNGTPA 2018
One market that appears to be growing for Papua New Guinea is the cruise ship market. In 2015, the country received 136 cruise ship calls at different ports, with a total direct impact to the PNG economy worth AUS$6.3 million (IFC 2016). While the overall number of cruise ship visits is similar to the 137 cruise ship calls in 2007, the size of the ships visiting has increased considerably, from an average passenger capacity of 347 in 2007 to 705 passengers in 2015 (IFC 2016).

Figure 5 depicts numbers of holiday visitors arriving by air and cruise ship, by passenger nationality (drawn from 2016 data only). This highlights that visitors from Australia and Germany, in particular, are more likely to visit Papua New Guinea by sea than other nationalities. Modes of sea travel range from the large P&O cruise ships to smaller scale expeditionary boats designed to take visitors into remote areas, such as up the Sepik River, or to off-shore islands with smaller harbours.

As noted above, the number of international holiday visitors in Papua New Guinea is steadily increasing, although this market is still not large when compared to other Pacific nations. The gradual increase in holiday visitors has been attributed to a number of factors including the establishment of the Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority (PNGTPA) in 1993, which has actively marketed and promoted Papua New Guinea internationally, establishing offices in Sydney, London, Los Angeles, Tokyo, Shanghai and Munich to capture a diverse range of markets. In addition, the PNGTPA implemented the Tourism Sector Review and Master Plan 2007-2017 which planned to double the number of tourists to PNG every five years. Increasing numbers of holiday visitors from Australia and New Zealand is evident and...
corresponds to increasing outbound tourism from these countries, both of which are important growth markets for Papua New Guinea (Everett et al. 2018). The potential for tourism in PNG has also recently been recognised by the World Bank’s contribution of US$20 million for the Papua New Guinea Tourism Sector Development Project, which aims to improve tourism services in the provinces of East New Britain (Rabaul, Kokopo) and Milne Bay (Alotau) (PNGTPA 2018).

Currently tourism is a relatively small part of Papua New Guinea’s economy. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC 2017) recorded that the direct contribution of tourism in 2016 was PGK$354.7 million (USD$113.2 million), or 0.7% of the total GDP, while the total indirect contribution (taking into consideration factors such as investment and the supply chain) was PGK$971.7 million (USD$310.2 million) or 1.9% of the total GDP. In 2017, this rose to a direct contribution of PGK$470.9 million (USD$148.1 million), still 0.7% of the total GDP, with a total contribution of PGK$1315.7 million (USD$413.7 million), or 1.8% of the total GDP (WTTC 2018).

Compared to some other Pacific Islands, and based on country reports from the World Travel and Tourism Council, the contribution of tourism to Papua New Guinea’s overall economy is very low (see Table 1). Indeed, out of the 185 countries that the World Travel and Tourism Council reports on, Papua New Guinea ranks 184 in terms of the importance of tourism to the country’s GDP. Conversely, for other Pacific Island economies the World Bank (2017) reports that the service sector, of which tourism is part, is the largest. Papua New Guinea is clearly an exception, largely because of the prevalence of natural resources and importance of related extraction industries.

Table 1 Economic contribution of tourism to selected Pacific Island countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Direct contribution (USD$ million)</th>
<th>Total GDP (%)</th>
<th>Total contribution (USD$ million)</th>
<th>Total GDP (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>704.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>1966.3</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>148.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>413.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>119.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>144.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>365.7</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WTTC 2018

Current constraints to growth in tourism in Papua New Guinea include issues surrounding security and crime; the cost of travel both to and within Papua New Guinea; perceived health risks within Papua New Guinea; the lack of infrastructure and product development for tourists; a lack of community awareness regarding tourism; low levels of government investment/support/awareness; and low market awareness as a holiday destination (IFC 2016; Milne 2018; PNGTPA 2006; Rayel et al. 2014; World Bank 2017).
Although tourism is underdeveloped in Papua New Guinea, it has been viewed both internally and externally as an alternative industry for a sustainable economy (Everett et al. 2018; Gabriel et al. 2017; IFC 2016, 2018; PNGTPA 2006; Rayel et al. 2014; Sakata and Prideaux 2014; World Bank 2017). This is in contrast to the current situation where the heavy reliance on large scale extractive industries, such as mining, petroleum, gas, logging and large-scale plantations, have high environmental and social/cultural costs. These enterprises are often foreign-owned and therefore have high economic leakage and, whilst they are important income providers for the government, most of Papua New Guinea’s eight million people still rely on subsistence agriculture for their livelihood (World Bank 2017).

In particular, tourism is seen as potentially providing an opportunity for communities and villages to participate in sustainable economic development at a local level (Gabriel et al. 2017; Kau 2014; N’Drower 2014). This means that economic benefits are directly received by the communities themselves, an important feature for a country that is underdeveloped in its rural areas. The International Finance Corporation (IFC), part of the World Bank Group, noted that 60% of all visitors to Papua New Guinea visited the provinces, thus furthering the potential of tourism to grow regional and rural village economies (IFC 2018).

Figure 6 Singsing at Mamada Village, Madang Province (photo supplied by Alex Paira).
Community Based Tourism

Community based tourism (CBT) is not an entirely new concept to the Papua New Guinea policy arena with PNGTPA (2006) advocating in particular for the development of this type of tourism. Tolkach and King (2015: 388-389) define CBT as “alternative forms of tourism development which maximize local benefits and advocate capacity building and empowerment as means of achieving community development objectives”. In practice, however, CBT is complex to implement and the comparatively few studies that critique CBT have noted that it has met with varying degrees of success in achieving sustainable tourism objectives for communities (Cole 2006; Muhanna 2007; Sakata and Prideaux 2014; Telfer and Sharpley 2016). For example, many CBT projects have been ecotourism based, where a large conservation organisation has implemented a tourism project as part of an effort to provide an economic value to a conservation area, thus encouraging communities to protect these areas (Manyara and Jones 2007).

In Papua New Guinea, ecotourism has also been a focus for CBT development (N’Drower 2014; Sakata and Prideaux 2013; 2014), but it has been observed that CBT projects that are developed by external organisations face issues of community buy-in and sustainability once the initial funding for the establishment of the project has been exhausted (PNGTPA 2006). This is a common problem with any developmental project in Papua New Guinea that is externally rather than internally controlled (Benson 2012). It is imperative, therefore, that CBT projects are developed ways that recognise the cultural context of local communities: achieving sustainable objectives for their cultural and environmental wellbeing, but also sustainability in the context of ongoing economic enterprises for financial wellbeing.

One of the growth opportunities for tourism in Papua New Guinea is cultural heritage, should communities be willing to share their cultural values (tangible and intangible) with visitors. Papua New Guinea is renowned for its diversity, richness and authenticity in cultures yet this niche is still under-developed as a tourism product. This is particularly relevant when considering CBT projects that could be utilising their cultural heritage assets.

Figure 7 Pottery demonstration and market at Bilbil Village, Madang Province.
Cultural Heritage Tourism

Cultural heritage is the legacy of the past to the people of today. It is the material and intangible attributes that a group inherits from previous generations that are maintained in the present and for the future. Material or tangible cultural heritage includes archaeological sites, monuments, museums, settlements or landscapes/places that have historical and cultural significance (ICOMOS Charter 2008). These are places that can be physically visited and experienced. In contrast, intangible heritage includes the knowledge and practice of culture, including oral traditions and histories, performing arts, rituals, festivals, and knowledge about traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2003).

Cultural heritage tourism can incorporate both tangible and intangible aspects and involves “travellers seeing or experiencing built heritage, living culture or contemporary arts” (Timothy 2011: 4). The South Pacific Tourist Organisation (SPTO 2014: 7) defines cultural heritage tourism as “all tourist trips that include cultural activities, such as visiting monuments, sites and museums, as well as experiences and interaction with local communities, such as attending festivals, local cultural events and visiting markets. It involves travelling to experience the places and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present.” Although globally cultural heritage tourism is worth 40% of the total tourism market, tourism operators tend to market the Pacific as a tropical beach destination, with a lack of understanding of the diversity and richness of Pacific cultural heritage (SPTO 2014).

Papua New Guinea is an exception in this regard; tourist operators do recognise the diversity and authenticity of cultures (SPTO 2014; World Bank 2017), however, a lack of developed cultural heritage tours or destinations, plus concerns regarding security and tourist infrastructure, hinder current tourist participation (Imbal 2010).

The Papua New Guinea Tourism Master Plan 2007-2017 acknowledges the importance of niche market tourism to PNG, in particular natural and cultural heritage tourism. The PNGTPA considers cultural heritage tourism to include culture and village based tourism, cultural shows/singsings and WWII history. In October 2012, a Sustainable Cultural Tourism Conference was held in Kokopo, East New Britain, funded by the Australian Government through the Kokoda Initiative. At this conference, fifty tourism stakeholders from Melanesia discussed the benefits of cultural heritage tourism and how to develop this niche market (EMTV.COM 2012).

Research by IFC and PNGTPA on tourism demand for Papua New Guinea noted that 70% of all holiday visitors in 2016 participated in cultural activities during their stay, even though only half of these visitors visited Papua New Guinea primarily for cultural experience (IFC 2018). Recent reports on the Papua New Guinea International Visitor Survey, conducted between January and December 2017, however, noted that culture and history were the main influencing factors in holiday visitors choosing Papua New Guinea as a destination (Milne 2018). Approximately 10,000 genuine cultural heritage tourists visited in 2016, spending AUS$35 million (IFC 2018). These niche market tourists are considered by IFC (2018) to be among the most important potential growth markets for tourism in Papua New Guinea, particularly because these high-value tourists tend to be discerning high spenders who wish to
contribute to the communities where they stay, and spend money to maintain and invigorate cultural heritage (SPTO 2014; Timothy 2011).

The SPTO notes that tourists from the US, UK, Germany, Japan, France and Australia are most likely to be cultural heritage tourists (SPTO 2014); and referring back to Figure 4, these countries also reflect key originating markets for tourists to Papua New Guinea. The SPTO also notes, however, that Australian and New Zealand cultural heritage tourists are more likely to visit Europe or Asia for a cultural heritage trip than the Pacific, which is more often seen as a local, safe, ‘flop and drop’ beach holiday destination. That said, Papua New Guinea is an outlier in this regard as it is well recognised as a cultural heritage destination compared to other Pacific nations (SPTO 2014).

Cultural heritage tourism is recognised as being significant for Papua New Guinea because culture tends to be context and place-specific and visitors, therefore, have to travel to the place where that culture originates in order to experience it (Butler and Hinch 2007; Pfister 2000; Timothy 2011). This is important for rural and local communities in particular because these are the types of communities that cultural heritage tourists are looking to interact with, people ‘living their culture’. The ability to draw tourists into rural or remote areas in search of ‘authentic’ cultural experiences is considered to be one of the advantages for local communities focusing upon cultural heritage tourism rather than other types (Butler and Hinch 2007; Du Cros and McKercher 2015; Timothy 2011) and has great potential for PNG villages (Kau 2014).

Apart from economic benefits, cultural heritage tourism is also perceived as providing social/cultural advantages over other types of tourism. The PNGTPA (2006) acknowledges that culturally-based tourism products can assist in the preservation of Papua New Guinean cultural heritage by providing an economic value to those products. Allowing communities to receive economic benefits from staying connected to their traditional cultural values is important and provides incentives for younger generations to learn about and value their culture (Butler and Hinch 2007; Sakata and Prideaux 2013). At the same time, cultural heritage tourism, if managed appropriately, can allow tourists to engage more directly with the communities they visit, thus creating real interactions between locals and tourists (Pfister 2000; Du Cros and McKercher 2015). This engagement can result in knowledge sharing, community empowerment and increased empathy between tourists and communities (Whitford and Dunn 2014; Carr, Ruhanaen and Whitford 2016). Cultural heritage tourism therefore has a significant social/cultural value as well as educational benefits.

Other advantages of cultural heritage tourism include encouraging more people to participate in community level tourism, as cultural heritage products tend to be community-based activities such as handicrafts, singsings, and sharing of traditional knowledge. There are also lower start-up costs required as the communities already have the traditional knowledge, tools and skill-sets needed to produce products and therefore do not need to spend initial capital on infrastructure development, although this will vary depending on the type of tourism being developed. At the same time, cultural heritage tourism tends to have low economic leakage as the products are produced within the village by the villagers and often do not require additional external spending, meaning that income distribution can more readily stay within the community.
Cultural heritage tourism is not without its risks, however. For materially-based cultural heritage assets, poorly managed tourism can lead to deterioration or destruction of the asset itself. Local communities may not have sufficient funds or resources to be able to develop tourism markets themselves and are therefore at risk of losing control and access to local assets through the involvement of external providers (Butler and Hinch 2007; Prideaux and Timothy 2008). For cultural heritage assets that have an intangible base, concerns have focused upon the problem with turning cultural heritage into a tourism ‘product’ and potential issues relating to inauthenticity, trivialisation, commodification, and exploitation (Carr et al. 2016; Gabriel et al. 2017; Prideaux and Timothy 2008; Whitford and Dunn 2014). These factors mean that cultural heritage tourism needs to be carefully designed in ways that are suitable and appropriate for the host community and the cultural heritage itself, not just for the tourists.
Cultural Heritage of Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea has many diverse and rich cultural histories that stretch back at least 45,000 years ago (Summerhayes et al. 2010). Since the arrival of the first people, Papua New Guinea has been the backdrop for some of the most important archaeological discoveries in the world. The World Heritage listed Kuk Archaeological Site, located near Mt Hagen in the Highlands, as one of the few globally recognised ‘hearth’s’ of domestication, a place where visitors can experience the actual site where ancestors independently invented agriculture at least 6500 years ago (UNESCO 2019). Kuk is the only World Heritage site in Papua New Guinea, and one of only 13 World Heritage sites in the Pacific region.

By 3500 years ago, a new wave of people had arrived on the shores of Papua New Guinea: the Austronesian speaking Lapita peoples. These seafaring horticultural people came from South East Asia, bringing with them pigs, pots, and new horticultural crops, with some groups settling in PNG, while others continued out into the Pacific, becoming the ancestors of all Polynesians (including New Zealand Māori). This was the greatest seafaring migration ever known and descendants of these seafarers are still present in the coastal and island communities of Papua New Guinea today, recognisable by the Austronesian languages they speak compared to the many Papuan languages (Dutton 1982).

At the time of European colonisation, Papua New Guinea was home to people who undertook some of the longest distance trading voyages in the world, where large canoes traded goods across hundreds of kilometres. These include the *kula* of the Trobriand Islands, written about by anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski and instrumental in Marcel Mauss’s book *The Gift* which became the seminal work on understanding how gift exchange works as a political and social process. Another significant example of such voyages was also the *hiri*, which traded between the Motu of Port Moresby and their exchange partners in the Gulf Province, a distance of approximately 400 kilometres (Skelly and David 2017).

The legacy of generations of anthropologists working in Papua New Guinea, from Bronislaw Malinowski to Margaret Mead, amongst others, writing on the diverse cultures and languages within Papua New Guinea, and having their work made into documentaries and published in educational textbooks and popular media, such as National Geographic, has meant that Papua New Guinea has retained an internationally renowned reputation for cultural heritage.

Today, Papua New Guinea is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world, with more than 800 indigenous languages, spread through a range of environmental zones, from islander to coast, lowlander to Highlands. Much of the country still practices traditional agricultural subsistence strategies and maintains strong connections to the past as evidenced through craft production, oral histories/stories, and singsing performances. Papua New Guinea is therefore synonymous with cultural heritage and is recognised internationally for its strong traditions.
The town of Madang, capital of Madang Province, is located on the northern coast of PNG. The pre-European heritage of Madang Province is little understood reflecting the limited amount of archaeological and anthropological research completed within the area. While most of the province’s early heritage is not recorded, the area around Madang town itself is better understood, due to some anthropological and archaeological work having been completed here, including the recording of oral histories.

The Bel people inhabit many of the islands and coastal areas around Madang and are famous for their long distance trading voyages, undertaken in large balangut or lalong canoes, trading pots along the northeast coast, from Karkar Island in the north, along the Rai coast, to the Vitiaz Strait in the east. These pots were exchanged for many goods, including food, stone tools, personal ornaments and jewellery, and wooden items such as bowls and drums, making the Bel affluent traders. Archaeologically, the first appearance of the Bel people on the islands off the coast of Madang occurred between 650-550 years ago (Gaffney and Summerhayes 2016). The Bel people have oral histories that link their arrival at Madang with the disappearance of their homeland island known as Yomba (Mennis 2018).

The area’s history following European contact is much better known. According to Mennis (2018), the first European to develop connections with the Madang area was Nicholai Miklouho-Maclay, a Russian naturalist and ethnographer who arrived aboard the Russian ship Vitiaz in 1871. Miklouho-Maclay lived in this area on and off between 1871 and 1883, recording local customs and the language of the Bel people, and making natural history and anthropological collections for the area. His collections are now housed at the Macleay Museum in Sydney University and at the Miklouho-Maclay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in Moscow, Russia. Apart from his ground-breaking work with the Bel people, Miklouho-Maclay is also well known for his humanist approach and his efforts to ensure protection for indigenous peoples during the height of European imperialism.

In 1881 and 1884, Otto Finsch, a German ornithologist visited the Madang area (Mennis 2018). Although Finsch was making natural history collections, he was also advocating for the establishment of a German colony. In November 1884, Germany proclaimed the northeastern part of Papua New Guinea as German New Guinea. From 1884-1899 this was run by the German Neu Guinea
Kompagnie, who established a settlement at Madang called Friedrich-Wilhemshafen, named after the German Crown Prince. The main purpose of the German Neu Guinea Kompagnie was business, and during this time many plantations across German New Guinea were set up for copra production. These were largely unsuccessful, however, and from 1899-1914 the colony was run by the Imperial German Administration with its headquarters in Rabaul, on New Britain.

In 1904, the Bel people were unhappy with the German administration for a number of reasons: the loss of land to German plantation owners, and the disruption of traditional trading systems that had formed the basis of Bel culture and wealth due to the introduction of German currency and goods, to name a few. A revolt was led against the German administration but this failed due to the Germans being forewarned of the attack, and the leaders were arrested and killed.

German occupation ceased at the end of the First World War when the Australians were handed German New Guinea under a mandate from the League of Nations. The Australians administered German New Guinea until 1942, when the Japanese bombed Madang during the Second World War, destroying much of the old town. The Japanese occupied Madang itself from April 1943 until April 1944, when Madang was liberated by the Australian forces. Following the end of the Second World War, Papua (British New Guinea) and New Guinea (German New Guinea) were combined into a single administrative territory, the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, to be run by an Australian trusteeship.

In 1975, after a period of self-government, Papua New Guinea achieved independence and Madang became a province in 1978, with its own provincial government. Today Madang has a range of industries, including agriculture, mining, forestry and tourism.

Figure 9 Coastwatchers memorial in Madang.
Since European colonization in the 19th century Madang has been a drawcard for tourism in Papua New Guinea, being referred to as the Pearl of the Pacific or the Prettiest Town in the Pacific. The Lonely Planet describes the province as “PNG in miniature” (Brown, Carillet and Kaminski 2016: 92). It is very diverse in cultures, with people representing island, coastal, river and mountain cultures, and this diversity is expressed in languages, with close to 200 languages present in this province alone.

Tourism is an established industry for Madang with visitors being attracted to the region for ecotourism, diving, surfing, island cruising, cultural attractions, and military/colonial heritage (N’Drower 2014). Madang is also a gateway for exploring other key areas of PNG, including as a port for small cruises along the Sepik River, or as a road/air gateway to the Highlands region. In recent years, however, tourism leisure activity appears to have decreased significantly, with travelers mostly visiting for business purposes.

In terms of structure, tourism is governed at both a national and provincial level in Papua New Guinea. The PNGTPA are the national body in charge of marketing and policy development for the entire country. The PNGTPA also employs product development officers who are available to provide advice and assistance to community organisations, although uptake of these services is dependent on the provincial government or NGOs raising community awareness of the services on offer.

Both the Madang Provincial Government and the Madang Visitors and Cultural Bureau (MVCB) employ tourism officers. The role of these tourism officers is to assist with the promotion of tourism in the province, as well as to provide advisory services and marketing assistance to local tourism operators and attraction sites. The level of success that can be achieved by the tourism officers is largely a reflection of the amount of financial support provided by the Madang Provincial Government. Currently, there appears to be no overall provincial government tourism plan or policy in place.

Previously, in 2007, Madang was selected as one of five Model Tourism Provinces by PNGTPA as a priority for tourism development, along with Milne Bay, Eastern Highlands, East New Britain and New Ireland. Tourism plans were developed within each province in conjunction with PNGTPA and each province selected specific projects that PNGTPA would support. The Model Tourism Provinces project struggled, however, as most of the provinces were unable to implement their plans owing to the differing amounts of funding and resources the provinces put into tourism. Two of the Model Tourism Provinces, Milne Bay and East New Britain, are now the focus of the World Bank funded PNG Tourism Sector Development Project. Currently, the PNGTPA is in discussion with the Madang Provincial Government to establish a new Memorandum of Understanding.

The Madang Provincial Government also supports the MVCB which encompasses a combined museum and visitors centre. Tourists seeking independent advice on tourism in Madang visit the MVCB and are provided with information on local attractions, tour guides and accommodation options.
There are several private tourism operators in Madang, some of which have operated for over 40 years. These operations are largely based around providing accommodation, with several large hotels and resorts; some operators also offer guided tours to visit the local attractions. The tour operators are very supportive of local tourism organisations, providing funding for the MVCB and the local cultural festival.

Madang is also the location of Divine Word University, with approximately 3000 students at its main campus. Divine Word University teaches both tourism and PNG studies, and is an important training provider for tourism across Papua New Guinea, including the development of research capacity (Kau 2014, N'Drower 2014).

As all visitor data is collected on a national level, it is challenging to profile the number or type of tourists that travel to Madang. The MVCB collects data on the numbers of tourists who visit their museum but numbers are low. Over the past 11 years, visitation has ranged from a minimum of 47 to a maximum of 139 visitors a year (averaging around 88). Of these tourists, 42% were from Australia, 24% from the USA, 11% from Germany and 6% from the UK and Japan respectively. Other nationalities include Israel, France, the Philippines, China, Samoa and Solomon Islands, but numbers are very low. A visitors’ book provides insights into visitors’ experiences through brief comments; however, this qualitative material has not been collated. Additionally, it is unclear as to how people access the MVCB, who they are, and whether they are part of cruise ships, organised tours or independent travellers.

A number of cruise ships visit Madang each year including, on average, three ships per year from the P&O Australia Line, which has ships that range in size from 1200-2000 passengers. Also visiting are smaller expedition boats, such as Coral Expeditions (Australia) making eight visits per year with ships ranging in size from 70-100 passengers; and Heritage Expeditions (New Zealand) a 50 passenger ship making two visits per year. Everett et al. (2018) noted that Madang was a key location for a potential upgrade of the port and further tourism development, particularly as a cruise ship destination.
Cultural Heritage Opportunities in Madang

There are a range of cultural heritage opportunities available within the Madang region, including both tangible and intangible heritage. This study focused upon attraction sites and opportunities available within a short distance of the Madang town centre, due to transport difficulties for tourists to easily travel further afield.

**Madang Visitors and Cultural Bureau:**
Established in 1981, the MVCB is a combined museum and tourism bureau, the first in Papua New Guinea to bring together these two functions. The museum itself houses approximately 500 artefacts and presents a chronological overview of Madang’s history from indigenous history, through to the German colonial period, followed by Japanese occupation during the Second World War, to independence in 1975 and the formation of Madang Province in 1978. There are also some other exhibitions depicting local handicrafts and artefacts. Apart from tourists, the museum also receives visits from local school groups and Divine Word University students of Papua New Guinean Studies. Previously, the museum had a Theatre Development Officer, held theatre performances and provided theatre training, but these activities ceased in 2014.

The incorporation of the museum into the visitor bureau is a practical model for cultural heritage tourism in the provinces of Papua New Guinea. This combination provides an efficient ‘one-stop-shop’ for tourists, where they can access information about local tourist attractions while gaining an in-depth understanding of the cultural heritage of the local area through the museum. This allows tourists to understand and appreciate their local experiences, and provide excellent background on the importance of other cultural heritage sites within the region. The MVCB is a central hub for tourism in Madang and provides cultural performances or handicraft making displays during cruise ship visits. As the museum contains copies of historical documents and photographs, it also draws visitors of German and Japanese descent who are interested in finding out more about their ancestors who lived or visited the region during the colonial and war periods.

**Bibil Village:** Bilbil Village is one of the last villages in Papua New Guinea where pottery making has survived as an important cultural tradition. Traditionally, pots made from Bilbil (and other villages along the Rai coast) were traded from Karkar Island in the north, to the Vitiaz Strait in the east, and formed an important currency for the Bel people. Today, a small group of women from Bilbil continue the tradition of making pots, and are the only village to still do so. Tourists can visit the village and buy pots and other handicrafts, watch a pottery-making demonstration, book to have a village lunch cooked in clay pots, or visit the last surviving balangut (trading canoe).

**Cultural Shows/Festivals/Singsings:** There are several cultural festivals held within the Madang area. Like elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, these shows are performances and dances representative of the different cultures within the local region and further afield (Whitford and Dunn 2014). The main one for Madang itself is the Madang Festival which has now been renamed the Mabarosa Festival and is traditionally held each year over the Queen’s Birthday.
Weekend, the second Monday in June. This is a large festival that attracts dance groups from the highlands, islands and coastal regions. More recently, a smaller festival, the Karkar Island Bilum Festival has begun, focusing on the production and display of woven bags (bilums). The Divine Word University also holds a cultural show put on by their students. The Madang Festival in particular draws international tourists, with cruise ships often coordinating their schedule to allow their passengers to attend. Festivals and cultural shows were also highlighted as being important for domestic tourism, and noted by informants as one of the main drawcards for domestic travel. These cultural shows also provide avenues for tourists to buy handicrafts directly from local producers.

**Village Visits/Homestays/Handicrafts:**
Different villages within the Madang area offer a variety of immersive experiences for tourists. This can include visiting a village for a traditionally cooked village lunch; watching a singsing performance; taking a walk through the village and local bush area with guides knowledgeable in bush medicine and ecological information; staying overnight in a traditional house and participating in local village activities; and buying locally made handicrafts.

**Markets:** There are several markets within Madang town, including a local town market that sells bilums, handicrafts and fruit/vegetables, and a smaller handicrafts market situated outside the Madang Resort. Markets are patronised by both international and domestic tourists, who take the opportunity to buy bilums, galamut (split drums), carvings and paintings.
Second World War Heritage: Madang was occupied by the Japanese during the Second World War and there are several sites of interest within Madang town and its vicinity that can be visited, including displays at the Cultural Bureau. These include the Coastwatchers Memorial Beacon, a monument marking those servicemen who stayed behind during Japanese occupation to report on Japanese movements; a Japanese Bomber at Alexishafen; and a Japanese landing craft within the Madang harbour area. Military heritage diving opportunities also exist, including a B-25D Mitchell Light bomber and the USS Boston minesweeper boat. Military heritage is an important drawcard to Madang for Japanese, Australian and New Zealand visitors.

Alexishafen: Alexishafen Catholic Mission is to the north of Madang and preserves evidence from the German colonial period as well as from the Japanese occupation during the Second World War. Much of the mission itself was destroyed during the war, but there are remains of the airstrip built by the Japanese and bombed by the Americans, military equipment including a Japanese Donryu bomber, as well as a cemetery and memorial to missionaries killed during the war. Tours to this area include stories about the military history of the region.
Cruise Ship Market: The cruise ship market has been highlighted as one of the real potential growth markets for Papua New Guinea and there appears to be clear emphasis from PNGTPA to focus on this area. While no report has been completed on Madang itself, the IFC 2016 report is the first major assessment of the economic impact of cruise ship tourism in Papua New Guinea and can be used as a basis for the understanding the potential of Madang as a cruise ship port.
The IFC 2016 report involved interviewing cruise ship passengers on two trips (one with 2020 passengers, the second with 2272 passengers) visiting five different PNG ports (Alotau, Rabaul, Kiriwina, Kitava and Doini Island). The report notes that, on average, passengers spent AUS$76 per passenger per day at a large port like Rabaul, and AUS$47 per day at a smaller port like Alotau (IFC 2016). The amount of money spent reflects spending opportunities, such as the availability of tours and handicrafts, as well as infrastructure available at ports: e.g. the availability of ATMs and foreign currency exchange, and port facilities such as toilets and shelter making it more pleasant for visitors to spend time off the ship (IFC 2016: 11).

Most money was spent on tours, usually pre-booked on the cruise ship. Figures showed that for the day in port, approximately 47% of passengers (between 950-1068 tourists) were on pre-booked tours in Alotau, and 970-1090 pre-booked tours in Rabaul (48% of passengers). This is a significant number of visitors and did not include those who booked tours in port. The IFC 2016 report also noted that the majority of passengers would have spent more on handicrafts/souvenirs if more options were available. Of the total amount of money spent, 43% benefitted local, private beneficiaries, largely the local tour operators and handicraft vendors (IFC 2016: 14).

Madang currently receives very few of the large cruise ships that visit Papua New Guinea. Smaller expeditionary cruise ships do, however, use Madang as a port for various reasons including access to the Sepik River or to the islands region of Papua New Guinea. Madang is unique in having its own expeditionary boat, the Kalibobo Spirit, permanently based at the port as part of the Madang Resort, which also completes tours up the Sepik River or to the islands region.

To summarise, Madang is notable for having a range of cultural heritage tourism opportunities that are relatively easy to access within a short distance of the main centre. Target markets for these attractions could include specialist cultural heritage ‘niche’ tours, independent travellers, and cruise ship visitors. One of the key attractions for cultural heritage tourists is authenticity of experience. As many of the attractions involve ‘lived culture’, tourist cultural experiences integrate with local communities’ own cultural traditions and everyday lifestyle, making the authenticity of experience within the Madang area high.
Community and Stakeholder Views on Cultural Heritage Tourism

This section reports on the discussions held between the research team and stakeholders involved in both cultural heritage and tourism in Madang and Papua New Guinea, as well as local communities involved in tourism activities within the Madang area. The key findings are as follows:

- The concept of cultural heritage tourism was considered to be an important niche market for Papua New Guinea by all stakeholders interviewed, noting the well-advertised cultural diversity of Papua New Guinea.

- Local communities interviewed supported community-based tourism ventures, as tourism provides important economic gains for community groups which could be fed back into the community to support schools, medical needs, and other community activities.

- Local communities were less aware of the concept of cultural heritage tourism. While all groups incorporated cultural heritage to different extents within their tourism products, it was important to note that the term ‘cultural heritage’ was unfamiliar. This is not surprising considering it is very much a western concept emerging from the heritage sector and academic studies. Once communities understood the concept of cultural heritage they agreed that this is an important avenue for future growth.

- The main reason that cultural heritage tourism seemed unfamiliar as a concept was because it includes activities that people generally do as part of their daily lives, such as handicrafts, making village lunches, and taking forest or bush walks that incorporate traditional knowledge of plants and animals. People do not always recognise that things that are most familiar to them are of considerable interest to tourists and thus have economic value for tourists and locals.

- Perceived benefits of cultural heritage tourism by stakeholders and communities included the following:

  > Sustainability: While the term sustainability is normally applied to how sustainable a tourism activity is for the environment or for cultural traditions, cultural heritage as a business venture also needs to be sustainable for the people practicing it. One advantage of cultural heritage tourism that recurred in interviews was the recognition that many of the activities of interest form part of people’s normal daily life and these activities would go on even if the tourists did not come. The advantage of this is that cultural heritage tourism, if designed correctly, can be readily incorporated by local communities, with very little investment in infrastructure or capital.

  > Access to industry: Communities are more empowered to access cultural heritage tourism than other types of tourism as they are the ones with the lifestyle and cultural knowledge already in place. This means that local communities can access the tourism industry relatively easily and benefit directly from the activity.

  > Authenticity: Tourists wish to travel to experience cultures different to
their own but are also very conscious of the ‘authenticity’ of the experience. As the cultural heritage experiences offered by local communities within the Madang area are ‘lived’ experiences, they are naturally authentic. Capitalising on this market would be playing to already perceived strengths for the Papua New Guinea tourist market that are currently under-developed.

> **Connections to culture:** This is significant on a number of levels. Sharing culture with international and domestic tourists can result in the sharing of knowledge and increased empathy and understanding between communities and tourists. This can also result in material or financial benefits for communities and increasing business confidence and self-value as they realise the importance and value that others place on their cultural heritage. Creating links between tourists and communities also has value for promoting Papua New Guinea as a tourist destination as tourists can challenge stereotypes of security issues and provide word-of-mouth marketing.

> **Connections to place:** Cultural heritage and identity is often linked to a specific place, some experiences can only happen in situ, therefore cultural heritage tourism encourages tourists to visit villages and more remote communities.

> **Educational opportunities:** the creation of cultural heritage tourism builds capacity by teaching tourism management skills (through the local Divine Word University and by employers) and engaging the younger generations in employment opportunities.

> **Continuation of culture:** As Papua New Guinea modernises and with more people travelling away from provinces for work, there are challenges with ensuring the continuation of traditions such as handicraft skills. By providing an economic value to tangible and intangible cultural heritage assets that rely on these skills or knowledge, cultural heritage tourism provides advocacy and incentives for young people to continue learning them, thus ensuring resilience with traditional knowledge into the future.

- All of the communities interviewed noted that there was currently a low number of tourists visiting attraction sites in Madang; this was confirmed by other stakeholders. While large numbers of tourists visited on cruise ship days, these visits were limited throughout the year. All stakeholders noted a desire to increase tourism numbers to Madang. Currently, tourism at best provides a supplementary income to local communities who are largely focused on subsistence agriculture with the sale of cash crops when needed.

- Tourism needs to focus on encouraging sustainable domestic markets, encouraging urban Papua New Guinea residents to visit rural areas as well as increasing international tourism. Potential domestic tourism attractions include festivals and handicrafts markets.
For cultural heritage tourism to be successful, tourist expectations of authentic experiences need to be met. However, for communities to design these experiences successfully, they need assistance with product development, impact management and capacity building, particularly in the training and education of tour guides. Industry practitioners could be employed to provide this assistance with tourism activities, but cultural heritage bodies such as the National Museum and Art Gallery of Papua New Guinea or the National Cultural Commission should also be utilised to assist with maintaining the cultural integrity and heritage values for this specific type of tourism. For example, for those communities with Second World War heritage, the National Museum and Art Gallery could assist with developing narratives that explain the wider context of the war to enable local communities with storytelling and guiding.

In summary, communities and stakeholders both see the benefits of cultural heritage tourism and have a desire to participate in this type of niche market. However, there are certain challenges to its development which will be outlined below.
Challenges with the Development of Community Based Cultural Heritage Tourism

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

**Low tourism numbers:** Currently, Madang is experiencing very low tourist numbers, which means that attraction sites within local communities are unable to realise the potential income from domestic and international tourism. While all supplementary income is beneficial for the communities, the lack of consistent tourist visits causes low morale and a lack of incentive to participate in tourism.

**Lack of awareness:** There is a general lack of knowledge about tourism as a sustainable development option (see also N’Drower 2014), but particularly around cultural heritage. One of the perceived difficulties was in translating and explaining the concept of cultural heritage to communities. As it is such an ingrained part of everyday subsistence life, cultural heritage practices are not necessarily seen as valuable for tourists, even though it is these very authentic practices that cultural heritage tourists wish to see. This can possibly be overcome through community outreach programmes through Divine Word University or other organisations such as MVCB or NGOs.

**Lack of support for community development:** Communities feel unsupported by government at all levels (district, provincial and national) in developing tourism projects. Despite assistance being requested, communities generally do not receive support for the funding and implementation of marketing strategies, signage, product development, capital or financial investment, and training. All communities covered by this study had a range of ideas for ways in which they could develop their existing products further, including improved signage, sheltered community centres for crafts, and guesthouses or homestays to encourage tourists to stay longer in their villages.

Although communities feel that they are often consulted, often no actions materialise, which leads to a loss of morale and initiative amongst communities. Communities are currently registering with the Investment Promotion Authority (IPA) and opening bank accounts, which should allow them to apply for grants for assistance, but so far no grants have been funded. The PNGTPA do have a small to medium tourism credit scheme, administered by the National Development Bank for the purpose to establishing and developing new and existing small-scale tourism projects, but these appear to be difficult for the communities to access and not well-known or communicated to communities. Apart from the PNGTPA scheme, communities were not aware of other funding opportunities available to them for developing small businesses, the existence of which also needs to be explored and promoted to communities.

Each level of government in Papua New Guinea provides varying degrees of support for tourism. At the national level, the PNGTPA largely focuses upon marketing...
and policy development. They are able to provide assistance with product development for local communities, but they need to be made aware of these opportunities by provincial governments or NGOs. The degree of support for tourism from provincial governments is therefore crucial in providing a connection between local communities and the PNGTPA, as well as ensuring national tourism policies are implemented. As noted earlier, the PNGTPA are currently in discussion with Madang to sign an MOU for support. Currently, there is limited provincial government activity for realising the potential benefits of tourism in Madang, with no current tourism plan in place, limited infrastructure development, little financial support or human resources and few capacity building initiatives allocated to tourism development.

Government support for cultural heritage: Under the National Museum and Art Gallery Act 1992, the NMAG is charged with protecting all cultural sites within Papua New Guinea. It administers both the National Cultural Property (Preservation) Act 1965, as well as the War Surplus Materials Act 1952, which covers all Second World War material. Any cultural heritage tourism undertaken in Papua New Guinea that has the potential to threaten or damage cultural heritage will need to be undertaken in consultation with NMAG.

Concurrently, the National Cultural Commission (NCC) is responsible for all intangible heritage within Papua New Guinea, such as the organisation of festivals and singsings. The NMAG and NCC should also be seen as valuable resources in themselves, as the repositories of cultural heritage knowledge within Papua New Guinea, and both have the potential to provide valuable assistance in developing cultural heritage products. However, both organisations are national bodies based in Port Moresby with little presence in the provincial centres. For example, there is no cultural heritage body within the Madang Province, with the exception of the MVCB. Both NMAG and NCC are underfunded in their ability to complete work in the provinces to identify, maintain and preserve cultural heritage.

For cultural heritage tourism potential to be fully recognised, there is a need to work with these stakeholders to ensure that cultural heritage is incorporated into a long term sustainable tourism vision for the region, implemented through a regional plan. Tourism specialists are not cultural heritage experts and therefore need technical assistance from specialist cultural heritage institutions. In places like Madang with rich military histories, there is also a danger that a lack of local understanding of the War Surplus Materials Act 1952 or of the significance of the remaining artefacts means that inadvertent and irreparable damage to military heritage sites may be caused (including selling surplus war materials to collectors or as scrap metal). Educational programmes need to be run on the implications of cultural heritage legislation in Papua New Guinea.

Community agency: There appears to be a tension when considering how to implement tourism development projects in Madang. This can be viewed as a comparison between bottom-up and top-down approaches. Community-based tourism projects need to be a mix of both to succeed, requiring bottom-up engagement as communities take the initiative for project development and are resourced and empowered to take responsibility for the ongoing sustainability of community ventures. Communities also
need support from a top-down approach which provides funding and capacity building (education and training) in how to design sustainable tourism projects, develop financial competency and skills in marketing and product development. The tension here is determining who is responsible for what. Both local communities and cultural heritage/tourism stakeholders need to act together for projects to be successful.

**Long term support/sustainability of projects:** There have been a variety of different developmental projects conducted in Madang (Benson 2012) and elsewhere in PNG that have faced difficulties with long term sustainability. For example, MVCB had an ecotourism officer funded by AusAid in 2011-2012 to assist with product development, as well as creating an online presence for MVCB, and yet this position does not appear to have been continued, and there is no functioning website or online presence today. Like most short-term aid/development projects any developed gains are likely to be unsustain in the longer term. More support for long-term tourism projects is needed that extend beyond the establishment phase. At the same time, concise and practical reporting mechanisms need to be established to check on how projects are developing, along with flexibility to provide additional assistance when required. Communities also need to be made aware that tourism development is a strategic process that needs to be encouraged as a long-term investment.

**Security and perceptions:** One of the difficulties with increasing cultural heritage tourism (or tourism of any kind) to Madang is tourist perceptions of security, violence and health risks (such as malaria). This is not confined to Madang and is symptomatic of perceptions of Papua New Guinea (Garry 2018; Sumb 2016. While Madang has always been a relatively safe harbour for tourism, tourists have difficulties in disentangling the provinces from Papua New Guinea as a whole, therefore any poor publicity from other regions or from Port Moresby is generally applied to the whole country.

**Governance issues:** Community based tourism projects need to consider and resolve governance issues as part of their development plan for tourism. Where community based tourism and other developmental projects have failed in the past in Papua New Guinea, some of the reasons identified include projects not having the support of all of the community, or not having involvement from certain sectors of the community, or conversely, having too many people involved leading to “too many bosses” (Sakata and Prideaux 2013: 891). Power structures and governance issues, as well as claims to customary land ownership, also need to be explored to ensure sustainability of the project. This includes addressing how the income earned by the tourism venture is distributed amongst, or benefits, the whole community.

**Marketing:** The PNGTPA markets on a national basis rather than a provincial basis, which makes it difficult for places like Madang to differentiate itself internationally from other regions of Papua New Guinea. Conversely, Madang has benefited from the PNGTPA’s strategy of focusing on particular provinces for tourism being part of the Model Province Five Year plan in 2007. These plans now seem to be largely replaced by the Papua New Guinea Tourism Sector Development Project, funded by the World Bank, which now focuses entirely on East New Britain and Milne Bay. There have been critiques of this focused approach which leaves out large portions of Papua New Guinea.
New Guinea (Rayel et al. 2014). At the same time, there appears to be little capacity for Madang to be able to market itself independently, except through the efforts of private tour operators.

**Online marketing/social media:** Many tourists these days want to book online or at least find information about possible attractions to visit. Currently, the MVCB does not have its own website although it does have a Facebook page on which it reports, very infrequently, on local events. Consequently, Madang relies on the PNGTPA website; the PNGTPA website, in turn, relies on information supplied by the provinces and currently reports incorrect information regarding attraction sites for the Madang area.

Attraction sites themselves largely lack internet access making direct communication with potential customers or raising consumer awareness particularly difficult. Some information is available on third party websites such as Lonely Planet or Trip Advisor but again, these are not directly controlled either by the attraction sites/groups or by the MVCB. Social media and online marketing provide cost-effective access to international markets if the power of this technology is harnessed for tourism promotion and information purposes.

**Access and signage:** Tour companies noted that one of the contributing factors in deciding which villages or attraction sites to visit is based upon ease of access and proximity to Madang town, as many tourists book half day or day tours with multiple, easily accessible attractions. For tourists who wish to visit attraction sites independently, access and transport are important issues. Many tourists do not rent cars and worry about the safety of the public transport or taxi systems. Tourists who do access these transport options, however, are still disadvantaged in terms of locating particular attraction sites due to a lack of clear directions, maps or signage, unless booking a private taxi service.

**Communication:** As noted previously, local community-based attraction sites lack access to internet or social media. Communications with tourists is therefore limited to relying on tour companies or the MVCB, which again means that communities have little ability to directly negotiate with tourists themselves.

**Control of product:** Local communities expressed difficulties with the ability to control access to their own tourism products. As communities were inhibited in their ability to market themselves or directly communicate with tourists, they felt entirely reliant on either the MVCB or external tour providers to bring tourists to them. Concerns were raised that this prevented communities having full control over their tourism product, such as the ability to charge tourists appropriate fees for access to the attraction site, with fees being set by external entities. Again community access to social media could be advantageous when marketing and communicating directly to visitors.

**Diversity of product/sense of place:** Local communities expressed the need to have a diversity of product between different tourism operations and were conscious themselves of a need to develop a particular strength/niche. For example, if everyone sells the same handicrafts, or offers singing performances, then this increases competition between communities. Competition for tourist visitors may pitch one community against another and does not promote the sharing of tourism income.
Associated with this is the belief that tourism products may be overly concentrated within Madang town itself, thus not encouraging tourists to visit the surrounding local communities. For example, if all the handicrafts are sent to Madang markets for sale, then tourists have less incentive to travel to villages to see the handicrafts being made. Similarly, if the resorts offer the same services as the communities, such as handicrafts, singsings, etc, then there is less reason to encourage visitors into local communities.

**Authenticity/Commodification of product:** None of the communities interviewed had really considered issues around authenticity or commodification of product, although this is consistently raised in cultural heritage tourism literature. Such lack of interest and knowledge at a community level is not surprising considering the academic nature of these concepts. Whitford and Dunn (2014) have noted, however, a level of commodification creeping into indigenous cultural festivals within Papua New Guinea, where due to a rise in tourism numbers, aspects of the festivals are changing to accommodate tourists.

For the local communities in Madang, however, tourism visitation was still at very low levels and very much embedded within everyday life. There does not appear to be a concern about tourism-induced cultural change or commodification. Communities interviewed elsewhere in Papua New Guinea have noted that cultural change is inevitable and due to factors other than tourism, such as Christianity, colonialism and television (Sakata and Prideaux 2013). Cultural change is a potential issue to consider if tourism does increase in the Madang area in the future. Tourism should be designed to be authentic and sustainable for both the host community and the visitor. Divine Word University, NMAG and NCC could play a role here in providing technical advice on these matters to communities.

**Product development and design/education and training:** While local communities are rich in cultural heritage, they need assistance in designing an overall product or packaged experience for tourists. Cultural heritage differs from other types of tourism in that it requires connection and knowledge sharing between the host community and the tourist. This is different compared to beach or activity-based tourism, or even natural heritage based tourism, where places can speak for themselves.

One avenue noted by a number of stakeholders included the need for storytelling and education within the overall product design. However, local communities may not be sufficiently experienced in understanding what tourists want as an experience, and therefore need assistance with developing an appropriate product. Examples could include sharing knowledge of myths/legends (if appropriate culturally); explaining handicraft processes; interpreting the meanings of costumes and dances at singsings; developing cultural narratives of places; sharing traditional knowledge of plants and animals on bush walks; and allowing tourists to participate in particular activities, if appropriate, such as craft making or food preparation. If English or access to spoken languages is an issue, interpretive boards or information brochures in appropriate languages may also be options for this transmission of knowledge and it must be noted that the cultural richness of Papua New Guinea’s languages could also be of interest to niche tourists seeking an educational tourism experience.
Madang Visitors and Cultural Bureau: The MVCB is underfunded and under-resourced. Currently, the MVCB cannot provide funding to local communities involved in tourism projects. Although it can provide technical assistance, this is limited by its own lack of funds enabling staff to visit communities. The MVCB also operates as a local museum for Madang. This is an important function as it provides important historical and anthropological background that contextualises tourists’ visits to other local attractions (for example, archaeological and anthropological history regarding Bel trading voyages as a background to visiting Bilbil village; colonial history before visiting Alexishafen; or military history before visiting war sites). However, as a museum, the MVCB is also underfunded and lacks specialist technical assistance to adequately conserve collections or develop exhibitions. This needs to be addressed financially by the provincial government along with collaboration networking to NMAG to help with the provision of specialist advice and training.

Cruise ships: There is clearly potential for cultural heritage attraction sites and traditional crafts to benefit from the arrival of cruise ships in Madang. However, there are limitations as to who can participate in this market. Tourists on cruise ships will largely pre-book tours on-board rather than visit community attraction sites by themselves. Those who may wish to travel independently are limited by knowledge of what tourist attraction sites are available and also how to access them as they are often difficult to reach without booked transport. Traditional craft makers must also travel to Madang for cruise ships visits in order increase their market exposure. The IFC report (2016: 21) also notes that Madang needs to reinforce and extend port berths in order to be able to enable more regular and larger ships to visit.
Recommendations

Based on the above issues and constraints, the following areas are considered crucial for future development of sustainable cultural heritage tourism options in Madang Province.

1. **Advocacy and Leadership Training:**

   One of the key findings was the lack of awareness of cultural heritage tourism as an option for local community sustainable development in Papua New Guinea. This is not just within communities, but also among tourism specialists both in the public and private sectors, who could be important advocates for cultural heritage tourism.

   To increase awareness of cultural heritage tourism, workshops could be held that involve tourism professionals at a national level (PNGTPA and NMAG/NCC), provincial level (tourism and cultural centres), district level, for local community organisations, NGOs, and tour operators. For local communities, it is important to include a diverse demographic range of members to ensure adequate knowledge spread.

2. **Tourism support for community development:**

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

   These support services need to be long term (beyond initial establishment) and have adequate reporting mechanisms for checking progress for the community and the service suppliers.

   The Madang Provincial Government needs to prioritise seed funding and long term funding for local initiatives, alongside resources for tourism officers and the MVCB, in order to be able undertake development programmes with local communities. To assist the Madang Provincial Government/MVCB in providing support to local communities, relationships need to be established with the PNGTPA and local tourism providers who have expert knowledge in these fields.

   To enable an effective coordination of programmes, Madang also needs to develop a Tourism Master Plan to guide tourism development as whole within the province, with cultural heritage tourism included within the plan. Practically, there needs to be improved transport infrastructure to access tourism sites, alongside online information and road signage.

3. **Creation of cultural heritage networks:**

   The creation of synergies between tourism and cultural heritage institutions at various levels is needed to share knowledge and to assist local communities. The knowledge of how to develop cultural heritage tourism is present within Papua New Guinea itself but could be facilitated by a ‘whole of government’ approach, as cited by the PNGTPA Tourism Sector Master Plan 2007-2017.

   As cultural heritage tourism differs from other types of tourism, there needs to be formal relationships created between national and provincial government
institutions to provide assistance for cultural heritage tourism enterprises. In the Madang context this would include the Madang Provincial Government, MVCB (Tourism and Museum), the PNGTPA, NMAG, NCC and Divine Word University (PNG Studies and Tourism).

To assist in the development and maintenance of MVCB as a cultural institution and museum, relationships also need to be developed with cultural heritage institutions within Papua New Guinea, including NMAG, Divine Word University (PNG Studies) and NCC, as these institutions could provide specialist advice on curation and conservation of collections, and exhibition design. Networks via social media could prove cost-effective and time-efficient.

4. **Increase research and knowledge of local cultural heritage:**

Madang has a rich cultural heritage, spanning indigenous, colonial and military spheres. However, records and information about this cultural heritage are patchy and not well integrated into tourism offerings. For communities to use cultural heritage as a tourism asset, they will need assistance to improve research and recording activities. For example, oral histories could be recorded and transcribed to help create pamphlets of traditional knowledge for bush walks. The same could be done for myths/legends, handicrafts, or traditional sisinging performances.

The recording of this information would be beneficial for the communities themselves but can also be adapted into tourism products. For example, communities that have difficulties with English could be provided with guide training, online resources, and hard copy pamphlets or signage to help tell their stories and share information with visitors.

To undertake cultural heritage research, however, the Madang Provincial Government needs to provide the MVCB with finances and resources to pursue this knowledge. The NMAG and NCC should also be involved in these tasks, but they also need to be provided with further resources at a national level to be able to undertake work with the provinces.

The MVCB should also be supported as a cultural heritage institution in its own right with appropriate funding and assistance. Projects could include developing digital/video/interactive exhibits, or incorporating alternative products such as oral histories, alongside its material culture exhibits. With extra funding, the MVCB could become an important educational resource, not just for tourists, but also for local communities, schools and university students. There is also potential for the MVCB to partner with Divine Word University to conduct outreach to schools themselves which would help increase knowledge of cultural heritage and tourism at a primary and high school level.

5. **Marketing:**

Marketing community organisations and attraction sites needs to be considered at a variety of levels to create a cohesive strategy that encourages tourists to visit not just Papua New Guinea, but Madang Province in particular. There needs to be a coordination of marketing strategies and information between the PNGTPA
and MVCB to ensure accurate national level information. In Madang, there needs to be creation of online marketing strategies for the MVCB, including website and online social media such as Facebook and TripAdvisor, as well as the creation of online marketing strategies for local community tourism projects.

There is potential to explore international marketing opportunities for local community tourism projects. For example, pottery making at Bilbil Village could potentially qualify for UNESCO’s List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, increasing the visibility of the pottery products. At the same time, there needs to be increases in the physical visibility of tourism attraction sites, including road signage.
Concluding Remarks

While there is clearly a desire for Papua New Guinea to increase its offerings in the niche market of cultural heritage tourism, awareness of this demand has not yet trickled down to the local community level. When the concept of cultural heritage tourism was raised with communities however, there was strong support for this type of tourism, particularly as a sustainable development opportunity. However, participation in cultural heritage tourism for communities requires robust assistance from government bodies at national and provincial level, as well as private tourism providers. This support needs to be long term and holistic, including product development, education/training, capacity building and marketing. Successful cultural heritage tourism sites need to not only be sustainable for culture and environment, but also for the communities as viable economic ventures.

There is real potential for Papua New Guinea to develop this market, particularly as it already has a reputation for cultural heritage globally. However, Papua New Guinea also faces considerable challenges, with negative perceptions of stability and security being significant factors inhibiting its attraction for visitors. Although some security issues may be localised to particular areas or regions, visitors are often unacquainted with the geographical and cultural diversity of Papua New Guinea and therefore the entire country becomes associated with the same problems. Cultural heritage tourism, enabling tourists to actively interact with local communities may be one of the answers to challenging this perception as it encourages tourists to dispel misconceptions by meeting and engaging meaningfully with local people.

Papua New Guinea has a rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and Madang provides an ideal place for visitors to engage with this in a relatively safe and secure environment. Alongside natural attractions, it has considerable cultural diversity, colonial heritage and military histories encapsulated in a small place, therefore presenting a diverse array of experiences for tourists. While tourism development is not without its problems in Madang, particularly due to current low tourism numbers, the development of cultural tourism opportunities, if designed and promoted well, could become an important growth market for the Madang tourism industry.
References


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