

World Heritage

papers

34



World Heritage in a Sea of Islands

Pacific 2009 Programme



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



World
Heritage
Convention



World Heritage in a Sea of Islands

Pacific 2009 Programme

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Kishore Rao, DIRECTOR OF THE UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE CENTRE

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“World Heritage in a Sea of Islands: The Pacific 2009 Programme”

by the Director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre

The Pacific region covers about one third of total surface area of the earth and comprises over one thousand islands and atolls. This reservoir and the wealth of cultural and natural diversity and traditional knowledge is first and foremost a living heritage. The region's Indigenous communities are playing an important role as its custodians.

As most of the Pacific small islands joined UNESCO in the 1980s and 1990s and ratified the World Heritage Convention after the year 2000, their experience in international cooperation for heritage protection is relatively recent. Being a State Party to the World Heritage Convention provided an opportunity for these islands and territories to protect their rich cultural and natural heritage against environmental threats and development pressure, while re-establishing crucial socio-cultural ties and exchanges among Pacific Island nations.

Until recently, the Pacific Island countries were represented on the World Heritage List by one single property only: East Rennell in the Solomon Islands, inscribed in 1998. The Pacific Island countries and their heritage experts soon understood the need to devise a more coordinated and strategic approach to ensure the protection of their heritage at the international level through the World Heritage Programme.

The World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme (2003-2009) was adopted at the 27th session of the World Heritage Committee in 2003 as a strategic regional initiative. It established clear and priority actions to be undertaken to achieve concrete results in the protection and management of Pacific heritage, as determined directly by the countries and territories concerned. The programme set out the responsibilities of stakeholders and a timeframe for execution. This regional approach has been successfully implemented and followed-up by the Pacific World Heritage Action Plan (2010-2015), which places a strong emphasis on capacity building as well as community participation. It has encountered such great success, to a large degree, because it took into account the aspirations of the Pacific countries and peoples to achieve sustainable development through the safeguarding of their irreplaceable heritage. Thanks to this programme, the number of sites from the Pacific region inscribed on the World Heritage List has increased from one to five.

This year, to mark the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, governments, institutions and individuals around the world are celebrating “World Heritage and Sustainable Development: the Role of Local Communities.” Consistent with this theme, the present publication explores the following three key components of World Heritage: ‘Diverse Values and Interconnected Histories’, ‘Being Community in the Pacific’ and ‘Building Capacity.’ It highlights case studies in Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Palau and the Marshall Islands et al. Thanks to this new publication, the pioneering efforts by all those involved in the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme will be fully recognized.

Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude to the Government of Australia for generously providing the financial support for this publication through the UNESCO/Australian Funds-in-Trust co-operation.

Kishore Rao

Director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre

Introduction: World Heritage in the Pacific Islands



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The World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme

Anita Smith, La Trobe University, Australia

At the 31st meeting of the World Heritage Committee in Christchurch, Aotearoa/New Zealand in 2007, representatives of the Pacific Island States Parties made a presentation to the World Heritage Committee known as the 'Pacific Appeal'. This was a milestone in the five-year World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme. The Appeal was both a request to the World Heritage Committee and the global community for recognition of the special needs of the Pacific Island countries in implementing the World Heritage Convention and a powerful statement of regional cultural identity and the unique contribution the Pacific Island countries and territories make to global heritage.

Excerpt from 'The Pacific Appeal' to the World Heritage Committee, Christchurch, Aotearoa/New Zealand 2007 (WHC-07/31.COM/11C)

The Pacific is unique ...

There are unique features of the Pacific region that enrich the World Heritage community, and these include:

- the region having one of the highest proportions of indigenous peoples within national populations in any region of the world;
- having amongst the highest proportion of people living within traditional governance systems of any region of the world;
- having amongst the highest proportion of land and sea remaining under traditional management of any region of the world;
- one of the lowest population densities of any inhabited region of the world;
- close and continuing genealogical connections between peoples across vast areas and between many countries and territories;
- traditional heritage management practices that reinforce the inseparable relationship between communities, cultures and environment that underpin sustainable development;
- an enormous wealth of cultural diversity, as well as island and marine biodiversity, much of which is endemic, covering one third of the earth's surface

These unique features underpin the Pacific contribution to the World Heritage community.

For us, indigeneity is inseparable from heritage. Our indigeneity has the following characteristics...

- Heritage in the Pacific defines our cultural identity and remains inseparable from our social, economic and environmental well-being, now and for future generations;
- Our heritage is holistic, embracing all life, both tangible and intangible, and is understood through our cultural traditions;
- There is an inseparable connection between the outstanding seascapes and landscapes in the Pacific Islands region, which are woven together by the rich cultural, historical and genealogical relationships of Pacific Island peoples;
- The region contains a series of spectacular and highly powerful spiritually-valued natural features and cultural places. These places are related to the origins of peoples, the land and sea, and other sacred stories;
- The Pacific is a region of distinct and diverse responses to oceanic environments;
- Protection of our heritage must be based on respect for and understanding and maintenance of the traditional cultural practices, indigenous knowledge and systems of land and sea tenure in the Pacific.

The Pacific faces special challenges related to heritage....

- There is limited awareness of Pacific heritage outside the region;
- There is a lack of adequate representation of the special and unique characteristics of the Pacific Islands region in the World Heritage system;

- The UNESCO Asia-Pacific region is so broad that it masks issues that are specifically relevant to the Pacific region;
- There is limited effective capacity for implementation of the World Heritage Convention due to:
 - Our scale, limited resources and relative isolation which have limited our access to information and assistance, and our ability to participate in global forums;
 - The people in the region who are represented by State Parties located outside the region are limited in their capacity to have sites inscribed on the List;
- There are limited resources and skilled human and institutional capacities to manage effectively the region's cultural and natural heritage;
- The Pacific faces a greater threat from external challenges, especially climate change, than do most other regions of the world, and is less able to deal with the impacts of these threats;
- For these reasons the Pacific is the least represented region on the World Heritage List.

The World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme

Map of the Pacific Island nations and territories. Pacific States Parties to the World Heritage Convention are shown in bold and Pacific Island territories in italics.



The Pacific Appeal was written by representatives of the Pacific Island countries at Tongariro National Park, Aotearoa/New Zealand in February 2007 under the leadership of Sir Tumū te Heuheu, Paramount chief of Ngāti Tuwharetoa Māori tribe and Chair of the World Heritage Committee. The Appeal stresses that the diverse and interconnected histories and cultures of the Pacific Island peoples that have created their landscapes and seascapes and are sustained by systems of customary land tenure that underpin the livelihoods of most Pacific Island communities. At the same time the Appeal stresses the need for resources and capacity building to successfully implement the Convention and to increase the representation of the region on the World Heritage List. These issues frame this collection of papers under the theme of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme, established by the World Heritage Committee in 2003 to promote the World Heritage Convention in the Pacific which continues to be geo-cultural region least represented on the World Heritage List.

The Pacific region spans one third of the globe and contains the cultural and natural heritage of more than a thousand islands ranging from the continental islands of New Zealand and Papua New Guinea to the tiny remote atolls of the central and east Pacific Ocean. This oceanic world has given rise to traditional indigenous ways of life that are unique to the region and expressed through outstanding cultural landscapes and seascapes, settlements and monuments and in the intangible heritage of traditions, knowledge, stories and song. This heritage reflects the common origin and interaction of many Pacific Island societies and the distinct traditional social structures that

have developed in each archipelago. These societies include the linguistically diverse communities of Melanesia in the south west Pacific, speakers of the great family of Polynesian languages in the archipelagos to the east south and north extremities of the Pacific Islands whose histories tell of a single homeland and the Micronesians whose traditional navigational and seafaring skills have enabled them to thrive on the tiny isolated islands of the north central Pacific. Across this Oceanic world there is great diversity in the lands, the communities and the values of the region but also common bonds – the sea, shared histories, shared identities and shared issues that these developing countries face in the protection and management of their heritage.

The Pacific region also has some of the richest complexes of terrestrial and marine ecosystems on Earth, with habitats ranging from mountain forest ecosystems in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands to small volcanic islands and low lying coral atolls of which there are over 7500. The ocean supports the most extensive and diverse coral reefs in the world, the largest tuna fishery, the deepest oceanic trenches and the healthiest and in some cases, largest remaining populations of many globally rare and threatened species including whales, sea turtles, dugongs and saltwater crocodiles.¹

1. The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program <<http://www.sprep.org/index.php>>

When the World Heritage Committee adopted the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme in 2003 most Pacific Island nations² had ratified the Convention during the previous decade³ however they were represented on the World Heritage List by only a single property – East Rennell in the Solomon Islands inscribed under natural criteria in 1998. By 2012 this number has increased to five with the inscription of Chief Roi Mata's Domain (Vanuatu, 2009); Kuk Early Agricultural Site (Papua New Guinea, 2009); Bikini Atoll (Republic of the Marshall Islands, 2010); and Phoenix Island Protected Area (Kiribati, 2010)⁴. Over the same period, seven of the Pacific Island nations submitted their Tentative Lists, leaving only three countries – Niue, Kiribati and Cook Islands who are yet to do so. World Heritage nominations are being developed by Fiji, Palau, Federated States of Micronesia and the Kingdom of Tonga. Palau and Fiji have recently submitted nominations to the World Heritage Centre. While these benchmarks indicate considerable progress in the implementation of the Convention in the Pacific nations, perhaps more importantly they are underpinned by the efforts of communities, governments and regional organisations to protect the heritage of the Pacific Islands. This volume celebrates these efforts and achievements.

It should also be recognized that these achievements have taken place in the context of the many challenges the region faces. Across this vast area, populations are on the whole small although increasing, and many are relatively isolated. Most Pacific Island States are economically underdeveloped. Five Pacific Island States – Kiribati, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and Vanuatu – are included on United Nations' 2011 list of Least Developed Countries.⁵ Unemployment or underemployment has been identified as the biggest challenge facing the Pacific region in a recent report by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (2007). Many people wish to have greater access to the cash economy and the benefits of education, healthcare and opportunities that are available in more developed countries. The exploitation of natural resources provides one of the few avenues through which communities may engage in the global economy but in many places adequate legal protection and community safeguards against the over- or unsustainable exploitation of these resources are lacking. Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific indicate a forested land decreased

by around 4 per cent in the Solomon Islands and between 5 per cent in Papua New Guinea between 1990 and 2010 (Asian Development Bank, 2011:103). While much cultural heritage may be protected by the continuing traditions and land use practices and customary land tenures much is also being impacted and lost through unsustainable resource exploitation and loss of traditional knowledge accompanying rapid social and economic change and the relocation of people from rural to urban centres. In most Pacific Island States, the urban population has increased by 5-10 per cent in the past two decades although it should be noted that in Samoa and Papua New Guinea there has been a slight decrease in the percentage of urban dwellers. The region is also facing increasing economic and social pressure from increasing island populations and an aging population⁶. These pressures are likely to be exacerbated by sea level rise and increasingly severe storms and cyclones associated with climate change (Australian Bureau of Meteorology and Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, 2011), placing further stress on the small island Pacific economies and communities including Tuvalu, Kiribati and Tokelau and increasingly, coastal communities and traditional land use across the region.

Background to the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme

The impetus for a regional World Heritage Strategy for the Pacific that became known as the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme arose from the World Heritage Committee's Global Strategy to redress the imbalances and lack of global representivity of the World Heritage List (Boccardi this volume). In 1997 when the first Global Strategy Meeting for the Pacific region was held in Suva, Fiji, of the fourteen Pacific Island countries only Fiji, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea were signatories to the World Heritage Convention. Of these three, only Fiji had submitted a Tentative List. There were no World Heritage inscriptions from these countries although the region was represented on the List through the inscription of several properties in the Pacific territories of non-local State Parties. Rapa Nui or Easter Island had been inscribed as a Chilean property in 1995; the Hawaiian Island Volcanoes National Park in the United States of America in 1987; and the United Kingdom property of Henderson Island in 1988 being one of four islands making up the territory of Pitcairn Islands.

In 1998, with the support of the New Zealand Government through its NZAid programme the site of East Rennell Island in the Solomon Islands was inscribed as the first World Heritage property in the Pacific Island nations. The property was inscribed under natural Criterion ix being 'a stepping stone in the migration and evolution of species in the western Pacific and important site for the science of island biogeography'. East Rennell was also the first natural property to be inscribed under customary ownership and management, represent-

2. The fourteen self-governing Pacific Island nations are Fiji, Nauru, Tonga, Samoa, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, Cook Islands, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia and Palau. Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, also Pacific countries, were donors and hosted workshops during the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme. The Pacific Island territories of France (French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna) the USA (Guam, Northern Marianas, American Samoa, Hawai'ian Islands), Chile (Rapa Nui) and United Kingdom (Pitcairn Group) were not direct beneficiaries of the programme although representatives of some of these territories participated in activities.

3. Only Nauru and Tuvalu have not ratified the Convention.

4. In Lagoons of New Caledonia: Reef Diversity and Associated Ecosystem, France 2010 Papahānaumokuākea National Marine Monument in Hawai'i, United States of America, was also inscribed as a Native Hawai'ian, Polynesian cultural landscape.

5. <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/least_developed_countries.htm>

6. The percentage of the population over the age of 65 in most Pacific Islands is expected to more than double by 2050 p.130.

The World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme

ing a milestone in the history of the Convention (see Gabrys this volume) and preempting what would become a core theme of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme, that of respect for customary land tenures and the rights and responsibilities of communities and in particular indigenous communities in the World Heritage system.

The Suva meeting in 1997 was followed by the 2nd Global Strategy meeting in the Pacific, held in Port Vila, Vanuatu in 1999 the recommendations of which stressed the need for desktop studies of potential World Heritage properties in the region and the development of educational materials to promote the region's heritage and the potential benefits for communities and governments in implementing the Convention. The recommendations of these initial regional meetings were consolidated in a third meeting was held in Apia, Samoa in 2003 as part of the Periodic Reporting cycle for the Asia Pacific region (UNESCO, 2004 Annex 4). The objective of the workshop was to build professional and institutional capacity of the Pacific Island States to promote the implementation of the Convention. Although by this time most Pacific Island nations had ratified the World Heritage Convention implementation levels remained low due to lack of awareness, resources and capacity within individual countries and the region as a whole. In response Pacific Island representatives at the Apia meeting recommended a Pacific sub-regional World Heritage Programme be developed to address the common issues in heritage management and protection in the Pacific Islands. The World Heritage Committee agreed and at their 27th meeting in Paris in 2003 they adopted the 'World Heritage – Pacific 2009 Programme' (Decision 27COM 20B.4) to focus specifically on the Pacific Island countries with the following aims:

- Ensure full membership of the World Heritage Convention in the Pacific to strengthen a collaborative sub-regional approach to implementation;
- Raise awareness about the World Heritage Convention and the potential benefits of World Heritage in the Pacific;
- Build capacity for the preparation of Tentative Lists and nominations of properties for inclusion in the World Heritage List;
- Ensure the representation of the Pacific cultural and natural heritage on the World Heritage List within the framework of the Global Strategy for a credible, balanced and representative World Heritage List;
- Promote trans-boundary and/or serial marine and terrestrial nominations including serial cultural landscape projects; and
- Build partnerships with Government organizations, NGOs, international and multilateral organizations and donors for assistance in the implementation of the WH Convention in the Pacific.

In late 2003 Aotearoa/New Zealand was elected to the World Heritage Committee and in October 2004 hosted a meeting of representatives of Pacific Island States and terri-

tories at Tongariro National Park (inscribed on the World Heritage List as an associative cultural landscape under Criterion vi in 1993 and previously as a natural property under Criteria vii and viii in 1990) to develop a plan for implementation of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme, known as the Action Plan World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme. For many at the meeting this was their first introduction to the World Heritage Convention. Over five days of discussions a large number of programmes and projects were put forward by individual countries and for the region as a whole that were consolidated in an Action Plan that would to guide Pacific Island States in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention over a 5 year period until 2009. Key to the success of the plan was the building of networks within the region that would enable sharing of skills, knowledge and experience and regional meetings to facilitate this sharing and maximize resources.

In developing this plan, the experts representing the Pacific countries and territories sought to ensure that the plan would reflect the special circumstances which impact on implementation of the World Heritage Convention in the region and in their respective countries. In particular, they recognised that:

- Pacific Island countries and territories generally have very small land areas and populations (although very large sea areas).
- Heritage management agencies are small, handle many functions, and have very limited resources.
- Distances between countries are enormous, and travel can be a significant cost for activities.
- Communication between isolated areas impacts on implementation timetables.
- Decisions concerning sites require extensive consultation because most land (and sea) is held under customary ownership (UNESCO, 2004:1)

The Action Plan included among a wide range of initiatives many national training and awareness raising initiatives, international twinning opportunities for site managers for Pacific and several regional and sub-regional meetings to address specific issues in the implementation of the Convention in the region (see UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2009)⁷.

In 2005 a regional meeting was held in Port Vila, Vanuatu, to develop a thematic framework for World Cultural Heritage in the Pacific. The main objective of the workshop is to reach an agreement on serial and transnational or transboundary cultural themes to assist the Pacific Island countries in developing their Tentative Lists. Following the recommendations

7. Other regional and sub-regional meetings around World Heritage include 'Our Sea of islands' A Regional Forum for Oceania on Marine Managed Areas and World Heritage held in Hawai'i in 2007, under the auspices of the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and UNESCO World Heritage Centre's Marine Programme and a Study Tour for Leaders from Micronesia, the Marshall Islands and Palau to Tongariro National Park, New Zealand, 2007.

of this meeting, two thematic studies have been undertaken by ICOMOS (Smith and Jones 2007; Lilley, ed. 2010 and see Lilley and Sand this volume) to assist Pacific States Parties in identifying values and properties of potential outstanding universal value and potential transnational nominations and provide a basis for comparative analyses to support the nomination of cultural properties from the region (UNESCO, 2005; <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/183/>).

In the following year, 2006, in Apia, Samoa, a Capacity-Building Workshop was held for Cultural and Natural Heritage Professionals from Niue, Samoa and Tonga to assist them in the preparation of Tentative Lists and World Heritage nominations (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/270/>). Following this workshop, in 2007 the Kingdoms of Tonga and Samoa submitted their tentative lists following extensive community consultation and awareness raising projects in both countries (see Clark *et al* and Talouli and Schuster this volume).

In the lead up to the 31st World Heritage Committee meeting in Christchurch in 2007, Aotearoa/New Zealand again hosted a regional workshop at Tongariro National Park. The primary objectives of the workshop were to develop a Pacific position paper to be presented at Christchurch, discuss progress with the 2009 Action Plan; and hold practical capacity-building workshops for participants and to discuss the theme of Indigeneity as it applies to 'Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage in the Pacific'. It was at this meeting that representatives of the Pacific nations drafted the Pacific Appeal to the World Heritage Committee (WHC-07/31.COM/11C) discussed above.

In 2008 Australia hosted a Pacific Islands World Heritage Workshop for representatives from fourteen Pacific Island countries at Cairns that objectives of which were to build capacity/skill in development of management plans and systems for cultural and natural heritage, to share best practice management lessons learnt; to review progress in the implementation of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme and to draft a further Action Plan for the Pacific for 2010-2015 (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/496/>):

What has happened with World Heritage [since 2004] is really the process, the ways we go about conserving the sites so although we are not actually getting [places] listed at the moment, its the processes the ways we are actually getting communities and building capacity

(Interview with Adi Mere Ratunabuabua recorded at Cairns, available on <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/496/>).

To review the Cairns draft Action Plan 2010-2015, Pacific representatives met again in 2009 at the Pacific Islands World Heritage Workshop on Maupiti Island in French Polynesia hosted by France with support of the Australian-Funds-In Trust (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/609/>). A key outcome of the meeting was the development and adoption of the 'Ocean Declaration' emphasizing the cultural links amongst the peoples of the Pacific that extend beyond the artificial boundaries of the current geopolitical

system, and reinforces the ocean as being intrinsic to the identity, ways of life, values, knowledge and practices of Pacific peoples. The Declaration calls on the international community 'to join and protect, manage, maintain and sustain the cultural and natural integrity of the ocean for our ancestors and future generations.'⁸

The successor draft Action Plan 2010-2015 for World Heritage in the Pacific was subsequently finalised and agreed at the Pacific Regional World Heritage Workshop in Apia, Samoa in September 2001 and will guide national and regional programmes over the coming years (UNESCO, 2012).

Throughout the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme, in regional workshops, in country reports and in discussions around the development of Tentative lists and nominations three key themes or issues consistently emerged and continue to frame the engagement of individual countries with the World Heritage process and to shape the programmes and outcomes of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme namely:

- The region's heritage is characterized by both diverse values and the shared histories and cultural identities of many Pacific Island communities;
- Pacific communities and their customary systems of land and sea tenure underpin the protection, governance and management of heritage places and values;
- Lack of national and community capacity, resources and formal training limit implementation of the Convention and more generally the protection and management of the heritage in the Pacific Islands.

These three themes have been used to structure the papers presented in this volume.

The interconnected histories, diverse and shared values of Pacific countries

The importance of the shared histories and contemporary regional identity of Pacific Islanders in the conservation and management of the region's heritage was clear from the first Global Strategy meeting in the Pacific in Suva in 1997. At this meeting representatives of Pacific Island nations noted:

[The] inseparable connection between the outstanding seascapes and landscapes of the Pacific Islands region which are woven together by the rich histories, oral and life traditions of the Pacific Island peoples. These elements comprise the cultural heritage of the region which while diverse are nevertheless bound through voyaging, kinship, trade and other relationships (UNESCO, 1997).

The Pacific Islands are not only a geographic region bound by the Pacific Ocean but a cultural region in which heritage

8. Full text of the Ocean Declaration is available from <http://www.temanoa-temoana.org/UserFiles/File/Maupiti%20Ocean%20Declaration-Final.pdf>

values are characterized not only by ancestral and contemporary genealogical connections, voyaging networks and traditional systems of trade and exchange but also an extraordinary cultural and linguistic diversity and the specific histories of islands and archipelagos. During the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme both the interconnected histories and cultural diversity of the region have been articulated by Pacific communities and illustrated through thematic studies that point to shared origins and shared values (Lilley and Sand this volume). The histories and values that Polynesian communities share across international boundaries have been emphasised in the outstanding universal values of Papahānaumokuākea National Marine Monument in Hawai'i and the development of a transnational nomination for Taputapuātea/Te Po, valley of Opoa in French Polynesia (see Tuiheiva and Smith this volume). Past and continuing voyaging and interactions between Pacific Island communities further reinforce the shared values of the region and have been recognised as key to the outstanding universal values of the region in the transboundary nomination of Yapese Stone Money by the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of Palau and in Tentative lists of several Pacific nations (see Dingwall and Section 2 of this volume).

The cultural diversity of Melanesia has not yet been reflected though inscriptions on the World Heritage List or the Tentative Lists of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands which lack detail of Indigenous cultural values where they have been argued to be of potential outstanding universal value for the properties listed (see Tabassum this volume). Despite this the cultural property of Kuk Early Agricultural Site was Papua New Guinea's World Heritage property in which the outstanding universal values are associated with the independent development of agriculture in Melanesia in turn locating the values of the property as a unique Pacific expression of the global narrative of emergence of agricultural subsistence in the human past.

Similarly in the contemporary, post-colonial Pacific a regional identity is reinforced by shared histories and experiences in the recent past that tie the region to international processes and events. These are reflected in the cultural properties nominated by or included on the tentative lists of several Pacific nations (see Dingwall this volume). The inscription of Bikini Atoll on the World Heritage List in 2010 recognised not only the international significance of the Cold War nuclear testing programme in general but brought to the attention of the global community the impact of this testing on the people of Bikini and the Marshall Islands (see Baker this volume). Similarly the nomination of the Historic Port Town of Levuka by Fiji re-contextualises European colonialism in the Pacific region as cultural interaction and negotiation between indigenous peoples of the region and European colonisers (see Smith, Nemani and Kalougata this volume). The values of these two properties acknowledge regional Pacific responses to global events as being outstanding alongside those places reflecting continuing traditional associations and practices of Pacific Island communities.

World Heritage and community in the Pacific

In the Pacific Islands over 80 per cent of land continues to be held under customary systems of land tenure. The rights of customary land owners are enshrined in the constitutions of many Pacific Island states, protecting the access to land, resources and sustainable livelihoods. As early as the First Global Strategy meeting in the Pacific in Suva in 1997 respect for and the consent of local communities was identified as key to any World Heritage programmes in the region, representatives at the Suva meeting having agreed that

In the Pacific Islands region, decisions about World Heritage conservation have to be formulated in partnership with, and with the agreement of, local communities and individual land holders who are the custodians and who have the sites under direct political, spiritual and traditional control (UNESCO, 1997)

Community participation in all stages of implementation of the Convention was championed by Aotearoa/New Zealand during their term on the World Heritage Committee in which they represented interests of the Pacific Island region. At the Christchurch meeting of the World Heritage Committee in 2007, under the leadership of Sir Tumu Te Heuheu, Aotearoa/New Zealand successfully proposed the addition of a fifth 'C', 'Community' to the four strategic objectives of the World Heritage Committee – Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication – that frame planning and funding of World Heritage programmes (UNESCO, 2007b).

My proposal to the World Heritage Committee to include the 'fifth C' for community highlights the importance of heritage protection providing for the circumstances, associations and needs of human communities within each heritage site or resource. Heritage protection without community involvement and commitment is an invitation to failure. (Tumu te Heuheu 2007:35)

Continuing systems of customary land tenure in the Pacific Islands mean that local communities, the customary land owners, are the decision makers in the protection and management of their cultural and natural heritage. International and National agencies may work alongside and support local communities but any decisions around engagement with the World Heritage process lie with customary land owners and takes place through customary decision making processes (see Australian Kokoda Taskforce Secretariat this volume). For almost all communities in the region, World Heritage was and for most still is a new concept. A very extensive period of consultation is needed for communities to fully understand the rationale and processes of World Heritage, the benefits and impacts of engagement with global heritage conservation in general and specifically how the nomination and potential inscription of their land may affect their lives and those of their children (see Section 3 this volume).

Mount Ngauruhoe, Tongariro National Park World Heritage Site, Aotearoa/New Zealand. © Salamat Ali Tabassum



Customary land tenure also means customary processes of decision making in relation to the management of World Heritage properties. As yet the processes of customary management and government protection for heritage places that will enable sustainable management of World Heritage properties in the region are evolving (see Gabrys; Denham; and Chape this volume). In many Pacific countries a tension remains between national legislation for protection of World Heritage properties (in compliance with the state party's obligations under the World Heritage Convention) and the rights of customary land owners. Developing legal protection for Pacific Island heritage that recognizes the rights of customary owners and satisfies international standards established in very different social, cultural and political systems, remains a great challenge and will require flexibility and cultural sensitivity in World Heritage system.

Limited capacity for (World) Heritage protection and management

Although there is great diversity not only in the cultures and environments of the Pacific but also their colonial histories, governance structures, resources and resource needs, speaking of this vast area as a 'region' makes sense because of the shared issues they face not only in protecting their heritage but more broadly in sustaining the lives and livelihoods of Pacific communities (see Kokoda Task Force this volume). While cultural and natural heritage is highly valued by communities, the protection and management of this heritage has not been a priority for governments of the region. Government ministries and departments responsible for heritage protection were (and are) generally under-resourced and understaffed. While traditional land tenure and systems of authority and land management provide a level of protection for cultural and natural heritage in the region, there are very few trained heritage professionals who can act as an interface between local communities and national and international heritage agencies. The protection afforded by traditional land tenure systems has not proved robust in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. A regional approach to address-

ing these concerns is promoted through important programmes of regional organizations and institutions including the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) and the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP)⁹ and through non-government organisation such as ICOMOS Pasifika, PIMA, IUCN and WWF, all of which play a vital role in building regional networks and utilising international donor funding to support heritage management across the Pacific.

The success of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme is often measured in the near-universal Pacific membership in the Convention, the submission of Tentative Lists and the inscription of multiple sites in the region. While this has to an extent satisfied the Committee's aims for a representative World Heritage List, the Programme itself has only led to incremental improvements in the capacity of communities and government in the region to protect and manage their heritage or to support customary owners to do so. From the outset of the Global Strategy initiatives in the region, representatives of Pacific countries have stressed that the capacity of the Pacific Island countries to implement the World Heritage Convention was limited by lack of resources and a region-wide lack of skills in heritage management. There are very few trained heritage professionals in the Pacific Islands and only very limited technical training opportunities available through the regional colleges and universities for Pacific people who wish to gain skills and knowledge in heritage management (see Smith and Ratunabuabua this volume).

In the context of the economic and social challenges faced by the region, engagement in the World Heritage system places considerable stress on the resources of Pacific Island States and not surprisingly, the nomination and inscription of properties on the World Heritage List has not been a priority for most governments. In developed countries the nomination of properties to the World Heritage List takes place in the context of national inventories of heritage places and well-established systems for their protection and management, as for example Tongariro National Park, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, Australia. In the Pacific Islands this process has been somewhat inverted, with the World Heritage Program seeking to increase the representation of the region on the World Heritage List in the absence of existing national frameworks for heritage protection and management, without legislation, management systems, heritage registers, trained personnel or financial resources. Most Pacific Island nations are at best at a 'listing' rather than a 'management' stage. Most are only now in the process of establishing inventories of heritage places and values from which representative and/or outstanding properties may be identified.

At the commencement of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme most Pacific Island States had some legislation for the protection of natural heritage although it was

9. Secretariat of the Pacific Community www.spc.org; Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program <<http://www.sprep.org/index.php>>

unlikely to be consistently enforced. Few countries had any legal protection for cultural heritage places and where it did exist much was outdated and inadequate in protecting heritage values in general. This situation has improved in so far as several countries including Vanuatu, Fiji and the Solomon Islands have introduced legislation specifically to protect heritage places they have or may in the future nominate for inscription on the World Heritage List. The extent to which this legislation provides protection is limited by the resources available for their implementation and enforcement and by the constitutional rights of customary owners (Denham this volume). Statutory and administrative frameworks for protecting cultural heritage places, intangible cultural and moveable cultural heritage, are at an incipient stage of development in most Pacific Island nations.

In Conclusion

There have been many outcomes of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme that demonstrate the value of the decision of the World Heritage Committee and donor countries and international organisations to support the Pacific community in implementing the World Heritage Convention. The value of two outcomes cannot be underestimated. Firstly the unique strength of customary practices and land tenures in the Pacific and their recognition in nominations; the development of management plans; in the Pacific Appeal; and the efforts of Tumu te Heuheu as Chair of the World Heritage Committee, has meant that the Programme substantially increased international recognition of the essential role of communities in the protection and management of World Heritage properties. Secondly, the regional meetings and other activities associated with the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme has led to the creation of a network of people, from within and outside the region, who continue to share their expertise in heritage management as professionals, government officers, students and community members. Many have contributed papers to this volume celebrating Pacific Heritage. Their shared commitment to the protection and conservation of Pacific Island heritage provides a solid base to take forward the goal of the Pacific Action plan 2010 -2015.

to strengthen the implementation of the World Heritage Convention in the Pacific Island region and increase local, regional and global awareness, recognition and support for the conservation of the unique cultural and natural heritage of the Pacific in a way that takes into account the traditions, aspirations, opportunities and challenges of its people (UNESCO, 2012:19)

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Participants at the first Pacific World Heritage Meeting at Tongariro National Park, Aotearoa/New Zealand in October 2004 experiencing snow for the first time. © Giovanni Boccardi



Participants arriving on Maupiti Island, French Polynesia for the fourth regional Pacific Islands World Heritage Workshop in November 2009. © Anita Smith



The World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme: addressing the aims of the global strategy in the Pacific region

Giovanni Boccardi, UNESCO World Heritage Centre

By the early 1980s, States Parties to the World Heritage Convention became concerned about the imbalance in the representation of the world's diverse cultural and natural heritage on the World Heritage List, in favour of Western countries and a traditional approach to heritage values which put emphasis on the monumental, the architectural and the artistic.

It was only in 1994, however, that a consensus was achieved on a conceptual framework to improve the representivity of the List, based on the recommendations of an expert meeting that took place at UNESCO Headquarters in June of the same year.¹⁰ This involved a more inclusive, anthropological perspective to the meaning of heritage, focusing on universal cultural themes that pertained to all civilisations under the general headings of 'human coexistence with the land' and 'human beings in society.'

The new approach informed the development of the 'Global Strategy for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention' (also known as 'the Global Strategy'), a programme aimed to redress the imbalance of the List through a combination of thematic studies, capacity-building, awareness-raising and technical assistance activities, which the World Heritage Committee adopted at its 18th Session in Phuket, Thailand.¹¹

Focus on the Pacific: potential and challenges

In implementing the Global Strategy, the attention of the World Heritage Committee was drawn to the Pacific, an 'aquatic continent' of three million square kilometers covering nearly one third of the earth's surface, characterized by an immense range, richness and uniqueness of natural and cultural heritage, which stood out as the largest 'empty spot' on the World Heritage map.

At the time, only four countries in the UNESCO sub-region of Pacific Islands – Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and the Solomon Islands – had joined the 1972 Convention, with all the inscribed properties concentrated within the first two countries. To ensure adequate representation of Pacific heritage on the List, the mobilization of political will and institutional capacity within the other numerous small Island States of the Pacific was clearly necessary. Another issue, moreover, related to the specific nature of the Pacific's cultural and natural heritage, so different from that of Europe and other 'continental' regions, which required new approaches in order to be interpreted and conserved.

Distinctions between cultural and natural, tangible and intangible, and even between heritage and non-heritage, have indeed little relevance for indigenous societies living in tiny, remote islands scattered across the ocean and with such a strong spiritual and material connection to, if not identification with, their environment. In the Pacific context, people, their villages, mountains, rivers, lagoons and the ocean itself, together with all their biological diversity, are all interconnected elements of a single cultural land and sea-scape, mostly managed through customary practices, which is at the same time deeply imbued with symbolic meaning and critical for the survival of its communities. As very well put by the representatives of the Pacific Island States themselves, the distinct character of the region's heritage is in its being "holistic, embracing all life, and...understood through our cultural traditions".¹² In a context where the identification between people and their land (and seas) is so strong, moreover, the notion of Outstanding Universal Value – at the foundation of the World Heritage Convention – does not immediately resonate with local communities who sometimes fail to understand the implicit distinction among places having more or less "value," let alone their global dimension.

10. The Report of the expert Meeting on the "Global Strategy" is available online from: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>

11. The Global Strategy developed over the years giving rise to numerous activities and publications. Some of these can be accessed online from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy>

12. From the "Pacific Appeal to the World Heritage Committee from the Pacific Islands States Parties", annexed to the Report presented to the 31st Session of the World Heritage Committee in Christchurch, 2007. This Document is accessible online from: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-11ce.pdf>

On the other hand, the institutional capacity in the heritage sector within small Island States was very limited. When existing, the competent governmental agencies could count on just a few individuals, whose responsibilities included not just tangible cultural heritage, but often all aspects of cultural policies and/or environmental protection. Lack of specific training on the World Heritage Convention combined with limited resources and the difficulty of international travel in the region constituted additional challenges for the implementation of the Convention in the Pacific.

For this reason, and because of the remoteness and vulnerability of these islands to threats such as natural disasters, climate change and sea-level rise, the question, in the Pacific, appeared to be not so much the protection of some select outstanding heritage properties, or even of heritage per se, but rather ensuring the sustainability of its communities through the continuation of customary practices for the conservation and appropriate management of the environment as a whole, with particular attention paid to the most symbolically charged places where social meaning is concentrated. Clearly, a programme for World Heritage in the Pacific had to take account of these specificities and be based on an appropriate strategy, possibly very different from other regions.

Action in the region: the early days

The first phase of the Global Strategy in the Pacific region saw a large number of consultations aimed at raising awareness of the Convention, analyzing the situation and identifying agreed priorities. To this end, the World Heritage Centre, in close cooperation with the countries concerned, the three Advisory Bodies to the Convention¹³ and other relevant regional Institutions such as the Pacific Islands Museums Association (PIMA), the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) and the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), carried out a number of initiatives.

A Course on 'Conserving Pacific Heritage Sites' (November 1996) was thus organised as part of ICCROM's PREMO 1994-1998 programme to preserve Pacific Islands heritage, with support from the World Heritage Fund. This was followed, in July 1997 and August 1999, by two World Heritage Global Strategy Meetings for the Pacific, held respectively in Suva (Fiji) and Port Vila (Vanuatu), which aimed to review progress with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention in the Pacific and establishing clear priorities for the next few years.

A very important meeting was then held in Hanoi (Vietnam) in March 2002 on 'Tropical coastal, marine & small island ecosystems', which identified a list of Pacific marine sites with potential for World Heritage inscription.

Other initiatives implemented by partners in the region included a training programme available in CD format and named 'Conserving Pacific Places', produced by the Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University in Melbourne (Australia), in association with ICOMOS Australia, PIMA and with support from the UNESCO Division of Cultural Heritage through the Japan Funds-in-Trust; and the development and dissemination of the Pacific version of the World Heritage Education Kit 'World Heritage in Young Hands', known as 'Our Pacific Heritage World Heritage'¹⁴ a pedagogical tool aimed at promoting the ideas and values of the Conventions among secondary school children, by the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO.

All these efforts led to the ratification of the Convention by several other countries and the building of a momentum in the region. The capacity of national authorities in heritage protection and management was also developed, and sites with a potential for being inscribed on the List were identified. More importantly, a network of professionals from the region was established, which continued to interact and exchange even outside formal meetings promoted by UNESCO.

The first cycle of the Periodic Reporting and the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme

In 2003, Pacific States Parties were asked to submit their first 'Periodic Reporting', a general overview of the state of the implementation of the Convention in their countries and, where applicable, of the state of conservation of their World Heritage properties. This is a statutory requirement under the World Heritage Convention which provides the opportunity, for States Parties of a region, to jointly review the situation and identify strategic priorities for action at the regional level. The final report summarizing the results of this process was presented to the World Heritage Committee at its 27th Session (Paris, 2003). It included, in Annex, a 'Pacific 2009 Programme',¹⁵ including proposed objectives and actions which were identified by the States Parties of the region on the occasion of a Capacity-Building Workshop organized in Apia (Samoa), in February. The six main objectives of the Programme were:

- Ensuring full membership;
- Raise awareness of benefits of the World Heritage Convention;
- Build capacities for Tentative Lists and Nominations;
- Ensure representation of Pacific region on World Heritage List;
- Promoting serial and trans-boundary nominations;
- Establishing partnerships among Governments, NGOs, and international Institutions.

13. These are the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and restoration of Cultural properties (ICCROM).

14. Pacific Heritage – World Heritage is available at whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-54-21.pdf

15. The World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme is accessible online from: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-27com-20be.pdf>

Identified partners included SPREP, PIMA, Conservation International (CI), the Nature Conservancy (TNC), the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) as well as, of course, the three Advisory Bodies of the Convention. The amount of 100,000 USD was also approved by the World Heritage Committee to contribute to its implementation.

As part of the Programme, it was foreseen that a regional consultation would take place in 2004 to define a detailed plan of action. The opportunity for this consultation was provided during the landmark meeting that was held at Tongariro National Park World Heritage Site (New Zealand), in October 2004. The Action Plan developed at Tongariro, which included the possibility for individual States Parties to define their own specific 'National Action Plan', was then endorsed by the World Heritage Committee at its 7th extraordinary session (Paris, 2004). This Action Plan became – over the following years, the real road-map for the implementation of the Global Strategy in the Pacific and represents in many ways a turning point, both for the unprecedented level of involvement and commitment of the participating States Parties and for the depth of the analysis and reflection that led to the agreed objectives and proposed actions.

Seven years later, the World Heritage landscape in the Pacific has changed quite dramatically, and for the better. Nearly all the small Island countries of the region have ratified the Convention (the only exceptions now being Nauru and Tuvalu) and have submitted their Tentative Lists, while several sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List. This has been possible thanks to the great commitment of the concerned professionals within the Pacific States Parties, as well as to the considerable support provided over the years – directly and through UNESCO – by the governments of countries such as Australia, France, Japan, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Spain.

The integration of the Pacific heritage within the framework of the World Heritage Convention – which of course is far from achieved and still has a huge potential – has implied the testing, and often the stretching, of its conceptual premises, leading to a number of landmark innovations which established new standards for the world at large. It is in the Pacific, for example, that the first cultural landscapes were inscribed on the World Heritage List (Tongariro National Park in New Zealand, and Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia), in recognition of the strong spiritual values associated by the local communities to the two sites. It was, again, in the Pacific that East Rennell in the Solomon Islands became the first property managed exclusively through customary practices, to be inscribed on the List. Although community management of the property has now integrated non-customary processes, this inscription testified to a new understanding of the relationship between heritage and communities. Finally, it was thanks to a proposal by New Zealand that a fifth "C", for Community, was added to the Strategic Objectives of the Convention in 2007 (31st Session of the World Heritage



Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand). As the Convention prepares in 2012 to celebrate its 40th Anniversary, whose official theme is "World Heritage and Sustainable Development: the Role of Communities", it would seem only appropriate to expect from the Pacific new ideas that would further enrich the Convention and make it even more relevant to the challenges of the 21st century.



Welcome from Ngati Tuwharetoa at Tapeka Marae to delegates to the Pacific World Heritage meeting in Tongariro, Aotearoa/New Zealand in 2004. © UNESCO

World Heritage Convention and Intangible Heritage Convention in the Pacific

Akatsuki Takahashi, Programme Specialist for Culture at the UNESCO Office for the Pacific States, Samoa

The World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico City in 1982, known as Mondiacult, redefined the concept of culture by extending its definition to modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, values systems, traditions and beliefs. Since then, the international community strived to develop normative instruments addressing cultural identity and cultural diversity as main elements of a development policy. At the end of 1990, this led to the adoption of the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore by the General Conference of UNESCO (1989), and the launch of the Programme of the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (1997). The aim of the Proclamation was to raise awareness of the importance of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) by establishing a new form of international distinction. In 2001, 2003 and 2005, 90 elements were proclaimed Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, creating a worldwide movement for the ICH safeguarding.

Based on the outcome of the global assessment of the 1989 Recommendation, the Director-General of UNESCO submitted in 2001 a report on the preliminary study on the advisability of regulating internationally, through a new standard-setting instrument, the protection of traditional culture and folklore. The report concluded that since the instruments that had already been adopted in the field of cultural heritage were principally concerned with the tangible cultural heritage and did not refer specifically to ICH, they could not provide a satisfactory framework for protection, partly on account of the very nature of the ICH. The report recommended that a new normative instrument be prepared on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948). In the same year, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. Article 7 of this Declaration states that heritage in all its forms must be preserved, enhanced and handed on to future generations as a record of human experience and aspirations, so as to foster creativity in all its diversity and to inspire genuine dialogue among cultures. After several sessions of the intergovernmental meeting of experts, the text of a new instrument was finalized and the

Vanuatu Sand Drawings, inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008.
© Vanuatu National Cultural Council



Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted in November 2003. The Convention entered into force on 20 April 2006, three months after the deposit of the thirtieth instrument of ratification.

According to Article 2 of the ICH Convention, the ICH means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups, and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. ICH, as defined in the Convention, is manifested inter alia in the following domains of ICH, i) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, ii) Performing arts, iii) Social practices, rituals and festive events, iv) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, v) Traditional craftsmanship.

The ICH Convention is different from the World Heritage Convention in a number of aspects. First, the ICH Convention places emphasis on the equal recognition of ICH with no hierarchical distinctions among them, making the concept of Outstanding Universal Value not applicable to ICH. Second, the ICH Convention focuses process and transmission, rather than products and ownership. Lastly, the ICH Convention focuses principally on safeguarding activities and the exchange of good practices through the implementation of Article 18, rather than the listing system.

After entry into force, ICH Intergovernmental Committee was established. The ICH Committee prepared the Operational Directive of the ICH Convention. The ICH Committee met in Abu Dhabi in 2009 decided to inscribe 12 elements on the Urgent Safeguarding List and 79 elements on the ICH Representative List and 3 good practices in the Registry of Good Practices. The above-mentioned 90 Masterpieces were incorporated in the Representative List.

As for the World Heritage Convention, a new category of cultural property, the 'Cultural landscape' was defined in 1992. The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention was revised to provide definitions of three types of cultural landscapes for consideration in World Heritage nominations; i) A clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man, ii) The organically evolved landscape, iii) The associative cultural landscape.

In parallel with the elaboration of the ICH Convention, in 2002, the World Heritage Committee revised the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention by requesting to ensure closer coordination of its work with other international conservation instruments including "future conventions" in its paragraph 139. In 2004, the World Heritage Committee met in Suzhou in China examined a document prepared by the ICH Section of the Culture Sector of UNESCO proposing future amendment of the inscription criteria of the World Heritage Convention in order to ensure coherence between the World Heritage Convention and the ICH Convention. However, this proposal was not accepted by the Committee based on the argument that it was too early to consider such amendment taking account of the fact that the ICH Convention had not entered into force at that moment. In the same year, the Yamato Declaration was adopted at an international conference held in Nara, Japan. The Yamato Declaration calls upon all stakeholders "to explore and support investigations of strategies and procedures to integrate the safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage in close collaboration and agreement with the communities and groups concerned."

From the history illustrated above, one may understand that the period of 2003-2009 covered by the Pacific World Heritage 2009 Programme was the time when the 2003 ICH Convention was adopted and rapidly operationalized, while the attempts were made to revisit the scope of the



The *Hina Moana* at sea. There is now a resurgence of interest in Pacific voyaging and a number of island countries are involved in recreating migration journeys in voyaging canoes that have traditional designs. © Stuart Chape

1972 Convention as to extent to the intangible element of the tangible cultural and natural heritage. It was also during this period that the Pacific region hosted the World Heritage Committee meeting for the first time in 2007 in Christchurch in NZ. The under-representation of the Pacific heritage on the World Heritage List continued to be an issue during this period. In this connection, the fact that the first cultural landscape on the World Heritage List was Tongariro National Park in Aotearoa/New Zealand (inscribed on the World Heritage List first as natural site in 1990 and later re-inscribed as cultural landscape already in 1993 for recognition of the strong cultural and religious significance for the Maori people, symbolizing the spiritual links between the community and its environment) eloquently demonstrates the prominent ICH aspect of the Pacific heritage. This seems to be one of the reasons behind the preparation of ICOMOS Thematic Study on Cultural Landscapes of the Pacific Islands (Smith and Jones, 2007) carried out within the framework of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme. The Thematic Report successfully identified a number of potential cultural landscapes in the Pacific for World Heritage nominations, among which three, i.e. the Kuk Early Agricultural Site in PNG, Chief Roi Mata's Domain in Vanuatu and Bikini Atoll Nuclear Tests Site in Marshall Islands were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2007, 2008, and 2010 respectively. Furthermore, this Thematic Study recommended further studies on the associative cultural landscapes and seascapes including spiritual associations and traditional knowledge as well as on the cultural and linguistic diversity in the Pacific, which could also be better recognized within the framework of ICH Convention.

In order to pursue integrated safeguarding in the Pacific, it is worth being reminded that the ICH definitions include, cultural spaces, and that two Masterpieces from the Pacific, namely, Sand Drawing from Vanuatu and Lakalaka from Tonga were integrated in the Representative List of ICH of Humanity when the both countries became parties to the 2003 Convention in 2010. As of November 2011, five Pacific countries (PMG, Fiji, Tonga, Vanuatu and Palau) are parties to the ICH Convention. Through national and regional consultations, awareness of the ICH safeguarding for sustainable development have been significantly enhanced and countries have started to putting in place national strategy and measures, such as nation-wide inventory making, for this purpose. Some state parties were benefitted from the ICH Fund to attend meetings of the ICH Intergovernmental Committee, while others are working on the preparation of new nominations of their ICH elements and safeguarding practices on the ICH Lists and register.

RIGHT: Welcome siva-va'a for the arrival of voyaging canoes to Samoa. © Stuart Chape







A Sea of Islands: Diverse Values and Interconnected Histories



© Stuart Chape

Thematic Frameworks for the cultural values of the Pacific

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The Thematic Framework for World Cultural Heritage in the Pacific was formulated in Port Vila, Vanuatu, in 2005. It sought to:

- 1. Gain consensus from Pacific Island Countries and Territories on appropriate regional themes for nomination of sites of cultural value;**
- 2. Agree on the methodology to be used to undertake thematic studies; and**
- 3. Identify those who will take responsibility for the studies (UNESCO, WHC 2005:3).**

The meeting determined that:

a thematic study would identify the main characteristics and cultural values of the generic type of heritage site from a World Heritage perspective, examine a select number of representative examples included or not included in the World Heritage List, determine possible gaps in the latter and, with reference to the Operational Guidelines, indicate the criteria under which such sites might be nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List (UNESCO, WHC, 2005:4).

Two such thematic studies have been undertaken to date. The first, by Anita Smith and Kevin Jones (2007), is entitled *Cultural Landscapes of the Pacific Islands*. The second, involving the present authors amongst others (Lilley, 2010), is *Early Human Expansion and Innovation in the Pacific*. The latter work closely follows the former in tone, intent and, in places, content. This paper reviews these two reports in the context of an appraisal of the larger Thematic Framework for the Pacific. The objective is to gauge the relevance of thematic studies to the recognition of the cultural values of the region. Background information is drawn largely from Smith and Jones (2007), as they provide an excellent summary of the issues in question.

Background to Port Vila 2005

In accordance with the World Heritage Committee's (WHC) decision to create a credible, balanced and representative World Heritage List (Jokilehto, 2005), the 3rd UNESCO World Heritage Global Strategy meeting was convened in Suva, Fiji, in 1997. The forum distinguished four key themes for the Pacific:

1. Places of origin or mythological origin, navigation routes and places related to navigation;
2. Archaeological and historical sites of human settlements;
3. Places of traditional economic and ceremonial exchange;
4. From the past to the present, continuity and change in the Pacific.

At that time, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Fiji, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea were the only local Pacific States Parties that had signed the World Heritage Convention and Aotearoa/New Zealand was the only Pacific country with a World Heritage site. Tongariro National Park was first listed in 1990 as a natural property but in 1993 was re-inscribed as the first-ever World Heritage cultural landscape. Other Pacific properties were on the List at that time, but all belonged to non-local States Parties. These sites were the Hawaiian Island Volcanoes National Park inscribed by the United States of America in 1987; the United Kingdom's Henderson Island property, listed in 1988; the Lorentz National Park in the Indonesian province of Papua (western New Guinea), inscribed in 1999 and the Rapa Nui National Park on Rapa Nui/Easter Island, which was listed as a Chilean property in 1995. All except Rapa Nui are natural properties.

In 1998, Amsterdam in the Netherlands hosted the 4th UNESCO World Heritage Global Strategy meeting. The gathering formulated the following definition of Outstanding Universal Value that emphasises the need to identify overarching themes that can bridge the local and historical specificities of World Heritage properties:

The requirement of Outstanding Universal Value characterising cultural and natural heritage should be interpreted as an outstanding response to issues of universal nature common to or addressed by all human cultures. In relation to natural heritage, such issues are seen in bio-geographical diversity; in relation to culture in human creativity and resulting cultural diversity.

Traditional fale, Apolima Island, included on Samoa's Tentative List as part of 'Manono, Apolima and Nuulopa Cultural Landscape' in 2006.
© Anita Smith



In that same year, East Rennell Island in the Solomon Islands, the world's largest raised coral atoll, was the first property in the independent Pacific to be listed as a World Heritage site. In 1999, a second regional World Heritage Global Strategy conference was arranged in Port Vila. The aim was to help raise the World Heritage Convention's profile in the independent Pacific.

The 1999 Port Vila meeting also highlighted the fact that Western philosophical and methodological divisions between 'culture' and 'nature' were not recognised in Pacific approaches to the creation and management of knowledge about the world, with the strong implication that mixed nominations would generally be more appropriate in the region than either 'stand-alone' cultural or natural nominations. It was this perspective that some years earlier had led to the re-listing of Tongariro National Park in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We will return to this general point below.

In 2003, the World Heritage Committee embarked on the World Heritage Pacific 2009 programme. The number of Pacific signatories to the World Heritage Convention had by then expanded to 11 States Parties. Nonetheless, implementation rates remained very low. No nominations had been entered and only a handful of Pacific states had created or submitted Tentative Lists of prospective World

Heritage properties. On that basis, specialists from across the Pacific gathered in 2004 at the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Workshop at Tongariro to develop an Action Plan to assist Pacific States Parties with their implementation of the World Heritage Convention during the five years to 2009. The Pacific 2009 Action Plan (UNESCO, WHC, 2004:2) noted that 'Every country and territory in the region is different' but that 'There are, however, strong similarities and common heritage themes between islands'. On that basis, the Action Plan included Activity 2.5, 'Undertake thematic and comparative studies for cultural heritage values'. These thematic studies were to follow established 'priorities and associated methodologies for undertaking such projects' (UNESCO, WHC, 2004:4). As noted at the start of the present paper, the primary objectives of thematic studies are 'to identify the main characteristics and cultural values of the generic type of heritage site from a World Heritage perspective, examine a select number of representative examples included or not included in the World Heritage List, determine possible gaps in the latter and, with reference to the Operational Guidelines, indicate the criteria under which such sites might be nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List' (UNESCO, WHC, 2005:4).

In addition, Activity 2.5 included Sub-activity 2.5.1, which was to convene a forum which would undertake the tasks

listed at the start of this paper, namely to gain consensus on regional heritage themes, agree of methodologies to study these themes and identify who might undertake such studies. The 2005 Port Vila meeting was designed to advance this Sub-activity. The meeting brought together experts from Pacific Island Countries and Territories to identify regional themes for which Thematic Studies were needed to help identify properties of likely Outstanding Universal Value in the region as well as feasible transnational serial nominations.

Contributors to the Port Vila workshop distilled the following three Thematic Studies as regional priorities:

1. Associative Cultural Landscapes of stories that explain the origin and development of social structures in the Pacific;
2. Cultural Landscapes related to cultivation in the Pacific; and
3. Lapita expansion.

Smith and Jones' (2007) thematic study addressed the first two priorities, while Lilley's (2010) expanded upon the third priority to include pre- and non-Lapita dimensions of Pacific colonisation. In doing so, Lilley and his colleagues returned the focus to the wider concerns expressed in Port Vila regarding 'major human and cultural phenomena' (UNESCO, WHC, 2005:6-8), where 'early human expansion and innovation in the Pacific' rather than just its Lapita component was identified as a key overarching theme.

ICOMOS 2005 'Filling the Gaps – An Action Plan for the Future'

Also in 2005, ICOMOS published *The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps – An Action Plan for the Future* (Jokilehto, 2005). It is crucial that the thematic studies under the spotlight in this chapter – and indeed the wider Pacific Thematic Framework under which they were commissioned – are assessed in relation to the global Filling the Gaps Action Plan as well as the regionally-specific Pacific 2009 Action Plan.

The objective of the Filling the Gaps review was to analyse cultural sites inscribed on the World Heritage List and States Parties Tentative Lists using regional, chronological, geographical and thematic frameworks. The aim was to offer States Parties an unambiguous appraisal of the current representation of sites in these varied categories and of predictable short- to medium-term listing trends, in order that under-represented categories could be highlighted.

The review has a number of ramifications for the present assessment of thematic studies in the Pacific. It acknowledged that cultural regions do not always reflect the contemporary political map and thus that it is impossible to achieve a truly 'balanced' World Heritage List at anything but an abstract, global level. Despite this acknowledgement, the wide cultural regions used by UNESCO – Africa, the Arab States, Asia Pacific, Europe/North America and

Latin America/Caribbean – were used in the review to frame the typological analysis.

This approach diminishes the usefulness of the review's typological findings concerning the Pacific. Using such an extensive cultural region as the 'Asia Pacific' as the analytical focus conceals the true level of under-representation of sites in the independent Pacific and elides the profound differences between the unique small-scale cultures of the Pacific and those in the geographically and demographically much larger and more heterogeneous Asia. The review's study of the World Heritage List on a chronological-regional basis used 'Australasia and Oceania' as the unit of analysis, with Asia dealt with separately. Splitting Oceania from Asia in this way allowed a clear demonstration of the way in which the Pacific is poorly represented on the World Heritage and Tentative Lists.

The chronological-regional study intended to highlight key cultural phenomena that have appeared around the world. The analysis determined that various 'cultures', 'empires' or 'civilisations' had existed at different times in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas. Extraordinarily, however, these criteria were not used in the analysis of sites in Australasia and the Pacific. This essentially Eurocentric perception overlooks the substantial cultural change that has occurred through time in the Indigenous cultures of Oceania and Australasia, in their socio-political arrangements as well as in their patterns of land use and other economic activity. It is obvious that the spatial and temporal diversity of Pacific Island societies and their landscapes must be acknowledged if the World Heritage List is really going to be more balanced and representative.

- The thematic analyses in the 2005 ICOMOS Filling the Gaps report considered the representation of sites in relation to seven dominant topics:
- Expressions of Society
- Creative Responses and Continuity
- Spiritual responses
- Utilising natural resources
- Movement of peoples
- Developing technologies

The most common theme was found to be 'creative response and continuity', which refers to the categories of monuments, groups of buildings, and sites, as defined by the World Heritage Convention.

The ICOMOS report also identified several basic factors that undermine the fair representation of regions such as the Pacific Islands on the World Heritage List. These matters must be addressed if a globally representative, balanced and credible List is to be achieved. In regions such as the independent Pacific, the diversity and disposition of cultural heritage remains largely unknown and only partially recorded at best. At present, there are still no comprehensive scientific studies or inventories of cultural heritage

The Rock Islands of Palau inscribed on the World Heritage List as a mixed property in 2012 © Stuart Chape



places that can be used to identify cultural properties of Outstanding Universal Value in small Pacific Island States Parties. The incomplete recording of cultural heritage along with lack of adequate protective mechanisms as required by the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* when a property is nominated for inscription, are two of the main reasons for the continuing imbalance in the World Heritage List.

Finally, the 2005 ICOMOS 'Filling the Gaps' review found there is need for better international understanding of the local cultural values of potential World Heritage properties. These local values derive from the highly-distinctive cultural systems that have emerged in the environments of the under-represented areas. This matter is of particular relevance to the Pacific Islands, where organically-evolved cultural landscapes – relic and continuing – are a response to the shifting challenges and opportunities of the Oceanic world from the time of initial human expansion into the western Pacific over 40,000 years ago right up to the present.

What has the Pacific Thematic Framework and thematic studies achieved?

Smith's comprehensive essay covers a lot of ground, geographically as well as topically. There are two main reasons for this (Smith and Jones, 2007:5). First, the Pacific comprises about one third of the Earth's surface 'and contains the cultural heritage of more than two thousand islands ranging from the continental islands of New Zealand and Papua New Guinea to the tiny remote atolls of the central and east Pacific Ocean'. Second, the Pacific remains 'one of the most underrepresented regions on the World Heritage List. [F]ew Pacific Island countries or territories have docu-

mented their cultural heritage places or have legislation to protect them. The character and diversity of cultural heritage places in the region is therefore not well known'.

The authors explain how the Pacific Islands form a 'geocultural region' on the basis of environmental and long-term and more recent historical factors. They go on in the same section to consider the so-called 'transported landscapes' of the Pacific, or the intentional 'introduction of not just plants and animals but methods and technologies of cultivation to generate food supply on small and isolated pieces of land' (Smith and Jones, 2007:28). Transported landscapes are a central feature of the Pacific. As the authors note (Smith and Jones, 2007:30):

The Oceanic environment presented a number of major challenges for human settlement which were successfully overcome through knowledge and skills in navigation and seafaring and exploitation of the rich marine resources and through modification of island ecosystems to provide a stable resource base. For these reasons, the Pacific Island landscapes are essentially complete cultural landscapes.

The discussion then details the main factors underlying the diversity of cultural landscapes in the Pacific Islands, including natural factors such as island size and climate, as well as cultural questions such as traditional social organization and the character and extent of non-Indigenous settlement. The last three sections of the chapter cover 'Organically Evolved Cultural Landscapes of the Pacific', 'Cultural Landscapes of the Colonial Era', and 'Associative Cultural Landscapes and Seascapes'. These three sections are what makes the report overall, as they develop the notion of cultural landscape in considerable theoretical and empirical depth.

Smith and Jones' work certainly does what the 2005 Port Vila meeting required thematic studies to do. It has unquestionably put Pacific cultural landscapes on the heritage map, intellectually-speaking. It was presented, showcased and circulated to the WHC and other States Parties attending the WHC meeting in Christchurch, New Zealand, in 2007, which greatly increased the visibility of the region in the international field. Moreover, the WHC adopted it as a model for future thematic studies. However, there is no discernible sign yet – and it would be unreasonable at this early stage to expect – that it has prompted any States Parties to think more or differently in any concrete way about nominating cultural landscapes. Even so, although the work is general and limited in scope, it is the only compendium of heritage places in the region that includes a variety of sites – built, archaeological and physical. On that basis, it has been widely distributed and is used as an educational reference in schools in various Pacific Island countries. Free access via the ICOMOS website has greatly facilitated this process of dissemination.

Lilley's (2010) edited volume on *Early Human Expansion and Innovation in the Pacific* complements but is quite different from Smith and Jones' study. This is because it does not have to create awareness of what is still a relatively new concept in the heritage field, namely the idea of 'cultural landscape'. Taking a completely conventional approach, Lilley and his colleagues address the main geotemporal patterns in the settlement of the Pacific, beginning with Lilley's chapter on 'Near Oceania', which focuses on Pleistocene (Ice Age) settlement of New Guinea and the islands out to the end of the main Solomon Islands chain. This early expansion began about 45,000 years ago, as part of the same process that saw the initial human colonization of Australia from Asia. The following chapters cover navigation and seafaring, by Geoffrey Irwin, ceramic chronologies of the Western Pacific during the Lapita period by Christophe Sand, Micronesia, by Geoffrey Clark and East Polynesia by Melinda Allen. Questions of seafaring and navigation are obviously central to the settlement of an island world such as the Pacific, and such matters loom very large in the perspectives of Pacific people on their cultural heritage. Ceramics and especially Lapita ceramics and other aspects of what is known as the Lapita Cultural Complex, form a major focus of archaeological research in the Western Pacific, as indicated by the inclusion of the Lapita phenomenon as one of the original thematic priorities of the 2005 Port Vila meeting. Lapita's importance centres on its role as the founding human culture some 3,000 years ago in what archaeologists call 'Remote Oceania', or that part of the Pacific east of the main Solomon Islands chain. Micronesia and East Polynesia are major regions of the Pacific that warrant separate specialised treatment. In Micronesia's case, this is because its deep history is split in two, with that of the western part of the region being as old as but essentially separate from the Lapita dispersal into the south western Pacific. Central and eastern Micronesia, on the other hand, have a prehistory 'descended' from the Lapita Cultural Complex. Eastern Polynesia is

on some ways a world unto itself insofar as it is obviously 'descended' from Lapita settlement but then took a trajectory that is largely unrelated to the post-Lapita prehistory of the western Pacific. Another major difference between Lilley's volume and Smith and Jones's work is that rather than provide a single site gazetteer of the sort compiled by Jones, each of the geographically-focussed chapters (ie excluding Irwin) in Lilley's 2010 study discusses sites in the various separate regions of concern.

Like Smith and Jones' (2007) volume, Lilley's later study does what is required of it by the resolutions of the 2005 Port Vila meeting. However, it was released much too recently for it to have been thoroughly digested by many relevant individuals or agencies, let alone have any lasting impact.

While only time will tell whether the two thematic studies completed to date will have a positive effect on World Heritage matters in the Pacific, it is important to emphasise that there has been some progress in Pacific Island representation in the World Heritage 'system' since 2005. Then, there was only one cultural site on the World Heritage List that is actually on a Pacific Island: Rapa Nui National Park. Yet, this property is not recognised as an Asia-Pacific site because Easter Island is politically part of Chile and so is considered by UNESCO to be in the Latin America/Caribbean region. Today there are three cultural sites listed in the independent Pacific: Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site in the Marshall Islands, Chief Roy Mata's Domain in Vanuatu and the Kuk Early Agricultural Site in Papua New Guinea. In addition, the United States successfully nominated the mixed property of Papahānaumokuākea in north western Hawai'i in 2010.

It is still too early to tell if the Thematic Framework for World Cultural Heritage in the Pacific that was formulated in Port Vila in 2005 is going to drive further worthwhile change in the foregoing situation over the medium to long term. The same applies by implication to the two thematic studies conducted under the Framework's aegis. Smith and Jones' (2007) volume is in essence an extended essay by Smith concerning cultural landscapes in the Pacific, 'topped and tailed' with brief introductory and concluding commentary. There is also a descriptive listing of illustrative properties, prepared by Jones, which provides information of the sort needed to support comparative analyses of prospective World Heritage properties.

The fact that it remains still too early to gauge the effect(s) of either of the thematic studies that have flowed from the Port Vila forum does not mean it is not too early to think how they may have been done better, or at least what might now be done to take their results further. Indeed, Smith and Jones' report (2007:118-119) itself begins to do precisely that. The writers recognise in particular that as a desk study that is expressly not designed to encompass original research, their study (and by extension Lilley's edited volume) cannot include firsthand input from Pacific Island people regarding their interests and concerns. This

Marist Convent School Levuka, Fiji. A world Heritage nomination for the Historic Port town of Levuka was submitted to the World Heritage Centre in 2012. © Anita Smith



lack of 'bottom-up' content has two major results. First, it is a problem in and of itself. It means that one of the main factors undermining serious uptake of World Heritage issues in the Pacific (and indeed other parts of the world) – namely, lack of popular engagement with and 'vernacularisation' of the values underlying the World Heritage convention – remains a profound impediment to balancing the World Heritage List despite all the effort and good intentions that have gone into developing the Thematic Framework and undertaking the two thematic studies that have flowed from it.

Intimately connected with this issue is that of the continuing separation of nature and culture in approaches to World Heritage management. Pacific Island people will simply not be able to engage properly with World Heritage values if conceptual and technical approaches to the identification and management of those values continue to consider nature and culture as distinct phenomena requiring distinct approaches. If any further thematic studies are to be commissioned under the auspices of the 2005 Port Vila framework, they should begin by seeking firsthand local input in a manner that recognizes the indivisibility of nature and culture in Pacific Island perspectives.

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Pacific Islands World Heritage Tentative Lists

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Of the fourteen independent self-governing Pacific Island Nations,¹⁶ twelve have ratified the World Heritage Convention,¹⁷ and five of these have a property inscribed on the World Heritage List.¹⁸ Of the twelve Pacific Island States Parties (SPs) to the Convention, nine have submitted a tentative list.¹⁹

A tentative list (TL) is an inventory of sites considered by the SP to be cultural and/or natural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value and, therefore, meriting inscription on the World Heritage List at some future stage. The World Heritage Committee requires that nominated properties be previously included on a TL.²⁰ Tentative lists are important because they provide for input of expert knowledge on heritage, they allow for consultation and agreement among all key stakeholders and they are a useful planning tool in indicating the number and scope of future nominations.

The heritage values of properties on Pacific Island tentative lists

Thirty-two properties are included on the Tentative Lists.²¹ Of these, fifteen are cultural properties, five are natural properties and twelve are mixed cultural and natural properties or cultural land/seascapes. That the great majority (84 per cent) of properties listed are cultural properties, mixed properties or cultural land/seascapes is remarkable but not surprising considering that most land in the Pacific Islands is in held in customary tenure by traditional owners and has either material or associative cultural values.

Most of the outstanding natural values of the natural and mixed properties can be grouped into several broad, but overlapping, physical and biological categories as follows:

Coral islands, atolls and reefs

- Rock Islands (Palau)
- Milne Bay Seascape (PNG)
- Northern Marshall Island Atolls and Mili Atoll (Republic of the Marshall Islands)

Lagoon systems, barrier reefs and mangrove forests

- Marovo-Tetepare Complex (Solomons)
- Imeong Conservation Area (Palau)

Karst landscapes

- Sublime Karsts of Papua New Guinea and Kikori River Basin (PNG)

Volcanic islands and features

- Manono-Apolima Islands (Samoa)
- Lake Letas (Vanuatu)

Tectonic geology

- Huon Terraces (PNG)

Forest biota and habitats

- Fagaloa Bay-Uafato (Samoa)
- Trans-Fly Complex and Upper Sepik River Basin (PNG)
- Kokoda Track and Owen Stanley Ranges (PNG)
- Tropical Rainforest Heritage (Solomons), Vathe Conservation Area (Vanuatu)
- Yauatuba Crested Iguana Sanctuary (Fiji)

Most of the outstanding cultural values of cultural and mixed properties or cultural land/seascapes can also be grouped into broadly overlapping thematic categories as follows:

Ancient capitals, government centres and fortresses

- Ancient Capitals of the Kingdom of Tonga (Tonga)
- Levuka, Ovalau (Fiji)
- Nowon and Votwos of Ureparapara (Vanuatu)

16. Pacific Island Nations are identified here as those states that are members of the Pacific Islands Forum, excluding Australia and New Zealand.

17. The two states yet to ratify the WH Convention are Nauru and Tuvalu.

18. The five existing Pacific Island World Heritage properties are: Phoenix Islands Protected Area (Kiribati); Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site (Republic of the Marshall Islands); Kuk Early Agricultural Site.

19. The three SPs currently without a tentative list are: Cook Islands, Kiribati and Niue.

20. The procedure and format for tentative lists are covered in Section IIC of the World Heritage Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 2005. Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. WHC.05/2, February 2005, Paris, UNESCO, World Heritage Centre. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines> (English).

21. The Yapese Stone Money sites are included in the tentative lists of both Palau and FSM, but they are intended to form a single transboundary serial property.

Huon Terraces, Papua New Guinea. Included on Papua New Guinea's Tentative List as a mixed cultural and natural property. © Ian Lilley



Spiritual, religious, ceremonial and burial centres

- Yalo, Apialo and Sacred Geography of NW Malakula (Vanuatu)
- Imeong Conservation Area (Palau)

Ancient megalithic structures and monuments

- Nan Madol (FSM)
- Tet el bad (Palau)

Archaeological sites

- Lapita Pottery Archaeological Sites (Tonga)
- Sigatoka Sand Dunes (Fiji)

Traditional indigenous villages and settlements

- Fagaloa Bay-Uafato Tiavea Conservation Zone (Samoa)

Continuing traditional horticultural and agricultural cultural landscapes

- Manono, Apolima and Nuulopa Cultural Landscape (Samoa)
- Huon Terraces (PNG), Kikori River Basin (PNG), Sublime Karsts of PNG (PNG)
- TransFly Complex (PNG)

Continuing traditional seascapes

- Milne Bay Seascape (PNG)
- Marovo-Tetepare Complex (Solomons)

Centres of European contact and colonisation

- Likiep Village (RMI)

- Historic military sites and warfare relics
- Wreck of the "President Coolidge" (Vanuatu)
- Chuuk Lagoon Underwater Fleet (FSM)

Filling the gaps in tentative lists

The oceanic realm of the Pacific Islands covers one third of the earth's surface, or an area larger than all the land on earth combined, and encompasses thousands of islands and surrounding seas with an immensely rich diversity of natural and cultural heritage. But it remains the least represented of all the world's regions on the World Heritage List. There is a need to further develop TLs and to nominate more properties for inscription as World Heritage.

At recent Pacific World Heritage meetings and during the current Asia-Pacific Region periodic reporting cycle a number of State Parties have recognised a need to revise their TLs in order to critically re-assess the potential outstanding universal values of the properties, fill gaps in the representation of natural and cultural heritage, consult more with local communities and other stakeholders, take advantage of new knowledge from research, examine the thematic studies of the Advisory Bodies and harmonise their lists with other State Parties. All of these issues are relevant to the revision and further development of Tentative Lists in the Pacific Islands.

The conceptual approach to expanding Tentative Lists and filling gaps in representation should take account of the following major thematic areas:

Natural heritage

Geological origins and evolution of islands

Apart from the “continental” islands such as of Papua New Guinea, there are three major types of island in the Pacific: high volcanic islands; atolls, and raised coral limestone islands (*makatea*).

Although Pacific high volcanic islands are already represented as natural World Heritage by the shield volcanoes of the Hawaiian Islands (USA) and the Galapagos Islands (Ecuador), and by the basaltic lava flows of Rapa Nui-Easter Island (Chile), IUCN has identified a need to further fill the gap in the representation of oceanic volcanic islands (Wood, 2009). The Tentative Lists include Lake Letas (Vanuatu) is the crater of a recently erupted volcano, and in Samoa Manono and Apolima are volcanic summit islands and the Fagaloa-Uafato property is on the slopes of the Upolo shield volcano. The spectacular volcanoes of the Nakanai Ranges in the Sublime Karsts property of PNG are the best representatives of “continental-type” volcanoes on Tentative Lists in the Pacific region.

Pacific low atolls on the World Heritage List are represented by Bikini, a cultural property in Marshal Islands, and within the Phoenix Islands (Kiribati) and Papahānaumokuākea (Hawaii, USA) properties. There is considerable scope for including atolls from all major biogeographic zones in the Pacific, but these should preferably be developed as transboundary serial nominations. Raised coral islands in World Heritage properties include Rennell Island (Solomon Islands), Henderson Island (UK) and several within the Phoenix Islands (Kiribati). With harmonisation of Tentative Lists among Pacific State Parties, a transboundary serial property of islands at different stages of geological evolution could be selected from among the Rock Islands of Palau, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Federated States of Micronesia, Niue, Samoa, Tonga and from the French overseas territory of New Caledonia.

Karst landscapes

IUCN has noted that the many and diverse forms of karst landforms in the tropical Pacific are poorly represented on the WH List (Williams, 2008; Hamilton-Smith, 2005 & 2007). Three properties on the Tentative List of Papua New Guinea contain magnificent terrestrial karst landscapes and landforms – Huon Terraces, Kikori River Basin and the Sublime Karst of PNG and have the potential to be a serial nomination. The Vatthe area (Vanuatu) also contains spectacular karst and, as discussed above, there are many other possibilities for including raised coral islands in natural or cultural properties.

Biogeographic diversity

In the formulation of Tentative Lists little consideration has been given to the representation of the biological diversity throughout the Pacific region. IUCN has previously reported that less than 2 per cent of the oceanian biogeographical realm (of Udvardy) is included in World Heritage properties (Mangin & Chape, 2004). Reference should also be made

to the several recognised formulations of global biodiversity, including the WWF Global 200 Ecoregions (terrestrial, freshwater and marine), Centres of Plant Diversity, Endemic Bird Areas (Birdlife International), and the IUCN Species Survival Commission Global Habitat Analysis – all of which are discussed comprehensively in the IUCN document.

Marine species and habitats

Marine areas in the Pacific are well represented in the Phoenix Islands (Kiribati) and Papahānaumokuākea (Hawaii, USA) World Heritage properties, which are among the largest of all properties on the List.²² Further properties covering a wider range of Pacific marine biogeography could be considered. Also there is a great opportunity to encompass whale migration routes in a transboundary serial nomination. For example, the waters of Tonga are a globally significant breeding ground for humpback whales and the site of a major whale-watching tourist operation. They could be linked as World Heritage with whale sanctuaries in French Polynesia, New Caledonia and the Cook Islands, among others.

Cultural heritage

From a review of cultural properties on the World Heritage List and on Tentative Lists (ICOMOS, 2005), ICOMOS has identified gaps and opportunities for developing World Heritage cultural landscapes in the Pacific Islands (Smith & Jones, 2007). The analysis uses geographical, chronological and thematic frameworks to identify a portfolio of 21 actual or potential sites with OUV meriting World Heritage status as cultural landscapes or seascapes.

The primary focus is on organically evolved landscapes, particularly horticultural practices, and on social patterning of landscapes through land tenure systems, villages and other built structures. On current Pacific Tentative Lists, the properties in PNG offer excellent examples of organically evolved landscapes. Thus, the Kikori River Basin has a residential population of some 60,000 subsistence hunter-gatherers in 16 ethnic groups, and both the TransFly and the Upper Sepik River Basin have many traditional communities with diverse ethnic, language, religious and social structures, along with traditional villages, sacred sites and ancestral routes.

Among other major themes explored and sites identified by ICOMOS are:

- Settlement patterns – Rapa Nui/Easter Island; Tikopia (Solomons)
- Ritual functions and purposes – Mauna Kea (Hawaii)
- Traditions – Taputapuātea/Raiātea (French Polynesia)
- Fortifications and warfare – Babeldaob hill terraces (Palau)
- Social organisation – Lapaha Royal Tombs (Tonga)
- Environmental adaptation – Rapa (French Polynesia), Rapa Nui.

22. Together with the Great Barrier Reef property of Australia.

- Polynesian origins and Lapita sites – PNG, Solomon islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Yonga and Samoa
- Oceanic voyaging and navigation – Line Islands (Kiribati)

The final two of this list, Lapita sites and oceanic voyaging, present opportunities for developing transboundary serial cultural nominations. Lapita sites are distinguished by highly decorated pottery artefacts signifying the remarkable episode of colonisation by Pacific peoples around 3000 years ago, extending from the Bismarck Archipelago over thousands of kilometres to Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. The Lapita pottery site on Tonga's Tentative List is intended as a component of wider serial property. The success and survival of the Lapita people are attributed to their knowledge of domesticated food crops and fishing, and in particular to their seafaring and navigational skills.

These skills were foremost among the technologies needed for the settlement of the far-flung island homes, witnessing the migration of peoples over vast ocean expanses using winds and currents for propulsion and stars, seabird movement, oral tradition and history for navigation. Long sea voyages may also have been required for trading among islands, such as the exchanges in obsidian (volcanic glass) in the Bismarck Archipelago, and the quarrying of limestone disc money in Palau and its distribution throughout

FSM. Colonisation and voyaging themes can be also be the basis of serial nominations linking sites relating to later colonisation in Eastern Polynesia, including to Aotearoa/ New Zealand, or colonisation of Micronesia from the Philippines to Palau, Yap and the Marshall Islands. Historical voyages of Pacific exploration by European seafaring powers, and modern colonising or occupation episodes such as those of Germany and Japan, also offer many opportunities for transboundary serial WH properties.

Conclusion

Most Pacific Island State Parties have developed World Heritage tentative lists. Many of them require revision and up-dating, especially to take account of new research and thematic studies, and to harmonise Tentative Lists to capture through serial nominations major episodic events in human exploration and settlement of the Pacific realm – among the last great regions of the world to be settled by people. The majority of properties currently included will inevitably be cultural or mixed ones, and particularly cultural land/seascapes, given the customary ownership of land and resources in the Pacific Islands and the cultural veneration of land and sea. The Pacific region has the potential not only to add a unique suite of properties to the World Heritage List but also to redress the geographical imbalance in the global network of World Heritage properties.



Sigatoka Sand Dunes National Park, included as a cultural on Fiji's Tentative List in 1999. The Sigatoka Dunes is one of Fiji's earliest recorded prehistoric sites. © Stuart Chape

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Traditional canoe in the Phoenix Islands Protected Area, Kiribati, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2010.
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Developing the Solomon Islands Tentative List

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Small Island Developing States in the Pacific, rich in both cultural and natural diversity, experience specific problems arising from their small size, remoteness, geographical dispersion, vulnerability to natural disasters, climate change and climate variability, fragile ecosystems, economic and financial shocks, political instability, limited internal markets and depletion of natural resources. Most of the Pacific states lack inventories for cultural, as well as natural, heritage sites due to several challenges including lack of government capacity in undertaking research and financial and human resources, among others. Reviewing recently prepared Tentative Lists by the Pacific states reveals that either they are incomplete or lack sufficient information justifying the outstanding universal value because of the lack of inventories.

Thus, one of the main challenges in developing Tentative Lists is a lack of national inventories in most of the Pacific Island Countries (PICs) as the Solomon Islands is a case in point. Though the Solomon Islands acceded to the World Heritage Convention in 1992, it took about two decades to achieve a Tentative List, though not yet complete, because of various challenges including the civil unrests in 1998, 2000, and 2003, complex customary tenure systems, lack of capacity and resources, and varying traditional social administrative structures, among others. Moreover, the country is still recovering from the civil unrest that put a dent on its socioeconomic and socio-political system. As a result, conservation is still not a priority for the government. There are very few staff in the relevant department dealing with myriad of issues related to multinational and regional agencies and NGOs. The Solomon Islands' case exemplifies challenges and issues that are not uncommon to other PICs with regard to the preparation of Tentative Lists.

Background: World Heritage in Solomon Islands

The Solomon Islands, the second largest Pacific Island country, has since independence in 1978 faced many development challenges, including commercial logging and fishing. Since the late 1980s, influential global conservation organizations have been supporting and promoting integrated conservation and development projects in the Solomon Islands (Foale, 2001) through the interaction between formal and informal institutions.²³ Marovo Lagoon in the Solomon Islands, is the largest double-barrier reef in the world, rich in both biodiversity and cultural diversity and long considered of World Heritage potential but development of a World Heritage nomination has been in limbo for decades due to a complex web of conservation and management challenges, particularly logging.²⁴

Solomon Islands ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1992 following the New Zealand government initiating World Heritage promotional activities in the Solomon Islands in 1987 (Bayliss-Smith, 1993). In 1989, the New Zealand Government launched an eco-tourism development project entitled 'World Heritage Eco-tourism Project' at East Rennell and Marovo Lagoon (Wingham, 1997; Bayliss-Smith, 1993). Although East Rennell was successfully inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1998 the eco-tourism project did not achieve its objectives to have a World Heritage nomination for Marovo Lagoon.²⁵

23. Traditional societies of Melanesia and Polynesia, are referred to as informal institutions, while formal institutions include governments, non-governmental and international organizations.

24. In 1989, Asian logging companies returned to Marovo on the invitation of local land-owners. Logging activities on southeast Vangunu Island, Marovo from 1992 till 1993 were undertaken by an Asian logging company that received concessions from the government (Hviding 1996, 42). In 1992, clear-felling that devastated Avavasa Island in Marovo was carried out by a logging company brought to the island by a group.

25. In 1989, the New Zealand Government through its NZODA (New Zealand Official Development Assistance) initiated a World Heritage Eco-tourism Development Project for Marovo Lagoon to promote sustainable development (Bayliss-Smith 1993; Greenaway 1995; Cornforth *et al* 1997). The project was to include preparation of World Heritage nomination for Marovo, and an Eco-tourism Project to provide assistance to communities for the sustainable development of their resources (Cornforth *et al* 1997, 2).

Workshop at Marovo Lagoon in 2006 to develop the Tentative List for the Solomon Islands. © Paul Dingwall



Solomon Islands' Tentative List: Process and Preparation

Civil unrest in the Solomon Islands meant the cessation of the New Zealand programme and World Heritage related activities in general in 2001. The World Heritage Centre resumed its activities in the Solomon Islands in 2005 with a joint IUCN/WHC joint mission to Marovo in 2005. In consultation with village elders, chiefs, and the relevant central government officials, it was agreed that a World Heritage consultation workshop in the Solomon Islands would be conducted so as to further the nomination of Marovo Lagoon on the World Heritage List, as well as to develop a Tentative List of potential World Heritage properties in the Solomon Islands (UNESCO, 2005a).

The workshop entitled 'Workshop for the Preparation of the Tentative List of the Solomon Islands & Reassessment of the Potential World Heritage Value of Marovo Lagoon' was held in 2006 on Uepi Island, Marovo Lagoon, attended by international and regional heritage experts, representatives from non-governmental organisations (NGOs), government officials, East Rennell community representatives, and representatives from Marovo and Tetepare²⁶ communities including elders and leaders. A major outcome was

the development of a structure for establishing a Marovo Heritage Advisory Council that would develop and oversee conservation and a sustainable development strategy and an action plan (UNESCO, 2006b).

Following a detailed discussion of proposals that were introduced by local NGOs and Marovo community representatives during the workshop, a list of five potential World Heritage properties was agreed for inclusion in a draft Tentative List (Table 1). An associated Action Plan was developed for the implementation of activities to achieve the proposed Tentative List. The sites proposed were two mixed, two cultural and one natural property and included a cultural and landscapes and seascape. Further assessment to determine the mixed, cultural and natural values was recommended. In addition, it was recommended to conduct a study so as to assess cultural values of East Rennell, currently inscribed on natural criteria.

Regional and local NGOs played a vital role in the identification of these sites and the workshop was pivotal as the potential sites were identified by rigorous consultations with local stakeholders, instead of 'external technocrats'. A major issue remained in funding further values assessment and the preparation of a Tentative List of these potential sites. Since most of the Pacific Island Countries, like Solomon Islands, do not have national inventories for potential cultural and natural sites, it is important to provide them with financial support so that they can develop such inventories.

26. Tetepare Island, to the east of the Marovo Lagoon, is the largest uninhabited island in the South Pacific and home to several endemic and IUCN Red List species. The island has a complete lowland rainforest ecosystem, some of the last remaining intact lowland rainforest in the Solomon Islands and wider Pacific region.

Following consultation with an international consultant,²⁷ the Pacific staff at the World Heritage Centre discussed and finalized a work-plan including activities, budget and timetable. In 2006, US\$ 21,000 was approved from the World Heritage Fund for the preparation of a Tentative List of the Solomon Islands. The project was tailored to cover all critical aspects and steps for preparing a Tentative List. Prior to the fieldwork, the consultant, Laurie Wein, undertook a desk-study of natural values of the Solomon Islands, including sites considered of conservation priority and natural resource management initiatives in the Solomon Islands (UNESCO, 2007b). This first phase of the project focused on natural values. A second phase was planned for cultural values but has not yet eventuated. The Tentative Lists of other PICs, for instance the Republic of Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea and Fiji were used as models to guide the process of developing the Solomon Islands' Tentative List. A paper outlining the key aspects of the Operational Guidelines was developed by the South Pacific Regional Environment Program (UNESCO, 2007b). This ensured that interested stakeholders are aware of the information required to develop a Tentative List.

Following this several meetings and awareness workshops were held with key government representatives and a wider range of stakeholders. A half-day workshop was conducted for a small group of government representatives including members of the Solomon Islands National Commission for UNESCO and senior personnel from the Department of Environment and Conservation, and the Department of Tourism and Culture (UNESCO, 2007b) to increase understanding and awareness of World Heritage criteria and requirements, the Tentative List process, within the relevant government departments. A stakeholder and government workshop in the capital Honiara then reviewed sites proposed for the Tentative List to evaluate values and whether they met World Heritage criteria and the required conditions of integrity and authenticity. The participants agreed upon three potential sites for inclusion on the Tentative List:

- Marovo Tetepare Complex a mixed property proposed on criteria (iii), (v), (vi), (vii), (viii), (ix), (x)
- Tropical Rainforests of Solomon including Bauro Highlands of Makira, and key areas of Kolombangara, Choiseul and Guadalcanal a mixed property on criteria (vii), (ix), (x)²⁸
- Solomon Seas – including Arnavon Islands, a mixed property on criteria: (iii), (v), (vi), (vii), (viii), (ix), (x)

The planning process also included field visits to potential World Heritage areas in order to discuss the nomination and management of World Heritage sites with local stakeholders. Hence, field visits were undertaken to Tetepare Island, Western Province and Bauro Highlands of Makira-Ulawa

Province. Finally following consultations from key stakeholders over several months, a Tentative List was drafted. This contains only two of the proposed sites identified in the workshops including; 1) Marovo-Tetepare Complex and 2) The Tropical Rainforests Heritage of Solomon Islands (UNESCO, 2007b). Due to the lack of information, the third site, Solomon Seas, could not be included in the TL but was agreed by the stakeholders that the site would be included at a later stage when the desired information had been collated. The Government of the Solomon Islands submitted its Tentative List to the World Heritage Centre in 2008.

Conclusion

Though the road to achieving World Heritage aims and objectives in the Solomon Islands has been bumpy, it has not been impossible to achieve World Heritage nominations and Tentative List. Importantly, understanding and acknowledgement of local systems of ownership and customary management of cultural and natural sites, and a systematic approach to dealing with local stakeholders have been pivotal in furthering World Heritage in the Solomon Islands, and elsewhere in the Pacific.

The Solomon Islands has badly suffered from many unfortunate events including civil unrest between 2000 and 2005 which meant World Heritage was once again put in the backburner, and that domestic socioeconomic and political issues took precedence over World Heritage. In these circumstances, progress towards developing World Heritage nominations and inventories for cultural sites has been slow. In order to determine the outstanding cultural values, an inventory of cultural sites is the need of the hour without which the Tentative List will remain incomplete.



27. Laurie Wein, Country Manager, WWF-Solomon Islands.

28. Although a mixed site, cultural values have not been clarified due to the lack of an inventory.

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LEFT: Eco-Lodge, Marovo Lagoon, Solomon Islands. Marovo Lagoon is included in the Marovo-Tetepare Complex mixed cultural landscape included on the Tentative List of the Solomon Islands. © Paul Dingwall



Table 1: Draft Tentative List of the Solomon Islands

Property	Category/criteria	Values (OUV)
Marovo-Tetepare Complex	Mixed Site or Cultural Landscape/Seascape Criteria (iii), (v), (vi), (vii), (viii), (ix), (x)	Leatherback turtle breeding & nesting site Intact & integrated reef, lagoon, mangrove & rainforest ecosystems in close proximity Largest double reef barrier system in World Traditional lifestyle of indigenous people Carvings/handicraft using ebony, rosewood, kerosene wood Ebony most threatened tree in region Geotectonics, reef building & island arc system Endangered White-eyed birds Dugong & crocodile critically endangered Giant clam, green snail on IUCN Threatened Species List. Montane forest ecosystem
Arnavon Region (Arnavon Island, part of Choiseul & Santa Isabel)	Mixed Site Criteria (iii), (v), (vi), (vii), (ix), (x)	Hawksbill rookery Leatherback beaches Rich diversity in reef ecosystem Vast mangrove forests Traditional turtle harvest Headhunting history/warfare links Dugong, crocodile Giant clam Includes uninhabited chain of islands
Bauro Highlands & Three Sisters Complex Mt Maetaube	Natural Site Criteria (ix) and (x)	Largest tract of undisturbed forests in Solomon Is (63,000 ha) Key endemic bird priority area Mangrove areas Pteravous spp. Canarium sp. Endemic Giant rat
East Rennell Island	Renomination on cultural criteria (iii), (vi)	Traditional subsistence living by local communities.
Sites of WWII	Cultural Serial Site Criteria (iv),(vi)	Iron Bottom Sound: submerged shipwrecks, aeroplanes. Purvis Bay/Tulaghi & Okinawa Bay: submerged shipwrecks, aeroplanes & terrestrial military installations
Tikopia & Anuta Islands	Cultural Landscape Criteria (iii), (v), (vi)	Outstanding traditional subsistence economy

The Cook Islands

Justina Nicholas, Cook Islands Ministry of Culture

Ngatuaiane Maui, Cook Islands Welfare Director, Ministry of Internal Affairs

The Cook Islands became a 186th signatory to the World Heritage Convention in 2009 and is now considering development and submission of their Tentative List. The Cook Islands are in the South Pacific Ocean, north-east of New Zealand, between French Polynesia and Samoa. The country is made up of 15 small islands divided into two distinct groups: the Southern Cook Islands and the Northern Cook Islands with a total land area of only 240 km² surrounded by 2.2 million km² of ocean. The capital, Rarotonga, is in the Southern Cook Islands.

A request for International Assistance to develop the Tentative List has been submitted to the World Heritage Centre. The funding proposal included

- National consultations to be conducted by local experts with the assistance of an international expert during Te Maeva Nui, the celebration of nationhood, self-government and independence that takes place in August each year
- Research and assessment of the Avana and Taputapuātea sites for inclusion on the Tentative List with the assistance of a regional expert.



Representatives of the Cook Islands at a Technical Seminar on the World Heritage nomination of 'Te Pō/Taputapuātea, Valley of Opoa', Ra'iātea, French Polynesia in December 2011. L – R: Pa Marie Ariki, Justina Nicholas (Heritage Manager, Ministry of Culture), Ngatuaiane Maui (Welfare Director, Ministry of Internal Affairs), Tou Travel Ariki (President, House of Ariki) and Ngarima George. © Anita Smith

Natural World Heritage in Oceania: Challenges and Opportunities

Stuart Chape, Director – Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme

Natural Heritage Values in the Pacific

The 22 Pacific Island nations and territories in the Pacific Regional Environment Programme region are scattered across a vast area of the Pacific Ocean. They are characterised by a range of biogeographical and geomorphological features, from large, mountainous islands, predominately in Melanesia, to smaller volcanic high islands and extensive atolls in Polynesia and Micronesia, and raised coralline limestone islands, such as Nauru and Niue. There is also considerable climatic range, from tropical to sub-tropical and temperate climates. Although the ocean area is enormous, with a combined Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of more than 30 million km², the land area is minute at almost 552,000 km², with Papua New Guinea comprising 84 per cent of that area.

This climatic, terrestrial and marine biophysical diversity, and the geographical isolation of many islands, generally increasing in a west to east direction across the Pacific, is reflected in high levels of species endemism. The biodiversity hotspots of East Melanesia, Polynesia-Micronesia and New Caledonia defined by Conservation International contain more than 8,500 endemic plant species, and 165 threatened endemic birds and mammals (Conservation International 2012). The human discovery and settlement of these islands occurred over thousands of years, from the early settlement of Papua New Guinea 46,000 years ago to the more recent occupation of more distant islands by Polynesians by 1200 AD (Diamond 2005). The discovery and colonisation of the Pacific Islands, many of which are thousands of kilometres from other islands, is recognised as one of the greatest feats of human endeavour. However, human occupation and settlement has had major impacts on native species, existing ecosystems and landscapes. Many fauna species were extirpated on Pacific Islands (Steadman 1995, Mead *et al.* 2002, Steadman and Martin 2003), and ecosystems often radically altered, for example, from original forests to grasslands, as a result of burning and cultivation; loss of species through hunting and the introduction of domestic animals and rats.

Unfortunately, alteration of natural ecosystems and impacts on species continues despite increasing action over the past 20 years by Pacific Island governments, communities and their international partners to implement conservation measures. Significant initiatives include the Micronesia Challenge, with commitment by five Micronesian countries and US territories to conserve 30 per cent of nearshore coastal waters and 20 per cent of forest land by 2020. Similarly, the ambitious Coral Triangle Initiative on Coral Reefs, Fisheries, and Food Security is a multilateral partnership of six countries working together to conserve 53 per cent of the world's coral reefs in the region from the Philippines through Indonesia to the Solomon Islands. More than 500 communities across 15 Pacific Island countries and territories are involved in the implementation of Locally Managed Marine Areas (LMMAs) that contribute to marine habitat and species conservation and management (Govan, 2009), and in 2010 the 408,250 km² Phoenix Islands Protected Area in Kiribati was listed as a natural World Heritage site. The Cook Islands government is currently planning to declare a major part of its EEZ as a marine protected area. At variance with other regions of the world, most conservation progress has been made in Oceania in coastal and marine ecosystems – effective conservation of terrestrial ecosystems and species remains a vexed



Phoenix Islands Protected Area, Kiribati. Inscribed on the World Heritage List under Criteria vii and ix.
© Cat Holloway

issue and a high priority. Kingsford *et al.* (2009) reported that “loss and degradation of habitat threatens more terrestrial species than any other process, including 80 per cent of threatened species assessed (critically endangered, endangered, vulnerable) for most countries” in Oceania.

More concerted action for conservation and management of natural heritage is required by Pacific Island governments if the continuing decline in critical heritage values is to be addressed, especially for terrestrial ecosystems and species. World Heritage status can play an important role in promoting such action, although it must be recognised that the coverage of potential WH sites – with their fundamental requirement of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) – will not comprehensively address conservation needs and priorities in Oceania.

Current and Proposed Natural WH Sites

Of the 12 independent Pacific countries that are party to the World Heritage Convention nine have joined the Convention since 2000. At present Kiribati and Solomon Islands have natural World Heritage sites, and Palau a

mixed natural and cultural site, the Rock Islands Southern Lagoon. All three sites include terrestrial and marine ecosystems although the dominant focus in the Kiribati site is marine. Although listed for its cultural values, the 735 km² Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site in the Republic of the Marshall Islands also protects marine ecosystems.

All parties except Cook Islands, Kiribati and Niue have submitted Tentative Lists (TL). Seven of the parties have submitted natural or mixed sites on their TL (Table 1). In addition to Pacific Island States, Australia, France, UK and the USA also have natural and mixed WH sites: Lord Howe Island Group (Australia), Lagoons of New Caledonia: Reef Diversity and Associated Ecosystems in New Caledonia (France), Henderson Island (UK), Hawaii Volcanoes National Park and Papahānaumokuākea (USA). France has proposed the Marquesas Islands on its TL, and the USA Fagatele Bay National Marine Sanctuary in American Samoa.

Table 1: Pacific State Parties, Natural World Heritage Sites and Tentative List Status

State Party	Year	Tentative List Natural/Mixed	Listed Natural WH Sites	Nominated
Cook Islands	2009	No		
Federated States of Micronesia	2002	Yes		
Fiji	1990	Yes – 2		
Kiribati	2000	No	Phoenix Islands Protected Area (2010)	
Niue	2001	No		
Palau	2002	Yes – 1	Rock Islands Southern Lagoon	
PNG	1997	Yes – 7		
Republic of Marshall Islands	2002	Yes – 2		
Samoa	2001	Yes – 1		
Solomon Islands	1992	Yes – 2	East Rennell (1998)	
Tonga	2004	Yes		
Vanuatu	2002	Yes – 2		

Challenges

There are significant challenges in implementing the WH Convention in Oceania in relation to natural heritage sites:

- Understanding Outstanding Universal Value and preparing relevant Tentative Lists

Identification of suitable sites with natural OUV can be a challenge for Pacific Island countries, with external support often needed for assessment of landscape, ecosystem and species values as well as understanding and justification of integrity issues. As examples, both Fiji and Samoa have TLs that currently do not include all priority high value conservation areas with OUV potential. In the case of Samoa, the TL does not include the upland forests of Savai'i, referred to as the "biggest single priority for expansion of the protected area network in Samoa...the Central Savaii Rainforest – which at 730 km² is the largest intact block of rainforest in tropical Polynesia and captures most of the threatened terrestrial species in the country" (Conservation International *et al.* 2010).

Similarly, in Fiji the TL currently does not include the large forest areas of Taveuni, which has landscape, ecosystem and species conservation values of regional and global importance – Table 2 (below) provides a comparison of this island with existing Pacific WH sites.

Overall there is a need for education and awareness raising of the definition of OUV. Unfortunately, while there is a universal approach to recruitment of countries to become State Parties to the WH Convention, expectations are not always met to have sites successfully listed following nomination because of failure to meet OUV criteria of the convention. In some cases this may mean that a country will have no natural WH sites, even though they may have nationally and regionally important conservation values that should be protected through other mechanisms. Figure 1 (bottom) describes the key differences between OUV and 'representativeness' in decision-making for WH designation.

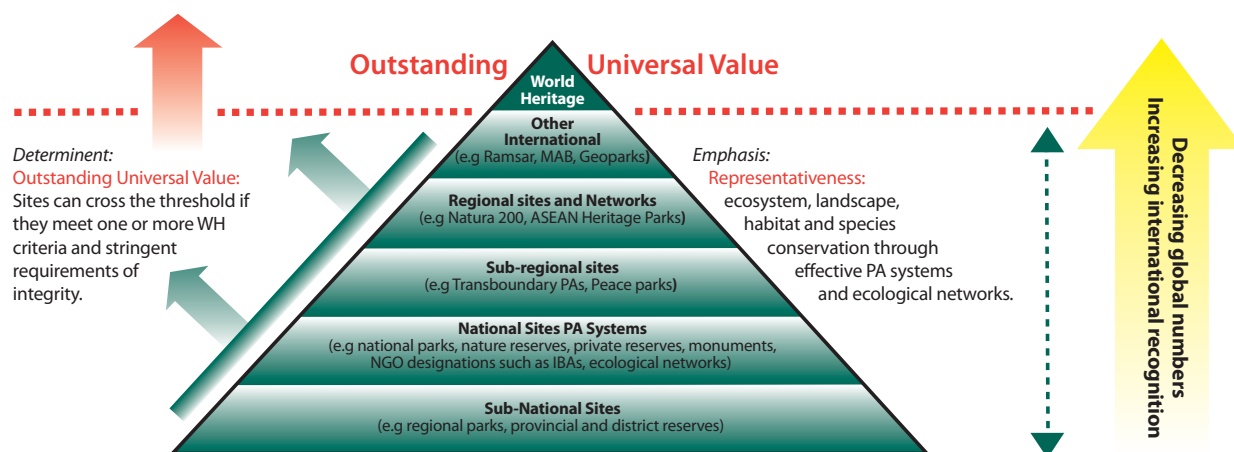
- Governance, economic benefits and maintaining OUV in the Pacific context.

Although the extent of ownership of nearshore and marine areas varies between state and customary tenure in different Pacific Island countries it is almost universal that the majority of land and terrestrial resource ownership is customary. Although there are a number of state owned protected areas in some Pacific Island countries most are community conserved areas, owned and managed by resource owners sometimes with the support of external organisations and networks. LMMAs are one generally successful example of such an approach.

Table 2: Comparison of Species Values between Taveuni and Existing Pacific WH Sites (Chape and Watling 2007)

	Endemic Fauna Species			
	Flora	Birds	Herpetofauna	Mammals
Taveuni (incl. Fiji endemics)	182	15 + 7 Taveuni bird races	22	6
Lord Howe Island Group	105	4	2	0
Henderson Island	10	4	1	0
East Rennell	10	4 + 9 sub-species	1	1

Figure 1: Relationship of World Heritage Sites to other types of protected areas – Outstanding Universal Value versus Representativeness (Magin and Chape 2004)



The Brown Booby (*Sula leucogaster*), Phoenix Islands Protected Area, Kiribati. Inscribed on the World Heritage List under Criteria in 2010 under Criteria vii and ix. © UNESCO Ron van Oers



Participation and agreement of traditional owners is critical at every step of the WH site assessment and nomination process. However, securing WH listing is only the first step in a long term management process focused on maintaining the outstanding values for which the site was listed. While community conserved areas can generally be managed effectively by local people (although they often receive external non-government support) it is vital that there is a strong supporting partnership between national, provincial and local government and the community – as well as external partners as appropriate.

East Rennell WH Site in the Solomon Islands is an example where this has not happened. The site was listed in 1998, the year that the 1998-2002 civil conflict commenced in the Solomon Islands and affected key government support. The East Rennell community, as part of the WH nomination preparation process, was encouraged that WH listing would bring income to the community through tourism. Indeed, donor-funded tourist infrastructure was built. However, initially the conflict, then remoteness from the capital, and the continuing failure to maintain regular transportation to the island to support tourism has resulted in minimal benefits to East Rennell communities. Additionally, the communities of West Rennell who did not participate in the WH process commenced commercially logging of their forests, creating an income disparity with the eastern communities who opted to conserve their forest, lake and marine resources through the WH Convention.

It is only a matter of time before pressure to log the WH site increases, highlighting the need for a supportive partnership with the national government and a long term solution. East Rennell issues have been the subject of extensive review by the World Heritage Committee over the past decade, with the committee noting the logging issue “with concern” in a decision at its 2010 meeting. A further report by the World Heritage Centre and IUCN to the 2012 World Heritage Committee (WHC-12/36.COM/7B) meeting states: “the scale of commercial resource extraction taking place both within the property (coconut crabs, other marine species) and outside (large scale commercial logging), particularly in the context of a small island ecosystem is likely not sustainable and may have significant negative impacts on the OUV and on the longer term subsistence prospects for residents”. They recommend that “the Committee request the State Party to immediately refrain from considering any further logging operations on Rennell Island.”

The East Rennell issue highlights the contested nature of conservation value landscapes in the Pacific, where both high value natural resources and economic development options are often limited, and in conflict with conservation objectives. In another example, the Sovi Basin in Fiji is currently on that country's Tentative List for its forests and landscape, and has been the subject of intensive conservation efforts for the past 30 years. Most recently this has resulted in a conservation lease agreement between the National Trust of Fiji and the customary owners of the Sovi Basin. However, a watershed in the conservation area has recently been identified for tailings disposal for large scale copper mining by the Namosi Joint Venture, and more than 30 per cent of the catchment for the development of combined water supply and hydropower dam by the Fiji Government (see Tabassum and International Heritage Section, Government of Australia this volume).



Fijian Crested Iguana on Yaduataba island. The Yaduataba Crested Iguana Sanctuary is on Fiji's Tentative List as a proposed natural WH site. © Stuart Chape

National capacity

Related to the issue of governance, most Pacific Island countries lack trained personnel and the resources to effectively manage conservation areas. In many countries trained staff in national level environment agencies number less than 10, with resource management agencies dealing with forests and fisheries also limited in capacity. In comparison to Australia, New Zealand, the USA and other developed countries where millions of dollars and cadres of trained personnel are allocated for management of WH sites this is a fundamental challenge for Pacific Island countries if they are to maintain WH sites in addition to other protected areas. While many aspects of management can be devolved to land and resource owning communities the example of East Rennell shows that this will only work if there is strong commitment by government in the face of external pressures driven by competing development factors (see Gabrys and International Heritage Section, Government of Australia this volume).

Opportunities for the role of WH in regional conservation

Despite the considerable issues in designating and managing natural WH sites in Oceania, the WH Convention has the potential to provide a key focus for conserving the region's landscapes and biodiversity. For example, although effective management of such a large area will be challenge, the decision by the Kiribati government to list the Phoenix Islands Protected Area is an international statement of considerable importance. Such initiatives make a significant contribution to achieving the 2020 Aichi Target 11 for establishment of protected areas and Target 12 for conservation of species. They can foster international collaboration, especially large marine areas where effective management of commercial and conservation species is critical and Pacific Island countries can be supported by more developed neighbouring countries. Although an effective linkage between WH site based income generation for governments and resource owning communities may remain elusive for remote sites, the potential remains for the economic benefits from WH sites enjoyed by other countries – and the region badly needs a good working model to show how this can work. Such a model may eventuate fairly quickly following the inscription of the Rock Islands Southern Lagoon in Palau on the World Heritage List in 2012. Palau already has a strong environmental governance structure at national and state levels, and existing effective management of the proposed site. It also generates considerable income from tourism focused on the Rock Islands. Based on its current environmental management practices and initiatives, such as the Green Fee paid by all departing passengers at the international airport,²⁹ Palau is already in a good position to provide advice to other Pacific countries on relevant conservation management and such 'south-south' support should be encouraged.

Finally, Pacific natural heritage that meets the criteria for Outstanding Universal Value needs to be on the World Heritage list – the landscapes and biodiversity of Oceania are still an under-valued feature of the planet.

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Central Savaii volcanoes and forest in Samoa, a large area of more than 700 km² is currently not on Samoa's Tentative List. © Stuart Chape



La Foa Estuary in the Lagoons of New Caledonia: Reef Diversity and Associated Ecosystems World Heritage Site. © Stuart Chape



Bikini Atoll: A small remote atoll of global significance

Nicole Baker, Wellington, New Zealand

Bikini Atoll is the northernmost atoll of the western *Ralik* chain of islands in the Republic of the Marshall Islands, in the equatorial Pacific. Bikini's 23 islands, with a total land area of only 720 hectares, encircle a lagoon which extends 40 kilometres from east to west, and 22 kilometres north to south.

Bikini Atoll today has a remarkable beauty and sense of peace. A ring of tiny, low-lying islands bordered by sweeping white-gold beaches and covered in lush green vegetation and swaying palm trees surrounds a lagoon of invitingly warm turquoise waters. Upon closer inspection, however, this island paradise bears deep and dramatic scars from 23 nuclear weapons tests carried out here by the United States between 1946 and 1958.

Bikini Atoll was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2010 on Criteria iv and vi as an outstanding example of a nuclear test site; the tangible evidence of the birth of the Cold War and the race to develop increasingly powerful nuclear weapons. It bears witness to the consequences of the nuclear tests on the civil populations of Bikini and the Marshall Islands and is associated with ideas and beliefs which characterized the Cold War, and events that gave rise to international movements advocating nuclear disarmament and powerful symbols associated with the 'nuclear era', which characterized the second part of the 20th century.

Tiny, isolated places have often been caught up in the dramatic events of world history. Bikini Atoll is one such place and issues of global concern continue to be reflected in its tangible heritage and associated values. Today, the remains of crumbling grey concrete bunkers and monitoring stations emerge incongruously from the vegetation reclaiming the islands. A gaping hole a mile wide on the north-western side of the atoll reminds us where the world's first deliverable hydrogen bomb, code-named Castle Bravo, destroyed three islands before its fallout covered eighteen thousand square kilometres of the Pacific Ocean.

As a nuclear test site, Bikini Atoll is distinctly 20th century heritage. The entire landscape and seascape of Bikini Atoll testifies to its history as a *nuclear test site*, from the ensemble of sunken ships – which lie in the positions where they

were placed and subsequently sunk as 'targets' – and the purpose-built bunkers and buildings, to the disappeared islands and the Bravo crater. Even the abandoned rows of coconut trees, planted in preparation for the failed resettlement, symbolize the fate of a nuclear test site—ongoing contamination making it unsuitable for human habitation. For the people of Bikini, the atoll is the abundant and beautiful homeland and the locus of their spiritual and cultural identity. Archaeology tells us that the Marshall Islands was populated between 2,000 and 3,500 years ago. The oral history of the settlement of Bikini describes the journey of Iroij Larkelon, the chief who brought his people from neighbouring Wotje Atoll to Rongelap Atoll, where they intermarried with the Rongelap people before sailing on to Bikini. People were already living on Bikini, led by the chief Laninbit. Faced with the bold Larkelon and his many people and canoes, Laninbit conceded the lands and waters of Bikini and sailed south with his people into the sunset never to be heard from again (Niedenthal, 2002). Bikinians today trace their lineage directly to Larkelon (Weisgall, 1994).

Traditional life on Bikini was much like life on other Micronesian atolls. Houses were small, simple thatched huts with woven pandanus mats covering the ground. The few tools and utensils were made only from the island's resources: wood, coral, shell and fibres from coconut and pandanus. The Bikinians were accomplished seafarers, fishers and agroforesters, integrating well-adapted technologies with a spiritual and social life based on interaction with the natural environment.

Bikinians had little contact with Europeans even after German copra traders arrived and settled in the Marshall Islands in the 1860s. Japan took control of most German holdings in Micronesia at the outbreak of World War I and, in 1919, was awarded the Marshall Islands as a mandate of the League of Nations.

In February 1944, American forces liberated the Marshall Islands. A year later, President Truman ordered the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on August 6 and of Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. The atom bomb had entered the world and within a few weeks, Japan surrendered, ending the war in the Pacific.

Bunker on Bikini Atoll © Nicole Baker



By the close of World War II, United States military planners were working to select a site for the testing of atomic weapons on a naval fleet and, following consideration of more than a dozen locations in the Pacific, Atlantic and Caribbean, chose Bikini Atoll as the site for the major atomic experiment known as Operation Crossroads. The test would, however, require relocation of the atoll's population.

In February of 1946, Commodore Ben H. Wyatt, the military governor of the Marshalls, travelled to Bikini to ask the Bikinians if they would be willing to temporarily leave their atoll so that the United States could begin testing atomic bombs for 'the good of mankind and to end all world wars.' King Juda, then the leader of the Bikinian people, stood up after much confused and sorrowful deliberation among his people, and announced, 'We will go, believing that everything is in the hands of God.'

Tens of thousands of military personnel, scientists, and observers arrived as Bikini's various islands and lagoon were transformed into a massive military base. Forty-two thousand men, 37 women nurses and 150 aircraft participated in what the *New York Times* called the 'most stupendous single set of experiments in history' ('Star's Secrets', 1946). Two hundred pigs, 200 mice, 60 guinea pigs, 204 goats and 5,000 rats were exposed to the explosions to better understand the effects of an atom bomb on humans (Shurcliff cited in Weisgall, 1994, p. 120). More than 700 film and still cameras were set up to record the event, 328 of these airborne, manned by over

500 photographers. More than 10,000 instruments, including some developed specifically for the tests at Bikini, were placed on ships, aircraft and the surrounding islands. One hundred and seventy journalists set up 'a floating newsroom' on the *Appalachian* (DeGroot, 2006, p. 119). The ninety-five ships assembled as 'targets' formed the fifth or sixth largest 'navy' in the world at that time.

Test Able was carried out on July 1, 1946: A bomb named 'Gilda' was dropped from a B-29, and exploded 300 metres above the lagoon. The submarine Test Baker followed on July 25, suspended 30 metres below the surface of the water. The water column, holding 2 million tons of water, reached a mile high within one second. Shock waves hit the islands at speeds of over 5,000 kilometres per hour. A crater was carved in the lagoon floor moving 2 million cubic metres of material, and five ships and three other vessels were sunk.

Castle Bravo, was conducted at Bikini Atoll. Early in the morning on March 1, 1954 the device, code-named 'Shrimp,' was detonated on the surface of the reef in the north-western corner of Bikini Atoll. The area was illuminated by a huge and expanding flash of blinding light. A raging fireball of intense heat that measured into the millions of degrees shot skyward at a rate of 500 kilometres an hour. Within minutes the monstrous cloud, filled with nuclear debris, shot up more than 35 kilometres and generated winds hundreds of kilometres per hour, blasting the surrounding islands and stripping the branches and coconuts from the trees. Millions

Bikini Atoll: A small remote atoll of global significance

BELOW: Bikini Atoll showing the crater created by Castle Bravo nuclear test in 1954. © Nicole Baker



of tons of sand, coral, plant and sea life from Bikini's reef, from three islands and the surrounding lagoon waters, were sent high into the air by the blast, leaving a crater more than 2 kilometres wide and 80 metres deep.

One-and-a-half hours after the explosion, 23 fishermen aboard the *Daigo Fukuryū Maru* (Lucky Dragon #5), a Japanese fishing vessel, watched in awe as a 'gritty white ash'—which the Japanese came to know as *shi no hai* (the ashes of death) ('Ashes to Ashes,' 1954)—began to fall on them. Shortly after being exposed to the fallout their skin began to itch and they experienced nausea and vomiting. The boat's return to Japan two weeks later and the death of one crew member within months, from acute radiation illness, was to have a resounding impact in Japan.

On Rongelap Atoll, about 150 km east of the test on Bikini, John Anjain, at his breakfast at the time, describes the event:

On the morning of the 'bomb' I was awake and drinking coffee. I thought I saw what appeared to be the sunrise, but it was in the west. It was truly beautiful with many colors—red, green and yellow—and I was surprised. A little while later the sun rose in the east. Then some time later

something like smoke filled the entire sky and shortly after that a strong and warm wind—as in a typhoon—swept across Rongelap. Then all of the people heard the great sound of the explosion. Some people began to cry with fright. (Dibblin, 1990, p. 25)

Three to four hours after the blast, the white, snow-like ash began to fall from the sky onto the 64 people living on Rongelap and also onto the 18 people residing on Ailinginae Atoll. Lomoyo Abon describes the experience:

That night we couldn't sleep, our skin itched so much. On our feet were burns, as if from hot water. Our hair fell out. We'd look at each other and laugh—you're bald, you look like an old man. But really we were frightened and sad. (Dibblin, 1990, pp. 24-25)

Bravo, at 15 megatons, was a thousand times more powerful than the atomic bombs that were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, and is to this day the largest detonation ever conducted by the United States. While Operation Crossroads and the Castle Bravo tests were the most significant, a total of 23 tests were carried out between 1946 and 1958 on Bikini, of a total of 67 tests in the Marshall Islands.



In 1946, the Bikinians were moved to Rongerik, a small atoll that had been previously uninhabited due to a lack of food and water resources, and a traditional belief that an evil spirit lived there and contaminated the fish. On the verge of starvation, in March 1948, the Bikinians were moved to a tent city on Kwajalein Atoll while a new home was found for them. In June the Bikinians selected Kili Island—a single island with no lagoon or protected anchorage in the southern Marshall Islands—because the island was not ruled by a paramount king, or *iroij*, and was uninhabited.

In August of 1969 planning commenced for the resettlement of Bikini Atoll. This work involved the clearing of the radioactive debris on Bikini and Eneu Islands, accomplished by bulldozers being driven methodically between the trees in neat rows creating a massive grid pattern over the entire islands, replanting of the atoll and constructing housing.

In 1972 three extended Bikinian families, their desire to return to Bikini being great enough to outweigh the alleged radiological dangers, moved back to Bikini Island and into the newly constructed houses, accompanied by approximately 50 Marshallese construction workers. The population of islanders on Bikini slowly increased to about 100

people until in June of 1975, a review of the scientific data found that the local foods grown on Bikini Island, including pandanus, breadfruit and coconut crabs, were too radioactive for human consumption. In April of 1978 medical examinations performed by US physicians revealed radiation levels in many of the now 139 people on Bikini to be well above the US maximum permissible level and the Bikinians were once again removed from their cherished islands.

By late 1972, Bikini's landscape, both above and below the surface of the water, reflected its transformation. Bikini was and remains the world's first large-scale nuclear landscape—an area of the globe forever transformed by nuclear testing, and this landscape remains essentially untouched and unaltered. The obvious physical changes, as well as the fallout remaining in the islands' soil, bear testimony to the enormous destructive power of the technology that was demonstrated here. The lonely rows of coconut palms, planted in the hope the Bikinians could return to their home and resume their way of life, now symbolize the loss of this way of life forever. Bikini has stood as a monument and memorial to loss of innocence from the moment it was chosen. Even prior to the testing, E.B. White (March 9, 1946) wrote in the New Yorker:

Bikini Lagoon, although we have never seen it, begins to seem like the one place in the world we cannot spare... it grows increasingly valuable in our eyes—the lagoon, the low-lying atoll, the steady wind from the east, the palms in the wind, the quiet natives who live without violence. It all seems unspeakably precious, like a lovely child stricken with a fatal disease (in Weisgall, 1994).

The trace, memory and spirit of the time of Bikini Atoll as a nuclear test site is recorded in films, photos, journalism, technical reports, oral histories, memoirs and works of art. The mechanisms by which Bikini Atoll functions as a monument and a memorial is expanded from the tangible by the inclusion of symbols, works of art and representations of Bikini that have accompanied the process of its journey from a beloved, beautiful home to an abandoned nuclear test site.

Bikini Atoll bears witness to individual events that represent turning points in the world's history of global significance—in particular Operation Crossroads in 1946 and the Castle Bravo detonation in 1954. Operation Crossroads occurred at a time of awkward diplomacy between the Soviets and the Americans, and the display of power by the US conflicted with ongoing efforts to place nuclear weapons under the control of the United Nations, thus contributing significantly to the distrust and paranoia that characterized the start of the Cold War. The cover article for *Time* magazine, on July 1, 1946 speaks of the 'Tremor of Finality' of Operation Crossroads:

Against the peaceful backdrop of palm frond and pandanus, on this most 'backward' of islands, the most progressive of centuries would write in one blinding stroke of disintegration the inner meaning of technological civilization: all matter is speed and flame. (Time Magazine 'Crossroads,' July 1, 1946)

Just as the atomic weapons dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had brought the theories of nuclear physicists into a terrible reality, the world's first deliverable hydrogen bomb was to shock the world, directly giving rise to the nuclear disarmament movement. The Castle Bravo event, although conducted in great secrecy would, very publicly, introduce the world to 'fallout.' Aside from the bombs dropped on civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, no other single nuclear weapons event has had this scale of impact on the world.

The United States, the United Kingdom and France all tested nuclear devices in the Pacific between 1946 and 1996, enabled by their colonial histories in the region. The process of Pacific nuclear colonialism finally gave rise to the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement based on the understanding of Pacific peoples that nuclear tests could be halted only if their countries were decolonized and became sovereign nations.

However, nuclear colonialism was not restricted to the Pacific and Bikini Atoll, now unpeopled, stands as exemplary testimony to a lost way of life on behalf of all victims of

nuclear colonialism. Over 2,050 nuclear devices have been detonated worldwide in the years since 1945. Major testing programmes were carried out by the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain (in conjunction with Australia). Countries that carried out lesser programmes are China, India, Pakistan and North Korea. Some test sites are household names, such as Nevada, Maralinga, Trinity and Moruroa. Other sites are less familiar: Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan, Amchitka in the Aleutian Islands of Alaska, Kiritimati (Christmas Island) in Kiribati, Lop Nur in western China, and Novaya Zemlya in the Barents Sea. All the sites used for testing bear irreversible scars telling their powerful stories of lost lands, lost health, and lost cultures and ways of life.

Bikini is isolated, remote and difficult to access—all reasons why it was chosen as a site for nuclear testing, therefore much of its meaning as the world's heritage is contained in the representations of Bikini as a place, and the portrayal of the events of Bikini to the world. What was to the Bikinians their homeland, a place of abundance and life, was represented to the world as a 'deserted Isle' (Davis, 2005), a barren and uninhabited terra nullius distant from the home population of the testing nation. Representations of Bikini were made in the form of films, radio broadcasts, magazines and leading newspapers such as the *New York Times*, thus legitimizing the use of Bikini as a test site.

Emanating from this narrow circle of tiny islands in the middle of a vast ocean is a myriad of symbolism that has permeated our global culture. The mushroom cloud creates a focal point for the values attributed to nuclear weapons—enormous power, fear of spectacular annihilation, and later, of radioactive fallout. Godzilla initially arose from the Pacific Ocean floor as the very embodiment of nuclear devastation and radioactivity, a manifestation of Japan's terror of the bomb. The bikini swimming costume and SpongeBob Square Pants are icons of popular culture, one created before the world truly understood nuclear weapons, and the other devised long after the threat of nuclear weapons was anything but a backdrop—a cultural wallpaper. In line with the high technology of the bomb testing, these icons are modern and technological themselves—truly late 20th century popular culture.

It was through *images* of mushroom clouds that information about nuclear tests was made available to the public. Initially, photographs of the mushroom clouds were shown to Bikinians living on Rongerik to explain what was happening on Bikini. In 1954 *Life* magazine issued a pictorial special about the hydrogen bomb tests (April 19, 1954). The mushroom cloud became a potent symbol used both by the military, and by the anti-nuclear movement. Rosenthal (1991) describes the significance of the mushroom cloud as a cultural symbol:

'A quarter century after the nuclear mushroom cloud has been seen in real life, it remains the unchallenged symbol of the nuclear age because its name, shape, and size make it adequate to carry all the meanings we need for it to bear.

Clearly a culmination of the scientific knowledge our century values supremely, the mushroom cloud stands as apt image of science's power over nature... Clearly a power of life-and-death proportions, the mushroom cloud stands as appropriate symbol for our secular age's placing in human hands the judgment once assumed to be in God's. And in its remarkable receptivity to projections upon it of even vaguely congruent images, ...the mushroom cloud projects back the array of human responses to all that it stands for: responses of pride, parochial possessiveness, creative resistance, denial, despair.' (p.88)

Originally named 'le Atome' for its small size by its French designers, Louis Réard and Jacques Heim, the skimpy two-piece swimming costume was launched upon the world as 'le Bikini' on July 5, 1946, just days after the first test at Bikini Atoll.

The first Godzilla movie (*Gojira*, 1954) appeared just months after the Bravo test. In the film, American nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific awakens a seemingly unstoppable, radioactive dinosaur-like beast that attacks Tokyo. Salvador Dali, in his 1947 painting 'The Three Sphinxes of Bikini,' presents us with images of the mushroom cloud mixed with images of trees and of the human head, suggesting the interaction of man, nature and atomic weapons.

The very same month of the return of the *Daigo Fukuryū Maru* to Japan, a group of middle-class housewives from Tokyo began the 'Suginami Appeal' – a campaign against the hydrogen bomb which became a nationwide movement, collecting 32 million signatures – about one-third of the Japanese population—by the following year. In August 1955, the First World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was held in Hiroshima, leading directly to the establishment of Gensuikyo: The Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. The reach and significance of the Gensuikyo organization in the anti-nuclear movement is demonstrated by the petition of over 100 million signatures presented in 2000 to the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs in support of a total ban of nuclear weapons. The horror of the Bravo test quickly gave rise to antinuclear sentiment globally, prompting Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India to propose a ban on nuclear testing in April 1954 and provoking Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein to write the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, launched at the first Pugwash conference in July 1955 and signed by the leading scientists of the time. The influential Pugwash movement was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995.

Nuclear bomb tests at Bikini Atoll shaped the history of the people of Bikini, and the history of the entire world. Bikini Atoll now stands testimony to the dawn of the nuclear age, the start of the Cold War and the era of nuclear colonialism—stages in human history of outstanding global significance. The World Heritage List recognises not only the monumental and the celebrated, and by the inscription of this tiny, remote atoll we are reminded that our shared history penetrates even the most isolated places on Earth.

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Levuka, Fiji: The Heritage of Culture Contact in the Pacific

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The historic port town of Levuka is Fiji's first World Heritage nomination, submitted to the World Heritage committee in 2012. This property is also the first nomination from a Pacific Island country to recognise the outstanding values of historic built heritage and the processes of culture contact that took place across the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean during the colonial era.

The town of Levuka on the small island of Ovalau, was the first colonial capital of Fiji, a fortuitous survivor of the cyclones, and storms and fires that along with recent urban development have destroyed colonial towns elsewhere in the Pacific. The development of the town of Levuka in the 19th century followed a pattern similar to that seen across the Pacific Islands. A small beachcomber settlement was established adjacent to the indigenous village on the beach at Levuka in the 1820s/30s with the permission and patronage of the local Chief the Tui Levuka. The settlement and village grew to a thriving port town and regional centre by the 1850s and when the British formally annexed the Fiji Islands in 1874, the Deed of Cession was signed at Levuka where the colonial capital was established. The town rapidly outgrew the small strip of land between the sea and the hills behind and this along with political and economic factors led the British authorities to move the capital to its present location of Suva in 1882 but not before the chaotic, random and notoriously smelly and drunken port of the 1850s and 1860s had been remodelled as a centre of the colonial government – with all the institutions of respectability and governance that characterised the global signature of the British Empire. In Levuka these were and are visible today in a distinctly Pacific Island and vernacular form, a response to the indigenous culture and the geography of the Pacific Islands.

The town consists of Beach Street along the sea front and several adjoining streets and laneways running up into the hills behind. These are associated with creek lines that run down from the interior of the island, alongside which are paths that now and in the pre-contact era connected the inland villages to the coastal village of Levuka. The town's built heritage includes buildings – residential, commercial and industrial – and infrastructure plus a number

of historic buildings and monuments outside the town's perimeter. Many buildings retain their original function, including administrative buildings, schools, churches, residences, shops, and other workplaces. The surviving churches, school, and the government buildings were the first of their kind in Fiji. Several important shipwrecks lie in the harbor.

In 1990 Fiji was the first of the Pacific Island countries to become a signatory to the World Heritage Convention and the historic port town of Levuka was the first property on Fiji's tentative list, submitted in 1999. The historic qualities of Levuka had been of interest to tourists since the 1970s and the possibility of a World Heritage nomination had been mooted as early as the mid-1980s (Takano 1996) but it was not until the Department of National Heritage was established in 2000 that the Government of Fiji had a key role in initiatives for a World Heritage nomination that had begun a decade earlier. The early initiatives had involved the Fiji Museum and National Trust of Fiji which, while statutory organisations, did not have enough resources (human and physical) nor influence to convince Government of the importance of this initiative. These institutions did however have well established and strong international networks and connections which assisted them in their continued efforts to maintain and raise awareness of the heritage values of Levuka. In this context, in 2002 the Fijian Government began to explore the potential World Heritage values of Levuka through a lengthy programme of community consultation and through a comparative analysis as required in any future nomination dossier in justification of the outstanding universal values of the property (Smith, 2003).

The focus of early conservation efforts in Levuka had been the town's architectural heritage contributing to perceptions of Levuka as simply the 'heritage of colonialism'. From 2000 systematic archaeological research and intensive mapping, oral history recording and analysis of the cultural landscape of the town as a (Burley, Chatan and Purser, 2002; Purser, 2003) revealed the deeper complex history of the development of the town, not as a snapshot of a particular period but a palimpsest of cultural layers and interactions from pre-European contact through the historic period.

Beach Street, Levuka, Fiji © Anita Smith



In all parts of the globe initial European settlement was characterised by the negotiation of social and cultural differences between Indigenous and European systems of authority creating social, cultural and political forms that reflect this contact. Levuka is both the outstanding and representative example of the important interchange of human values and cultural contact that took place as part of the process of European maritime expansion in the Pacific Islands. The town bears testimony to this cultural contact and in the town's archaeological, built and maritime heritage and landscape features continues to reflect the negotiation between the indigenous Fijian and British systems of authority in the late 19th century. A challenge in developing a nomination for Levuka was to understand and articulate the values of the 'heritage of colonialism' as an outcome of interaction rather than imposition, avoiding what in this context is an artificial distinction between 'European' and 'Indigenous' values as they are reflected in the fabric of the town.

Key to the development of the nomination has been the process of community consultation, not only with the town's residents but the indigenous communities of Ovalau Island in general. The consultation process involved raising awareness of the local, national and international heritage values of the town and the World Heritage process in general. The aim has been to enable communities to make informed decisions as to whether they considered the nomination to be a worthwhile initiative. The island's communities needed to be convinced that inscription of the property on the World Heritage List would have benefits to the local population and the nation in as far as social, cultural and economic returns are concerned.

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Transnational Values in the development of a World Heritage nomination for the Sacred site of Taputapuātea/Te Po, Valley of Ōpoa, French Polynesia

Senator Ariihau Tuheiaiva, Senator for French Polynesia

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The monumental ceremonial stone marae of Taputapuātea in the Valley of āpoā on the island of Ra'iātea, in the Society Islands of French Polynesia is recognised by the indigenous communities of the Polynesian triangle as the heart of their ancestral homeland and the centre of a voyaging network stretching north to the Hawai'ian Islands and west to Aotearoa/New Zealand. The Valley of āpoā is an outstanding example of the traditional and continuing cultural landscapes of East Polynesia and their associated social and cultural practices and bears exceptional testimony to the evolution of East Polynesian culture and the technological achievements of Polynesian peoples. In 2010 France added 'The Sacred site of Taputapuātea/Te Po, Valley of Ōpoa' also known as 'Te Marae Taputapuātea i Opoa, Puna no te Ao Ma'ohito' to their Tentative List on Criteria iii, iv, v and vi. A World Heritage nomination for the property is in development under the auspices of the Government of French Polynesia.

The Society Islands lie at the geographic centre of the Polynesian triangle, a huge expanse of the Pacific Ocean stretching from Hawai'i in the north to Easter Island in the east and New Zealand in the southwest. Canoes guided by skilled navigators first arrived in the Society Islands from western Polynesia around 1500 years ago during the rapid exploration and settlement of the far flung, remote islands of East Polynesia. People settled in communities on the islands but remained connected through voyaging networks and the development of an inter-island alliance that united the chiefdoms of the Society Islands, Rarotonga (Cook Islands) Rotuma (Fiji) and New Zealand. The centre of this alliance was the Marae Taputapuātea in the Valley of Opoa and it was from here that the great voyaging canoes left for the long journeys to remote islands, including Aotearoa (New-Zealand) and Hawai'i.

Taputapuātea is the largest in a complex of marae and other stone structures. Marae are powerful places in East Polynesian culture. In the Society Islands each marae is linked to a genealogy, a title (or titles) and a place, a region of the earth and dedicated to a deified ancestor, one of the many gods or atua in the Polynesian pantheon. Marae served as a link between the people living in the visible world (Ao) and in the invisible realm of ancestors (Pā. A new marae was founded using a stone brought from an

ancient marae, linking these sacred sites and their genealogies together across Polynesia. Marae Taputapuātea is the largest marae in East Polynesia measuring about sixty meters long and 45 meters wide. The immense platform is constructed of basalt boulders. At the eastern end stands the *ahu*, a huge platform constructed of large slabs of coral over three metres in height.

For the Polynesian communities the sea has symbolic and religious importance. The islands were discovered and populated by navigators who followed the stars, maintained contact with each other, sometimes over very long distances, by means of exceptional sailing skills passed down over generations. Inter-island voyaging took place on large canoes (*va'a*), their construction strictly regulated by religious rituals, which were stored near the marae. The marae themselves may be spoken of as *va'a* pulled up on shore, having arrived at their final destination. The Ocean itself was considered the supreme marae, where travellers could dedicate their worship to their ancestors when they were far away from their family's marae.

Ra'iatea, the sacred island, was formerly known as Havai'i nui and recognised by Polynesian people across the Polynesian triangle as their ancestral homeland. Marae Taputapuātea and the surrounding marae complex was built at a place named Te Pā the tapu or sacred realm where the gods are present. Te Pā is on Matahirā-i-te-ra'i, a small promontory in front of Te Ava Mo'a the sacred pass through the reef. Behind Te Pā the āpoā Valley is enclosed by the mountains Tea'etapu and Rohutu, the dwelling place for the spirits of deceased. According to the oral traditions of Ra'iātea, Ta'aroa, the father of all Polynesian gods and creator of all things, entered the earth in the valley of āpoā on Havai'i. This event was commemorated by the construction of the Marae Vaeara'i at the place where Ta'aroa put his foot on earth for the first time, and from which the foundation stone for marae Taputapuātea was later taken.

Taputapuātea: the international marae

Taputapuātea is known as the international marae, unique in Polynesia, its importance extending far beyond Ra'iātea and the Society Islands, to Aotearoa/New Zealand and Hawai'i.

Elders of Na Papa E Va'u with Senator Ariihau Tuheiava on Marae Taputapuātea, Opoa, Rai'atea Island French Polynesia, 2007. L-R Papa Marehoe, Papa Nehemia, Papa Timi, Papa Pua, Senator Tuheiava. The Sacred site of Taputapuātea/Te Po, Valley of Ōpoa also known as 'Te Marae Taputapuātea i Opoa, Puna no te Ao Ma'ohito' was included on the Tentative List of France in 2011. © Anita Smith



Prior to the coming of Europeans, the district of āpoā and its marae Tapu-tapu-tea was at the center of an inter-island alliance named Hau faatau aroha, or 'chiefdoms establishing alliances', which brought together two groups of islands: the 'Dark world' (Te-ao-uri) encompassing the east coast of Rai'ātea, Huahine and Tahiti Islands and the 'Light world' (Te-ao-tea) which included the west coast of Rai'ātea and the other Society Islands as well as Rarotonga (Cook Islands), Rotuma and Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to the oral traditions, the representatives of these islands periodically gathered for ceremonies at āpoā, at times set according to a traditional calendar based on the stars and seasons. By the 17th century, marae Taputapuātea was dedicated to one of the sons of Ta'aroa, 'Oro, god of beauty, fertility and war and the centre for the rituals of the 'Arioi, a society whose members worshipped the god 'Oro. The 'Arioi, sailing on sacred canoes guided by priests who navigated by the stars, spread the cult of 'Oro throughout eastern Polynesia, bringing with them new beliefs, ideas and forms of socio-political organisation.

For these reasons, one can find marae known as Taputapuātea in the Society Islands, Tuamotu Archipelago, the Austral Islands and Cook Islands. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, there are also sites named Taputapuātea, and cultural places where stones from Taputapuātea were brought and placed by the ancient navigators. In New Zealand, the Tongariro National Park, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1993 (1990) traces back to the priest Ngatoroirangi, who came from Rai'atea aboard the canoe Te Arawa. This site thus possesses a direct genealogical connection with the site Taputapuātea/Te P. In the archipelago of the Hawai'ian Islands, there are

three heiau (Hawaiian temples) named Kapukapuakea on the islands of O'ahu, Kaua'i and Moloka'i.

The sacred complex Taputapuātea/Te P is the most significant place for the expression of Polynesian identity. Communities of the Polynesian triangle maintain a strong spiritual attachment to Taputapuātea/Te P as the place of cultural gatherings which continue to be held on the site and reinforce the historical and cultural links between the Polynesian communities whose ancestors set out by canoe from āpoā. Cultural representatives from islands of the Polynesian triangle regularly gather on the marae. Its spiritual role is manifested as a symbol of common origin for Polynesian communities, which are today separated by national borders.

Transnational values of Taputapuātea/Te Po, Valley of Ōpoa

The site of Taputapuātea/Te Po, Valley of Ōpoa therefore has transnational values, that is, the site is recognised as sacred and the ancestral homeland by Polynesian communities not just in French Polynesia but in Hawaii, New Zealand, Cook Islands and Rapa Nui and is linked to the initial settlement and histories of these islands and island groups. Given this the development of a World Heritage nomination for the property is involving extensive consultations with representatives of Polynesian communities in Hawai'i, Aotearoa, Cook Islands, and Rapa Nui all of who have strong cultural, historic and contemporary connections to the site. Since 2007 these consultations have included cultural exchanges between representatives from these countries and the local community in Ōpoa, the custodians of the; meetings and

Transnational Values in the development of a World Heritage nomination for the Sacred site of Taputapuātea/Te Po, Valley of Ōpoa, French Polynesia

discussion with cultural leaders in their respective countries; and discussions at regional meetings under the auspices of the UNESCO Pacific 2009 programme. Given the shared transnational values of Taputapuātea/Te Po, Valley of Ōpoa it is critical that Polynesian communities across the Pacific are supportive of the values as they are presented to the international community in the nomination dossier.

The property has the potential to be nominated as a serial transnational cultural property. As described, the property has transnational associations with Polynesian voyaging and navigation and these along with historical and genealogical connections of communities across the Polynesian triangle are also reflected in the cultural values of a number of heritage places in these countries. These include:

- Tongariro National Park, near the Lake Taupo (Aotearoa/New Zealand) inscribed on the World Heritage List on cultural criteria in 1993;
- National Marine Monument of Papahānau-mokuākea inscribed on the World Heritage List as a mixed site in 2010.
- Hawaii Volcanoes National Park (USA) inscribed on the World Heritage List on natural criteria in 1987
- Rapa Nui National Park (Chile) inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1995
- Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site (Hawai'i, U.S.A.);
- Royal *marae* of Taputapuātea at Avarua (Rarotonga, Cook Islands)
- Cape Reinga or (Te Rerenga Wairua), the 'leaping-off place of spirits' for Maori (North Island, Aotearoa/New Zealand)
- Avana Pass (Rarotonga, Cook Islands)

All these sites have historical and cultural associations with Taputapuātea/Te Po in French Polynesia through ancestral voyaging and genealogies. A transnational serial nomination would recognise the coherence of the shared values of these properties. There are a number of issues specific to the Pacific region that need to be addressed in the future development of a serial nomination:

1. Several of the properties that may be considered for inclusion in a future serial nomination are located in territories under sovereignty external to the region namely French Polynesia (France), Hawai'i (USA) and Rapa Nui (Chile) where the Indigenous communities whose values would be recognised in a potential serial nomination, are a minority of the population. This is also the case for Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Given this, the development of a serial nomination of Polynesian cultural heritage may not be a priority for these States Parties. Fostering regional cooperation to develop an overarching management plan for a transnational serial property also presents a challenge given those communities whose values are to be managed are

Looking across the Opoa Valley, Raiatea, French Polynesia from Marae Vaeara'i. © Anita Smith



not decision-makers in government. A future serial nomination will require extensive lobbying and negotiation with and between States Parties.

2. There is a disparity in the levels of knowledge, skills and extent of implementation of the World Heritage in the Pacific Island States. Although some countries have ratified the Convention more than 20 years ago, most independent Pacific Island States have done so only in the last decade, the Cook Islands being the most recent in 2009. This makes it difficult for all countries potentially involved in a serial nomination to progress at an equal rate.
3. Although the values of properties to be considered in a serial nomination are similar, their expression in tangible and/or intangible evidence differs between countries requiring a carefully negotiated common approach to agreeing on and articulating the values and a preliminary stage of harmonization of traditional knowledge and customary protocols.
4. The Pacific region is not well served by air transport and represents a third of the globe. This means the funds required to facilitate the essential community consultation and participation for any transnational serial nomination are prohibitive and limit regional cooperation between community representatives

The nomination currently under development for Taputapuātea/Te Po is a single cultural property. Consultations are continuing to facilitate and develop future extension of the property to create a serial transnational property that will more fully reflect the shared values and histories of East Polynesian peoples.

'Yapese Stone Money': A Transboundary Serial Nomination from Micronesia

A serial transboundary nomination of 'Yapese Stone Money' celebrates the traditional exchange systems, technology and outstanding voyaging and navigation skills that characterize the heritage of the tiny islands of Micronesia. The Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of Palau are putting forward the transboundary nomination which includes components in the archipelagos of Palau and Yap. Palau lies about 600km east of the Philippines. The Yap islands are located a further 500km to the north-east.

In the past, the people of Yap voyaged across open sea to Palau to quarry the limestone for their megalithic disk money or *Rai* which they then transported to Yap for use in traditional social transactions. The Yapese earned the right to quarry the limestone by bartering or exchanging exotic materials and forming alliances with villages in Palau. According to oral tradition, the chiefs of Yap offered gifts to the chiefs of Palau in return for quarrying rights. Many Yapese traditions attest to the origin and importance of this exchange system. One tradition records that a Yapese navigator named Anagumang first discovered the stone in a Palauan cave and ordered his men to cut

it into the shape of a fish and then into a full moon, and that a hole was put in the moon shape to make it easier to carry. The stones were quarried and shaped in Palau, their size varying widely but the largest up to 3 metres in diameter. The quarried *Rai* were taken by canoe to Yap where they would be distributed by the village chief who was the sponsor of the quarrying expedition. The discs were placed in front of residences, meeting houses or along pathways, termed "money banks" and exchanged in important family events including births, name-giving rites and marriage and to make amends for an insult, for support in conflict, loans, gifts or purchase of goods.

The nominated property includes quarry sites on Palau and 'money bank' ceremonial sites on Yap. The production of the stone money and their transport across the open ocean represents an exceptional example of human technological and engineering achievement and an outstanding example of traditional cultural exchange systems.

Reference:

Fitzpatrick, S. 2010 'Transboundary Nomination for Yapese Stone Money Sites in Palau and Yap'. UNESCO World Heritage Nomination prepared for the Palau Historic Preservation Office, Koror, and the Yap Historic Preservation Office, Colonia.



Yapese Stone Money on the island of Yap, Federated States of Micronesia. 'Yapese Stone Money' has been nominated as a serial transboundary property by the Federated States of Micronesia and Palau. © Christophe Sand



World Heritage and Community in the Pacific



Courtesy of Vanuatu Cultural Centre

Community and governance in the World Heritage property of East Rennell

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East Rennell World Heritage Site (ERWHS), the southern third of Rennell Island, lies 180 km south of Guadalcanal, the main island of the Solomon Islands. The property consists of 370 km² land-mass plus a marine component extending three nautical miles out to sea (Fig 1). Rennell Island is the largest raised coral atoll in the world while Lake Tegano, at the centre of the World Heritage Site, is the largest lake in the insular Pacific. East Rennell was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1998 under natural criterion (ii) being important bio-geographically, especially the avifauna and significant on-going ecological and biological processes and evolution of species (UNESCO, 1998).

The inscription of East Rennell was a first in the history of the Convention in that the World Heritage Committee recognised the traditional management practices of the people of East Rennell to be a viable and credible means of protecting biodiversity (UNESCO, 1998). Alongside this, it was also recognised that protection and management of the outstanding universal values of the property is dependent on the people of East Rennell achieving sustainable livelihoods. However, the question of whether conservation and sustainable livelihood objectives can be successfully integrated remains contested (Agrawal and Redford 2006; Marshall 2005; De Haan 2000). For UNESCO, this is an issue of particular concern with properties listed under the natural criteria of the Operational Guidelines (Criteria vii – x) (UNESCO, 1998). In a site such as East Rennell this is complicated by the critical issue of a lack of sustainable livelihoods of local people that in turn can affect the future protection and management of the values of the property. The inclusion of only a third of the island in the inscription further complicates this issue. The people of East Rennell do not have access to the benefits that the people of West Rennell receive from logging companies and bauxite mining prospectors.

Approximately 600 Rennellese people reside in the World Heritage property across the four lakeside villages Hutuna, Tebaitahe, Tegano and Niupani. The inhabitants comprise of one ethnic Polynesian group who speak a single Polynesian language, though Solomons Pidgin is widely used when communicating with outsiders. Many people are now Christian and this has had some impact on tradi-

tional cultural practices, the South Sea Evangelical Church (SSEC) and the Seventh Day Adventist Church (SDA) having imposed tabus around certain cultural activities (e.g. dancing, tattooing).

The main form of land use is subsistence agriculture based around root crops, especially sweet potato, cassava and taro. Arable land on this coral atoll is limited, particularly in East Rennell where the land mass is dominated by Lake Tegano and coral cliffs. The Island has serious food security issues, with failing local crops and irregular delivery of food by barge. The local economy is limited to small scale sales of local goods derived from subsistence hunting, fishing and crafts, with only 12 per cent of the population of the province engaged in paid employment.

The Province of Rennell and Bellona remains economically underdeveloped due to its remoteness, the *wantok*³⁰ system and lack of resources, transport and managerial skills. There is limited communication, shops, electricity, schools, or general services, no provincial hospital and limited sanitation. It is one of the least visited provinces in the Solomon Islands, with only about 30 tourists per year (Foimua 2006). Less than half of these tourists visit the World Heritage Site due to unreliable and expensive road transport from the air strip which is situated on the opposite side of the island.

Progress towards sustainable livelihoods for the people of East Rennell has been slow and little has changed since the inscription of the property (Tabbasum and Dingwall 2005). Some reasons for this include civil unrest in the Solomon Islands from 2000-2005, limited government capacity and a lack of an avenue for direct engagement with international donors. In addition, like many other community-managed protected areas, the people of East Rennell have limited capacity and funding to undertake the difficult and complex task of managing a protected area (Seixas and Davy 2008).

At the time of the inscription process it was believed that the local traditional structure of management via the East

30. 'Wantok' is a terminology for a social system of sharing between family relations. The high pressure to share wealth, discourage many individuals to want to succeed in accumulating additional resources.

Lake Tegano, East Rennell World Heritage site, Solomon Islands. © Anita Smith



Rennell Council of Chiefs was functional. With increasing pressures to engage with the cash economy, internal disputes over land ownership and increasing Church authority, the effectiveness of this system started to falter. The Council of Chiefs was largely made up of elderly men who lived from the land. Though the Council still had some local traditional authority over land ownership, they possessed little Western knowledge. Instead, a younger, entrepreneurial and Western-educated group of men was starting to dominate East Rennell politics. In many instances these men were considered to only have land user and not land owner rights. Nevertheless many gained local support through the running of small businesses and livelihood projects largely instigated by New Zealand Government through NZAid. This power shift created a gap in inclusive decision making structures.

With an increasing reliance on the cash economy, linking sustainable livelihoods to the management of the World Heritage property became essential, with potentially co-management providing an opportunity for developing an alternative process. Community-conserved areas often end up changing to co-managed protected areas to attract external support (Mulongoy and Chape 2004, p.18). Transferring the management model from community-conserved to a co-managed or 'shared governance' model by non-government and/or government organisations can help to move a project forward, by attracting funding, technical and legislative support (IUCN 2008). This paper briefly looks at an attempt by external organisations to work with local people to implement a governance model in ERWHS while simultaneously supporting sustainable livelihoods and conservation of site values. The premise of this approach being that; to sustainably manage a protected area inhabited by people, local sustainable livelihoods cannot be separated from conservation.

Project background

Following inscription of the property in 1998, a locally based and appointed East Rennell management committee, linked to the Solomon Islands national and provincial governments, was developed with assistance of NZAid. Two local coordinators were appointed to implement livelihood projects including eco-tourism lodges and small food-outlet businesses. The New Zealand support ceased with civil unrest in the Solomon Islands in 2001. In 2006 UNESCO World Heritage Fund provided funding for a consultant, Laurie Wein to develop a Plan of Management for East Rennell, the *East Rennell World Heritage Site Management Plan, 2007* with the communities of East Rennell in 2006 in fulfilment of the requirements set out by the World Heritage Committee with its listing of East Rennell in 1998.

In 2007 to implement the management plan, the Solomon Islands Government sought support from Australia through the Australian Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities (DSEWPaC) which in turn received funding from AusAID's Pacific Governance Support Program (PGSP) for the project '*Strengthening Management Capacity in the East Rennell World Heritage Area*' (see McMahon this volume). The project provided for the placement of two Australian volunteers (Australian Volunteers International) on East Rennell, a Management Advisor and an Eco-Tourism Advisor for 18 months between 2008 and 2009. They were the first advisors and westerners to move to the island under the World Heritage programme. This paper is written from one of the advisor's points of view who simultaneously conducted social-science research on the local engagement process.

On arrival the advisors consulted local people, government officials and Non-Government Organisations (NGO) representatives. Twenty-eight individual interviews and 19 open meetings were held at each of the four lakeside villages, engaging some 200 local participants and 10 external key organisational representatives. These meetings aimed to ascertain people's aspirations and concerns, and to form partnerships and educate people about World Heritage and governance. The approach of engaging the various stakeholders from the start to solve problems co-operatively was seen as essential to enable effective co-management to occur (Seixas and Davy 2008; Stoll-Kleeman and O'Riordan 2002; Stolton *et al.* 1999).

Consultation results & analysis

Initial interviews found considerable confusion and misconceptions about the meaning of and responsibilities of World Heritage listing. Instead the World Heritage listing provoked internal power conflicts over expected benefits. The need to resolve these conflicts was seen as critical. Most stakeholders identified the lack of a strong coordination as crippling the World Heritage programme's management implementation. It was also found that there was a general lack of local leadership and reluctance to become involved in World Heritage activities without payment. Further, the Council of Chiefs was viewed by many Rennellese as ineffective or dysfunctional. Though the people of East Rennell did not wish their current social systems to be undermined – the Church culture and local landholder rights – these systems were viewed by many as not being able to provide adequate economical opportunities.

Though the concept of linking conservation with traditional ecological knowledge and practices is an accepted co-management approach internationally (Devin and Doberstein, 2004; Emerly, 2000), it proved of limited applicability to East Rennell. The consultation revealed little evidence of sustainable utilisation practices or customary conservation management, especially in relation to wild food harvesting. Several Renellese talked about how abundant their resources were in the past, which meant that they did not have to worry about managing certain species for their long-term survival. However, most Renellese believed that this situation had drastically changed and that now their natural resources were under threat. Increased pressure of the cash economy together with increased natural disasters such as cyclones and rising water levels of Lake Tegano, were mentioned as the main causes.

Many informants expressed their frustration at the absence of tangible benefits for the local people as 'compensation' for 'going with World Heritage' and not pursuing logging and mining as did the people of West Rennell. There was also a fear that people from West Rennell would migrate to East Rennell once their own lands were destroyed through these practices, and place greater pressure on already fragile food resources. Lack of food security was identified as a major issue facing local people, as was the need to develop

sustainable income generating opportunities. The community also identified the lack of government and NGO financial and logistical support as a major project defect. Despite the Solomon Island's government recognising the need for their involvement, there has been little action due to a lack of capacity and jurisdiction over customary lands. All of East Rennell is under customary land ownership.

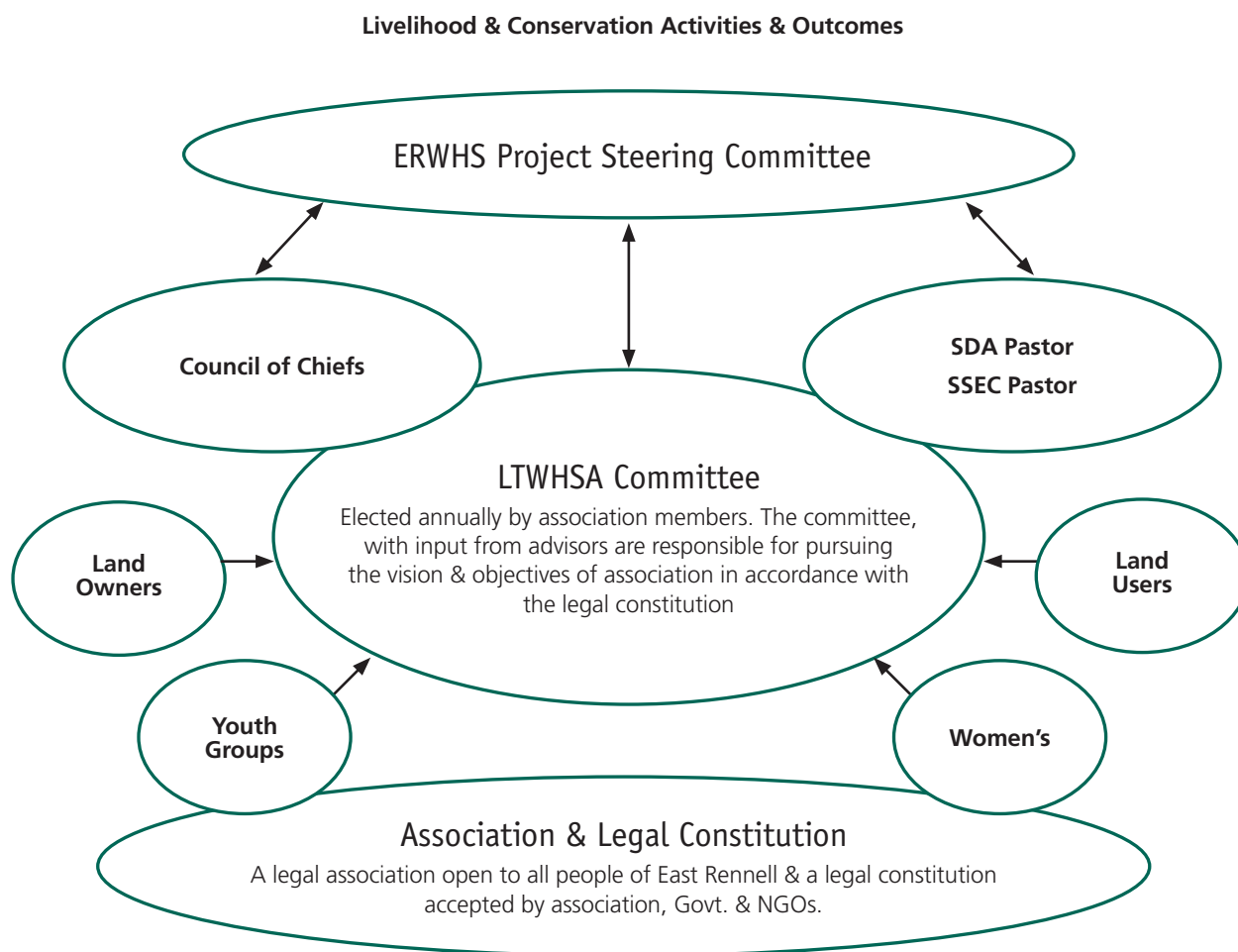
From the interviews it was deduced that the community may benefit from a livelihoods rather than an eco-tourism officer as recommended by the Management Plan (Wein, 2007) to focus on securing access to reliable food sources rather than livelihoods and conservation simultaneously from the start (Berkes, 2007). Reliable access to food would also decrease the need for over-harvesting of the 14 bird species, some of them rare, which are regularly hunted as one of the few remaining protein sources. The interviews also revealed that no single institution in the Solomon Islands can ensure effective protected area management. At the time of this research, there was no legislative framework and/or national governance for protected areas in the Solomon Islands (see update from McMahon this volume). Given the limited capacity and authority of government, NGOs can play a key support role in shared governance of the property, particularly in the initial stages.

The proposed community management model

Local people have knowledge about their resources but this does not necessarily mean that systems of governance should be traditional (Ostrom, 2005 in Agrawal, 2007). This view was also supported by interviewed number of Rennellese. Also 'successful commons governance requires that rules evolve' (Dietz *et al.* 2003, p.1907). In view of this, the needs and suggestions of relevant stakeholders were considered together with international 'best practice' methodologies to develop a governance management model for ERWHS, while building on existing local rules.

Only a limited number of studies of Pacific protected area governance were available as models and none were from the Solomon Islands (e.g. see Bertzky and Stoll-Kleemann 2007; Agrawal and Redford, 2006, Overton and Scheyvens, 1999). Though the wider literature provided broad-scale management strategies, such as the need for participatory approaches (Seixas and Davy, 2008; IUCN 2008; Ribot, 2002 in Agrawal, 2007), there was relatively little literature on 'how to' implement governance models effectively in protected areas at the community level.

What could be concluded from the literature was that the governance and management model or ERWHS must be robust: support and promote conservation and livelihoods and provide the foundation for long-term benefits to the environment and the community. It also requires clear coordination between stakeholders, flexibility and transparency and provides a single voice through which the community could engage with governments, NGOs and the interna-



tional community. Long-term and multiple partners who bring their relative strengths to the partnership was also considered an essential element of community-based conservation (Berkes, 2007). Therefore a community, NGO and government-recognised East Rennell association with an elected committee and legally registered constitution was trialled as the first step in the long journey of attempting to link conservation and sustainable livelihoods. Key elements of the Lake Tegano World Heritage Site Association (LTWHSA) include:

- community elected versus appointed representatives
- equal representation of all four villages
- the inclusion of women, youth, land owners and land users
- two advisory sub-committees made up of Council of Chiefs and Church representatives
- a steering committee that includes non-voting government representatives, NGO advisors and elected trustees who oversee the running of the association (see Fig. 2)
- Six weekly committee meetings followed by community feedback by committee members.

The ERWHS Community Engagement Model

The potential advantages of this governance structure for the community that traditional models alone could not provide include:

- facilitation of communication between community and funding agencies, NGOs and government to form foundations for long-term organisational support
- development of an agreed and robust constitution to guide and refer to at times of conflict
- greater transparency and accountability in the implementation of projects especially projects which involve donor funding
- increase the opportunity for the people of East Rennell to obtain direct project funding for World Heritage projects.

Community support for this model was evident in 70 per cent of the community voting for the new Committee. Many people were eager to establish the Committee so that with the assistance of the international advisors the community could access monetary and non-monetary

incentives to support management of the World Heritage site. This included local employment, small-business development and support in protecting and maintaining local resources. Programs implemented by the advisors included the establishment of a World Heritage office, casual employment and training of local rangers and World Heritage educators. The advisors acquired and implemented funding grants and started to form partnerships with NGOs who could assist in the implementation of livelihood and conservation projects such as; agricultural and small business training and support and local ranger programme development. At the same time scientific research begun into the rapidly falling numbers of Telapia fish from Lake Tegano, which had been the main protein source for the East Rennellese.

Some less successful outcomes were also documented. Many conservation and livelihood NGOs working in the Solomon Islands lack the funding and the skills required to commit long-term to projects. At the local level, within the LTWHSA the self interest of some elected members became apparent. Internal conflict escalated when a select group were chosen to undertake training in Australia. The advisors observed that this bred jealousy, resentment and suspicion. The approach was also in direct opposition to the 'grass-roots' community engagement strategy that the advisors had been using which focussed on managing community expectations, ensuring acceptance in the community and distributing funding more equitably.

Other issues that arose included being unable to equitably hire local counterparts for the advisors to train due to internal rivalries and mistrust by funding agencies. Release of funding from AusAid and the European Union requires a high level of financial accountability. More than 18 months was also required to adequately train and employ local, untrained people to be able to effectively and transparently perform the complex role of 'coordinator'.

Conclusion

It is envisaged that if intensive external assistance to ERWHS is to continue it will be required for at least the next 10 years to ensure this participatory and local capacity building approach operates effectively and encourages development and maintenance of external partnerships. Long-term partnerships, funding and on-site professional coordination will be essential to make the project viable. Adequate time and coordinated support for expatriate and local staff will be needed to continue to build on the strong foundation of the association, by training the committee, local trainee advisors (managers) and rangers in how to manage a protected area. Having professional on-ground

staff will also be essential in linking community needs with national and international agencies and their multiple conservation and livelihood objectives.

How successfully the East Rennell community can achieve sustainable livelihoods while managing the values for which their place has been inscribed for is debatable, particularly as there are very limited tourism and cash generating opportunities through management of the World Heritage property. The pressing issue of a lack of reliable food source, particularly protein, makes conservation a lower priority for the East Rennellese. In addition, unless the values of the property are considered threatened, it can be difficult to garner support. In this situation, the ability of a programme such as World Heritage to improve local livelihoods is questionable. Exacerbating this is the fact that the property was initially judged as being able to be effectively managed under traditional structures. In reality the increasing cash economy needs will require external support to help effectively manage the property while simultaneously support sustainable livelihoods.

It remains to be seen whether the proposed ERWHS Engagement Model can be successful as a vehicle for linking conservation and livelihood objectives in East Rennell and how it will evolve over time through both local community and outside influences (see McMahon this volume). Such a model does however have potential to give ownership of projects such as this to local people and to gradually build in the direct and in-direct conservation benefits that increased livelihood standards can bring. Accountability and transparency under the current Polynesian tribal *wantok* obligations system will be difficult to achieve over the long-term. The lack of government jurisdiction and adequate NGO and funding agency support is also of real concern. The sporadic support for the project since its World Heritage listing together with the high expectations of benefits by the local Rennellese people, means that even with the highest level of support and the 'best' governance and management structures in place, the project has a high risk of failing.

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Kasia Gabrys and members of the community of East Rennell at an Association Formation Meeting, Niupani Village, East Rennell, 4 October 2008. © Mike Heywood



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Australian Capacity Building Support for East Rennell World Heritage Area 2007-2013

International Heritage Section, Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities, Australian Government

Following completion of the *East Rennell World Heritage Site Management Plan, 2007*, developed by consultant Laurie Wein and the communities of East Rennell 'through participatory processes in late November and December 2006' the Solomon Island's Government requested support from the Australian Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities (DSEWPaC) to address the recommendations outlined in the management plan. DSEWPaC received funding from AusAID's Pacific Governance Support Program (PGSP) to implement the project '*Strengthening Management Capacity in the East Rennell World Heritage Area*' which was designed around the Plan's recommendations and delivered via partnerships with Queensland's Wet Tropics Management Authority and Solomon Islands based NGOs WWF and Live and Learn Environmental Education, and through two Australian volunteers (Australian Volunteers International) based at East Rennell (see Gabrys this volume).

Outcomes of the PGSP project included establishment of a new community association and committee for management of the property (*Lake Tegano World Heritage Site Association*), enhanced awareness and skills to support community-based governance and decision making, and World Heritage and natural resource management and monitoring. DSEWPaC and project partners learnt some clear lessons during the implementation of PGSP Activity. Lessons included managing community expectations regarding benefits from World Heritage listing, encouraging a more realistic understanding of the opportunities World Heritage listing can bring, managing community expectations regarding access to training opportunities, encouraging participation without payment, maintaining regular contact with the communities, distributing information widely in the communities, and empowering the communities with ownership of their own stories.

The PGSP project was completed in 2009, however fortunately for continuity there was no break in support for East Rennell. Live and Learn Environmental Education was able to continue to assist the East Rennell community, including providing support to the Lake Tegano World Heritage

Site Association, through further funding obtained from the European Union to continue activities until 2011. During this time, in order to maintain the continuation of support to East Rennell and the Solomon Islands Government, DSEWPaC sought and was successful in obtaining funding under AusAID's PGSP successor the Pacific Public Sector Linkages Program (PPSLP) for the project: *Strengthening World Heritage & Protected Area Governance: Solomon Islands & PNG* from 2011-2013.

DSEWPaC designed the new PPSLP project in consultation with the Solomon Islands Government, Rennell Bellona Provincial Government, the Lake Tegano World Heritage Site Association and project partners, heeding the lessons learnt from the PGSP project. The PPSLP project aims to strengthen the capacity, performance and effectiveness of national and provincial governments in the Solomon Islands and PNG for World Heritage and protected area governance and natural resource management, and to assist customary landowner communities to become strong and resilient via effective stewardship of their land and the natural resources on which they rely.

To support sustainable management of East Rennell and more generally assist the Solomon Islands in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, the PPSLP project is assisting the development and/ or implementation of:

- World Heritage Convention (eg reporting to World Heritage Committee)
- national and provincial protected area legislation
- customary landowner enforcement of protected area regulations
- an East Rennell management agreement between community & government
- community heritage based development (livelihoods activities) and
- partnerships and information exchange between Pacific Island countries.

Village on the edge of Lake Tegano East Rennell World Heritage site. © Kate McMahon



Achievements to date include:

- DSEWPac in partnership with the Wet Tropics Management Authority delivered a training workshop In June 2011 to assist Pacific Island countries in the completion of Periodic Reporting for UNESCO. Four Pacific Island Countries (PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Kiribati) attended the training and submitted their completed reports to the World Heritage Centre on time.
- A State of Conservation Report for East Rennell was submitted to the World Heritage Centre in February 2012, the first the Solomon Islands has submitted a State of Conservation Report since inscription.
- The Solomon Islands National Commission for UNESCO appointed new World Heritage Focal Points in the Ministry of Environment, Climate Change, Disaster Management and Meteorology and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
- Live and Learn Environmental Education has been engaged to deliver community heritage based development activities including supporting the Lake Tegano World Heritage Site Association management committee, and implementing livelihoods and heritage promotion activities.
- The Lake Tegano World Heritage Site Association elected new management committee in October 2011.
- Two East Rennell community members and an official from the Ministry of Cultural and Tourism were amongst a group of Pacific Islanders from Vanuatu, PNG and the Solomon Islands supported by the PPSLP project and the Kokoda Initiative that attended the Pacific Asia Indigenous Tourism Conference in Darwin, March 2012 and 'look and learn' visits to Kakadu and the Tiwi Islands, where they experienced community owned indigenous tourism products.
- The Solomon Islands has enacted the Protected Areas Act 2010, which includes provisions for the protection of World Heritage. The Ministry of Environment is currently seeking gazettal of East Rennell under the Act.

Community as the First C: Conservation and Development through Tourism at Chief Roi Mata's Domain, Vanuatu

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The importance attached throughout the Pacific region to Indigenous ownership, stewardship and management of cultural heritage is reflected in New Zealand's 2007 "Proposal for a 'Fifth C' to be added to the Strategic Objectives", which insisted on the critical role of community in heritage protection (World Heritage Committee, 2007). The absence of a role for community in the 2002 Budapest Declaration on World Heritage (World Heritage Committee 2002), which proposed the first four "Cs" (Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building ['in States Parties'] and Communication), could not be sustained either in countries with a vibrant Indigenous voice, such as New Zealand, or in those countries where local communities retain a significant degree of political autonomy, such as Vanuatu and other independent Melanesian nations (Ballard and Wilson, 2012).

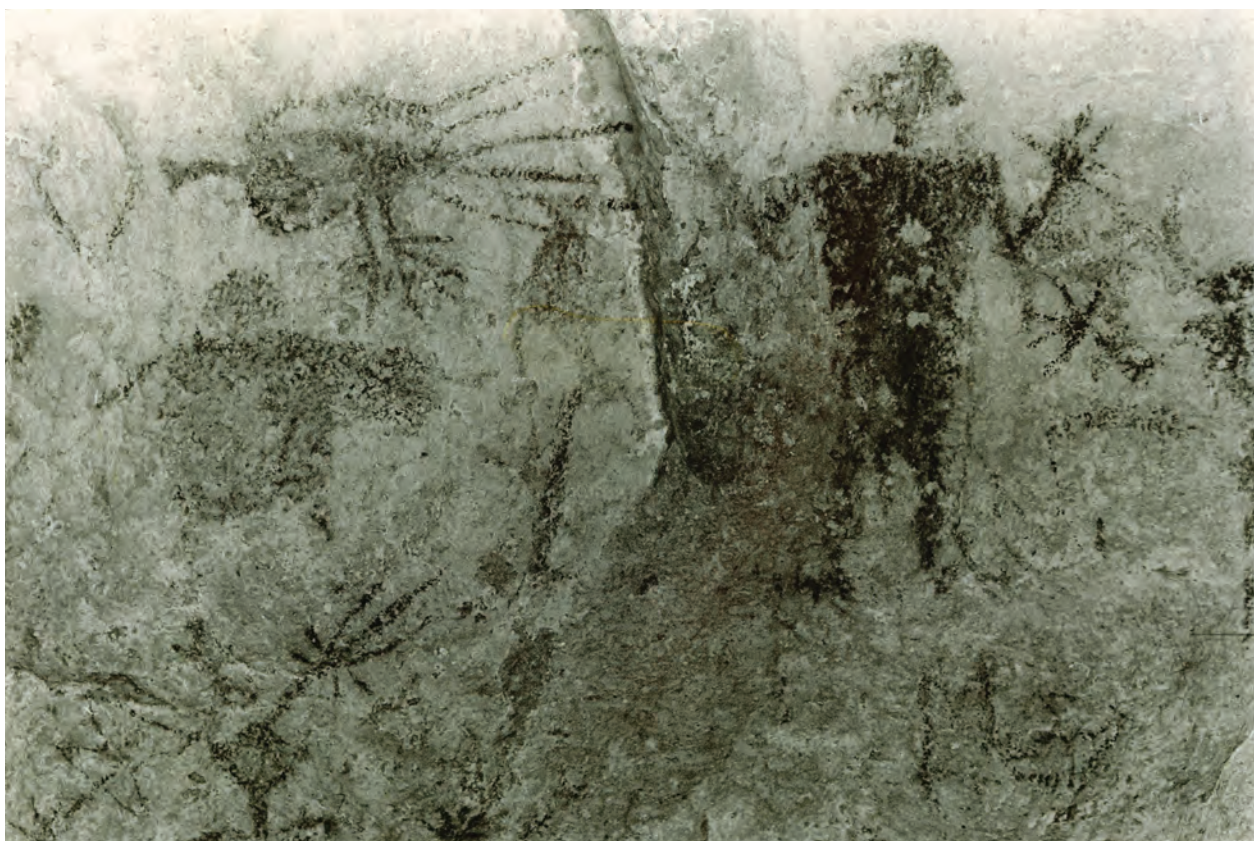
Where a local community is the primary repository of the knowledge that furnishes a site with much of its meaning and significance, that community is thoroughly implicated in the protection of its own heritage. As the "Proposal for a 'Fifth C'" submitted, 'Heritage protection without community involvement and commitment is an invitation to failure', and the viability of the other four "Cs" hinges upon the commitment to its cultural heritage of the local community: 'Conservation, capacity building, credibility and communication are all intrinsically linked to the idea of community' (World Heritage Committee, 2007:2).

This central role for community is strongly evident at the World Heritage site of Chief Roi Mata's Domain, a continuing and associative cultural landscape in the Republic of Vanuatu, inscribed under criteria (iii), (v) and (vi), where the local Lelema community has taken the lead in the nomination process and in post-inscription management of the site (Wilson, Ballard and Kalotiti, 2011). In 2011, three

years after inscription and with assistance from the Australian Pacific Public Sector Linkages Program, the State party established an inter-departmental World Heritage Advisory Group, which acts largely in support of community agencies and initiatives. From the inception of the Chief Roi Mata's Domain project, the community has placed particular emphasis on the importance of a locally-owned and -managed cultural heritage tourism operation. Our understanding and appreciation of the role of this tourism operation as a business and as a potential force for conservation has evolved over time, to the point where we now contend - given the prevailing social, political and economic conditions at Chief Roi Mata's Domain - that tourism is a necessary and integral element in the long-term and sustainable maintenance of the site's Outstanding Universal Value.

The literature is replete with cautions about the potential for negative impacts of tourism on cultural heritage (Russo 2002, Shackley 2006). Not unlike the old joke about librarians welcoming members of the public except when they use books, cultural heritage tourism commonly features as a necessary evil, to be managed 'sustainably', at best. The emphasis is unidirectional, with tourism impinging or imposing upon a static and finite resource (Hall 2009: 118); managers at World Heritage sites are cautioned to promote forms of tourism that 'tread lightly' (Bandarin 2002), to minimise the tourist footprint on fragile and internationally significant heritage sites and thus ensure their longevity. Cultural commodification and compromised authenticity are frequently cited as direct consequences of poorly managed tourism. Concerns have also been raised about the potential for World Heritage and tourism to override or efface Indigenous and local community rights and interests (e.g. Johnston 2006: p.122), but this perspective assumes the domination of tourism by corporate industry or the state, and largely denies the agency and aspirations of local and Indigenous communities.

Rock art at Fels Cave, Chief Roi Mata's Domain. © Photograph by Kirk Huffman, May 1978, courtesy of Vanuatu Cultural Centre



Writing against the tendency of this 'tradition of melancholia' to treat the effects of tourism on indigenous communities as inevitably inimical to culture and tradition, Tate LeFevre has shown how indigenous managers of cultural heritage on the New Caledonian island of Lifou 'use tourism performance as a way to proclaim their Kanak culture globally in order to keep it strong locally' (2007, p. 89). Lifou communities achieve this goal by controlling the representation of their own culture and the nature and extent of their engagement with mass tourism. The success of this approach to tourism was powerfully evident recently, when one of the authors watched the Wetr Dance Troupe performing first for cruise ship tourists visiting Lifou, before continuing to perform late into the afternoon for themselves and the remaining local stall-holders, long after the last of the tourists had departed for their ship. While we must remain sensitive to the challenges posed by tourism, and by the requirements of global business standards and expectations, we need also to be alert to the opportunities for both conservation and development presented to local or Indigenous communities through their engagement with tourism.

Community at Chief Roi Mata's Domain

For a World Heritage site, Chief Roi Mata's Domain is physically unimposing. A narrow stretch of coastline along the north-western shores of Vanuatu's capital island of Efate is linked to the large inhabited island of Lelepa and the smaller and uninhabited nearshore island of Artok by a triangle of intervening sea. Each of the islands features a

location associated with the life and death of the sixteenth-century paramount chief, Roi Mata: his residence at Mangaas, on Efate; the site of his death at Fels Cave, on Lelepa; and the gravesite at which he was buried with as many as 300 live subjects, on Artok. Since that time, no one has lived on Artok, and no one has dared to lay claim to the title of Roi Mata.

Decision 32COM 8B.27 on Chief Roi Mata's Domain refers to 'the continuing association of the landscape with the oral traditions of Roi Mata, continuity of chiefly systems of authority and customary respect for the tangible remains of his life evident in the continuing tapu prohibitions on these places' (World Heritage Committee, 2008). Each of the elements of this statement alludes to the ongoing role of the Lelema community in the definition, interpretation and further development of the significance of the site. For the community, the 'value' of the landscape is more cogently expressed through the local concept of nafsan natoon, 'the talk that is', and the injunction to live one's life walking 'in the footsteps of Roi [Mata]' (nalfan Roi).

Articulating these two systems of value is the metaphor, increasingly in use amongst those involved in the Chief Roi Mata's Domain project, of the stool with three legs: land (or graon in Bislama, the lingua franca of Vanuatu); community (pipol); and customary stories (storian). All three components contribute to the value of this cultural landscape, and the continued vitality of each component is essential in sustaining that value. Conservation of the

Community as the First C: Conservation and Development through Tourism at Chief Roi Mata's Domain, Vanuatu

material landscape and of significant locales, development of the community (including its health, food and water supply, education and economic opportunity), and the continued transmission of stories and other forms of customary knowledge and practice are challenges of equal importance for the future of Chief Roi Mata's Domain.

Stewardship for Chief Roi Mata's Domain project has been provided at a national level by the Vanuatu National Museum and Cultural Centre, but limits to the resources available for a project of this scale and duration, as well as the fundamental autonomy of local communities in Vanuatu, have made community participation a virtue born of necessity. Douglas Kalotiti was the Cultural Centre's fieldworker for northwest Efate, a resident of Lelepa, and a member of the family that claims ownership of the three core locations of Mangaas, Fels Cave and Artok. He assumed an early leadership role in the nomination process, and became Chair of the local World Heritage and Tourism Committee, the first community committee charged with overseeing the management of World Heritage matters, including tourism. Until his untimely loss in April 2011, Douglas epitomised the commitment of the community to the management of its own cultural heritage, ensuring that the nomination truly reflected local values, and representing the community and the Republic of Vanuatu at the 32nd Session of the World Heritage Committee in Quebec, at which Chief Roi Mata's Domain was inscribed on the World Heritage List. He was also the first member of the project to grasp the intrinsic relationship between community development and heritage conservation, conducting his own census of the community and audit of land holdings in order to demonstrate, in weekly community talks, the importance of long-term land-use planning. Community representatives remain at the heart of management of the World Heritage site, dominating the membership of the national-level Vanuatu World Heritage Advisory Group, co-ordinating site management and conservation, craft production and water security, and running a community-owned cultural heritage venture, Roi Mata Cultural Tours, and a programme of bungalow development.

Tourism featured early in discussions with the Lelema chiefs and community, who were keen to see financial benefit accrue from their commitment to the World Heritage project. During 2004 and 2005, as the project was being initiated, three different international reality television shows paid handsomely to use the landscape, story and community of Chief Roi Mata's Domain as a backdrop, introducing a particular model of cultural heritage as a resource. Drawn by this international profile, real estate developers involved in the boom in long-term leasing of customary land across Vanuatu began to show increased interest in the Chief Roi Mata's Domain area (Slatter 2006). Preliminary payments, often illegal, were made to a large number of customary landowners in the Lelema community as a first step in acquiring 75-year leases, which are commonly subjected to sub-division for residential development for expatriate investors (Trau *et al* n.d.).

Roi Mata Cultural Tours

The short-term 'windfall' incomes associated with the brief sojourns of the reality television shows established a largely unrealistic standard for cultural heritage tourism at Chief Roi Mata's Domain. The model of a small-scale, slow-growth tourism venture generating limited income for a restricted portion of the community, preferred by the Cultural Centre and its volunteers, was never going to match expectations, and is still frequently the focus of frustration expressed about the slow pace of local development.

During 2005-06, an Australian volunteer, Carly Greig, developed the first tourism plan for Chief Roi Mata's Domain through a series of community workshops (Greig 2006). The principal outcome of the workshops was an action plan for establishing the Roi Mata Cultural Tour, premised on vision statements from members of the community: '[The tourism project] is a dream that each person gathered here shares, just as we share our Church, our school and much more. It encourages us to have more respect for our own cultural strengths'. The ideals expressed in these statements are of a tourism operation that serves to unite the community, bring benefit to all, improve health and education services, protect the region's natural and cultural heritage, and provide for future generations. It is from this baseline that the relative success of the Roi Mata Cultural Tours venture is assessed locally.

Roi Mata Cultural Tours is entirely owned, managed and staffed by members of the Lelema community, operating under the umbrella of the Lelema World Heritage Committee. The tours depart from the Roi Mata exhibition at the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, where photographs and texts describe the basic story of the life and death of the last holder of the Roi Mata title, and some of the grave goods from the Artok burial are on display. A re-enactment of Roi Mata's peace-making ceremony is staged on the beach at Mangaas, before visitors are guided through his residential precinct; they then travel by small boat to Lelepa Island, where they are shown Fels Cave and its remarkable gallery of rock art; and finally they cross the short sea passage to the forbidden or tapu island of Artok, to visit the grave site, marked by two large headstones. As the story unfolds, and we learn the details of his life and deeds, the nature of his death, and the astonishing drama of his burial, the landscape becomes animated and suffused with an awareness of the extraordinary power of this singularly charismatic chief, reaching across four centuries to guide the manner in which members of the Lelema community conduct their lives today.

Interpretation of the site remains a significant challenge for the tour. The Lelema community has had little practice at articulating or explaining those values to an outside audience of widely varying familiarity with Pacific conditions and cultures. While Fels Cave is physically impressive, and its rock art visually striking, the residential site of Mangaas and the grave site on Artok require interpretation for visitors to begin to appreciate their significance and their possible form 400 years ago, when Mangaas was the site

Douglas Kalotiti training community tour guides at the grave of Roi Mata, Artok Island, 2009. © Alison Fleming



of massive region-wide peace ceremonies, and Artok the scene of a mass burial without parallel in the Pacific. Disappointment is an occasional response from those tourists insufficiently prepared with interpretation. Maintenance of the quality of the tour, and further elaboration of the interpretive programme, including an illustrated guide book and a revitalised dramatisation, is essential for the tour to realise its full potential.

Demand for the tour has fluctuated with seasonal flows, changes in the status of Vanuatu within the global tourism market, and challenges inherent in the management and marketing of the tour (Trau, 2012). Irregular flows in business see many of the tour's trained guides seek more dependable employment elsewhere. The slow pace of growth of the tour as a business, while a boon for the development of interpretation and the training of community participants, has been an enduring source of frustration for many, and especially for the chiefs, who are under relentless pressure to deliver economic opportunities to the community. Growth in the tour is unlikely to result from an increase in the number of tourists per group, which is capped in the Cultural Tourism Strategy at 10 per tour, but there is certainly room for increase in the frequency of tours and for improvement in quality (and thus some increase in the scale of fees charged).

Nevertheless, approximately one-third of all adults of the Lelema community have been involved in the tour, as managers, trained guides, dancers, cooks, craft-makers and -sellers, boat operators and drivers. Tour-related salaries and profits may disappoint, but they have been relatively widely distributed across the community – certainly by compari-

son with most other income-generating initiatives in the community. A programme of bungalow development in conjunction with the tour has been designed explicitly by a local committee to ensure that those benefits continue to flow as broadly as possible within the community.

Beyond its narrower business function, the tour has expanded upon existing modes of cultural transmission and refocused attention on nalfan Roi, on walking in the footsteps of Roi Mata, within the community. Particular attention has been paid by community leaders to the potential of World Heritage and the tour venture to encourage an understanding and appreciation of local tradition amongst younger generations, and special tours have been arranged for the community's school-age children. The site and the tour have also captured the interest of the national Department of Tourism, whose Director, George Borugu, has assumed the position of Chair of the Vanuatu World Heritage Advisory Group and announced plans for an annual national Roi Mata Festival.

Amongst the ancillary benefits of the tour are the stimulation of customary craft production, such as the weaving of baskets based on nineteenth-century Lelepa artefacts held in museum collections and the carving of two metre-high standing slit gongs, which are being made again for the first time in over a century and used in tour performances. Traditions, such as the carving and use of traditional canoes, and the rhythms of slit-gong performance and choreography of dancing, are being revived and re-interpreted; the troupe of dancers on which the tour draws for its dramatization has developed a reputation of its own, performing in 2010 at the Dreaming Festival in Australia.

Most importantly, perhaps, World Heritage tourism at Chief Roi Mata's Domain has demonstrated the potential of at least one financially viable alternative form of land use to land-leasing, albeit of a different scale and duration. One of the authors returned from a recent international conference on Indigenous tourism in Perth, convinced that land leases offer the single greatest threat to the integrity of the community and to the future of its cultural identity.

Conclusions

Is cultural heritage tourism necessarily inimical to the Five Cs? In the case of Chief Roi Mata's Domain – and presumably many other sites either in developing countries or under indigenous management and stewardship – tourism is neither an inevitable threat to conservation nor a challenge to some commonly assumed "pristine" condition. To the contrary, it is potentially a vital component of community-led conservation and an important opportunity for the enhancement of cultural transmission and revival.

Community-owned and -managed cultural heritage tourism at the World Heritage site of Chief Roi Mata's Domain now forms an integral part of the overall management and conservation of the site and its values. Regarded as essen-

Community as the First C: Conservation and Development through Tourism at Chief Roi Mata's Domain, Vanuatu

tial initially by the community in exchange for reserving portions of its land holdings for World Heritage rather than other land-use options, tourism at Chief Roi Mata's Domain is both more and less than a business. The Roi Mata Cultural Tours enterprise may always be less financially successful than it might otherwise become in the hands of others and, like all projects involving income generation, it will always be implicated in local and national politics, but its functions and influence extend far beyond the simple logic of income generation. Wisely managed, the tour is a force for conservation and the enhancement of cultural heritage values, providing a structured process through which the community can manage and ensure the transmission of those values. Tourism will continue to play a significant role in the landscape of Chief Roi Mata's Domain because the local community constitutes an integral part of the landscape; because the community controls and is the key to the unfolding interpretation of the landscape; and because the community's self-development requires some contribution or return from its investment in interpreting its landscape for the global community.

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ABOVE & RIGHT: Chief Roi Mata's Domain Vanuatu. © Vanuatu National Cultural Council

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Chief Roi Mata's Domain, Vanuatu. © Vanuatu National Cultural Council

The Ancient Royal Tombs of Lapaha: Community and World Heritage

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Lapaha is a village community of around 2200 people in the Hahake (eastern) district of Tongatapu in the Kingdom of Tonga. It is the location of an ancient royal dynasty headed by the holder of the paramount Tu'i Tonga title, which held political authority over the dispersed islands of the Tonga Group during the 2nd millennium AD and influenced other parts of the Pacific such as Samoa, east Fiji and Wallis/Uvea Island. The royal tombs of the Tu'i Tonga were included on Tonga's Tentative List in 2007, and this paper outlines community involvement in the cultural heritage of Lapaha including recent progress on the nomination of the ancient burial structures to the World Heritage List. Community management of Lapaha's heritage sites is central to their preservation with continuing use of the ancient tombs for burial of senior title holders involving ceremony and ritual dating to the Tu'i Tonga chiefdom. The traditional burial practices demonstrate the continuing cultural significance of the royal tombs to Tongan society, which is strongly hierarchical and consists of kings, chiefs and commoners. The tombs are also emblematic of the ancient Tongan kingdom that was the only Pacific society to extend significantly to other archipelagos and islands.

Chiefly precinct of the Tu'i Tonga

Over centuries the landscape of Lapaha was densely built up through the construction of the stone-lined tombs (*langi*) of the paramount chiefs, an administrative area located on reclaimed land on the edge of the lagoon, occupation areas used by groups from other Pacific Islands, along with prehistoric roads, canoe docks, ditches and chiefly bathing wells. The number, scale and condition of ancient sites represents a daunting cultural heritage challenge for a small and dispersed island nation.

The centerpiece of the Tu'i Tonga 'capital' were the royal tombs that signaled the prestige of individual chiefs, with the tombs collectively manifesting the power and authority of the ruling lineage that held control of Tonga from AD 1200 until AD 1865. The tombs were built of beach rock slabs quarried from coastal locations throughout Tonga,

and are among the most spectacular prehistoric constructions in the Pacific with individual stone blocks weighing up to 50 tons (Clark *et al.* 2008).

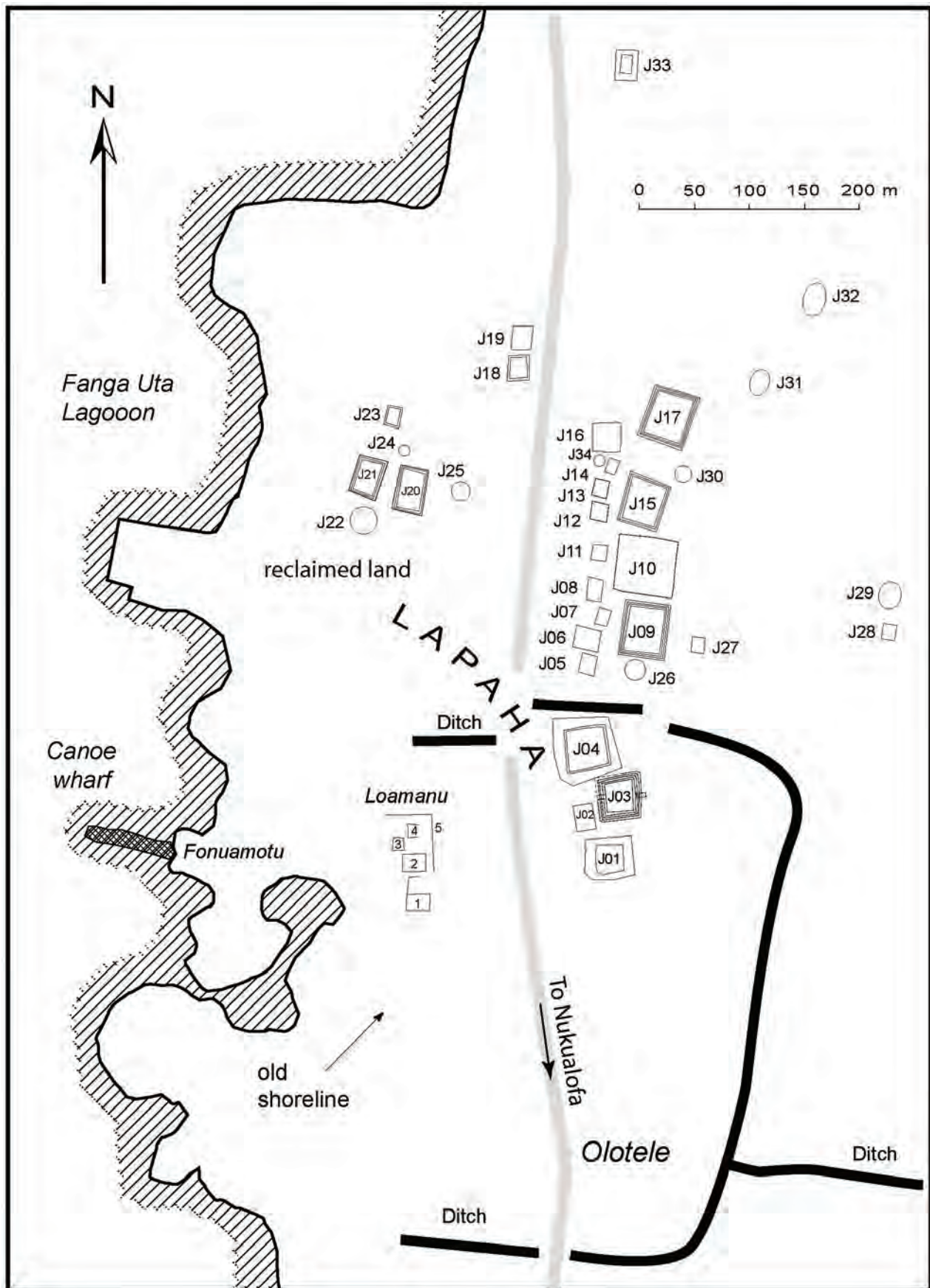
The stone-walled tombs are part of the contemporary cultural landscape as the tombs are used today by the senior title holders of Lapaha as they have been for centuries. The tomb area was also the scene of the annual First Fruits (*inasi*) ceremony where tribute from throughout the Tonga archipelago and neighboring Pacific Islands was brought to Lapaha. The close connection at Lapaha between the tangible heritage and the intangible culture is common in many parts of the Pacific, but is particularly strong at Lapaha where the scale and density of monuments in the chiefly precinct combines with hereditary roles relating to the Tu'i Tonga era that continue to structure existing community organization and behavior (Figure 1).

Community organisation

In 2007, the Lapaha community established the Lapaha Council Inc., which was the first representative village council in Tonga to combine democratic selection of council members with elements of traditional governance. The move toward a town council arrangement began in the 1980s under the traditional owner, and gathered pace in 2006 with funding to support the new governance structure from the Commonwealth Secretariat. The adoption of a Council structure was made to engage directly with policy makers and donors to improve community conditions and was not associated with the potential WH nomination of the site. Nonetheless, the Lapaha Council Inc.'s mission statement highlights the importance of cultural heritage to community well being:

The people of Lapaha, the ancient capital of Tonga, shall preserve and enhance its pride and identity of its royal and cultural heritage through improving its physical, spiritual, social and cultural environment. Lapaha Council Inc. community presentation 2009.

The Lapaha Council committee comprises 33 members: three members from each of the six land blocks, each village committee and subcommittee contributing one member,



Map of Lapaha showing the main Tu'i Tonga sites. Royal tombs ('J' structures), area of reclaimed land, ditches, canoe wharf and harbour (partially infilled).

the traditional land owner (Honourable Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili), Patron (Princess Mele Siu'ilikutapu Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili) and the Town Officer (Mr Nivaleti Melekiola).

Physical sites of the Tu'i Tonga era are managed by the Council Standing committees dealing with *Development and Environment* (Lands subcommittee) and *Information and Research* (History subcommittee). Within Lapaha the division of land is considered by the Lands subcommittee and if cultural sites are known, the land owner is asked to preserve these prior to land registration. As of 2011, all land owners had agreed to look after (i.e. not destroy or damage) cultural sites on their property. A high level of voluntary action regarding the preservation of cultural sites is consistent with the results of a 2009 Lapaha Council survey which revealed that 90 per cent of respondents highly valued Lapaha's historical sites.

Community management of the monuments and prehistoric structures of Lapaha is important as there are limited resources for implementation of the two national laws currently regarding the management of Tonga's tangible cultural heritage. The Parks and Reserves Act 1976 is administered by the Ministry of Lands, Survey, Natural Resources and Environment (MLSNRE), which has responsibility for cultural sites in all 'parks' and 'reserves'. The majority of royal tombs are in the hereditary estate of the traditional land owner (*The Act of the Constitution of Tonga* 1875) and are not explicitly the responsibility of the MLSNRE. The second law is *The Preservation of Objects of Archaeological Interest Act* 1969, which is administered by the Tonga Traditions Committee (TTC). The TTC has made significant contributions to the collection of traditional history and documentation of Tonga's intangible culture (Wood-Ellem, 2001:272), but the Act does not provide the direct means of preserving or managing archaeological sites (Mahina 2003). The implementation of an effective heritage site management programme is made difficult in Tonga, as is the case in many parts of the Pacific, by the limited human and financial resources (Mahina 2003; Smith and Jones, 2007), particularly of large and complex monumental sites like those in Lapaha.

World Heritage at Lapaha

Tonga became a signatory to the *World Heritage Convention* (1972) in 2004. Despite Tonga's limited cultural heritage resources the promotion of the *World Heritage Convention* and placement in 2007 of Lapaha's royal tombs on the Tentative List has been important in creating a focus for heritage activity at Lapaha. The Lapaha Council Inc. and the Tongan government have engaged with foreign researchers and heritage experts to better understand the World Heritage concept, and to think about how sites of the Tu'i Tonga chiefdom can be managed and preserved by, and for, the community and Tonga.

Given the relative lack of capacity the preferred route to advance a WH site nomination has been to assemble an informal network composed of local leaders, academics

and government officials overseen by the Lapaha Council Inc. This allows for local management of the sites and for knowledge and information about World Heritage to circulate appropriately through community structures.

Significant actions to date include an MOU (2010) between the Lapaha Council Inc., Tonga Traditions Committee and The Australian National University to work together on the WH cultural sites dossier, rezoning of residential land around several tombs to preserve several sites and enlarge buffer zones, the relocation of the Catholic Cemetery to reduce damage to prehistoric tombs caused by a high density of modern burials, and the restriction of new interments in ancient tombs to appropriate titleholders to maintain traditional burial practices.

Local community involvement in the nomination process is also exemplified by an oral history project. As land blocks are generally owned in perpetuity by a particular family much historical information about the cultural landscape has been retained by Lapaha residents, but it is dispersed through the community and is often specific to a single location or land block. In 2011, the Lapaha community began a project to record the oral histories of Lapaha with financial support from the Australian Government. The information will be held by the community and will provide material to support the connection between the physical remains of the Tu'i Tonga chiefdom and the contemporary community in the WH nomination. A pressing issue at Lapaha is an urgent need to restore several of the largest tombs that have deteriorated significantly over centuries from wall damage caused by erosion and vegetation growth with a funding proposal to restore the tombs submitted by the MOU participants in 2011.

Conclusion

The monuments at Lapaha speak to a time when the local inhabitants were preeminent in Tonga and the region, and the Lapaha community is proud of its unbroken connection with the Tu'i Tonga chiefdom. The opportunity to promote and preserve the tangible cultural heritage of Lapaha through WH nomination coincided, fortuitously, with the traditional leaders and Lapaha Council Inc's. goal of using cultural heritage to strengthen community identity and an international research project on the physical remains of the Tu'i Tonga chiefdom. Progress with the nomination has been made in many areas with issues of cultural heritage actively managed by the Lapaha Council Inc. Greater community involvement with WH either through attending ICOMOS/IUCN/UNESCO events or participating in local and international heritage workshops/meetings would actively support site management and lead to a deeper understanding of the *World Heritage Convention* (i.e. Smith 2011). Increased heritage support for communities involved in nominating sites would greatly benefit the region's cultural properties and the preservation of future sites on the World Heritage List by increasing the local heritage expertise in Pacific Island nations.

Preparation by the undertaker clan for the burial of the late Kalaniuvalu in April 2010 in the tomb Paepae'o'telea, reputed to have been built by the 29th Tu'i Tonga Uluakimata (Telea). © Geoff Clarke



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Community Participatory Approach to Heritage Conservation in Samoa

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Samoa became a state party to the World Heritage Convention (the Convention) when it ratified the Convention in 2001. The Convention was seen as an important tool for the protection of cultural and natural heritage of 'outstanding universal value' and most importantly in facilitating international cooperation and collective assistance to assist at the national level.

The Ministry of Natural Resources & Environment in partnership with other government ministries and organisations namely the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, NGOs, National University Samoa, Samoa Tourism Authority, Ministry of Works & Infrastructure and UNESCO Apia Office have been working towards coordinating activities under the Convention the identification, protection and conservation of Samoa's natural and cultural heritage sites.

In 2004, the Government endorsed the National Heritage Conservation Policy. The aim of the Policy was to provide a framework for the sustainable management of Samoa's natural and cultural heritage through (i) the promotion of a close and consultative relationship between government and relevant stakeholders on the issue of heritage and heritage preservation; and (ii) to ensure continued beneficial community access to heritage sites while enhancing the economic advantages of heritage conservation. The latter one focuses on community consultations where community input becomes the determining factor. The emphasis is on enabling local people to play an active role in their own development, being well informed on issues and be involved in the decision making process. The advantage of community participation comes across in the understanding it encourages local populations to appraise and analyse their own situation and recommend solutions.

Following the approval of the Policy, the Ministry of Natural Resources & Environment as the leading agency re-activated the National Heritage Coordinating Committee (NHCC) in 2005 to commence work as outlined in the policy including national efforts towards awareness campaigns with schools and villages, and community consultations with the general public on the Convention and the importance of safeguarding Samoa's natural and cultural heritage.

Preparation of the Tentative List

As a requirement of the Convention, Samoa commenced preparation for the Tentative List in 2006 which was completed in December 2008. This included an inventory of key sites of natural and cultural heritage in Samoa. Preliminary field visits were conducted by the NHCC to key sites considered by the committee as having potential values to be considered under the World Heritage List. Dr Anita Smith from La Trobe University was commissioned to conduct the analysis of sites and to assist the Committee with the preparation of the report.

The two sites considered in the Tentative List – Fagaloa Bay – Uafato/Tiavea Conservation Zone as a mixed property and Manono, Apolima and Nuulopa Islands as a cultural landscape. The two properties were selected based on information gathered from preliminary consultations with selected groups whilst conducting the national heritage inventory of all the sites in Samoa. This was followed with a series of community consultations on a much wider scale with the communities closely tied to the selected sites of Uafato, Tiavea, 4 villages in Manono Island and Apolima.

These consultations were mainly to explain the Convention, the process of nomination and the criteria for outstanding universal value and in particular on the following issues:

- Affirm agreement of the communities on the implications that nomination to the World Heritage List may have in regard to their use of resources and non-traditional development, tourism and infrastructure;
- Confirm how resources in the sea and on land are allocated;
- Identify the relationships between the people and the environment and how they have developed over time;
- Document traditional ways in which people have used the land and the sea;
- Gather anthropological data on current and historic settlement patterns as an expression of the *fa'a Samoa* (Samoan way);

Members of the Samoa National Heritage Coordinating Committee participating in development of Samoa's Tentative List in 2006.
© MNRE Samoa



- Confirm traditional stories about the landscape;
- Document the relationship of crafts to the forest and conservation values;
- Finalize boundaries and establish buffer zones and
- Undertake comparative analysis of the two sites to determine their claims to have Outstanding Universal Value.

Community Consultations in the development of Samoa's Tentative List

A series of community consultation were conducted with all the villages within the selected sites (Fagaloa Bay-Uafato/Tiavea Conservation Zone & Manono, Apolima, Nuulopa Islands) since the start of the work in 2005 to August 2011 prior to the 4th Pacific World Heritage Meeting that was hosted by Samoa in September 2011. The consultations were held at different stages of Samoa's preparation towards meeting its obligations under the WHC. The first initial consultations with the high chiefs and the village council from the Uafato and Tiavea villages (which have direct land ownership of the forest conservation area) were complicated at first given the history of previous environmental projects that involved the villages. The chiefs were quite reluctant to allow any discussions between the Committee and the villages due to issues associated with commitments made in the past between other environmental bodies and the villages. As such, the chiefs were suspicious of the Government's interests and intentions with the forest conservation areas.

However, after several meetings with the high chiefs to explain the purpose of the Convention and the Government's commitment to conservation of native forests, the high chiefs and the village council finally gave their approval for the NHCC to commence preparations for community consultations involving the village council, women's groups, untitled men and the youth.

Community consultations with the Manono, Apolima and Nuulopa Islands also took several separate meetings involving the mayors from each of the 4 villages in Manono Island and Apolima. These meetings were negotiated through the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development which holds direct portfolio over village affairs and the involvement of village mayors. The negotiations with the mayors and high chiefs from the islands of Manono and Apolima were comparatively simple than negotiations with Uafato and Tiavea village. A series of community consultations were then arranged separately for the Manono villages and Apolima Island. These consultations involved all the high chiefs, village council, women's groups and youth.

As a matter of courtesy and cultural protocol, it was important that official communications with the village mayors and council of chiefs were channelled through the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development, which are responsible with village affairs and community developments. The village mayors come under the direct supervision of the Internal Affairs Office (under this Ministry). The experience from these negotiations and consultations reaffirms the need for government authorities and other

interested stakeholders to respect cultural protocols and the importance of achieving community participation and consent in the early stages of the negotiation process.

Community Consultations after the submission of Samoa's Tentative List

In 2011, three years after the submission of Samoa's Tentative List, the Committee conducted another series of community consultations with the selected sites (Fagaloa – Uafato/Tiavea Conservation Zone and 4 villages in Manono Island and Apolima Island in relation to the following:

- Revisit process of the Tentative List in order to review and re-confirm status and decisions endorsed for selected sites;
- Discuss issues relating to the ecological importance and cultural significance of sites, management, future developments/plans etc.
- Discuss conservation and protection measures and the level of support and commitment from the communities.

The programme started with the normal traditional protocols including the *ava* ceremony, exchange of oratory proficiency by the *matais* (chiefs) followed by presentations by the NHCC on the Convention and Samoa's preparation for nomination in the World Heritage List. A feature highlighted in the presentations was the commitment and management efforts from the communities (as custodians of the land and resources) to ensure the conservation of heritage sites/properties. There were many discussions on the process of nomination including the integrity and authenticity of the sites selected.

The Community Participatory Approach

Samoa's unique culture and its way of life (*faasamoa*) is manifested in a variety of cultural practices whether it be in a welcoming *ava* ceremony, celebration of a new church (*faaulufalega ma le taalolo*), bestowing a chiefly matai title (*saofai*), the funeral of a high chief (*maliu*), village council meetings (*fono a matai*) or the start of a new community-based project and all revolve around fostering community participation. The community participatory approach in village affairs stems from the fact that Samoa has a strong

tradition of respecting local knowledge and allowing village fonos (councils) to undertake the role of local governance.

Community consultations or community participatory approach is used in any meetings between the villages and other parties and it is a process that is well respected in Samoa as it allows decisions and plans to be undertaken by local communities while at the same time, recognising the authority of the village council to address their own village affairs. The emphasis with this type of participatory approach is placed on empowering the local people to become active and more involved in their own affairs.

In Samoa's village settings, the matais (village council) holds the power and authority to direct change, to enforce village protocols and give directions to the village. This allows for maintaining law and order within the village and for safeguarding and preservation of the village environment including land use, resources and community developments. This is the Samoan way based on the Samoan culture whereby the *matai* (chiefly) system presides over communal lands allowing families to live on communal lands owned and managed by their forefathers. With over 80 per cent of total land in Samoa under customary land ownership these communal lands remains the main source of wealth for Samoa representing family, identity, history and security – the reason why community consultation using a community participatory approach works well in Samoa and very much part of its culture.

The participatory approach encourages the key role that all stakeholders, women, youth, village matais and relevant groups play in heritage conservation and environmental management. Through community consultations, the villages and all its stakeholders (including women, youth and church leaders) become engaged in the discussion process to ensure that what was discussed reflects community views, needs and aspirations. Acceptance and ownership by the landowners and the community of Samoa's Tentative List are absolutely essential if the Government is to continue its commitment to nominate a site to the World Heritage List. The community consultations have always emphasized conservation of heritage and the principle that it should always involve a negotiated solution recognising the values of all the people involved.

World Heritage awareness raising and community consultation on Manono Island. Samoa. © MNRE Samoa



BELOW: Manono Island, Samoa. © UNESCO Apia



Samoan Women: Preservers of their cultural heritage

Luagalau Fo'isagaasina Eteuati-Shon, National University of Samoa

The cultural heritage of a Samoan is firmly ensconced in one's 'āiga (extended family) and all that effectively serves to uphold the family name. A Samoan's cultural identity is deeply ingrained in one's entitlement to family land, family chiefly titles, family alliances and active practice of reciprocity amongst family members.

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 defines intangible culture as 'practices, representations and expressions, and knowledge and skills which are transmitted from generation to generation and which provide communities and groups with a sense of identity and continuity' (UNESCO Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2011).

This definition validates the significant role women play in the preservation of Samoa's cultural heritage. Equally important is the fact that the vital role women play in conserving the natural and intangible culture in Samoa to ensure the continuity of the Samoan identity is an inherent human right.

Generally, when the role of women in the preservation of culture in Samoa is discussed, attention is focused on women's weaving and the products of this activity. This narrow perception may be attributed to the fact that these are commonly observed practical activities of women, the products of which are used in traditional ceremonial events. This short article, based on the author's experience growing up in Samoa, almost nineteen years of working with women in the community and literature review, serves to demonstrate the spectrum of natural and intangible culture in Samoa that women play a central role in preserving. It encompasses key roles of women as:

- Peacemakers
- Makers of Wealth
- Custodians and Practitioners of Traditional medicine
- Teachers of Cultural Etiquette and Language
- Custodians of family genealogy

- Promoters of family alliances
- Wearers of Tattoos
- Teachers of Cultural Performing Arts
- Conservers of the Environment
- Holders of chiefly titles

To fully recognize the real significance of the role of women in preserving the natural and intangible cultural heritage in Samoa, it is important to understand the status of women in the Samoan society and culture, from a gender perspective. Equally important is the understanding that the traditional status of women has undergone changes in response to western influences on the social and economic development of Samoa. However, such development has opened other opportunities for women in Samoa to utilize their traditional skills and knowledge. This view is supported by Dr. Peggy Fairbairn – Dunlop who argues that tourism development has given women opportunities 'for learning new skills and applying old skills in new fields' (Fairbairn-Dunlop 1994).

Status of Women in Samoa

When a girl is born, her position and status in her family is already established. When a boy is born, he has to earn his entitlement to a chiefly title. As the *feagaiga* (covenant with brothers), the *tama sā* (sacred child), *i'o i mata* (apple of the eye) of the brother, the traditional role of women in Samoa has always been one of honour and respect. Women have the same claim to family land and family chiefly titles as men. This perspective is positively espoused by Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa who asserts that 'this status has given women the choices of roles and responsibilities accorded them as Samoan women.' (Fairbairn-Dunlop 2000) In addition to their primary roles and responsibilities as mothers and wives, Samoan women have had the choice of traditional roles and responsibilities including as peacemakers, wealth makers and teachers. The skills and knowledge involved with these traditional roles and responsibilities have been passed down through generations to today's generation with the confidence that such a vital part of Samoa's cultural heritage and identity will be preserved through transmission to future generations.

With the increasing monetized economy of Samoa, women have expanded their choices and taken on new roles and responsibilities in addition to their traditional roles. They are now engaged in small business ventures including as market vendors, have become career women, have assumed the responsibility for village sanitation and hygiene as well as primary health care through village women's committees, are more actively involved in food production and have taken on the responsibility of spearheading a number of village development projects.

E au le 'ina'ilau a tama'ita'i: Gender Perspective

Literally translated, this means the row of thatching by women reaches the end. This saying originated from a Samoan legend which tells of a competition between men and women in thatching the roof of a chief's house where the row of thatching by women reached completion whereas that by men did not. In the Samoan societal context, this is translated to mean women are achievers in any and all activities in which they may choose to be engaged. This special honorific fundamentally encapsulates the gender dimension of the roles and responsibilities of Samoan women in all spheres of Samoan society including their role in preserving the Samoan cultural heritage, and is commonly used to recognize women's contribution. As mentioned earlier, women like men are rightful heirs to family chiefly titles and resources. They have equal opportunities as men to education at all levels, employment, health services and public office including as Members of Parliament.

However, the number of women Members of Parliament has remained disproportionately low since the inception of Parliament in 1962. To address this imbalance, the government has before Parliament at present a Bill to amend the Constitution to guarantee 10 per cent of seats in Parliament for women. This disparity has important implications regarding women's participation in the highest level of decision making in Samoa. A number of factors have been identified as responsible for the comparatively low number of women members of Parliament. As a person has to be a matai (holder of a chiefly title) to be a member of Parliament, one of the factors identified is the much lower number of women matai compared to the number of men matai. Although it is true that women matai make up only about 30 per cent of all registered matai, it is argued that there are at least 2000 women matai, yet in all Parliamentary elections to date, the number of women matai who have run as candidates has never been over twelve. Another issue raised regarding women's rights to participate in national decision making involves villages which do not allow women to be matais. To consider this issue in the proper context, only very few villages are implicated, perhaps twelve at the most out of 300 plus villages in Samoa, hence the decision making rights of women of only those very few villages are affected.

Pae ma Auli: Peacemakers

Women have always played a significant role in fostering peace within families and the village community. A woman is regarded as the *pae ma auli* (smoother and ironer), 'the one who straightens and irons or smooths over any frictions or problems within her *aiga*.' (Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa n.d.) Women have an innate talent in negotiating peace when there are differences within families. They bring into peacemaking a nurturing perspective which is a softer and more appealing approach. This role is immensely facilitated by women's status as *feagaiga* which not only give them the duty to uphold peace but also accord them the respect by other family members to heed their counsel. They are also given respect for leadership as chiefs within their families and wider village community. This role is central to sustaining social cohesion in families and community, the foundation of Samoa's cultural heritage.

An intrinsic role of women as peacemakers is their role as *togisala* (one who pays for the transgression) or redeemer for a serious action committed by a member of her family against a member of another family. This summons a humiliating act of asking for pardon or *ifoga* from the family of the victim of the offence.

Fai 'Oa: Makers of Wealth

Women have been long-established as makers of wealth in Samoa. In spite of the modern measures of wealth, the traditional yardstick of a Samoan family's wealth continues to be the number of the different types of mats a family has including the number of fine mats or *ie toga*.

The most valuable item of wealth continues to be the *ie toga* which is woven with finely stripped strands of the leaves of the softer variety of pandanus. This traditional treasure is used in all ceremonial exchanges between families and gifting from families to village chiefs, Church Ministers and dignitaries in occasions such as weddings, bestowal of chiefly titles and funerals.



'Le Samoa (traditional Samoan fine mat). Courtesy of Afioga Letuimanu'asina Dr. Emma Kruse – Va'ai.
© Tu'ifao Tumua, National University of Samoa

Women's creativity in designs woven into mats, dyes used, and methods of preparing the pandanus leaves have been incorporated into the skills of weaving mats including the fine mat and passed from generation to generation of young women. This ensures that the items of Samoan wealth and valuable traditional treasure of Samoa's cultural heritage are preserved.

Another important item in a Samoan family's wealth is the *siapo* or tapa cloth which was traditionally used for clothing. The introduction and use of modern day fabrics have replaced this use of the *siapo* which are now used only for ceremonial exchanges, gift giving and dance costumes. However, the skills and creativity of women in *elei* (*siapo* printing) demonstrated through the preparation of the *upeti* (carved design printing board), selection of the designs, preparation of the *u'a* (bark of the mulberry tree – the raw material used for the production of *siapo*) and mixing of dyes for printing the *siapo* have been preserved and transmitted for continuity. The art of *elei* making has now included the printing of fabrics in the place of *u'a*.

Due to the rising number of family occasions requiring fine mats and increasing cash economy, fine mats were hurriedly woven using wider strands of the coarser variety of pandanus. As a result, the traditional fineness, quality and dignity associated with the Samoan fine mat was replaced by coarse and poor quality mats. The traditional one fine quality mat for a family occasion was substituted with many coarse mats. An initiative by one of the women's non government organizations to return the Samoan fine mat to its traditional quality and dignity was taken on board by the government which since 2003 started a nation-wide programme involving women's committees in all villages to revive the weaving of the traditional Samoan fine mat with funding from the government budget.

The traditional family wealth of fine mats, *siapo* and other types of mats now have an economic value in Samoa's increasing cash economy, with the sale of these products to fetch additional revenue for families. In addition, women have utilized their traditional skills and cultural values of respect and hospitality to build successful business ventures, particularly in the tourism industry.

Taulasea: Custodians/Practitioners of Traditional Medicine

Traditional medicine is an integral part of the Samoan culture and way of life, and continues to be a very important part of the health care of Samoans, deeply rooted in the traditional perspective on the cause of illness and view of health, particularly in the social and spiritual domains. Women in Samoa have long been recognized as custodians and practitioners of traditional medicine that treat a wide variety of maladies, ranging from skin ailments to muscle disorders to internal ailments such as mouth and throat infections, digestive tract ailments, women's ailments and those of children, to supernaturally induced ailments like

possession. Traditional medicine is divided into three distinct parts: 1) herbal medicine which is commonly known and used without the assistance of a traditional healer; 2) massage and bone setting done mostly by men; and 3) medicine used by traditional healers who are specialists in diagnosing and treating more complicated and chronic ailments. Many of the women *taulasea* are also traditional birth attendants who have traditional skills and knowledge to deliver babies. Traditional birth attendants who have been recognized by the medical profession are utilized mostly in the rural areas. Women's knowledge of some traditional medicines are transmitted to other women, while certain traditional medicines are regarded as family secrets and therefore preserved and transmitted within these families.

The importance of the role of traditional medicine and the popularity of the use of traditional medicine to treat illnesses have resulted in the establishment of an official Association of Traditional Healers which is presently discussing with the Ministry of Health and Medical Profession ways in which traditional medicine can be effectively incorporated into the treatment of patients in hospitals.

Teachers of Cultural Etiquette and Language

Women in Samoa have always played the essential role as the first teacher of a Samoan child, passing on to them manners and behavior of respect such as saying please when asking for something, thank you when given something, to stoop and say *tulou* (excuse me) when walking in front of people, sit down and address older people and sit down when eating. As girls grow older, women teach them etiquette as demonstrated by the popular Samoan adage *E iloa le tama'ita'i Samoa i lana tu, nofo, savali ma le tau-tala*. As a guideline for young Samoan women, this maxim is translated to say a Samoan woman is recognized by the way she sits, stands, walks and talks. She must always carry herself with honour and grace, respectful of others and never to be excessively active or loud. This significant role of women in Samoa is central to the Samoan cultural heritage of upholding the honour of one's family.

A very important part of women's role as teachers of etiquette is the transmission of their knowledge of traditional practices such as the proper presentation of gifts at, and mixing of *'ava* (traditional ceremonial drink) for, ceremonial occasions.

Women also play a significant role in the teaching and continuity of the Samoan language. They teach proper conversational language, language of respect and language used in oratory by *tulufale* (talking chiefs). They teach when and with whom to use the different types of languages. Women's role in the transmission of language from generation to generation is vital as the fine distinction between the different levels of the Samoan language is central to understanding fundamental cultural values, beliefs, customs and cultural concepts which give Samoans their identity and shape their perception of the world.

Custodians of family genealogy

Women, like men, are custodians of family genealogy. Women's knowledge of family genealogies are central to family alliances and claims to family chiefly titles and family land. Women's role as custodians of family genealogies becomes essential when family titles and land are contested in the Lands and Titles Court in Samoa. Women's knowledge of family genealogies are preserved and transmitted to family members to ensure the maintenance of family identity and cultural heritage.

Promoters of Family Alliances

Although the choice of one's husband is nowadays an individual matter, women continue to play a significant role in promoting choices which strengthen alliances between families of high status. *Sema sou gafa* which translates to mean wait for the opportunity to establish your genealogy is a saying often used by women to influence young women to choose their husbands from families of high status. This role plays a vital part in affirming a Samoan's family identity and heritage.

Tattooing

By tradition, women do not perform tattooing in Samoa. However, as wives of the tattoo artists, they play a significant role in the tattooing process through their presence to provide mental support and words of encouragement to their husbands. In this role, a wife of a tattoo artist is addressed as the *meana'i tūa*. At the completion of a tattooing process, she is presented special gifts – monetary and in kind – by the family of the person whose tattoo has just been completed.

Traditionally, tattooing of women in Samoa was performed on women of rank only. However, the significance of the tattoo to a woman's cultural identity has resulted in the tattooing of any woman who chooses to be tattooed.



LEFT: Malu a le tama'ita'i Samoa(Samoan woman's tattoo);
RIGHT: Tatau a le tane Samoa(Samoan man's tattoo)
© Tu'ifao Tumua, National University of Samoa.

The designs and symbols used and part of the body to be tattooed are gender specific. Women's tattoos are confined to the upper part of the thighs to below the knees and the back of the hands, whereas men's tattoos are a full body tattoo from the upper back to below the knees. The choice of design and symbols used for both women and men are distinctive designs of a tattoo guild or family. Men's tattoos referred to as *tatau* (tatau) are a rite of passage and symbol of courage, whereas women's tattoos known as *malu* (shelter) is a symbol of honour as befits the woman's status of *feagaiga*.

Teachers of Cultural Performing Arts

Women in Samoa continue to make an invaluable contribution to the area of Performing Arts in Samoa. In music, the creativity of women as composers of cultural songs have been firmly established, with the skills in the use of language and knowledge of legends, cultural protocols and traditional practices. These same talents have been demonstrated in the art of Samoan Dancing in its various forms for both men and women, in addition to skills in effectively translating words of songs into dance movements. Young women have also made an important contribution by way of adapting contemporary dance movements to Samoan dancing. Many Samoan women have produced drama based on Samoan legends as well as current social issues.

Conservers of the Environment

In their role as traditional medicine practitioners, women play an active part in the preservation and replanting of medicinal plants in our environment. Similarly, in their role as wealth makers, women play an important function in the preservation of mangrove trees and swamps and other trees used to produce dyes for the printing of siapo as well as the planting of plants such as the mulberry trees and different species of pandanus that provide the raw materials for the weaving of mats and making of siapo. As members of Village Women's Committees, women continue to be responsible for the maintenance of clean village environments by enforcing health requirements for toilets, pig sties, traditional cook houses and participation in government's village beautification programmes.

Matai: Holders of Chiefly titles

Traditionally, chiefly titles of families were usually but not always bestowed on male members. However, a significant and increasing number of families have bestowed chiefly titles on women. Being bestowed a chiefly title is an honour on one hand and a position which carries many responsibilities on the other. With the exception of the very few villages which do not allow women to hold chiefly titles, women matai sit in the Village Council comprising all *matai* of the village, the highest authority and decision making body of a village. Equipped with skills in language, protocol and leadership, the active participation of women *matai* in this decision making forum and input on matters

discussed and decisions made regarding the administration and development of the village, are highly respected.

As *matai*, women have the same opportunity as men *matai* to run in the Elections for members of Parliament. Anecdotal evidence however, shows that women *matai* generally do not consider membership in Parliament as their calling, a stance which may explain in part, the low number of women running as candidates in Parliamentary elections to date.

Bestowal of *matai* titles on women, like that on men, affirm family lineages and claims to family chiefly titles and land.

Conclusion

The roles and responsibilities of women in Samoa as conservers and transmitters of Samoa's intangible cultural heritage are, without question, vital to the safeguarding and perpetuation of Samoa's and the Samoans' cultural identity. With the ever increasing external influences, Samoa's cultural values, beliefs, practices have inevitably undergone changes and some have even been lost. Fortunately, Samoa is characterized by pride in its *fa'a Samoa* (Samoan way of life) such that the essence of its intangible cultural heritage is vigorously protected. When faced with modern ideas and values, it takes what is useful and adapt them to Samoan values, practices and concepts and discards those that go against the grain of the *fa'a Samoa*.

Nonetheless, now more than ever, the onus is on women to ensure that in the practical translation of their roles and responsibilities as preservers of Samoa's intangible culture, their traditional skills, knowledge and innovativeness including new skills in traditional activities, traditional skills and knowledge in new fields as well as women's new roles and responsibilities, are effectively transmitted to, and embrace by, the younger generations. Only then can we be fully assured that the cultural heritage and identity of the Samoan society are protected and perpetuated and the importance of women's contribution to this key aspect of the *fa'a Samoa* duly inculcated.



Marshalese Weaving © USP Majuro Campus

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Apolima Island, Samoa included in Samoa's tentative list. © Anita Smith



Matai title bestowal gifts in Savaii, Samoa. © UNESCO/Naohiro Furutani





4

Building Capacity for World Heritage in the Pacific



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Building Regional Capacity for World Heritage in the Pacific Islands: toward a Pacific Heritage Hub

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The Pacific World Heritage 2009 Program was initiated under the World Heritage Committee's Global Strategy to increase membership and implementation of the Convention in those regions least or under-represented on the World Heritage List including the Pacific Island countries. Adoption of the Strategy illustrated that the World Heritage Committee recognised developing nations need support from the international community to enable them to effectively engage in the World Heritage process.

The independent Pacific Island countries have lacked the resources and expertise to nominate properties for inclusion on the World Heritage List and to manage not only places of outstanding universal value but their heritage places in general. Activities undertaken over the course of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme including the development of tentative lists and nomination dossier have the potential to act as flagships for heritage conservation, increasing awareness of and building institutional, community and individual capacities for the management of heritage places beyond the life of the World Heritage Committee's initiatives. However the extent to which these activities and the Program in general are successful in contributing to long term heritage conservation and management, and thereby providing a sustainable base for implementation of the World Heritage Convention is dependent firstly on whether skills imparted under the banner of the World Heritage programme are useful and relevant for communities and government agencies beyond the requirements of the Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 2011); secondly on the creation of local Pacific networks for sharing knowledge and skills; and thirdly on the availability of ongoing training and educational opportunities for transfer and development of professional skills in heritage conservation. This paper discusses mechanisms to address these three key issues that have developed over the course of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme, most notably through the evolution of the concept of a Pacific Heritage Hub, soon to be realised though its establishment at the University of the South Pacific.

The need to enhance the capacity of the Pacific Island countries to implement the World Heritage Convention was the

key driver in the World Heritage Committee's adoption of the Pacific 2009 Programme. The Committee was acting on findings of the Asia Pacific Periodic Report of 2003 (UNESCO, 2004a); a request from the UNESCO National Commissions of the Pacific Islands to the UNESCO General Conference in Paris in 2003 and the recommendations of the UNESCO meeting of Pacific Island countries in Apia in 2003³¹ for long term staffing and consultant support in the Pacific through a regional focal point in the UNESCO sub-regional office in Apia; increased efforts to share experiences with and learn from other countries and other regions of the world and for regional training opportunities to strengthen professional capacities in collaboration with regional organisations (UNESCO, 2004a:69).

The Action Plan (UNESCO, 2004b) to implement the Pacific World Heritage 2009 Programme, developed by representatives of Pacific Island countries at Tongariro, Aotearoa/New Zealand in 2004, advocated a regional approach to capacity building that would consider a range of means by which skills could be developed and knowledge shared to maximise benefits of training opportunities and activities. Threaded within the many proposed activities of the Action Plan were three key requirements:

- ongoing professional training and skills development within the region
- a regional network to share information, knowledge and skills
- a focal point to coordinate and facilitate heritage related activities in the region

31. World Heritage Capacity Building workshop for the Pacific Island countries was held at the UNESCO Office for the Pacific States, Samoa, in February 2003. The objective of the workshop was to build professional and institutional capacity of the Pacific Island Member States to promote the implementation of the Convention.

Specific activities listed in the Action Plan (UNESCO, 2004b) included a range of opportunities for people working in government agencies to gain general knowledge about heritage protection and management and for communities to gain skills in managing their heritage in the context of continuing customary land tenures and practices. These initiatives included the coordination of training and funding opportunities and information sharing through the creation of a permanent position of a World Heritage Officer for the region (UNESCO, 2004b) and the development of online technical training modules or programmes for people in the Pacific Island countries along the lines of the training programme for Pacific Heritage managers funded by UNESCO and produced by Australia ICOMOS and Deakin University, Australia in 2004 (UNESCO, 2004b Action 6.1).

Critical to long term capacity building under the Pacific World Heritage 2009 Programme was recognition that the small populations of Pacific, the great distances between many communities and their scarce resources limit the effectiveness of models of training and skills development used elsewhere and this needed consideration in the development of training programmes and opportunities. The most commonly used and arguably cost effective model for delivering training in the region, especially where funded by international donors, is through short intensive workshops that bring together representatives from different organisations, communities and countries for short training periods. Over the five years of the Programme techni-

cal assistance funded through the World Heritage Committee's International Assistance programme was provided for the development of tentative lists and/or nomination dossier and delivered through intensive workshops of in many Pacific countries including Marshall Islands, Palau, Federated States of Micronesia, Vanuatu, Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji. In almost all cases these workshops were not only the first introduction to the requirements for World Heritage nominations but the first step in the creation of a national heritage inventory, site recording and assessment processes that are well established in most developed countries. Although the knowledge of the World Heritage system provided by these intensive workshops has been vital for Pacific government agencies and communities who wish to engage in World Heritage listing processes, the extent to they also provided generic skills in heritage management to underpin listing processes and contribute to the underlying capacity of the region has been constrained by their narrow focus and limited time length. This is further exacerbated by the high turnover of personnel in government agencies in the region which negates the value of training programmes for individuals rather than those focusing on building institutional capacity. More generally, the effectiveness of ad hoc or once-off workshops as a means of providing skills training is questionable when they take place outside of or unconnected to a framework of ongoing planned and progressive skills development and transfer of knowledge (Smith, 2007). The creation of such a framework had been identified as a priority in the Pacific



Giovanni Boccardi of the World Heritage Centre Pacific addressing Pacific Island representatives at the Pacific World Heritage meeting in Maupiti, French Polynesia, November 2009.

Action Plan but unlike once-off technical workshops, funding for longer term training and professional skills development is not readily available through international donors or the World Heritage Committee's International Assistance programme. Alternate models for the provision of training needed to be identified if the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme was to contribute to addressing regional need for training in heritage conservation.

Between 2004 and 2011 six regional meetings were held as part of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme, funded by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in association with host countries Aotearoa/New Zealand (2004 and 2007), Vanuatu (2005), Australia (2008), French Polynesia (2009) and Samoa (2011). Each was attended by representatives of most if not all Pacific Island countries and some territories. The primary aim of each meeting was to bring representatives of the Pacific Island States together to provide an update on their progress against the Action Plan and to promote awareness and understanding of the Convention, the Operational Guidelines and the nomination process. Each meeting also included a capacity building component around a specific aspect of the World Heritage process for example 'management' which was the focus of the Cairns workshop in 2008 but not the opportunity for much needed training in practical heritage management skills. The regional meetings did however build regional capacity for heritage

conservation in other very important ways. Importantly, under framework of the World Heritage Convention, the meetings brought together people involved in natural and cultural heritage conservation many of who sit in separate government departments under different ministries in the Pacific Island governments. This sharing of knowledge and ideas was particularly important given the shared histories and heritage of many Pacific Island nations and that many Pacific Island communities do not distinguish natural from cultural heritage. Through the regular, almost annual meetings an informal regional network was established that includes people working in government agencies and non-government organisations responsible for the protection of heritage places, building on existing networks including the Pacific Islands Museums Association (PIMA) to become what is now known as the Pacific Heritage Network. This network provides an essential framework for sharing of professional knowledge and expertise within the region in association with non-government organisations including ICOMOS Pasifika (established in 2007 through the efforts of members of the Pacific Heritage Network), Pacific Islands Museums Association, Conservation Internationale, World Wide Fund for Nature, IUCN Oceania along with the inter-governmental regional organisations looking after heritage conservation – the Human Development Programme (Culture) of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) and the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP).



Small group discussion around a 'Pacific Heritage Academy,' Regional World Heritage Meeting, Cairns, Australia, 2008.

The regional World Heritage meetings also provided the opportunity for identification and discussion of issues in heritage conservation, and specifically capacity building, that are common throughout the region – in both the Pacific Island countries and territories – and potential pathways and priorities for addressing them. Participants consistently argued that at a regional level the most practical and economically sustainable approach to capacity building would be the integration of long-term systematic training within existing regional education programmes. However to achieve this, heritage conservation and especially cultural heritage conservation would need greater visibility and to be considered a priority by the leaders of Pacific Island nations.

The Pacific Islands Forum is the key regional inter-governmental organisation comprising sixteen independent Pacific Island nations. The Pacific Plan is the master strategy of the Pacific Islands Forum that guides the work of national governments, regional agencies and development partners to achieve the objectives of the Forum countries. The Pacific Plan as endorsed by Forum Leaders in 2005 and revised in 2007 includes under the strategic objective of Sustainable Development: Improved natural resource and environmental management (Objective 5) and Recognised and protected cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge (Objective 11). These two objectives, agreed by the leaders of Pacific Island countries provided the mandate for development of a strategy to build capacity in heritage conservation through the regional inter-governmental organisations.

Recent advances under the Objective 11 have culminated in a draft Regional Cultural Strategy (2010-2020) led by the Council of Pacific Arts and Culture facilitated through the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) that will be presented to the Pacific Ministers for Culture of the Forum countries for consideration by the Intergovernmental technical committee at the Pacific Arts and Culture conference to be held at the 11th Pacific Arts Festival in Honiara, Solomon Islands in July 2012. The Strategy identifies six priority targets to be addressed – Traditional Knowledge; Cultural Sites, Places and Spaces; Cultural Infrastructure and Institutions; Cultural Industries; Cultural Goods and Services; and Cultural Practitioners. Sitting alongside the Strategy is the complementary SPC Pacific Culture and Education Strategy (2010-2015) for strengthening culture in education that was endorsed by the Ministers for Education of the Pacific Forum countries in 2010. Goals in both the Cultural and Education Strategies aim to enhance understanding of local, national and regional histories, places and events are linked and complement each other. With these two strategies in place it will be possible to integrate the objectives and activities of the recently adopted second Pacific World Heritage Action Plan (2010-2015) (UNESCO, 2010) with the regional training and education strategies. The stated aims include the development of Heritage Conservation courses within the region's Technical Vocational Education Training (TVET) programme and the development of heritage programmes

in schools. The regional strategies locate cultural heritage conservation as a regional priority alongside environmental conservation and provide a framework and impetus for educational initiatives building awareness of Pacific Island heritage in general and generic skills in heritage management in the context of sustainable development thereby providing a foundation for implementation of the World Heritage Convention in the region. In this regard the strategies align with the objectives of the United Nations Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) programme, providing education that allows learners all levels of the education system, including community level, to acquire the skills, capacities, values and knowledge required to ensure sustainable development.

Together with the establishment of a regional network of skilled professionals, university level professional education and skills development opportunities within the region were a priority in the original and current Pacific World Heritage Action Plans. Small island populations coupled with limited resources mean that Pacific Island nations cannot individually train and support the development of the range of professionally qualified people whose expertise may be required in heritage management. However at a regional level and through the sharing of skills and knowledge this may be possible. At present there are no formal qualifications in cultural heritage management offered by universities in the Pacific Islands although there is limited training available in allied disciplines such as archaeology and planning and in environmental management. In general, Pacific Islanders who wish to obtain or to update professional skills in heritage management need to have the opportunity, the financial assistance and ability to study abroad at universities in Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hawai'i, Japan and elsewhere, severely limiting the numbers of trained professionals in the region and reinforcing the current reliance on non-local expertise. In response to a similar situation in the Caribbean Island nations, a long-term training programme focusing on cultural heritage management known as Caribbean Capacity Building Programme (CCBP) offers a professional training under the banner of UNESCO World Heritage. The programme offers a series of freely available online teaching modules with core training in the World Heritage Convention and a series of modules focusing on the various aspects of management including tourism, historic centres, cultural landscapes and natural heritage designed specifically for the Caribbean countries by a consortium of non-local universities. The Caribbean Capacity Building Program was discussed at recent regional meetings of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme as a model with potential in the Pacific region for providing a practical and relatively inexpensive mechanism for skills development under the umbrella of a 'Pacific Heritage Academy' (UNESCO, 2010 'Regional Activities').

The concept of a Pacific Heritage Academy emerged in response to needs identified by Pacific Island representatives at Tongariro 2007, Cairns 2008 and Maupiti 2009; responds to the call for assistance in the Appeal to the

World Heritage Committee from Pacific Island States Parties in 2007 (Pacific Heritage Appeal) (see Smith this volume) and is a priority regional action in the Pacific World Heritage Action Plan 2010 -2015. The concept of a Pacific Heritage Academy has evolved into the establishment of a Pacific Heritage Hub to strengthen and increase communication networks, coordinate training opportunities and bring together donors and projects – through the work of regionally based staff hosted by existing organization. In 2010 the Australian Government through its Funds-in-Trust held at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre supported a scoping study to further develop the concept of a Pacific Heritage Hub. The stated aim for the Hub is to ‘enhance and strengthen communication, coordination and the sharing of resources and knowledge among the Pacific World Heritage community, its international partners and supporting institutions ... build capacity across all facets of heritage management and strengthen the acquisition and effective dispersal of funds’ (Tierra Mar Consulting 2011:80). The study evaluated the sustainability of various funding mechanisms, models for the provision of training and networking tools and a potential host for the Hub in existing regional organisation. The study was discussed with Pacific Island country representatives at the Pacific World Heritage Workshop, Apia, in September 2011 and following this the UNESCO Apia Office contacted potential regional organizations to seek an expression of interest to host the Hub. The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) and the University of the South Pacific (USP), a consortium of 12 Pacific Island States with a main campus in Suva, Fiji responded to this call positively and based on an evaluation by TierraMar (2011), the hosting of the Hub will rest with the University of the South Pacific utilising its established capacity building and teaching function. The University’s internet network linking its satellite campuses in various Pacific Island nations provides a robust communication tool and infrastructure for training and networking activities.

The creation of a Pacific Heritage Hub aligns with a key output of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community’s Regional Cultural Education Strategy (2010- 2015) to have a Pacific Heritage Academy providing ongoing and sustainable training and coordination of heritage programmes. The moves towards general heritage skills development through schools and TVET, the regional technical training programme and professional skills development opportunities has prompted consideration of a Regional Pacific Heritage Certification and the development of an accredited training programme. The Pacific Heritage Hub is to be launched in 2012 at the 11th Pacific Arts Festival and will be housed within the Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture at the Suva Campus of the University of the South Pacific. Establishment funds also have been provided by the Australian Government.

Provided sustainable, ongoing support can be found through regional organisations and international partnerships, the Hub it will make a key contribution to building a solid foundation to support future World Heritage initiatives in local communities and governments. Although the need to strengthen underlying regional capacity and especially skills training was clear from the outset of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme, the pathway by which this could best be achieved was not. The Programme has indirectly created the pathway through providing the opportunities for discussion and networking that have led from initial requests for external funding to create a new World Heritage training programme, focal point and position for the World Heritage Officer to the embedding of professional training in heritage management and processes for communication and transfer of this knowledge within in regional education institutions and systems and local professional networks. The emphasis has shifted from World Heritage per se to building a foundation on which World Heritage initiatives may grow in future. In this new context the activities to promote and assist in the implementation of the Convention that are listed in the Pacific Action Plan 2010-2015 will make a valuable contribution to the capacity of communities and countries in the region to manage their heritage.

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ICOMOS Pasifika

ICOMOS Pasifika is the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee of the Pacific Islands created 2007 to further the conservation and protection of heritage places in the Pacific Islands. The first Board of ICOMOS Pasifika was elected in 2007 and comprises President, two Vice Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer and Secretariat who are heritage professionals from the Pacific region. The current President is Christophe Sand, an archaeologist from New Caledonia.

The Committee has several key aims:

- to raise awareness of the conservation of heritage places in the Pacific Islands amongst local, national and regional cultural organisations in the Pacific
- act as an expert body to promote regional cooperation amongst professionals involved in studies relating to heritage places in the region

- to provide a forum for discussion and for information exchange, regionally and internationally, on matters of principle and of technical, legal and administrative practice affecting the conservation of heritage places in the region
- and focus on the provision of information to the general public, traditional landowners and political organisations about the conservation of heritage places in the region.

<http://australia.icomos.org/get-involved/international-scientific-committees/icomos-pasifika/>



ICOMOS Pasifika meeting Kone, New Caledonia in 2010. Front row L – R: Tuliana Cirivakayawa (Administrator, Pacific Islands Museums Association), Marriane Tissandier (Conservator, Noumea Museum), Christophe Sand (President ICOMOS Pasifika), Adi Mere Ratunabuabua (Chair, Pacific Islands Museums Association) Antonio Ramirez (Guam), Suzie Yee Shaw (ICOMOS Pasifika, Fiji), Hon. Sir Albert Va'ea (Tonga). Back row L – R: Iliesa Butuivalu (ICOMOS Pasifika, Fiji), Tarisi Vunidilo (Secretary General, Pacific Islands Museums Association). © ICOMOS Pasifika

Safeguarding Nan Madol, Federated States of Micronesia

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In the centre of the Pacific Ocean off the shore of the island of Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) lies Nan Madol, the ruins of an ancient ceremonial centre, often referred to as the 'Venice of the Pacific', one of the largest and most spectacular archaeological sites in the Pacific. Nan Madol together with the site of Lelu on the island of Kosrae, comprise a serial cultural property submitted for inclusion in the Tentative List of the FSM in 2012.

The archaeological site of Nan Madol is composed of 95 small to large artificial inlets made mostly of basalt. The islets are scattered over an expanse of ocean covering roughly 1.5km x 0.7km adjacent to Pohnpei Island. Archaeological research indicates construction of the islets began around 500 AD. The Saudeleur Dynasty of chiefs expanded this initial construction until about 1200 AD. According to oral tradition the Saudeleur Dynasty was conquered

by Isokelekel, a young warrior from the islands of Kosrae located 480 km east of Nan Madol around 1500 to 1600 AD and the site was then abandoned. The complex of ruins is composed of palaces, temples, mortuaries, and residential sectors, with each of the 95 islets having its own name and associated oral history.

Nan Madol is testimony to the power of the Saudeleur Dynasty, and is considered a sacred place by local residents.

Following abandonment Nan Madol was left in a ruinous state and over-grown with trees, vines and bushes. In light of the importance of the site and the threat to the site posed by rising sea levels, the Government of the FSM requested UNESCO to provide assistance in ensuring proper conservation of the site and to prepare a management plan with a view to inscription of the property on the Tentative List of FSM.



Nan Madol, one site in the serial cultural property 'Ceremonial Centres of the Early Micronesian States: Nan Madol and Lelu' included on the Tentative List of Federated States of Micronesia in 2012. © Akatsuki Takahashi

Participants in Community Consultation on the Nan Madol Archaeological Site of Pohnpei November 2011. © Seiji Shirono



UNESCO has been assisting the Government of FSM in their efforts to safeguard Nan Madol with a view to a future nomination for inscription on the World Heritage List. The following results have been achieved:

- An information brochure on 'Nan Madol Archaeological site of Pohnpei; has been published with the financial assistance of Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Culture Heritage (JCIC).
- A consultation workshop on the safeguarding of Nan Madol was held in Pohnpei from 23 to 26 November 2011. The consultation provided the first opportunity for all key stakeholders to convene and discuss the safeguarding of Nan Madol. It examined issues relating to the Nan Madol safeguarding such as; i) community participation, ii) environmental management, iii) Pacific regional cooperation, iv) reconciling safeguarding and promotion for sustainable development, v) national strategy and action plan, as well as through field visit to the site. Through discussions, agreement was reached on a work plan, the neces-

sary resources and a timeline to prepare and submit a nomination. Commitments of further contributions to the work were made by the local leadership and community, the state and national governments, and by national and international Non-Government Organisations. The workshop was funded under the UNESCO/Japanese Funds-in-Trust and conducted in partnership with JCIC-Heritage.

- In January 2012, FSM submitted "Ceremonial Centres of the Early Micronesian States: Nan Madol and Lelu" to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre for inclusion on its Tentative List, to be nominated in the near future.

Building institutional and community capacity for World Heritage in Papua New Guinea: The Kuk Early Agricultural Site and Beyond

Tim Denham, La Trobe University, Australia

At the time of the inscription of the Kuk Early Agricultural Site (hereafter referred to as Kuk) in the World Heritage List in 2008, there was very limited institutional and community capacity or experience of World Heritage in Papua New Guinea. However, over the last few years some progress has been made in building capacity for World Heritage nomination and management within the country. Here, these recent developments are considered against the historical backdrop of the Kuk nomination process. As such, Kuk serves as a case study for the nomination and post-inscription management of World Heritage within developing countries, within the Pacific and beyond.

The Kuk nomination process

The early stages in the nomination process for Kuk were initiated in 1997 (Strathern and Stewart 1998), approximately a decade before its eventual successful nomination (Department of Environment and Conservation 2007; Muke *et al.* 2007). In 1997, Papua New Guinea became a State Party to the World Heritage Convention. The Department of Environment and Conservation (DEC) was mandated to be the implementing agency responsible for the nomination, management and protection of World Heritage sites within the country. However, this role was not clear to many working on draft nomination documents until the mid-2000s.

Up until this time, a variety of agencies and individuals took lead roles in the nomination of Kuk. The Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery (hereafter 'PNG Museum') initiated the nomination process in 1997 under the direction of Dr. Pamela Swadling (then Head, Archaeology Section, PNG National Museum; Araho 1998; Golson and Swadling 1998; Mandui 1998; Moutu 1998). Subsequently, and continuing until the early 2000s, the institutional focus shifted and the nomination process was led by Dr. Joseph Ketan (then at National Research Institute) and Dr. John Muke (then at University of Papua New Guinea and independent consultant), under the authority of the National Commission for UNESCO and with the guidance of the now-deceased Regina Kati (former Head, National Commission; Ketan 1998; Ketan and Muke, 2001). By the

mid 2000s, the nomination process was adopted by the mandated authority within the country, DEC, but it had already stalled.

All these initiatives, whether organisational or individual, were well-intentioned. However, there was a constant shift in focus with consequent dislocations and a loss of institutional memory. Namely, the nomination process was repeatedly associated with specific individuals or organisations, which often did not effectively communicate and co-operate with one another, or build upon previous work. Due to a lack of institutional leadership, by the mid-2000s there had been limited capacity building for World Heritage within the country and the Kuk nomination process was drifting.

The catalyst for re-invigorating the Kuk nomination, and more generally World Heritage in Papua New Guinea, was the National World Heritage Action Planning Workshop in Port Moresby in 2006 funded by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. The workshop was attended by: representatives of numerous government agencies, non-government organisations and individuals with responsibility for, or interest in, cultural and natural resources in Papua New Guinea; several provincial administrators (the highest-ranking civil servant within a province); UNESCO representatives from Paris, Apia and the National Commission in Port Moresby; and, a handful of overseas experts. The workshop was the first to inclusively and openly address World Heritage issues within the country. Significantly for subsequent developments, at this workshop DEC publicly assumed responsibility and became identifiable as the lead organisation for World Heritage within the country. There were several major outcomes of this workshop, including: an institutional framework and strategy were developed for the nomination and management of World Heritage sites within the country, a Tentative List of intended World Heritage sites for the country was formulated, and steps were taken to ensure the completion of the nomination of the Kuk Early Agricultural Site.

At the workshop, Dr. Tim Denham and Dr. John Muke were formally invited by the Department of Environment and Conservation to complete the nomination process,

Kuk Early Agricultural Site, Papua New Guinea, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2008. © Ian Lilley



which was urgently required in order for DEC to acquit its obligations to UNESCO. Dr. Denham's involvement arose from his archaeological research at the site (Denham *et al.* 2003), which built upon Professor Jack Golson's previous investigations (Golson, 1977). Dr. Denham was responsible for technical aspects and drafting of the nomination document; he worked on the nomination in a voluntary capacity. Dr. Muke's involvement arose because he was an archaeologist from the Wahgi valley who was well known to the Kawelka community at Kuk; he was responsible for community consultations and formulation of a draft traditional management plan.

Although ultimate authority for World Heritage within Papua New Guinea rests with DEC, initiatives at the provincial and community levels were instrumental in ensuring the successful nomination of the site. As with any issue associated with cultural heritage management within the country, there needs to be an alignment between national, provincial and local interests (Mandui, 2006). The Western Highlands Provincial government initiated a Kuk World Heritage Management Committee in 1998, which functioned in various guises until the early 2000s (Muke *et al.* submitted). The Kawelka have been strong advocates of protection of archaeological remains at Kuk, and their commitment enabled the drafting of management guidelines through close consultation with Dr. Muke's team (Muke *et al.* 2007).

Together with the assistance of various collaborators and contributions, the nomination was completed and submitted to UNESCO in 2007 (DEC 2007). In 2008, the Kuk Early

Agricultural Site was formally inscribed on World Heritage List at the 32nd Session of The World Heritage Committee in Québec City, Canada. Dr. Denham was present at that meeting as the sole representative for Papua New Guinea's nomination. The site was accepted as a cultural landscape under two criteria (UNESCO, 2009:169):

Criterion (iii): The extent of the evidence of early agriculture on the Kuk site can be seen as an exceptional testimony to a type of exploitation of the land which reflects the culture of early man in the region.

Criterion (iv): Kuk is one of the few places in the world where archaeological evidence suggests independent agricultural development and changes in agricultural practice over a 7,000 and possibly a 10,000 year time span.

Identifying the problems

Although the nomination of Kuk was ultimately successful, the historical review above highlights major institutional and operational problems within Papua New Guinea at every stage of the nomination process. These problems have become the focus of subsequent efforts to build institutional capacity within the country.

Foremost, the process highlights what had been a lack of leadership within the country on World Heritage. This largely resulted from individuals and institutions being unaware that DEC was the mandated authority for World Heritage. Different organisations operated in an ad hoc

Building institutional and community capacity for World Heritage in Papua New Guinea: The Kuk Early Agricultural Site and Beyond

manner in an effort to complete the nomination. DEC did not effectively adopt its mandated leadership role until the mid-2000s.

Following from the above, several key institutions with an interest in World Heritage within Papua New Guinea did not effectively communicate or co-operate. At various times in the development of nomination, different individuals or organisations took the lead with the nomination, only to be superseded by another. For various reasons, this often resulted in the marginalisation or alienation of those who had previously worked on the nomination. Consequently, there was a lack of co-ordination and co-operation among the few people with expertise or a professional interest in World Heritage within the country.

In part these problems were a product of governmental structures and spheres of responsibility at the national level. DEC was traditionally responsible for natural resources, whereas other institutions (such as the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery and the National Cultural Commission) were responsible for cultural resources. There had been limited co-operation across this cultural-natural divide in the past. Kuk had traditionally been viewed as an archaeological site and archaeologists undertaking research at the site had worked closely with staff at the PNG National Museum and Art Gallery. Even though Kuk was nominated as an organically evolved cultural landscape, institutional 'ownership' of the site was felt by those working in the cultural sector. This was in contrast to many other sites on the Tentative List, which although listed under mixed criteria were better-known for natural values.

The resultant problems were manifest in all sorts of ways. Sometimes, people who had previously worked on the nomination refused, or were directed not to assist those who had inherited the project. At other times, efforts to bring different stakeholders together failed because some refused to attend meetings or to participate constructively. These problems should not be personalised, namely they should not be seen as a failure of individuals to include or participate. Rather, these problems were institutional; they resulted from the lack of an institutional framework within the country that included and defined roles for different stakeholder groups involved in World Heritage, whether for the country as a whole, for specific sites, or for establishing linkages between local, provincial and national levels.

As a result of institutional failings and rivalries, completion of the Kuk nomination process relied heavily upon external expertise, drawn from either outside of the country or outside of a provincial or national institution. In part, this reliance reflected a lack of expertise within the country. In part, the reliance upon external expertise was a short-term solution for completing the nomination process for Kuk; those working on the nomination could work effectively free from institutional constraints. However, this failed to build effective capacity for management of the property following inscription in 2008 in key areas:

- a. The nomination process included institutional arrangements and agreements for management after inscription that DEC committed to, but of which it did not feel ownership. Indeed, it could be argued that at the time of submission in 2007, no-one within DEC felt ownership of the Kuk nomination, perhaps highlighted by the absence of anyone from DEC at the 2008 UNESCO World Heritage Committee meeting.
- b. The nomination was completed with limited engagement of DEC staff, or staff at other institutions within Papua New Guinea; namely there was no associated education, training or capacity building. The lack of capacity building was a dual product of time pressures and fiscal constraints. The final nomination document was to be submitted in early 2007 and was produced on a shoe-string budget that barely covered essential costs; it did not allow for any capacity building programmes.
- c. The nomination process was completed through the assistance of and engagement with the Western Highlands Provincial government; however, institutional links between provincial and national levels for managing World Heritage were at that time weak to non-existent.
- d. The nomination process required intensive engagement with local Kawelka land-holders at Kuk. This work was undertaken by Dr. Muke and his colleague, Mr. Jo Mangi. Dr. Muke had been visiting Kuk since the early 1990s, often with Professor Golson, and established strong links with the land-holders in the core area of the site. However, DEC had almost no visibility on the ground and had limited engagement with Kawelka land-holders.

Fulfilment of post-nomination requirements

The acceptance of Kuk to the World Heritage List in 2008 came with several recommendations and requests (UNESCO, 2009:168-170). A ready way to evaluate institutional and community capacity building for World Heritage within Papua New Guinea is to consider whether these requirements have been fulfilled. They are as follows (UNESCO, 2009: 169-170):

4. Recommends that the State Party submits by 1 February 2009:
 - a. the completed Management Plan and confirmation of its approval by the Kawelka landowners, and of its implementation;
 - b. progress with the establishment of Organic Law;
 - c. progress with designation of the property as a Conservation Area, and of the associated formal land management agreement with the local community for aspects of site management;
 - d. progress with the establishment of a formal memorandum of understanding between relevant national, provincial and local government authorities

and other stakeholders concerning management responsibilities on the ground and reporting lines;

5. Requests the State Party to provide a commitment to:
 - a. resource heritage management training for local people and appropriate local, provincial and national government officers;
 - b. putting in place planning policies to protect the wider setting and to extending the buffer zone as land tenure issues are resolved.

In terms of the recommendations, the management plan has not been completed (4a), and consequently neither has it been approved by the local Kawelka land-holders (4a) nor have its central tenets been incorporated into an Organic Law (4b). Indeed, only limited investigations to complete the management plan have occurred. The site has not been designated as a Conservation Area and a formal land management agreement has not been devised and approved by the Kawelka (4c). Lastly, and on a more positive note, memoranda of understandings, or equivalent, have been devised between DEC and the Western Highlands Provincial government and with principle Kawelka land-holders (4d). In terms of requests, there has been no training for local Kawelka land-holders, although there has been training of staff within DEC (5a). The formulation of planning policies has also been delayed (5b), although there have been periodic (approximately annual) monitoring visits to the site and liaison with land-holders and provincial authorities by DEC staff.

In sum, there has been very limited progress on key recommendations and requests following the accession of Kuk

to the World Heritage List. The majority of these shortcomings can be traced back to a lack of institutional capacity within the country to enable effective management of the site after inscription. Even though some institutional structures have been developed, these advances are offset by failures in implementation. The relative inaction in fulfilling these requirements in part stems from the way in which the nomination process occurred, as outlined above, and in part derives from the changing institutional context for World Heritage in Papua New Guinea since 2008, discussed below. Whatever the reasons, the momentum gained by the nomination process, including some opportunities for cementing advances at the provincial and community levels, has been dissipated.

Changing institutional context for World Heritage in Papua New Guinea

The institutional context for World Heritage within Papua New Guinea has changed dramatically over the last four years. The acceptance of Kuk to the World Heritage List generated much interest within the country, but has had only limited impact within government (including DEC) for which World Heritage remains a peripheral concern. Much greater changes have been initiated at the national level due to capacity building associated with the Kokoda Initiative, which has included a feasibility study for the preparation of a World Heritage nomination for the 'Kokoda Track and Owen Stanley Ranges' (mixed cultural and natural criteria). The Owen Stanley Ranges was included on the Tentative List in 2006. The feasibility of an Owen Stanley Ranges nomination is being advanced primarily through consecutive inter-



Intercutting prehistoric drains expose following archaeological excavation at the Kuk Early Agricultural Site, Papua New Guinea, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2008. © Tim Denham

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governmental agreements between Australia and Papua New Guinea. The area proposed for a future Owen Stanley Ranges nomination includes a very large area with high biodiversity values, a cultural site – the Kokoda Track, as well as archaeological evidence of human occupation dating to c. 45,000 years ago (Summerhayes *et al.* 2010). The Kokoda Track witnessed a battle between Japanese and Australian troops, assisted by Papua New Guineans, during World War II. As such the site has significance for Australia and Papua New Guinea and is a major source of tourism income. The Australian government has allocated substantial funding towards building community capacity for the Kokoda Track, with a view to eventual World Heritage nomination.

The funding resulting from successive Joint Understandings (2008 and 2010) between Australia and Papua New Guinea in regard to the Kokoda Track region (see Australia Kokoda Task force this volume) has had some effect on institutional capacity building at the national level. These effects are most marked since 2010, following the allocation of funds in regard to the Kokoda Initiative and the feasibility of the Kokoda Track and the Owen Stanley Ranges nomination. Although these initiatives have increased generic capacity and the skills base within DEC, such as GIS and social mapping, they have had only limited application to World Heritage issues.

Within DEC, the World Heritage Secretariat has become operational and a National World Heritage Committee has met, however the operations of both are severely curtailed by a lack of executive support. The World Heritage Secretariat co-ordinates nominations and site management within the country, and has case officers for Kuk and Owen Stanley Ranges. Associated initiatives included: an Australian-based consultant was emplaced within DEC for several years; a new cohort of trainees is emerging within DEC, some of who have received placements or training overseas; and, DEC personnel have visited other World Heritage sites in the Australia-Pacific region.

The National World Heritage Committee chaired by DEC was formed to include multiple stakeholder groups, as well as representatives from non-governmental organisations and civil society. The Committee's composition was designed to be inclusive and to avoid institutional disputes, as well as to incorporate those responsible for cultural and natural resource management at the national level. Although the Committee provides an inclusive forum for planning World Heritage within Papua New Guinea, it can only be effective if it receives sufficient institutional support.

Although increased funding directed to the Kokoda Initiative has undoubtedly increased institutional capacity at the national level, this has not necessarily benefited Kuk. Indeed, despite advances at the national level, it could be argued that these have been to the detriment of the management of Kuk. The focus within DEC has certainly been directed elsewhere. Although MOUs have been devised with DEC, the Western Highlands Provincial government has arguably taken the lead role for the management of

Kuk since 2008. Funds have been allocated in the provincial budget, the Kuk World Heritage Management Committee has been reactivated and the site is monitored by a cultural officer.

Most problematically, there has been limited engagement by DEC with the Kawelka at Kuk. Although an approximately annual site assessment, community consultation and monitoring trip has occurred, DEC needs to establish and maintain closer ties with the Kawelka if community goodwill is not to be wasted and if continued management of the site is to be effective. Given that the management plan has not been finalised and that relationships with Kawelka land-holders are not well-established, DEC needs to have much greater on-the-ground presence irrespective of the varying levels of provincial government engagement. It is not enough to turn up for short-term fact gathering missions. DEC needs to have staff at Kuk for extended periods working with the communities from different lineages. The continued management of Kuk will depend on the forging of strong working relationships, greater mutual understanding and the establishment of trust between DEC and the Kawelka.

A final word

Capacity building initiatives funded by Australia, most prominently associated with the Kokoda Initiative, have greatly assisted institutional capacity building at the national level in Papua New Guinea. The improved capacity and skills base resulting from this inter-governmental assistance can certainly be applied to World Heritage within the country, although as yet this has yet to happen in a substantive way. These capacity building initiatives were driven by the significance of the Kokoda Track for Australians however they have the potential to benefit groups and provinces in their pursuit of World Heritage management plans and nominations through flow-on effects and by providing a model of capacity building.

At present, the focus beyond Kokoda seems to be upon incrementally improving the protection of cultural and natural heritage within the country. These are slow and small steps, undertaken in a climate of institutional despondency. However, given its relative size, Papua New Guinea should be at the forefront of heritage conservation and management, including World Heritage, within the Pacific. Such a sea change would require a commitment from the country's government to adequately fund and properly support its own highly dedicated team working on World Heritage.

The problems witnessed in Papua New Guinea are not unique. They are characteristic of many developing nations seeking to advance World Heritage nominations and implement management plans (eg, Breen 2007). Those efforts are similarly beset by deficiencies of expertise, a lack of funding and institutional frailty, and need to be considered against broader backdrops of political instability and socio-economic development.

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The Kokoda Initiative, Papua New Guinea

Australian Kokoda Taskforce Secretariat, Australian Government, Canberra

Australia is supporting Pacific Island Countries to strengthen implementation of the World Heritage Convention in the Pacific Region. A major component of support to Papua New Guinea is provided by the Kokoda Initiative. The Kokoda Initiative is a bilateral partnership programme between Papua New Guinea and Australia working towards protection of the Owen Stanley Ranges and Kokoda Track region while improving the lives of the people who live in the region. Papua New Guinea included the region on its World Heritage Tentative List in June 2006 as a "mixed cultural and natural site covering a significant proportion of the Owen Stanley Ranges near Port Moresby and potentially including the Kokoda Track, Managalas Plateau and Mount Victoria and Mount Albert Edward region". Through the Kokoda Initiative, Australia and PNG are working together to achieve their shared vision of sustainable economic and social development of this important region and protection of its significant natural, cultural and historic heritage values, including a feasibility study for possible, future World Heritage nomination.

The Kokoda Initiative is implemented under the Second Joint Understanding (2010-2015) on the Owen Stanley Ranges, Brown River Catchment and Kokoda Track Region, signed by both governments in July 2010. The Second Joint Understanding is available by download at: (<http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/publications/pubs/second-joint-understanding.pdf>). The Second Joint Understanding builds on the achievements made by Papua New Guinea and Australia under the 2008 Joint Understanding on the Owen Stanley Ranges, Brown River Catchment and Kokoda Track Region. Recent achievements of the Kokoda Initiative are summarised in the 2010-11 Annual Report for the Initiative. The Annual Report is available at: <http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/publications/kokoda/pubs/10-11-annrep.pdf>.

Goals agreed under the Second Joint Understanding are: A safe and well-managed Kokoda Track, which honours its wartime historical significance and protects and promotes its special values.

1. *Enhanced quality of life for landowners and communities through improved delivery of basic services, income generation and community development activities.*
2. *The wise use and conservation of the catchment protection area, including the Kokoda Track, and its natural and cultural resources and values.*
3. *Building national and international tourism potential of the Owen Stanley Ranges and Kokoda Track Region, supported by a possible future World Heritage nomination.*
4. *Working with communities, landowners, industry and all levels of government to ensure that activities established under the Kokoda Initiative are sustained into the future.*

To achieve the goals of the Kokoda Initiative, the Papua New Guinea and Australian governments are working together to support the Kokoda Track Authority's best practice management of the Kokoda Track and trekking operations and protection of the special historical heritage values of the Track, in conjunction with the local communities (Goal 1).

The Kokoda Initiative is improving basic services for local communities living along the Kokoda Track, including health, education, water, sanitation and infrastructure, through the Kokoda Development Program. Income generation and other community development activities are also being implemented. The focus of these activities will extend over time to include local communities in the surrounding area of the catchment (Goal 2).

The Kokoda Initiative is supporting the Papua New Guinea Government's activities to protect the Kokoda Track and surrounding catchments, consistent with Papua New Guinea's aim of developing a sustainable development master plan for the region. Catchments in the region have been rated as of national significance for Port Moresby's future power and water supplies (Goal 3).

Papua New Guinea's priority activities for identification and protection of significant heritage values of the Owen

View of the Owen Stanley Ranges from the Kokoda Track, Papua New Guinea. © Volker Scholz



Stanley Ranges region are also being supported under the Initiative. A preliminary desktop scoping study to identify outstanding heritage values of the region based on currently available information has been completed by an expert advisor to the Papua New Guinea Government. The study identified areas with natural heritage values of likely international significance in the region, including high altitude sites and some lowland sites. The study concluded that these and possibly other sites in the region have potential to justify a future World Heritage nomination. The study also found, however, that large parts of the region are data deficient with significant gaps in knowledge and uncertainties.

In response to the preliminary desktop study, the Papua New Guinea Government is proposing to implement a programme of regional biodiversity surveys supported by the Kokoda Initiative and other funding provided by the United Nations Development Program's Global Environment Facility. These surveys are intended to address key gaps and uncertainties and provide detailed spatial, biodiversity and other relevant information to inform Papua New Guinea's land use planning and management decision making for protection and sustainable development of the region. The surveys will provide an information base for assessment of significant natural heritage of the region and feasibility for a future World Heritage nomination. The feasibility study will encompass key aspects for developing a nomination,

including identification and comparative global assessment of outstanding universal value and arrangements for protection and management to meet requirements of the Convention. The feasibility study will be available for consideration by the PNG Government as part of any future decision on whether to progress a World Heritage nomination of the region.

The Papua New Guinea Government's proposed approach to future protection and conservation of the region's significant natural resource and heritage assets involves a combination of enhanced land use planning, protection under existing or amended legislation, and negotiated agreements with traditional landowners for their management of customary land to achieve renewable resource use and conservation outcomes in exchange for access to community development opportunities and ecosystem service benefits. Likely benefit streams include water and power supply levies and carbon sequestration and biodiversity conservation payments.

The Kokoda Initiative is supporting Papua New Guinea's activities to develop a policy framework and implementation plan for regional tourism development of the Owen Stanley Ranges region. The tourism assets of the region include sites of heritage significance. For example, the Kokoda Track is Papua New Guinea's premier tourism destination. The region's outstanding biodiversity assets are of



potential significance for tourism as well contributing to the Tentative List entry. The tourism framework will inform the development of the future sustainable development master plan, and is expected to underpin future economic and community development of the region (Goal 4).

Capacity building is fundamental to achieving and maintaining the agreed vision and goals of the Second Joint Understanding and underpinning the long-term sustainability of the Kokoda Initiative. Capacity building activities implemented by the Kokoda Initiative include in-country support and mentoring by specialist advisors, leadership and technical training both in-country and in Australia, strategic placements and exchange visits with counterpart agencies, and provision of technical and other expert assistance as needed. Through the Initiative, Australia is supporting capacity building relevant to Papua New Guinea's implementation of the World Heritage Convention. This

includes provision of an expert in-country World Heritage advisor, counterpart support and mentoring through volunteer placements, specialist training and skills transfer in spatial systems and database development relevant to heritage identification and management, access to Australia's World Heritage expertise relevant to implementation of the Convention and World Heritage property conservation and management, specialist technical training, exchange visits and communications support (Goal 5).

In addition to the World Heritage support provided through the Kokoda Initiative, Australia is assisting Papua New Guinea to strengthen its governance and management structures for World Heritage and to establish protection and management arrangements for the Kuk Early Agricultural World Heritage site through activities supported by Australian Funds In Trust held by UNESCO and AusAID's Pacific Public Sector Linkages Program.



OPPOSITE: Village on the Kokoda Track, Papua New Guinea. © Volker Scholz

ABOVE: Community performance along the Kokoda Track, Papua New Guinea. © Volker Scholz

UNESCO's World Heritage Programme for Small Island Developing States and the Global Strategy

Ron VAN OERS, *Coordinator of the WH Programme for SIDS, UNESCO World Heritage Centre*

The Global Strategy for a Credible, Representative and Balanced World Heritage List was adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1994, in Santa Fé (USA), in view of growing imbalances between inscribed cultural and natural properties that became apparent since the early 1980s.³² After its adoption, the World Heritage Centre proceeded with the development of Regional Action Plans focusing on World Heritage activities in the underrepresented regions of Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and the Caribbean. At its twenty-second session, in Kyoto in 1998, the World Heritage Committee examined and adopted the first "Global Strategy Progress Report, Synthesis and Action Plan for a representative and credible World Heritage List".³³ At the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, in Morocco in 1999, multi-year regional plans of action for the implementation of the Global Strategy in Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean, among others, were adopted that followed up on the Action Plan of 1998.³⁴

In the new millennium two major meetings were held in Small Island Developing States (SIDS) regions to discuss the development of new, updated regional action plans in World Heritage prior to the launch of the World Heritage Programme for SIDS in 2005. In the Caribbean, representatives of twenty Caribbean States Parties and Associated Territories gathered at the Conference on the Development of a Caribbean Action Plan in World Heritage,³⁵ held in Castries, Saint Lucia in February 2004.³⁶ In the Pacific a similar meeting was held at Tongariro National Park, New Zealand, in October 2004, with representatives of 14 Pacific Island Countries, as well as representatives from Australia, New Zealand, French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Rapa Nui

(Easter Island, Chile), which developed an Action Plan for the implementation of the World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme.³⁷

In the context of the *World Heritage Convention* and implementation of the Global Strategy the list of SIDS referred to in this paper comprises 38 self-governing island states in the Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and Caribbean regions, which are under-represented on the World Heritage List.³⁸

Establishment of the World Heritage Programme for SIDS

From 10 to 14 January 2005 the United Nation's "International Meeting to Review the Implementation of the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (SIDS)" took place in Port Louis, Mauritius. At that meeting the author of this paper was in charge of organizing UNESCO's Plenary Panel three on *The Role of Culture in the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States*. The meeting concluded with the adoption of the Mauritius Strategy for the Further Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.³⁹

Back at the World Heritage Centre and in a direct follow-up to the Mauritius Meeting, the author designed the World Heritage Programme for SIDS, aiming at a coordination of efforts to exchange information on and implement the Mauritius Strategy within the context of the 1972 *World Heritage Convention* and the action plans for the Caribbean and the Pacific. This Programme was adopted at the 29th session of the World Heritage Committee in Durban, South Africa, in 2005.⁴⁰

32. The Global Strategy for a balanced, representative and credible World Heritage List is an action programme designed to identify and fill the major gaps in the World Heritage List. The Global Strategy relies on regional and thematic definitions and analyses of categories of heritage of outstanding universal value, encourages more countries to become State Parties to the World Heritage Convention and to develop nominations of properties for inscription on the List.

33. Document WHC-98/CONF.203/18.

34. Document WHC-2000/CONF.204/11.

35. Available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/series/18/>

36. Document WHC-03/28.COM/INF.16.

37. Available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/5/>

38. Being 5 in Africa (Cape Verde; Comoros; Mauritius; Sao Tomé & Príncipe; Seychelles), 18 in Asia/Pacific (Cook Islands; Fiji; Kiribati; Maldives; Marshall Islands; Micronesia; Nauru; Niue; Palau; Papua New Guinea; Samoa; Singapore; Solomon Islands; Timor-Leste; Tokelau; Tonga; Tuvalu; Vanuatu), 1 in the Arab States (Bahrain) and 13 in the Caribbean (Antigua & Barbuda; Bahamas; Barbados; Cuba; Dominica; Dominican Republic; Grenada; Haiti; Jamaica; St. Kitts & Nevis; St. Lucia; St. Vincent & Grenadines; Trinidad & Tobago); adapted from www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sids/sidslist.htm

39. Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/en/sids>

40. Decision 29 COM 5B.

Further to this and at the request of the General Conference,⁴¹ UNESCO's Director-General established an Intersectoral Platform for the Implementation of the Mauritius Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, under the lead of the Assistant Director-General for Science. Through this platform, in which the World Heritage Centre is actively participating, UNESCO is pursuing a strategy aimed at a holistic, integrated approach to sustainable island living and development with intergenerational and interregional perspectives.

Of particular relevance to the work on the World Heritage Committee's Global Strategy, through this intersectoral platform the aim is to develop integrated heritage policies for SIDS, covering natural, cultural, intangible and movable heritage and contributing to World Heritage activities on islands in the Caribbean, the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans, which are under-represented on the World Heritage List. Among others, this entails technical assistance for the preparation of Tentative Lists and nominations, and capacity building of staff and institutions.

Implementation of the World Heritage Programme for SIDS

SIDS receive support from extra-budgetary sources provided by Australia, Andorra, France, Italy, Japan and the Netherlands, all to facilitate Global Strategy-related activities in the context of the 1972 *World Heritage Convention*.

Based on performance indicators that were presented to the World Heritage Committee in July 2005 as part of the proposal to establish a WH Programme for SIDS,⁴² progress can be measured in the Programme's implementation since its adoption. The main activities carried out and results achieved up to 2011 are presented in the following table.

Prior to July 2005, there were 29 SIDS States Parties to the World Heritage Convention. With ratifications by Sao Tomé & Príncipe (Africa, in 2006) and the Cook Islands (Pacific, in 2009) this number is now up to 31. As of today, six SIDS have not ratified the Convention yet: Nauru, Singapore, Timor

Leste, Tokelau and Tuvalu (all Asia/Pacific region) and the Bahamas in the Caribbean.

Fourteen SIDS had submitted their Tentative List before July 2005 (2 African region, 4 Pacific region, Bahrain, and 7 Caribbean region). As of December 2011, twelve more SIDS have submitted new Tentative Lists, which is almost a doubling in the last six years (3 from Africa, 7 from the Pacific and 2 from the Caribbean region).

Nine properties located in SIDS were inscribed on the World Heritage List after July 2005, with four inscriptions in 2008 alone. The categories of heritage represented by these inscriptions are diverse, including historic centres, cultural landscapes, an archaeological site and marine properties.

Future Directions

With only six remaining SIDS to ratify the World Heritage Convention, and Singapore, Timor Leste and the Bahamas in the process of ratification, this task seems to be nearing its completion.

The submission of Tentative Lists and number of nominations under preparation in SIDS in both the Pacific and African regions is accelerating. The aim is to keep this momentum. For the Caribbean, with currently 14 properties in SIDS on the World Heritage List, the emphasis is shifting towards improved site management and capacity building, as requested by the States Parties and taken up in the Caribbean Capacity Building Programme. The CCBP-model was presented in the Pacific region at the September 2011 Samoa World Heritage Meeting, with a view to consider possible adaptations of structure and modalities of operation.

SIDS share similar interests and concerns, such as marine and coastal management, impacts of climate change, and issues of sustainable development, and sharing information and experiences between the different regions is key to an improved implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Ways of improving communication with access to information and assistance is needed to include all SIDS in the World Heritage network and regional capacity building programmes seem to be the way forward.



Lapaha school children perform the *me'etu'upaki* (paddle) dance in front of a royal tomb. The dance derives from Futuna/Wallis Island and was performed for the *Tu'i Tonga* on ceremonial occasions such as the First Fruits ceremony. © Geoff Clarke

41. 33 C/Resolution 3.

42. Document WHC-05/29.COM/5 – Annex 1.

2005 Performance Indicators	Results as per 2011
The 1972 <i>World Heritage Convention</i> ratified by at least three SIDS (Targets: one in the Caribbean, 2 in the Pacific region).	Two SIDS have ratified the Convention: Sao Tomé & Príncipe (on 25 July 2006) and Cook Islands (on 16 January 2009).
New Tentative Lists submitted by at least ten SIDS (Targets: four of Caribbean, two of African, and four of Pacific States Parties).	Twelve SIDS submitted Tentative Lists: Caribbean region (2) Barbados (2005); Jamaica (2006) African region (3) Mauritius (2006); Comoros (2007); Maldives (2008) Pacific region (7) Marshall Islands (2005); Papua New Guinea (2006); Samoa (2006); Kiribati (2007); Tonga (2007), Palau (2007), Solomon Islands (2008).
Increase of the nominations of properties located in SIDS (no specific target indicated).	Nine properties located in SIDS have been inscribed onto the World Heritage List: Caribbean region (2) - Historic Centre of Camagüey, Cuba (2008); Bridgetown's Garrison (2011) African region (3) - Aapravasi Ghat, Mauritius (2006) - Le Morne Landscape, Mauritius (2008) - Cidade Velha, Cape Verde (2009) Pacific region (4) - Kuk Early Agricultural Site, Papua New Guinea (2008) - Chief Roi Mata's Domain, Vanuatu (2008) - Bikini Atoll, Marshall Islands (2010) - Phoenix Islands Protected Area, Kiribati (2010)
Ten technical assistance workshops organized for the development of national strategies in World Heritage for SIDS (Targets: four in the Caribbean; two in Africa; and four in the Asia/Pacific region).	Fourteen workshops have been organized: Caribbean region (4 + 1) in overseas territory - Dominica (18-22 June 2005) - Anguilla (20-22 June 2005) - Jamaica (27-29 June 2005) - Trinidad & Tobago (8-11 August 2006) - The Bahamas (5-7 February 2007) African region (2) - Sao Tomé and Príncipe (12-17 January 2009) Asia/Pacific region (7) - Marshall Islands (25-29 October 2005) - Federated States of Micronesia (31 October-4 November 2005) - Palau (7-9 November 2005) - Papua New Guinea (20-23 March 2006) - Solomon Islands (25 March-4 April 2006) - Kiribati (12-14 December 2007) - Maldives (1-7 May 2009)

	SIDS in Africa	SIDS in Asia/Pacific	SIDS in the Caribbean	Total
Ratifications 2005	4	13	12	29
2011	5	14	12	31
Tentative Lists 2005	2	5	7	14
2011	5	12	9	26
Inscriptions 2005	2	2 (incl. Bahrain)	12	16
2011	5	6	14	25

Fijian Lady Weaving © UNESCO/A. Takahashi



Niue: a small island state in West Polynesia

Moira Enetama, Niue Department of Cultural Heritage

Niue became a signatory to the World Heritage Convention in 2001. Niue is one of the world's largest upraised coral islands of about 260 km², located about 2400km north east of New Zealand. The island is very isolated and the people of Niue and visitors to the island are reliant on limited air transport. Niueans are Polynesians and around 1,400 people reside on the island. The Huvalu Forest Conservation Area is a protected area in the southeast of the island is internationally recognised for its biodiversity and protected Niue's community-driven Conservation of the Biodiversity project. Niue also has a rich cultural history but as yet there is no full inventory of cultural sites on the island. The island is slowly recovering from Cyclone Heta in 2004 which severely damaged the island's infrastructure and economy.

Like the communities of other small island states Niueans face particular issues in protecting their heritage. The country lacks key legal instruments to protect the preservation of sites from vandalism, agricultural practices and ongoing development. Most sites are located on family (customary lands) and landowners do not have the same understanding with those who are tasked to protect our cultural and natural heritage. There is a lack of ongoing dialogue and cooperation between landowners and key stakeholders in government, in particular with tourism operators.

To progress implementation of the Convention better protection is needed for Niue's cultural and natural heritage through formalisation of draft legal instruments, ongoing awareness and promotional activities at the community level. Allocation of sufficient resources into this area would progress the work forward. Long term training in Environment Conservation and Management is also needed with regular capacity building workshops at the community level that bring together all the key stakeholders on this small island including Education, Environment, Museum, Lands and Survey, Agriculture and Fisheries.

The World Heritage Program in the Pacific could be of increased benefit to the small island states. Niue has identified areas requiring immediate attention and the Program should provide the opportunity to learn from the experience of other Pacific countries. Niue's current focus of development is tourism but this needs to be pursued with environmental or social impact assessments.

Niue has not submitted a tentative list to the World Heritage Committee. Previous consultations have suggested that potential sites on the island may be of national and not of universal significance. Without proper research and identification of values, Niue cannot progress further to meet the WHC nominating requirements and the World Heritage Program needs to provide resources to assist Niue to develop and finalise its Tentative List. For Niueans, including those who are residing abroad, this will increase their appreciation of the values of their unique heritage.



Pandanus. © UNESCO

The bath place of Niue's former Kings (17th-18th century) © Taoga Niue



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