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# AUSTRALIA ICOMOS
# HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

## Conserving it Together:
## Cultural Landscapes—Intangible Heritage

# AUSTRALIA ICOMOS **HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT**



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Cultural Landscapes—Intangible Heritage

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Cover photo: *National Monument-Tsai Clan Family Temples, Qionglin (photo: Alex Yaning Yen)*


# Editorial Note:

Kerime Danis and Mary Knaggs, Australia ICOMOS
co-editors and conference co-convenors

The co-convenors of the joint Australia ICOMOS and ICOMOS Pasifika Conference titled *Culture: Conserving it Together* held in Suva Fiji on 1-5 October 2018 were Kerime Danis, Mary Knaggs and Elizabeth Edwards. Kerime and Mary were also the co-editors of the two *Historic Environment* issues dedicated to the conference.

Elizabeth, Kerime and Mary would like to thank all the presenters, authors and participants for making this such a wonderful conference. Jean Rice made an outstanding contribution to the organisation of the Conference and was invited to provide this Preface to the second issue of the Conference papers in recognition of her dedication in sharing knowledge and stories across the Pacific.

# Preface: Culture: Conserving it Together

Jean Rice, Australia ICOMOS

This is the second of two volumes of *Historic Environment* arising out of the ICOMOS conference 'Culture: Conserving it Together' held in Suva Fiji from 1 to 5 October 2018.

The papers in this volume were mostly presented on Day 2 of the conference under Theme 3—Diverse Communities, Intangible Heritage. This theme considered how communities engage with and value their heritage and sought to connect place, people, nature and cultural practices. It also asked: what is heritage today and how does it connect communities across the Pacific? The first two papers in this volume were presented on Day 1 under Theme 2—Cultural Landscape Practice and Management, which focused on current issues facing cultural landscapes and sharing practices that contribute to their sustainable management. The last paper was presented under Theme 4—Heritage as a Pillar of Sustainable Development. However, these themes are deeply inter-related and the papers delivered under the other themes also addressed communities and their heritage.

The authors of these papers were from Australia, Fiji, Mexico, New Zealand, Taiwan and Vanuatu. The papers range geographically from Rapa Nui to the Torres Straits, and from Sydney to Fiji.

Geoff Ashley's paper describes two private shack settlements, one south of Sydney and the other north of Perth, built on public lands as temporary accommodation these shacks were for recreation only not work in the mid twentieth century. He finds that management needs to respect the values held by both the public and directly associated communities with a cultural landscape approach that through agreement leads to engagement, trust and a generational transfer of responsibility.

Sue Jackson-Stepowski explores a little discussed aspect of Rapa Nui—the transformation of its cultural landscape in the 1880s by sheep grazing. This darker story of the island's recent past saw local people confined to a tiny peninsula and it is proposed to be told to visitors by adapting the Chilean listed heritage shearing shed as an interpretation centre.

Alex Yen, associate professor of architecture in Taipei, considers how the UNESCO World Heritage Committee's 5Cs Strategy (Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building, Communication and Community) has been applied to the conservation of a culturally rich village on the island of Qionglin, Taiwan. He describes the Taiwan Ministry of Culture Regeneration of Historic Sites Program which aims to revitalize cultural heritage resources at a community level and to regenerate the regional cultural landscape through public investment. The 1,600 year old traditional settlement of Qionglin with its living Fujian culture is one of the twenty-two 'on-site' projects to implement the integrative policy of local-culture-based conservation.

The Festival Internacional Cervantino in Guanajuato, Mexico is discussed in the paper by Daniel Barrera-Fernández and Marco Hernández-Escampa. Using this example they address themes of traditional cultural events, built heritage and placemaking. They find that when traditional festivities become the basis for international cultural events, there are positive and negative

consequences for cultural heritage places. These events help improve social cohesion, street vibrancy, tourism attraction and local pride but when tourism and marketing interests become the priority, the event loses authenticity and residents can feel excluded as well as being negatively impacted by the concentration of large numbers of visitors in limited spaces.

Jacqueline Paul and Jade Kake take us to New Zealand. Their paper considers how Kaupapa Māori methodologies and Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), as opposed to Eurocentric systems, can shape plans and policies for future sustainable development, and support better-localised solutions. They discuss the Te Aranga principles and explore ways they could be embedded in planning and policy to inform more culturally appropriate and authentic design practices. Intangible heritage needs heavier weighting in policies at all levels, and to be fundamentally integrated into practices and governance structures.

Dr Leah Lui-Chivizhe, a Torres Strait Islander based at the University of Sydney, is exploring the Macleay Museum's nineteenth century ethnographic and natural history collection and how Islanders might engage with the collection for remembering and performing history. The basis of the collection was the 1875 Chevert Expedition. She focuses on Erub (Darnley Island) and Erubam le ways of knowing and being in place and discusses the Macleay's collections from Erub.

Language maintenance and revitalisation in Vanuatu is the topic of the collaborative paper authored by Dr Mark Love, Anne Brown, Samuel Kenneth, Gorden Ling, Roselyn Tor, Miriam Bule, Gideon Ronalea, Siro Vagaha, Kaitip Kami and Daniel Luki. This paper examines three social development projects from the linguistically diverse nation of Vanuatu, that each seek to promote, support, and maintain vernacular languages. Language is crucial to the practice and transmission of intangible cultural heritage but diversity is shrinking. These relatively low cost, home-grown approaches to local language maintenance, are an innovative and promising model for combating language shifts.

Nick Thieberger's paper is also about Pacific languages and focuses on making language records accessible, particularly audio recordings. The Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC) project began in 2003 by digitising analogue tape collections and making them discoverable. These tapes belonged to retired or deceased researchers or institutions, in localities as distant as Basel, and would otherwise have been stored and difficult to find and access. The project now has material from 1,175 languages and is building links with people and agencies in the Pacific and working on ways of getting information to the source communities.

The last paper in this volume is by Penny Allan, Lizzie Yarina, and Martin Bryant of Australia. It arises from a project undertaken with ten Masters of Landscape Architecture students from Wellington, NZ, and conducted in Levuka, Fiji, in 2017—after the 2016 Cyclone Winston. The paper explores the historical and geographic background of Ovalau Island and the heritage values where the conservation of buildings in a colonial port sits at odds with an indigenous culture struggling to thrive in a place beset by economic and environmental disturbance. The paper notes that the built fabric in Levuka has little capacity to absorb impacts but the town's landscapes and interstitial spaces could. Small-scale local design proposals of paths, pavilions, markets and gardens are described. Landscape is suggested as a potential middle ground between the tensions of conservation and resilience.

These papers explore diverse aspects of Pacific communities' heritage from many different cultural perspectives, many with ideas that may be applied in other places. They contribute to developing sustainable management practices for a range of aspects of Pacific heritage.

# Contributors

**Penny Allan**

Penny Allan is Professor of Landscape Architecture and Course Director at UTS in Sydney. Her most recent design research projects, MOVED to Design, Earthquake Cities of the Pacific Rim, and Rae ki te Rae, deal with the relationship between environment, culture, resilience and design.

**Geoff Ashley**

Geoff Ashley, Principal of Ashley Built Heritage, Sydney, is a built heritage specialist with three decades experience working in both the private and public sectors throughout Australia. Geoff has a particular interest in the assessment and management of hut and shack structures and their social and cultural landscape values. Project examples relevant to Geoff's paper include the NSW NPWS Huts Study 1992; two conservation expeditions and a management plan for Mawson's Huts Historic Site, Antarctica; a conservation strategy for the huts in Kosciuszko National Park following disastrous bush fires in 2003, and assessments of the shack communities discussed in this paper. Geoff is a member of the National Trust of Australia (NSW), Interpretation Australia, DOCMOMO, Australia ICOMOS and is a corresponding member of ICOMOS International Polar Heritage Scientific Committee.

**Abigail Gabon-Bautista**

Abigail Gabon-Bautista has a BSc Architecture from the University of Santo Tomas, a Master in Urban and Regional Planning from the University of Philippines and currently is a Master of Heritage Conservation student at the University of Sydney.

**M. Anne Brown**

Associate Professor M. Anne Brown is a Principal Research Fellow at the Centre for Global Research in the School of Global, Urban and Social Studies, RMIT University. Anne works in the field of peace and conflict studies and engages questions of what social inclusion and participation, security and justice, human rights, peace and conflict transformation might mean in different cultural contexts. Anne is Chief Investigator on the 'Family, Language and Relationships project' and was Chief Investigator of the Vanuatu *Kastom* Governance Partnership.

**Miriam Bule**

Ms Bule works at the Vanuatu Women's Centre. Previously, she was a facilitator on the Vanuatu *Kastom* Governance Partnership. Ms Bule was a trainer on the Family, Language and Relationships project.

**Kerime Danis**

Kerime Danis is trained as an architect and heritage consultant with over 35 years' experience in heritage conservation and architecture both here and in the Turkish Republic. She leads the Heritage team at City Plan, working with a range of public and private sector clients and is actively involved in the development of sound conservation philosophy, practice and guidelines nationally and internationally. Kerime has been an active and influential member of ICOMOS since 2003 where she contributes to increasing knowledge and sharing the principles of heritage best practice. She is a past Secretary and President of Australia ICOMOS. Kerime is a member of the NSW Heritage Council Approvals Committee since 2016. She is also an expert member and current Secretary-General of ICOMOS ICIP (International Scientific Committee for Interpretation and Preservation of Cultural Heritage Sites). Kerime is a member of the Australian Institute of Architects (NSW Chapter) and was member of the Heritage Committee for more than a decade. Kerime has been actively promoting the young and early career practitioners in the heritage field through organisation of talks and mentoring sessions. She is the current NSW State coordinator of the Australia ICOMOS Mentoring Program. Kerime has been involved in the Pacific heritage matters since 2011 and was the coordinator for the 2015 Capacity Building Workshop held in Levuka, Fiji, which led to the organisation of the *CULTURE: Conserving it Together* conference in 2018. She was the convenor of this joint Australia ICOMOS and ICOMOS Pasifika conference.

**Marco Hernandez-Escampa**

Marco Hernández-Escampa is professor and researcher at the Faculty of Architecture, Autonomous University of Oaxaca 'Benito Juárez'. Architect and PhD in Anthropology, he specializes in Heritage Conservation, Tourism in Historic Centres and Archaeometry, especially Archaeometallurgy. He is a member of the Mexican National Researchers System and the coordinator of ATLAS (Association for Tourism and Leisure Education and a Research) for Mexico, Latin America and the Caribbean.

**Daniel Barrera-Fernandez**

Daniel Barrera-Fernández is professor and researcher at the Faculty of Architecture, Autonomous University of Oaxaca 'Benito Juárez'. He is a member of the Mexican National Researchers System and the coordinator of ATLAS (Association for Tourism and Leisure Education and a Research) for Mexico, Latin America and the Caribbean. His research interests focus on urban tourism, event management and heritage protection in historic cities.

**Jade Kake**

Jade Kake—Ngāpuhi (Ngāti Hau me Te Parawhau), Te Whakatōhea, Te Arawa, BArchDes, GradCertDigDes, MArch(Prof)—is an architectural designer, housing advocate and researcher. She has experience working with Māori communities on papakāinga and marae projects, and in the integration of cultural values and narratives through urban design.

**Kaitip Kami**

Mr Kami is the curator of the National Museum of Vanuatu and Executive Director of the Tepvikviklas Association (associated with the Mewun *kastom skul*).

**Samuel Kenneth**

Mr Kenneth is the treasurer of the Diocese of Vanuatu and New Caledonia, Anglican Church of Melanesia. He is a facilitator and in-country manager of the Family, Language and Relationships project.

**Mary Knaggs**

Mary Knaggs has dedicated much of her life to the cause of heritage conservation and has worked across all fields of heritage conservation in both the public and private sectors in NSW, Tasmania and South East Asia. Most recently Mary has been working as a Senior Heritage Consultant with Urbis Heritage. Previously Mary was a Senior Heritage Architect at the NSW Government Architect's Office. Mary was the principal consultant for a number of large-scale conservation, adaptation and interpretive works, and developed numerous strategic reports and manuals for government agencies that have helped to protect numerous significant assets across the State. Mary has been an important part of the teams that have developed heritage planning solutions for The Rocks, Central Railway Station and the Quay Quarter Precinct at Circular Quay, including the 1961 AMP Building and two 1870s woolstores. Mary Knaggs has always been a keen supporter of young professionals, willing to share her knowledge and experience with newcomers to the field. She has given much of her time voluntarily to a number of organisations that seek to promote heritage including Australia ICOMOS, the NSW Chapter of the Institute of Architects, NSW Heritage Council, Cultural Heritage Practitioners Tasmania and internationally with AusHeritage. She is the recipient of the 2019 Cathy Donnelly Memorial Award. Her dedication to the National Trust in NSW has been ongoing and extensive, as a member of the Urban Conservation and the Curatorial Committee. Mary is immediate past Vice-President of Australia ICOMOS and was a co-convenor of the *CULTURE: Conserving it Together* conference.

**Gorden Ling**

Mr Ling is a facilitator and lead 'follow-up' coordinator for the Family, Language and Relationships project.

**Mark Love**

Dr Love is a cultural anthropologist who has worked in Vanuatu and Solomon Islands for over a decade. His research interests have a strong applied emphasis and have focused on: community governance and development, human-environment relations, the political ecology of conservation, development effectiveness, water, sanitation and hygiene, and applied linguistics. Mark is co-investigator and project manager of the 'Family, Language and Relationships' project (through RMIT and, previously, UQ)

**Leah Lui-Chevizhe**

Leah is a Torres Strait Islander with extensive family links to Mer, Erub, Badu and Mabuiag islands. A historian and curator, she holds a PhD (History) and MSc (Geography) from the University of Sydney and has worked extensively with Aboriginal and Islander people and communities since the mid 1980s. She is currently a postdoctoral fellow in History at the University of Sydney and is working on publishing her doctoral thesis.

**Daniel Luki**

Mr Luki was a facilitator for the Vanuatu *Kastom* Governance Partnership and founder of 'Numakura Week'—a cultural revitalisation and language maintenance initiative in Seaside, Tongoa, Port Vila, Vanuatu.

**Jacqueline Paul**

Jacqueline Paul—Ngāpuhi (Ngaitupango), Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga, BLA—is a graduate landscape architect, researcher and a current member of the Auckland Youth Advisory Panel. She has extensive experience ranging from research, policy and design both nationally and internationally.

**Jean Rice**

Jean Rice is a Sydney architect, specialising in heritage conservation, with over 35 years of experience. Jean worked at the former NSW Public Works Department for many years, then with a private practice and in late 2007 established her own small architectural practice. Jean is a conservation architect with extensive experience in all aspects of heritage conservation from strategic planning and the management of cultural landscapes to site supervision of heritage trades and materials conservation. Jean has been involved with the heritage assessment, conservation management and master planning of many large and small historic sites and areas. She is experienced in building conservation including documentation, heritage assessment and the preparation of maintenance plans. Jean participated as an expert volunteer in the joint Australia ICOMOS / ICOMOS Pasifika workshop held in Levuka, Fiji in 2015. She assisted in the Post Disaster Needs Assessment for the culture sector in Levuka and Suva after Cyclone Winston devastated Fiji in February 2016. In 2018 she assisted with organisation of the workshop and Culture Conference held in Levuka and Suva.

**Gideon Ronalea**

Mr Ronalea was a facilitator on the Vanuatu *Kastom* Governance Partnership and also a trainer on the Family, Language and Relationships project.

**Sue Jackson-Stepowski**

Susan Jackson-Stepowski is the Vice President, ICOMOS International Scientific Committee for Shared Built Heritage and Principal of Jackson-Stepowski Heritage Planning. Sue works predominantly in regional Australia with vernacular buildings, historic towns and rural landscapes. She is also an expert with the ICOMOS CIVVIH Historic Towns & Villages Committee. Sue has been involved with numerous ICOMOS study tours and has undertaken World Heritage missions.

**Nick Thieberger**

Nick Thieberger is a linguist at the University of Melbourne. He has written a grammar, dictionary and collection of texts with speakers of Nafsan in Efate, Vanuatu. He is Director of PARADISEC and a Chief Investigator in the ARC Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language.

**Rosleyn Tor**

Ms Tor was previously Director of the Department of Women's Affairs, Government of Vanuatu. She was a researcher and facilitator for the Vanuatu *Kastom* Governance Partnership and was a trainer on the Family, Language and Relationships project.

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Yi-Jen Tseng is an Associate Professor at the Department of Architecture of the National Quemoy University in Taiwan.

**Chief Siro Vagha**

Mr Vagha was a facilitator on the Vanuatu *Kastom* Governance Partnership and is a community facilitator on the Family, Language and Relationships project.

**Lizzie Yarina**

Lizzie Yarina is a Research Associate at the MIT Urban Risk Lab where she is involved with multiple projects which investigate disaster preparedness and response in the built environment. Her personal research focuses on climate change risk and displacement. She recently completed a one-year Fulbright research grant in New Zealand, studying the spatial implications of climate change migration.

**Alex Yaning Yen**

Alex is the associate professor of the Department of Architecture, China University of Technology, Taipei. He is also the director of the Cultural Properties Research Centre and a board member of the International Committee for Documentation of Cultural Heritage (CIPA), ICOMOS. He has a PhD in history of architecture with the specific interest in the conservation of heritage for more than 35 years.

# Contested landscapes: Private shacks—public lands

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## Abstract

The identification of social heritage values from community, family and individual associations with cultural landscape use and practice, does not in itself provide the answers in the management of a cultural landscape that is also a shared public landscape. As a 'live' value, the survival of intangible social values, perhaps more than other heritage values, is predicated on good management.

To illustrate the problem, this paper addresses two case studies of shack settlement communities located within public lands in New South Wales and Western Australia. The fragility of the shacks and shack settlements themselves, in both societal and physical terms provides further challenges.

The key opportunity suggested here is to conserve social values by developing practical community governance and shared management that utilises cultural landscape management tools that engage both the land management agencies and shack owners. This will allow philosophical issues to be addressed at the interface of public/private and cultural/natural values with practical solutions: for example, better communication and engagement with the public. This paper also includes findings relevant to heritage practice generally.

## Introduction

Coastal shacks and rural huts are not just small dwellings, but are more fundamentally defined by their connection to the use of a landscape place and the people who built them: for temporary accommodation for work in the case of rural huts and for recreation in the case of the coastal shacks discussed here. Huts and shacks are also important 'way-points' on paths and routes in cultural landscapes (see Australia ICOMOS 2015).[1] The landscape place in turn affects the form and fabric of the huts and shacks.

The two case study places discussed in this paper are the shack communities located within public lands in Royal National Park (RNP), just south of Sydney in New South Wales (NSW) and the Wedge and Grey shack settlements located north of Perth in Western Australia (WA). In the former case, the heritage values are recognised but cooperative management is nascent. In the latter case, the WA State Government is introducing a management regime that does not recognise heritage values and will have significant adverse heritage impacts.

Shack settlements provide evidence of the development of a distinctive way of life associated with recreation for ordinary Australians from the middle of the twentieth century that was once common in coastal areas of Australia but is now very rare, with remaining settlements either being 'normalised' or removed entirely. The challenge is to find management approaches

that will retain the fragile social and physical characteristics of shacks, while also providing for management within a public landscape.

There are about 200 recreation shacks located around four coastal beaches in RNP: Little Garie, South Era (Era), Burning Palms, and at Bulgo at the southern end of the Park near Otford. The largest group of 95 shacks is at Era (Figure 1). The northern three groups were constructed with the permission of the lessee of privately-owned lands before the lands were added to the then National, now Royal National Park, in the late 1940s (NPWS 1994). After the establishment of the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) in 1967, the shack owners were provided a terminating licence which meant that the licence died with the owner and the shack was removed. Community activism and a nomination for heritage protection in the early 1990s (Garder 1990) led to a moratorium on removals and to a draft Conservation Management Plan (CMP) that the author prepared while employed by NPWS (NPWS 1994).

Changes proposed by NPWS to licences in 2006 led to court action from the RNP Coastal Cabins Protection League (Protection League) representing the three groups of Little Garie, South Era, and Burning Palms. An out of court settlement resulted in an agreement on licence extensions to potentially 2027, and a nomination that led to inclusion on the NSW State Heritage Register (SHR) of these three groups, but not the Bulgo group that chose to not be party to those agreements (GML 2008). The SHR listing identifies historic, aesthetic, social and rarity value at a State level and states that 'these cabin communities are historically important in a NSW context as evidence of the development of a distinctive way of life associated with recreation from the middle parts of the twentieth century, once common in coastal NSW but now rare' (OEH SHR 2012).

In *Shack Life* by Ingeborg van Teeseling the author contributed a chapter on the architectural values of the RNP shacks, describing the importance of landscape place (Van Teeseling 2017, p. 255). A breathtaking setting links these three shack communities nestled around coastal beaches (Figures 1, 2 and 3) with the visual relationship between shacks and their landscape setting being a defining characteristic of place — the diminutive shacks sitting comfortably against their powerful natural backdrop (Figure 4). The landscape place in turn affects the form and fabric of the shacks—in the case of these three communities, the carrying in of all materials and the use of driftwood.

**Figure 1:** The shacks at Era are gathered like driftwood around the 'high tide' clearings of former pastoral lands (photo by the author).

**Figure 2:** A shack at Little Garie looking north to Garie Beach (photo by the author).

**Figure 3:** The shacks on Burgh Hill, Era, mostly constructed by Helensburgh coal miners (photo by the author).

There are close to 300 shacks located at Wedge, 150 km north of Perth, Western Australia, sheltered behind sand dunes and the small rocky Wedge Island several hundred metres off the coast (Figure 5). A further 20km up the coast are 100 shacks at Grey, also sheltered behind large dunes, around a bay and two beaches (Figure 6). The first shacks were constructed in the 1950s by professional fishers and inland pastoralists, however, most of the shacks were constructed by Perth residents from the late 1950s until the mid-1980s. Prior to the construction of the

**Figure 4:** A shack at Era with a dramatic natural backdrop (photo by the author).

Indian Ocean Drive along the coast for tourist traffic in 2011, getting to the shacks meant arduous drives across potholed tracks through sand dunes (GML 2012).

Unlike the RNP shacks, these are squatter shacks located on Crown Reserves and managed by the WA Parks and Wildlife Service (PWS) within the Department of Biodiversity, Conservation and Attractions (DBCA). The squatter nature of the shacks is reflected in the use of reused materials and their 'hand-made' organic forms.

**Figure 5:** The Wedge shack settlement from the air (photo by WIPA)

**Figure 6:** The shack settlement at Grey (photo by the author)

## The RNP Shacks: Current Issues and Future Opportunities

The key issue is that the overall nature of the management of the shacks and the relationship between NPWS and the shack communities remains brittle. While there is a consultative committee and the shack owners contribute to Landcare and surf lifesaving on the beaches, the working relationship seems to fall back on the individual licence agreements.

Whilst there are a number of heritage listings:

- the SHR listing (OEH 2012);
- and the NPWS Key Heritage Stories, 2016 (Context 2016);

and also conservation and management planning documents:

- two Conservation Management Plans, (NPWS 1994; DEC 2005);
- and the RNP Plan of Management (NPWS 2000);

most of these documents separate natural and cultural values in a traditional manner and do not address cultural landscape aspects of the shacks and their social values.

The 2007 National Heritage listing of RNP (Australian Government 2007) is completely silent on the shacks and a 2017 RNP Plan of Management discussion paper on Park values (OEH 2017) did not acknowledge the State heritage values of the shacks. This equivocal approach by NPWS to the shacks is reflected in the large interpretive signs at lookouts above the shack groups that show the shacks in the landscape panoramas but provide no explanation of the shacks, their heritage values, or public rights and responsibilities when walking through the communities.

In 2017 the author was engaged by the RNP Coastal Cabins Protection League to provide strategic advice on future opportunities to allow the shack communities to be on the front foot as a change to the reactive nature of the relationship with Government to date (Ashley 2017b). Consultation for that project identified a desire by shack owners to explore governance options for a formal expression of the community in future management as a reflection of the social significance and community associations.

Public use and values are also changing. Broader societal changes have included dramatically increased visitation to some park features from social media postings, such as the Figure Eight Pools just south of Burning Palms. These changes are challenging to both NPWS in management and for the shack owners in the numbers of sometimes ill prepared walkers passing through the shack settlements. This is compounded by the lack of information provided to these visitors on the shacks. Equally, the nature of the heritage values held by public visitors for National Parks generally and for RNP in particular, as the second oldest National Park in the world, are not well documented.

The suggestions made here for a way forward for the RNP shacks are based on utilising all the dynamic values of the place. The history of Royal National Park is that of a contested landscape that started with the dispossession of Aboriginal peoples and was followed by the resumption of pastoral lands, the removal of shacks, the more recent friction around private places in the National Park, and the very recent impacts of social media generated visitation. While there is not open contestation, multiple values reflected in this contested history have not been resolved in management. The answer is to work hard at the interface between all values using a cultural landscape approach to find common ground and invite one 'value' into the other.

Cultural landscapes are 'those areas which clearly represent or reflect the patterns of settlement or use of the landscape over a long time, as well as the evolution of cultural values, norms and attitudes toward the land' (Context 2002). The two key aspects of *patterns of use* and *evolving values* are the nub of the issue here. The shacks represent a strong historical period marker for the use of RNP and have ongoing social values, however, there are also other values associated with this evolving landscape. A robust cultural landscape approach is needed to acknowledge and resolve all values, address actual issues at the interface of these values and lead to negotiated agreements. Such a cultural landscape approach would be both dynamic and flexible.

NSW NPWS have an appropriate model of a cultural landscape approach to use, although the author has not seen evidence of the use of this model in management planning. *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide for Park Management* by Steve Brown, NPWS (DECCW 2010) identified management tools of holistic, active, adaptive, and integrated landscape

management—all words perhaps carrying risk but with great potential rewards as well. Similarly, other writings and models address the importance of 'defining what is important and to whom' (Heritage Council Victoria 2015). New Zealand writer Janet Stephenson describes a Cultural Values Model so that 'those making decisions affecting landscapes are aware of the potential nature and range of cultural values' (Stephenson 2008).

The key to a cultural landscape approach to management is that genuine agreement, not just engagement, is required where the values managed represent a living community, as is the case with shacks. The CMP prepared for the RNP shacks in 2005 (DEC 2005) actually covered the bases needed, however, it was resisted by the shack communities, as much because of the process as for its content—they were able to comment but NPWS 'owned' the process and product.

A two-pronged approach is recommended, with actions for both NPWS and the shack communities. For NPWS the answer is to more fully utilise a cultural landscape approach for its management planning, such as the Plans of Management required under the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW Government 1974). As part of this, more could be done to survey and understand public beliefs and values for national parks as cultural landscapes, including the historic structures in those parks.

For the shack owners, the answer is to focus on the form of future governance models that they desire and on the generational transfer of the responsibilities that arise from the 'benefits' history has bestowed on them. Shack owners also need to work at building relationships with groups in the shack community, the relationship with NPWS and with other external groups and organisations and to engage more with the public generally, including identifying opportunities to provide short term accommodation managed by the shack community. There is also an opportunity for the 'shackies' to develop their own code of conduct that articulates (in addition to practical aspects and requirements) expectations of behaviour and practice that conserves and passes on the intangible attributes of social values (see Australia ICOMOS 2017).

The most practical way to bring these two sets of recommendations together is to work through to an actual agreement between both NPWS and 'shackies' that will have reward points for both sides. This process should include the broader public, including in particular the Aboriginal communities who were effectively shut out of their own landscape.

## The Wedge and Grey Shack Settlements: Issues and Opportunities

The Wedge and Grey shack settlement case study highlights a poor heritage process where the Western Australian Government has to date been unable to accept the challenges and opportunities to retain the heritage values of these shack communities, that it has itself identified, within a public land cultural landscape.

In 2011, the author led a heritage assessment of these shack settlements against WA State Heritage Criteria. It was concluded that the shack settlements met a number of criteria for State Registration including aesthetic, historic and social 'nature of significance' criteria, and both rarity and representative degrees of significance (GML 2012). This led to a National Trust of Australia (WA) nomination. The core value of these places is their rarity as evidence of a period and way of living largely lost in Australia; one that is completely different to the otherwise highly orderly and organised urban development of Western Australia. It is also a unique resource for anthropologists about the organisation of human settlements when, in theory, there is no organisation.

Although the WA State Heritage Office also concluded that these places met State heritage criteria and the WA Heritage Council endorsed this assessment, no action has been taken to progress the nomination for the last seven years. Rather, the Heritage Council specifically deferred consideration until the Parks and Wildlife Service (PWS) resolved a 'management framework' for the shacks. PWS has now abandoned that process and has however, proposed to introduce a number of policies that will greatly impact the shack values (Ashley 2019).

In 2017 the shack community associations engaged the author to prepare a report on the condition of the values as a result of this intransigence (Ashley 2017a). This report showed that both physical fabric and social values were being damaged, primarily from uncertainty associated with the introduction of a year by year licence renewal that resulted in deferred maintenance and physical impacts. The author has recently prepared the *Wedge Shack Settlement Heritage Policies* report for the Wedge Island Protection Association as a baulk against the draft polices that were proposed to be introduced without any consideration of heritage values (Ashley 2019).

This WA Heritage Council process is not at all in alignment with Australia ICOMOS *Burra Charter* process that requires an active acknowledgement of heritage values in developing management policies (Australia ICOMOS 2013). It also demonstrates that places such as shacks settlements have clear heritage value but 'struggle for air' with governments that are keen to 'normalise' public landscapes.

The WA Government should no longer delay the inclusion of the Wedge and Grey shack settlements on the WA State Register and should also embark on preparing a CMP with a strong cultural landscape focus and, as for RNP, have an agreement with stakeholders as its objective.

## Findings Relevant to Heritage Practice (and Government)

1. Shacks and huts are particularly connected to landscape place, as an attribute of and evidence for, cultural landscape use and evolution and should not be addressed in isolation to those landscapes (see also Endnote 1).
2. Cultural landscapes are not necessarily beautiful landscapes—they are dynamic landscapes that reflect layers of history and loss as well as differing contemporary values reflected in that landscape. For shack settlements, government lands management agencies should adopt cultural landscape approaches in preparing management plans, such as by Brown (DECCW 2010), that may be more complex and dynamic but allow for better rewards in relation to multiple values.
3. A starting point to resolving conflicting values should be identifying common and shared views of the values of a landscape by all stakeholders. Conflicting values should then be addressed at their 'interface' to find ways to resolve or mitigate actual problems rather than conceptual issues.
4. Current management approaches to 'national parks' resulted from adopting US Parks Service models and ideology of the 1960s that created an idea of wilderness and strongly separated natural and cultural values. Different land reservation and management types should be considered, such as the more nuanced European models that accept living communities within national parks. For example, the NSW National Parks & Wildlife Act, 1974, contains an 'Historic Site' designation, now rarely used, that provides for 'landscape of cultural significance' (Part 4 Div 2 Clause 30F).
5. Public lands agencies can do more to document public views on the heritage values of these lands, including surveys to understand public values for National Parks, the historic structures in them, and the issues of private use.
6. When CMPs are prepared for lands that have a living community directly connected to the significance of the land, the CMP should include an Agreed Implementation section to reflect agreement with that community. Future revision of Australia ICOMOS Policy Practice Notes should consider this aspect.
7. Australia ICOMOS should comment in situations such as that of Wedge and Grey outlined here where the WA Government decision to proceed to management planning without completing a heritage assessment is completely at odds with *Burra Charter* principles.
8. The National Heritage Listing for RNP should be revised to better acknowledge the historic layers of meaning in the park, including the shack settlements.

## Conclusion

The shack settlements established around the coast and waterways of Australia in the middle of the twentieth century reflected a distinct and simple weekend recreation escape for working people that is now mostly lost, along with the shacks themselves. The few that remain are often within public lands, such as national parks, where they can appear as unexplained anomalies to bush-walkers and 'selfie-equipped' day trippers. They are also managed by government land agencies under pressure to 'normalise' these public landscapes, but with fewer and fewer resources to do so. To do the remaining shack communities justice we need to use dynamic management tools to deal with the complexity and the opportunities to meaningfully retain these rare and fragile places.

The two shack community case studies presented in this paper have different current status; one has its heritage values recognised, while in the other, the state government is stalling the progression of heritage recognition while introducing damaging policies. Both of these examples ultimately need management that respects the social heritage values held by both the public and directly associated communities—a dynamic and more 'three dimensional' cultural landscape approach that through agreement leads to engagement, trust, and ultimately a generational transfer of responsibility. A genuine move to this approach by public lands management agencies will see the resolution of differing quietly contested values via the common ground of landscape.

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## Endnote

1. The Kosciuszko National Park Huts Conservation Strategy 2005 (GML 2005) led by the author, identified the importance of social heritage values generally and the importance of some huts marking paths and routes that started as Aboriginal routes, became miners and pastoralists routes, and more recently those of bush walkers. This 'cultural landscape value' was used as a criterion for potential reconstruction following total destruction in the bush fires of 2003.

# The Easter Island sheep farm cultural landscape

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## Abstract

**Easter Island is a mysterious and unusual historic landscape. Much has been written about its evolution from early times and events that led to a near obliteration of its natural resources. But is what the tourist sees today purely a result of the 'moai' era? Since c1880 the Island's cultural landscape was further transformed by sheep grazing. And it is most unexpected to see fields of lupins, wild horses, a sheep dip and a shearing shed surrounded by *Eucalyptus* trees. These elements represent a darker story of the Island's recent past when the local people were confined to a tiny peninsula while sheep dominated the Island's resources. A Rapa Nui goal is to tell visitors about the sheep period by adapting the Chilean listed heritage shearing shed as an interpretation centre. As tourism is the Island's main income, broadening the range of activities has multiplier benefits to sustain the local economy and to engage visitors with a greater understanding of the Island's recent history. This is also a story of shared cultural heritage with Australian connections.**

## Introduction

Easter Island, also known as Rapa Nui or Isla de Pascua, is a triangular shaped island in the Pacific Ocean under the political jurisdiction of Chile (Figure 1). The island is about 24 kilometres long and 12 kilometres wide, with a land area of 163.6 square kilometres. According to the Chilean 2017 census, its population is 7,750. The Island is isolated. Its nearest neighbour is Pitcairn Island some 2,000 kilometres to the west. Australia is 11,000 kilometres to its far west. Most tourists arrive via a five-hour flight from Chile's capital, Santiago, located 3,600 kilometres to the east.


**Figure 1:** Location of places discussed in the paper.

The population is now concentrated in the capital, Hanga Roa, in the south-west corner of the Island. Here too are located the Island's transportation infrastructure—the Hanga Piko boat harbour, Mataveri International Airport, commercial activities, and most tourist accommodation. The rest of the Island is an open grassland and predominantly hilly landscape.

## Rapa Nui National Park

The Rapa Nui National Park, a UNESCO World Heritage Site declared in 1995 (UNESCO 1995), covers 44% of the Island. It is managed by the Corporacion Nacional Forestal (CONAF) of the Government of Chile and Ma'u Henua Polynesian Indigenous Community (Ma'u Henua). The Park aims to preserve the archaeological sites containing stone houses, cave paintings, rock carvings, burial chambers, and other artefacts of an earlier civilisation. This rich archaeological cultural heritage, especially the 'moai' statues, continues to captivate the modern world.

## The 'Moai' Landscape

Around 900 'moai', monolithic human-like figures of different representations and sizes, are positioned strategically along the Island's coastline. Only one group face out towards the sea. A 'moai' was exhibited at the Japanese World Fair 'Progress and Harmony for Mankind' in 1970. Its return to the Island led to the resurrection of some of the standing statues on an 'ahu' (stone platform) by concerned organisations, governments and archaeologists from all over the world (Keller 2001). Carbon dating associated with the statues indicate that they were in use from 700 CE to 1700 CE. The 'moai' are carved from volcanic stone and their 'hats' are made from yellow-brown lava tuff. The stone quarry is at the base of the inland crater of Rano Raraku volcano.

Much has been written about the removal of vegetation in order to transport the 'moai'. Most native tree species and other significant vegetation are now extinct on the Island. Explorers, scientists and archaeologists in the 19th century described the Rapa Nui landscape as mostly grassland, devoid of trees. An initial impression of the Island by renowned archaeologist Katherine Routledge, upon her arrival in 1914, was 'not a vestige of timber or even brushwood was to be seen'. She described her delight in pitching a tent next to a mature 'umbrella tree' which she said was 'the only example of its kind in the Island' (Routledge 1919). From these historical accounts, the only known tree species in the Island was the toromiro tree. Once endemic, the toromiro tree became extinct in the wild and now can only be found in botanical gardens in Europe (Püschel et al 2014).

**Figure 2:** The Easter Island gassy landscape is largely a legacy of sheep ranching (Hanga Roa on the right) http://www.panamintcity.com/photographs/easterisland/maungaterevakaphotos.html (accessed 2017)

## Easter Island Pastoral Landscape

Today, providing a backdrop to the 'moai' statues and the archaeological sites is the predominantly grassy landscape (Figure 2). The undulating slopes feature prominently around lagoons and streams flowing from the Island's extinct volcanoes. This seemingly pastoral vista is not only noteworthy for its scenic qualities, but also has historic significance to the Rapa Nui people as a tell-tale of the Island's recent past.

Intensive sheep grazing is also blamed for the demise of native vegetation, particularly the toromiro tree. Sheep are rarely found on the Island today but horses and cattle roam and graze freely. A 1914 account recorded about 500 horses (Routledge 1919). By 2017 horses had multiplied to 6,000 (McCormack 2017), almost equalling the human population. A German journalist, Heinz Hell, described in 1933 the use of horses for local transport, herding sheep, and hired to Island visitors (Hell 2008). More recently, to protect monuments, the government has erected fences rather than cull horse numbers (Püschel et al 2014), which demonstrates how their number has multiplied over recent years (Figure 3).

**Figure 3:** Easter Island wild horses (photographs by author 2017).

For over 100 years the Island's grasslands were used by a number of foreign companies to graze sheep for their wool. Between 1904 and 1923 sheep farming was overseen by an Australian, Henry Percival Edmunds (Fischer 2006). He had the shearing shed and sheep dip built (Figures 5 and 6), left an extensive series of photographs taken during his time on the Island (Edmunds / Bryan 1901), and today Islander descendants carry his name as Clan Edmunds.

Within the grasslands landscape the exception are groves of *Eucalyptus* trees (Figure 4) (New World Encyclopaedia 2006). These mainly cover the Island's middle section in the Vaitea area and grow readily in the Island's subtropical climate. Australian *Eucalyptus* were introduced in the early 1900s by *Compania Explotadora Isla de Pascua* (the Company), under its manager H P Edmunds, for fast growing timber required for fences and to provide wood for a proposed furnace for the Island's electricity generation (Wynter 2011). Routledge described her impression of the Company's 'Mataveri' residence (Figure 4), located about two miles to the south of the village, as 'surrounded by modern plantations (*Eucalyptus*) which are almost the only trees in the island'. More *Eucalyptus* trees were planted by the government's reforestation efforts in the 1970s. Francesco di Castri, an expert sent to Easter Island in 1961, recorded white Australian merino sheep and groves of Australian *Eucalyptus* trees. He noted then about 60,000 sheep in Hacienda Vaitea area and that 'the natives' were in a very miserable situation (Di Castri 2010).

## 19th Century Sheep Ranch, Island Segregation and Poverty

The Island's rolling and treeless landscape proved to be highly suitable for raising sheep for an annual wool clip. In 1868 a Tahitian, Alexander Salmon Jr., bought the Island land previously owned by the Rapa Nui who had perished in the slave trade during the 1860s and 1870s, 'with the aim of creating a large sheep ranch for exporting wool' (Wynter 2011). He appointed Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Dutrou-Bornier as manager. By 1883 there were 10,000 sheep and 400 cattle. Dutrou-Bornier ruled as a tyrannical 'king' and was also responsible for displacement of Rapa Nui to Tahiti as indentured labour on Company owned coconut or oil plantations throughout the Pacific islands. The census revealed that Dutrou-Bornier depopulated the Island in 1877, with only 111 Rapa Nui remaining. This happened in the same year he died under mysterious circumstances (Boersema 2015) and when horses were introduced to herd sheep.

Despite the Chilean annexation of Easter Island in 1888, the Santiago-based government proceeded to lease the Island to a number of individuals. Enrique Merlet controlled the entire Island as a sheep ranch, confining the Rapa Nui to Hanga Roa Village by constructing a wall supplemented by guards.

**Figure 4:** 'Mataveri' Vaitea Farm Manager's house (demolished in early 2000s), with *Eucalyptus* trees, on Easter Island in c1904; (photography P Edmunds, University of Hawai'i archives accessed 2017).

The most notable lease from 1903 to 1933 was to the Williamson Balfour & Co., a Scottish owned Chilean company with a local name of *Compania Explotadora Isla de Pascua*, or 'The Exploiting Company of Easter Island', formed specifically for commercial production of wool (Fischer 2006). During its half-century tenure, it erected paddock fences over the bulk of the Island and continued to prevent access by the Rapa Nui people. As recently as the 1960s, the Rapa Nua remained restricted to Hanga Roa, a land area of just 1,000 hectares (Chartier et al 2012). Very few Rapa Nui gained employment with the Company, and were limited mainly to shearing for the annual wool chip and loading bales onto export ships. During their first two decades on the Island, the Company forced Rapa Nui to work without pay. With very limited land resources, the Islanders could barely produce crops or raise animals for food. Water on the Island was also in very short supply and had to be shared with the sheep farm. Most of the Islanders lived in abject poverty and some survived by eating rats (Douglas & Nadler 2011).

At its peak in the mid-1930s, 70,000 sheep roamed across the Island (Fischer 2006). Fischer notes:

> the Company introduced grasses ideal for sheep grazing to enhance soil quality, rejuvenated the old livestock bloodlines, planted thousands of trees to provide windbreaks, sun shelters and for building material and to halt erosion. It expanded and built roads, enlarged then modernised Hanga Piko's quay, walled in and laid out Hanga Roa, erected a complete ranch at Vaitea, and hereby provide a permanent infrastructure for the island. (Fischer 2006)

The Company's contract with the Chilean government ended in 1953 at the same time as wool prices fell. Even so, the government continued operating the sheep farm until the 1970s

(Fischer 2006). In 1955, Vaitea (Figure 1), two miles from the village, continued to be the commercial centre and by that date the Island was already heavily forested by *Eucalyptus* trees.

The Rapa Nui became full Chilean citizens in 1966 and during the same year the sheep farm fences were taken down (Fischer 2006) and most sheep disappeared from the Island. The Islanders still call sheep a derivative of 'namoi' after a river catchment in New South Wales, the original blood line for export to the Island in the 19th century (Figure 1) (Carey 2006; Namoi CMA 2010; Time Toast n.d.).

## Post Sheep Era and Expanding a Tourism Future

The 2011 census showed that there was a total of 36 clans on Easter Island (Douglas & Nadler 2011) including a Clan Edmunds. The village lands were finally transferred to the Rapa Nui in 1979. Between 1998 and 2000, 1,500 hectares were also transferred to newly arriving Rapa Nui families (Observer's Report 2011).

As of 2007, the Island's land ownership divisions were: 40% Rapa Nui National Park, 40% government land for forestry and beef grazing (including the former Vaitea Ranch), and 20% private ownership (Rapa Nui Easter Island 2016). In 2001, the village accounted for 3% of land and 17% was rural common domain (Keller 2001), mainly for free-ranging horses. The government owned Sociedad Agricola de Servicios Isla de Pascua (SASIPA), including the former Vaitea farm, reputedly planned to reduce its cattle herd to 1,300 and its land usage to 1,000 hectares to allow for more land to be distributed to the Rapa Nui (Ramirez 2000).

Sheep farming finally ceased in 1985 and the Island's economy is now based on agriculture, fishing, government services, transportation, and tourism. Personal incomes are mostly dependent on activities connected to Rapa Nui archaeological heritage. Island tourist visitation rates have risen exponentially since the World Heritage inscription of Easter Island. There were about 5,700 tourists in 1980, 11,130 in 1990, and 30,500 tourists in 2000 (Keller 2001), showing a steady increase in visitor numbers. Primary concerns now for the Rapa Nui are immigration control and uncontrolled influx of tourism (Di Castri 2003), while the uptake of permanent residency on the Island was restricted in 2017.

Key to commercial operations are Mataveri International Airport's scheduled services from Santiago, commencing in 1967, when the airfield was paved and co-used as a USA base. It was extended in 1987 for its potential use as an abort site for the NASA Space Shuttle program.

The Rapa Nui community agitated for the formal establishment of the Ma'u Henua Polynesian Indigenous Community (Ma'u Henua), achieved in 2016, to serve as co-administrator with CONAF in management of the Rapa Nui National Park (Ma'u Henua community 2016). As the representative of the Easter Island community, the co-sharing arrangement allows Ma'u Henua to have control of the conservation and management of their ancestral lands.

## Vaitea Sheep Shearing Shed

The Vaitea Sheep Shearing Shed (Figures 5 & 6) is a significant historical item in Easter Island's cultural landscape and also to the Rapi Nui identity as part of their recent past. It continues the historic theme of depleted resources driven to near annihilation but in a very different way. This shed serves as a testimony to almost a century of sheep farming on the Island which deprived the indigenous people economically, physically and socially, making them second class citizens in their own land.

**Figure 5:** Vaitea Farm Shearing Shed c1904. The shed remains in 2017 but the foreground shallow pitched drying shelter no longer exists. (photograph by Henry P Edmunds, University of Hawai'i archives, accessed 2017).

**Figure 6:** On left, 'new' Vaitea Farm sheep dip and Shearing Shed behind, c1904 (photograph by Henry P Edmunds, University of Hawai'i archives, accessed 2019; on right, the Vaitea Farm concrete sheep pens in 2012, accessed 2017, http://southenconeguidebooks.blogspot.com.au/2012/06/after-moai-easter-islands-historical.html).

The Shed is located at Vaitea in the mid-section of the Island (Figure 1), along the main road that leads from the village to the beach at Anakena. The shed remains readable today within its landscape setting as a representative vernacular farm structure, despite its ruinous state. The roof and walls are clad in corrugated iron panels, the floor is concrete and the columns are wood. Some horizontal wooden plank linings and stone abutments remain. Other smaller structures, the sheep dip (Figure 7) and sections of the fence, are also extant.

The overall form, character and use of materials, such as corrugated metal, echo those of eastern Australian wool sheds of the early 1900s. Some internal portions display tongued and grooved wall lining boards that became popular in Europe in the late 1800s, and were shipped to colonies in Australia, South Africa, and the Americas.

The remains of the Vaitea Sheep Shearing Shed Complex are a testimony to more than a century of sheep grazing that has helped shape the cultural landscape of Easter Island. The heritage values associated with it could be summarised as below:

**Figure 7:** Vaitea Farm Shearing Shed in 2017 surrounded by *Eucalyptus* trees; the former wool press housing and timber lined walls, with brand marks, above the concrete base wall (photos by author).

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|---|---|
| Historical Significance | The extant Vaitea Farm vernacular structures and its associated landscape is characterised by sprawling hilly grasslands, wild lupins, herds of wandering horses and groves of *Eucalyptus* trees, and all have historic associations with the sheep farming industry on Easter Island from the 1880s until c1985. These also have historic associations with the knowledge, technology and processes involved in growing and processing wool during that period.<br><br>The Vaitea Shearing Shed Complex has 'shared' historical significance with colonial practices, and especially the sheep industry in Australia, and the built forms have 'shared built heritage' references to the 19th century Australian colonial era. The Vaitea Complex demonstrates the shared cultural values that arise from a commercial agricultural occupation when cultural practices and built forms from one country are introduced into a host place. The Vaitea Complex shows how the introduction of Australian sheep breeding stock sourced from the Namoi Valley in NSW, and the facilities and infrastructures necessary for sheep husbandry became part of the wider Easter Island cultural landscape. The importation and use of the iconic 'tin and wood' architectural form of Australian shearing sheds, together with the sheep dip, have 'shared' value.<br><br>The Vaitea Shearing Shed Complex is the vicinity where the groves of *Eucalyptus* trees were planted on Easter Island, in part to produce timber for paddock fencing as well as support for early electricity generation.<br><br>It also demonstrates that horses were introduced onto the Island to herd sheep. |
| Historic Associative Significance | The extant Vaitea Farm vernacular structures, and their setting, are significant for their association with the creation of the Island's cultural landscape of open grasslands.<br><br>The Complex has historic associations with *Compania Explotadora Isla de Pascua* and its Australian manager, Mr Percy Edmunds. His legacies include the introduced Australian wool shed form, the *Eucalyptus* trees, and his role as founder of the Island's Clan Edmunds. Edmunds is also notable for his early photographic recording of the Island.<br><br>The sheep operations are associated with establishing key infrastructure on the Island. |
| Aesthetic Significance | The extant Vaitea Shearing Shed is a vernacular farm structure that is representative of shearing sheds found in eastern Australia during the 19th and early 20th century. This is rare in Chile as the only known Australian complex, and the only such structure on Easter Island.<br><br>The sheep dip and pens are representative of Australian practices, and demonstrate c1900 innovative and new building technology in the use of concrete.<br><br>The setting of the shed complex within a grove of deliberately introduced *Eucalyptus* trees has visual and aromatic aesthetic value. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Social Significance | The Vaitea Shearing Shed complex is a memorial to the endurance of the Rapa Nui and their ability to rise above adversity. It continues to represent the century long suffering of the Rapa Nui, wherein at one time the entire population was confined to the village, and at another time almost exterminated by slavery and forced migration.<br><br>The complex is representative of large-scale sheep farming on the Island that subjugated the lives of the Islanders; and the Rapa Nui people seek to tell to visitors to the Island about this recent history.<br><br>The continuing strong attachment of the Rapa Nui people to the free roaming wild horses demonstrates the historic connection that arose from the era of sheep farming on the Island, and of the cultural landscape experience today.<br><br>The Vaitea Shearing Shed and related structures are tangible evidence of the link to the origin of the Island's Clan Edmunds. |
| Research Potential | The Vaitea Shearing Shed is able to tell about the evolution of the wider rural landscape as experienced today by the Islanders and tourist. This theme adds to the knowledge of the evolution of the Island landscape arising from sheep farming, its impact on the Island's grasslands and native peoples, and to expand knowledge about the 'shared built' heritage that cross national borders and the Pacific Ocean region. |
| Rarity | The Vaitea Shearing Shed and related structures are the only examples of this type on Easter Island, and likely to be the only ones of this type in Chile. Together with groves of *Eucalyptus* trees, these are the only tangible remains of over a century of sheep farming on Easter Island. To date, the Vaitea Shearing Shed is the only known complex that has shared heritage values with the colonial sheep industry. |

## Heritage Conservation, Threats and Challenges

During the sheep farming era on Easter Island, Vaitea was the centre of farming activities whilst the Mataveri Manager's House (Figure 4) was the headquarters of the Company's operations (Fischer 2006). Today, the ruins of Vaitea Shearing Shed, the sheep pens and dip, still surrounded by *Eucalyptus* trees, are the only surviving tangible evidence of the sheep farming period on the Island. Nothing remains of Mataveri house which was demolished in early 2000 (Van Tilburg 2003, 2009). Historic photographs however indicate it also displayed Australian architectural references.

The Vaitea sheep facilities are protected under law No17.288 of the National Monuments of Chile. The Shed, and its associated structures, were reported in 2017 to be in poor condition, so much so that a warning sign was erected indicting 'peligro de derrumbe', that is in danger of collapse. There is no evidence that the Chilean government is making an effort to conserve or restore it. A travel guide recounted that during his 2012 visit to Vaitea he saw the deteriorated condition of the facilities and the tree roots causing more damage to the wool shed and sheep dips. According to him, the facilities were in much better condition during his previous visit to Vaitea in 1992, and he lamented that Rapa Nui and local authorities are neglecting their 'contemporary history' (Bernhardson 2012).

The cultural landscape of Easter Island bears exceptional testimony not only to the cultural traditions and the artistic and religious expressions of the ancient Rapa Nui but also embodies the Rapa Nui's endurance in rising above adversity through the centuries. The Island's living landscape has slowly and continuously evolved in response to different social and economic dynamics through the years and each significant stage in the Island's history has left its mark and stories to tell. Some marks are visible impacts, whilst others commemorate the more recent past hardships, slavery and forced migration. Each is a layer representative of the evolution of the Rapa Nui history and lifestyle.

Along with the 'moai' and other archaeological remains, the Vaitea farm complex and its historical setting are all vulnerable to global impacts, including climate change, population growth, and the influx of tourism. Practical conservation and management practices and protocols are now in place for the Rapa Nui National Park to manage the World Heritage site. The significance of the sheep farming era to the evolution of the Island's cultural landscape is yet to be managed or interpreted. This challenge lies with the Ma'u Henua Polynesian Indigenous Community and the Corporacion Nacional Forestal of Chile.

## Using the Past for the Future

Whilst archaeologists have recorded sheep bones in excavations, to date there is no known study or recording of the cultural landscape that is a legacy of the sheep grazing era on Easter Island. As this is the visual memory tourists photograph today, it is important and should be recognised. Yet the evidence of sheep activities serves as a timely marker and memory of how the era of sheep farming affected the Islanders. This neglected recent history, and its 'shared heritage' of how the rural landscape evolved, needs to be further explored.

The economic basis and individual incomes for Easter Islanders today are solely dependent on tourism. Tourists make the expensive and out-of-the-way flights to Easter Island primarily to see the 'moai' statutes, and to visit the various archaeological sites. Tourists drive through a grassy landscape created by sheep farming to get to the 'moai' locations. The Rapa Nui have expanded tourist activities to include horse riding, walking trails, bird watching, and access to a sandy beach. However, the Islanders are locked out of the surrounding sea and fisheries due to the Chilean Government's long-term leases to international trawling companies. A goal is to encourage tourists to understand the Island's recent history. The Vaitea Complex has interpretive potential to communicate a darker side of colonial occupation, forced segregation, and its 'shared' associations with 'namoi' sheep and its Australian connections. This can also be a place that turns a period of tragedy into a renewed economic source for the Island's future.

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# Integrative conservation under the 5Cs strategy: A case study of Qionglin in Kinmen, Taiwan

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**Abstract**

In order to facilitate the implementation of the 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (World Heritage Convention), the UNESCO World Heritage Committee develops Strategic Objectives to ensure that new threats placed on World Heritage are addressed effectively since 2002. This paper examines how the '5Cs Strategy' (Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building, Communication and Community) has been applied to the conservation of a culturally rich village on the island of Qionglin, Taiwan. In 1982 Taiwan legislated a *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act* for conserving heritage. The Act was amended greatly in 2016 by adopting a dual heritage system recognising both tangible and intangible qualities through a Value Priority Concept closely linked with the World Heritage system. Also under this Concept heritage management is strengthened by integrating multiple values conservation and public engagement. Based on the Operational Guidelines' 5Cs Strategy (WHC 2018a), this paper explores the example of a project titled 'Re-presenting the Glory of Thousand-year Settlement in Qionglin', one of Taiwan's Regeneration of Historic Sites projects. It demonstrates how tangible and intangible heritage, together with the environment, can be conserved in an integrated manner, as well as the opportunities and challenges of local resources allocation, community engagement, and industrial regeneration etc. Although the project is an ongoing process, it reveals that communication and community are the major concerns. Continuous discussions through a community-oriented approach with multi-consideration of all parameters are the keys to achieve the goal of sustainable conservation of both tangible and intangible heritage.

## Introduction

The 5Cs is the main strategy of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre for advocating the successful conservation of World Heritage and includes the key foci of credibility, conservation, capacity-building, communication, and community, as represented in Figure 1 (WHC 2018a). This strategy evolved from international conservation concepts which reflect the consensus of taking 'heritage' and 'democracy' as key ingredients in a people-based approach to sustainable development. Taiwan has legislated for conserving cultural heritage since 1982. *The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act* was significantly amended in 2016. It confirms the classification system of heritage (tangible, intangible) and the value priority concept to link with World Heritage management approaches, and also strengthens heritage management by integrating multiple values conservation and public engagement.

Parallel with these legislative changes in 2016, the government raised a large-scale program, the Regeneration of Historic Sites (RHS), which has 22 on-site projects to implement the

integrative policy of local-culture-based conservation. This paper takes 'Re-presenting the Glory of Thousand-year Settlement in Qionglin', one of the RHS projects, as the example. Based on the 5Cs strategy, it demonstrates how tangible and intangible heritage, together with the environment, are being successfully conserved simultaneously, as well as how the issues of local resources allocation, community engagement, and industrial regeneration are being addressed.

## Key Concepts

Recently in the international realm several noteworthy integrated concepts in heritage conservation have been developed:

### 1. The Integration between Cultural and Natural Heritage

Frequently for World Heritage places, culture and nature are separated into two systems, each with its own assessment criteria and management methods. However, recently the integration of one system for natural and cultural values has been developed (WHC 2018a), including:

(i) Where the 1998 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (OG) refers to the concept of cultural heritage as a series of heritage places (Serial Property) the text has been expanded to allow the inclusion of biological and ecological issues so that natural heritage can also be preserved in the form of serial properties.

(ii) The concept of 'cultural landscape' has been included into the 1992 OG, in which places which demonstrate both the common structure of humankind and outstanding examples of the natural world can be considered as important heritage.

(iii) In the 2005 OG, the assessment criteria for cultural and natural heritage, previously primarily based on cultural sites or natural sites respectively, were merged as the ultimate criteria for all World Heritage sites.

(iv) Since 2016, the advisory bodies of the World Heritage Committee, ICOMOS for cultural heritage and IUCN for natural heritage, have embarked on a cooperative conversation, to further progress the Nature-Culture Journey with particular achievements at the 19th ICOMOS General Assembly in December 2017.

### 2. The Integration of Values between Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage

The Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994 (WHC 2018b) has revealed that intangible heritage attributes should be included in the assessment of cultural heritage. Although UNESCO announced the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention) in 2003, the 2005 World Heritage Operational Guidelines (OG) now include intangible heritage attributes into the eight assessment pointers for the authenticity of cultural heritage. The importance of integrating concepts of tangible and intangible cultural heritage is now fully explained in the OG.

### 3. Integrating Community into Heritage Management Systems

In 2007, the 5Cs strategy for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (WHC 2018c, 2018d) was promoted by the World Heritage Committee, based on the Budapest Declaration (2002's 4Cs strategy) by including the 'fifth C' for 'Communities' (in Figure 1). This means that the integration of various government sectors and the community are recognised as an extremely important aspect of heritage conservation work. 'Heritage and Democracy' was the main theme of the 2017 ICOMOS General Assembly, emphasising issues relevant to the communities impacted by World Heritage listings.

### 4. Integration of Tradition and Modern Technology

With the coming of the 21st century, a variety of well-developed new technologies offer a considerable addition to more traditional conservation and restoration techniques. At the same time the development of digital technology not only provides faster and more accurate information to the record of cultural heritage (documentation) but also advances the use of

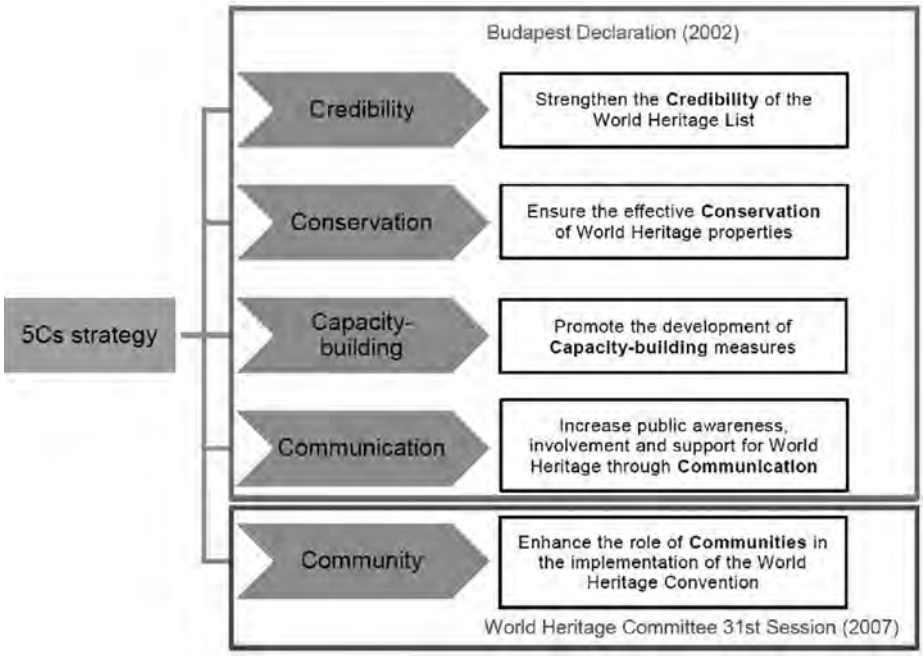


**Figure 1:** The 5Cs strategy (By the author).

data, value-added applications (AR, VR, MR), and virtual classrooms, taking access to best heritage conservation practice to an unprecedented level. The benefit of Digital Cultural Heritage (DCH) is now an essential issue that cannot be neglected.

The 2016 *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act* of Taiwan divided the nation wide heritage, as well as the subordinate sub-items, into the two categories of tangible and intangible properties (BOCH 2016). This is a progressive approach reflecting UNESCO's changing concepts of world heritage and other international developments in cultural heritage conservation theory. The better understanding of core heritage values and the adoption of integrated conservation practices are the core spirit of Taiwan's legislative modifications.

## Regeneration of Historic Sites Program

In order to further implement the latest *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act*, the Ministry of Culture launched the Regeneration of Historic Sites Program which selects 22 sites across Taiwan to benefit from the investment of 6.4 billion NT dollars in a three-year term. The Program aims to revitalise cultural heritage resources at a community level and also to regenerate the regional cultural landscape through public investment. It is promoted as a cultural citizen movement by including continuing community engagement and conversations to raise an awareness of cultural heritage conservation.

In addition, the Program takes historical memory and the cultural context into account by considering the pluralistic imagination and uses of heritage space. This leads to the reconnection of the contemporary community with heritage places through their involvement with cultural governance (MOC 2018). Based on the core concept of cultivating cultural development and increasing cultural engagement:

(1) The program transcended conventional single-point, single-building, and case-by-case cultural heritage preservation methods, and proposed the regeneration of historic sites as the central tenet for a public infrastructure investment project.

(2) By combining cultural heritage preservation and regional spatial governance, this interdisciplinary program involving local culture, history, and technology, amalgamates the development plan of each ministry or comprehensive plan of each government, thereby connecting locals to the land and recalling relevant historical memories.

(3) With more deepened community development and promoted local culture residing in people's relationship with the local environment, strengthening cultural connotations to boost the cultural economy. This program establishes a comprehensive cultural preservation policy involving both central and local governments, thereby applying culture preservation into citizen's lifestyles.

At present, the Regeneration of Historic Sites (RHS) Program has 22 'on-site' projects to implement the integrative policy of local-culture-based conservation. The conceptual framework of the Program is shown in Figure 2. This paper takes 'Re-presenting the Glory of Thousand-year Settlement in Qionglin', one of the RHS projects, as the study case.

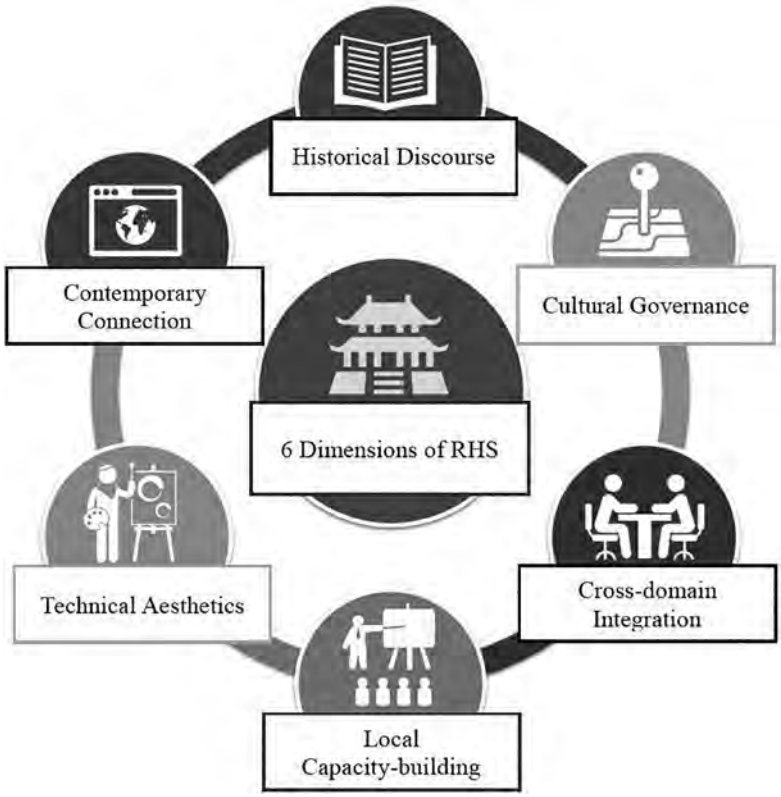


**Figure 2:** The Conceptual Framework of the RHS Program (MOC 2017).

## Qionglin Settlement, Kinmen

Qionglin is a settlement with traditional clan culture at its core. It is situated within the Kinmen National Park. Qionglin is a highlight among the 150 traditional settlements of Kinmen because it conserves more than 400 traditional buildings while also supporting a wealth of intangible cultural heritage attributes. The settlement reflects the continued conservation of living Southern Fujian culture, including festivals and important folk traditions. In 2012, Qionglin Settlement was designated as a historic settlement according to Taiwan's *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act*.

## Historical Background

Kinmen's clan-based culture adheres to Chinese traditional values handed down from ancient times, and has been further nurtured by Southern Fujian traditions. Although, like most of the island of Kinmen, it has been impacted by the diaspora cultures brought back by the returning emigrants and by a strong military presence, the village stands as an example of credible 'Living Heritage'. This is manifested by the architectural designs of the ancestral shrines, ancestor worship and other religious rituals, the organisation and maintenance of lineages, each of which, in turn, is profoundly connected with the formation of the settlement texture and the life of its people.

A farming-schooling-based tradition is advocated by the clan-based culture in the Qionglin settlement. Qionglin is a singly-surnamed Tsai village, beginning from the time that the Tsai Clan moved from Guang Zhou to Fujian, as far back as the Five Dynasties (907-960 CE). The residents all share the same family name, Tsai. It is apparent that the core for shaping the existence of Qionglin Settlement, including its historical development, the spatial composition, and the prosperity of Tsai families, lies in its clan-based traditions (CPRC 2017).

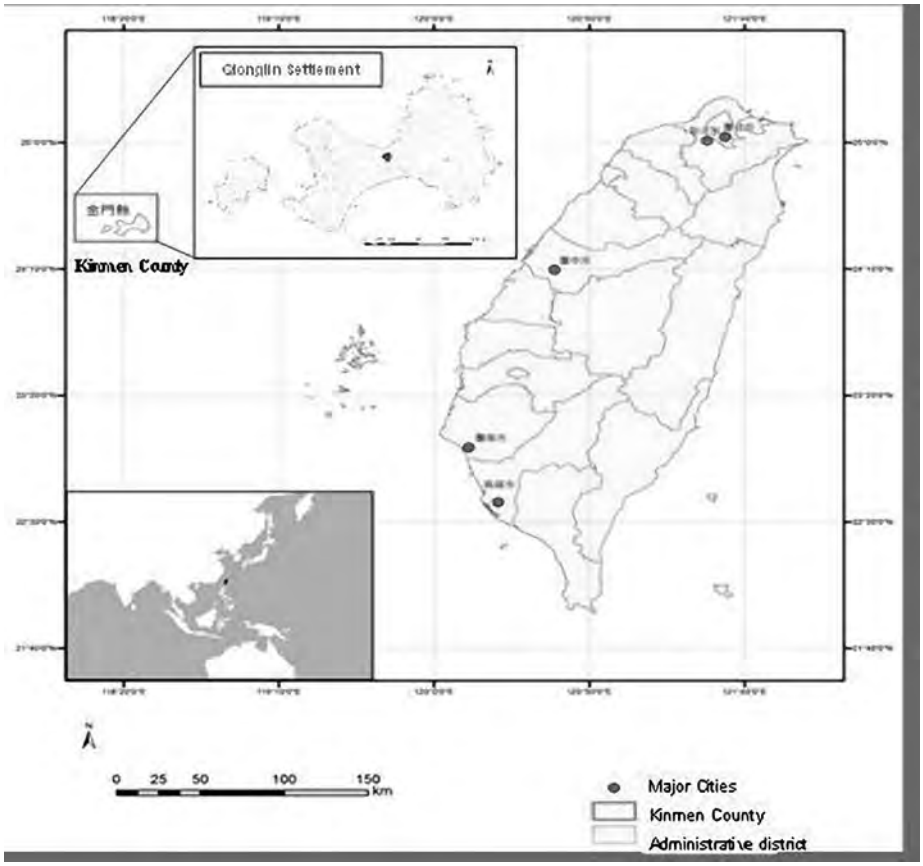


**Figure 3:** Location of Kinmen on the Map of Taiwan (CPRC 2017).

At present, there are eleven recognised tangible cultural heritage sites in Qionglin Settlements, including eight national monuments (e.g. the Tsai Clan Family Temple and Yi-gu Hall), one county designated monument (Tripartite Chastity Arch) and two historic buildings (the Residences 1 & 2 of Cia Han/Juren), as well as the intangible heritage of Ancestral Worship in Tsai Clan Family Temple, and the veneration of the Wind Lion Lord (in Figure 4). Many other intangible rites are continued in the Qionglin settlement. Qionglin is known as the 'Living Southern Fujian Cultural Settlement' of Kinmen.

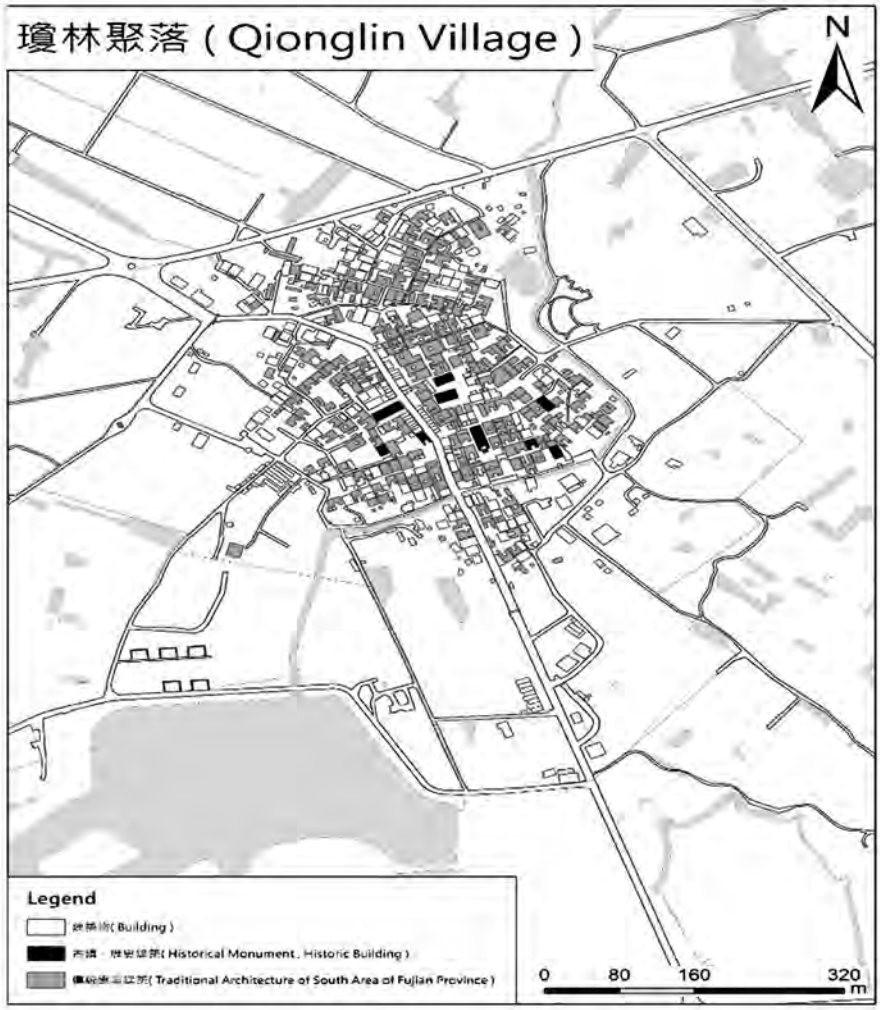


Figure 4: The Monuments and Historical Buildings in Qionglin Settlement (By the author).

## Cultural Resources

The 'farming-schooling-tradition advocated by the clan-based culture' in Qionglin settlement involves the Chinese practice of being both a farmer and a scholar working the land while also undertaking academic studies (known as 'Gendu'). The specific characteristics of the Tsai clan-based traditions enjoy considerable civic expression. The most obvious among these are the setting of ancestral shrines as the core spatial element within the settlement, and the distinctive designs of these shrines and buildings compared to those of temples and residential homes. Other features are the ancestral veneration and other religious rituals that have continued intact for centuries, the supportive and bonding ties of genealogy and clan organisation, and daily life events regulated by lineage or clan-based traditions.

With the authentic worship at their ancestral shrines, respect for genealogies, and membership of clan organisations, the Tsai family members were able to maintain their lineages and maintain their own unique settlement, and thus subsist yet persist during difficult and trying times. The Tsai heritage exemplifies the core values characterised by the ancient traditions of Chinese ethical thought. In the meantime, it meets the requirements of a 'living heritage', as defined by the World Heritage Committee. It is apparent that the core for shaping the existence of Qionglin Settlement, including its historical development, the spatial composition, and the prosperity of Tsai families, lies in its clan-based traditions (CPRC 2017).

## The Main Achievement of Current Qionglin Settlement Conservation Before RHS

In the past decade, the public sector has greatly contributed to the conservation of the Qionglin settlement. This included its promotion as a potential World Heritage Site, the historic settlement listing, traditional building restoration, traditional craftsman training, and a management and risk assessment-monitoring program. In 2016, under the lead of the Ministry of Culture, the program of Regeneration of Historic Sites (RHS) was announced. After the proposal submission, Qionglin settlement was approved and funded by the Ministry as one of the 19 RHS programs which can demonstrate different features of the conservation progress. The current development status for heritage conservation in Qionglin is as follows:

a. Qionglin is a major contender as a Potential World Heritage site in Taiwan since 2010;
b. Qionglin has been listed as a historic settlement since December 2012;
c. In December 2013, the Qionglin Settlement Conservation and Re-development Plan was approved. By taking this plan as a blueprint (CABKC, 2013), the following works have been done in integration with the relevant resources:
    i. 2015, the Underground Services Engineering Works in Qionglin (Kinmen County Government, Kinmen National Park Headquarters);
    ii. 2015 to the present, a comprehensive review on the Kinmen National Park Detail Plan (Kinmen National Park Headquarters);
    iii. 2016 to the present, the Biological and Microbial Control Plan for the traditional buildings of Qionglin Settlement (Kinmen County Government);
    iv. 2016 to the present, the Bird Control Plan for the national monument, Qionglin settlement (Kinmen County Government); and
    v. 2016 to the present, the Heritage Risk Management and Monitoring Plan of Kinmen County (Kinmen County Government).

d. the Regeneration of Historic Sites project.

Implementing the Regeneration of Historic Sites Program, which Kinmen County titles 'Re-presenting the Glory of Thousand-year Settlement in Qionglin', will not only further advance the cultural heritage of Qionglin Settlement, but also greatly benefit cultural heritage conservation, and residents' participation, across the whole county.

## Re-Presenting the Glory of Thousand-Year Settlement in Qionglin and the 5cs Strategy

The project 'Re-presenting the Glory of Thousand-Year Settlement in Qionglin' was approved in July 2016 with a three-year duration from 2017 to 2019. The 5Cs Strategy is the basis for the following planning and implementation of the Project (CABKC 2016).

### The Ideas and Strategies of the RHS Project:

a. To strengthen the interdisciplinary investigation, research and planning of cultural heritage in the Qionglin settlement;
b. To implement the community engagement for the Qionglin settlement and enhance the multi-cultural development;
c. To ensure the integrity of the basic data and digital archives of the cultural heritage of the Qionglin settlement;
d. To safeguard intangible cultural heritage and folk activities including the recording of traditions and training;
e. To develop the digital preservation of cultural heritage, promote the establishment of technological resources and navigation of the historical space; and
f. To share the experience of Regeneration of Historic Sites, and drive the conservation and revitalisation of Kinmen settlements.

**The Contents of the RHS Project:**

a. Historical Scene: Qionglin Settlements, Thousand-year Relics, Living Heritage;
b. Value Conservation: Tangible, Intangible Heritage, Historical Environment and other relevant conservation, including the living knowledge of the community;
c. The Existing Basis: Pre-plan—'Qionglin Settlement Conservation and Re-development Plan, Kinmen County' and relevant studies;
d. During implementation: to strengthen the integration between the public and private sectors and community engagement;
e. The integrative demonstration through 4 major projects and 14 sub-projects.

**Implementation and Action:**

a. The structure of the RHS Project;

The development of 'Re-presenting the Glory of Thousand-year Settlement in Qionglin' was scheduled to occur between January 2017 and December 2019. The Project integrates the previous heritage conservation initiatives as its foundation. The main structure of the Project is shown in Figure 5.

The sharing of experience is also part of the main tasks in the RHS Project. Besides taking Qionglin as the main object, it aims to extend the influence to other settlements in Kinmen.

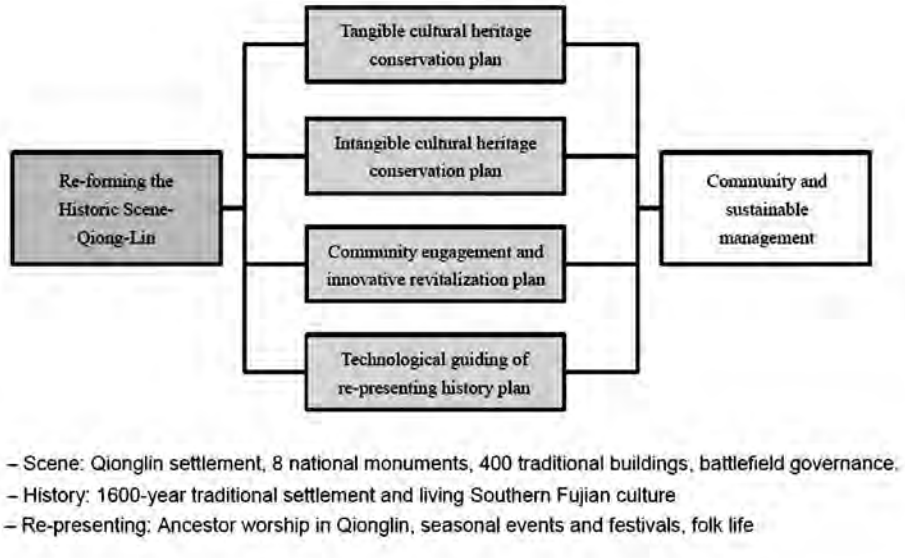


**Figure 5:** The structure of the Project (By the author)..

b. The contents of the RHS Project:

The RHS Project is divided into four major plans and 14 sub-plans which are listed sequentially:

i. Plan A- Tangible cultural heritage conservation plan

A-1 The restoration and reuse of the National Monument, Qionglin

A-2 The restoration and reuse plan for cultural heritage (resources) in Qionglin

A-3 The biological and microbial control plan for Qionglin settlement

A-4 The restoration and reuse plan for traditional shop-houses

ii. Plan B—Intangible Cultural heritage conservation plan
   B-1 The inheritance plan for Qionglin ancestor worship
   B-2 The importing plan of traditional folk customs
   B-3 The representing plan for local intangible cultural heritage
   B-4 The inheritance plan for a local traditional craftsman system
iii. Plan C—Community engagement and innovative revitalisation plan
   C-1 Regional industrial innovation and digital value-adding plan
   C-2 The integrated plan between settlement conservation and education
   C-3 The training plan for strengthening heritage management in the settlement.
iv. Plan D—Technological guiding of the re-presenting history plan
   D-1 The development plan for digital resources
   D-2 The development of a digital navigation platform
   D-3 The training plan for digital value-adding and heritage interpretation guiding expertise

**Figure 6—1:** National Monument-Tsai Clan Family Temples, Qionglin (By the author).

**Figure 6—2:** National Monument-Tsai Clan Family Temples, Qionglin (By the author).

The location of the above sub-plans at Qionglin settlement are demonstrated in Figure 7.


**Figure 7:** The Implemented Geo-location of Qionglin RHS Project's Sub-plans (By the author).

c. Annual strategy of implementation

i. In 2017 the focus was on the improvement of basic works, participatory planning and management training, but also included a certain proportion of the outputs.

ii. In 2018 the transformation of knowledge, capability and cooperative construction, including the results of contributions and the proposals of the business model, were the main objectives.

iii. In 2019 the focus is on the transformation of residents' involvement and skills and the completion of digital tools as the main tasks to demonstrate the overall achievements. Currently, the residents' participation in this stage is in line with expectations.

The comparison between the Qionglin's various heritage management initiatives and 5Cs Strategy conceptions is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1:** The comparison between Re-presenting the Glory of Thousand-Year Settlement in Qionglin Project and 5Cs strategy Source: By the author.

| Plan | Sub-plan Project | 5Cs Policy |
|---|---|---|
| Plan A | A-1 The restoration and reuse of national monument, Qionglin | Conservation |
| | A-2 The restoration and reuse plan for cultural heritage (resources) in Qionglin | Conservation |
| | A-3 The biological and microbial control plan for Qionglin settlement | Conservation |
| | A-4 The restoration and reuse plan for traditional shop-houses | Capacity-building, Communication |
| Plan B | B-1 The inheritance plan for Qionglin ancestor worship | The coordination and participation of the residents (Community) |
| | B-2 The importing plan of traditional folk customs | Credibility |
| | B-3 The representing plan for local intangible cultural heritage | Credibility |
| | B-4 The inheritance plan for local traditional craftsman system | Conservation |

*…table continues on next page*

| Plan | Sub-plan Project | 5Cs Policy |
|---|---|---|
| Plan C | C-1 Regional industrial innovation and digital value-adding plan | The coordination and participation of the residents (Community) |
| | C-2 The integrated plan between settlement conservation and education | The coordination and participation of the residents (Community), Communication |
| | C-3 The training plan for strengthening the settlement management | The coordination and participation of the residents (Community), Communication |
| Plan D | D-1 The development plan of digital resources | Capacity-building |
| | D-2 The development plan of navigation platform | Capacity-building, Communication |
| | D-3 The training plan for digital value-adding and guiding talent | The coordination and participation of the residents (Community) |

## Summary

Re-presenting the 'Glory of Thousand-year Settlement in Qionglin' Project is being implemented in a timely manner. It is within the principle of 'Rolling Correction' by reviewing and evaluating the effectiveness of the project regularly and adjusting the budget and content flexibly.

## Conclusion: Towards a More Challenging Environment

The diversification of cultural heritage, the value of diversity, and the emerging issues of politics, economy, and disaster risk which must be conducted during the process of conservation, make the current conservation of cultural heritage face a more complicated situation locally, nationally and globally. We should continue to have a broader vision for our cultural heritage and also keep abreast of the times. Meanwhile, we need to continuously strengthen the capacity of conservation through training and education, sharing knowledge and skills.

Culture, and cultural values, are a rather abstract domain. Heritage values and their conservation need a discourse based on ethics, theories, knowledge, and evidence. The case study of conserving the dynamic heritage value of Qionglin is an on-going project. During its development and implementation, we have also obtained long-term assistance from AusHeritage, a professional community of Australian cultural heritage management organisations. We are looking forward to having more experience and expertise to share in the future.

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# Traditional cultural events, built heritage and placemaking: The Festival Internacional Cervantino in Guanajuato, Mexico

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## Abstract

**Traditional festivals are the origin of many international events that have become highly popular over time. This process brings positive outcomes to a city through local pride and an increased number of visitors, but it poses several risks related to overcrowding and loss of authenticity. This research is focused on the Festival Internacional Cervantino, one of the major cultural events in Latin America. The objective was to measure visitors' experiences in relation to placemaking, focusing on the perception of urban services and the city image. The relationship between the festival and visits to heritage sites was especially highlighted and analysed. The methodology that was applied is based on the Event Experience Scale, which is being used worldwide in the study of visitors' event experiences. Findings showed that the Festival Internacional Cervantino only partially contributes to the modification of tourists' perception of the city of Guanajuato. We also found that urban services need improvement and that foreign discourses were incorporated into the festival, impacting fundamental aspects of the city's identity and the event's authenticity.**

## Introduction

Events play a key role in the contemporary global identity of cities and they also relate to economic, social and cultural processes. Traditional cultural festivities are transformed by contemporary events and the result can be accepted by locals or cause their rejection, thus leading to a loss of authenticity. Events imply a subjective experience for visitors, whose perceptions must be taken into account in order to understand the placemaking itself, given that place relates physical space with social and cultural meaning. The case presented in this research will serve as an example of this relationship and it will contribute to the discussion of the impact of events in placemaking, focusing on tourists' perceptions during the celebration of the Festival Internacional Cervantino in Guanajuato, Mexico.

The main research question in this study was to identify how visitors perceived urban topics in relation to placemaking during the celebration of the event. Changes in heritage site visits patterns were also addressed during festival days. The methodology applied in this research might be applicable to other cities dealing with the same issues.

Traditional events in Latin America responded to a need to break the monotony and offer a reason for citizens to meet, consisting mostly of local people, neighbours from surrounding towns and a few foreigners. However, this purpose has changed in recent decades and celebrating events is now more related to three aspects: attracting tourists, increasing local pride and offering a better city image.

In relation to the capacity of events to attract a larger number of tourists, the focus is especially put on repeat visitors, people making short trips and travelling off-season, and on independent travellers. The main reason to develop events in this sense is that event tourists spend more than average tourists (Herrero et al. 2012).

Regarding local pride, events and festivals are useful for increasing the sense of community and emphasising a positive collective image, especially thanks to the collaborative participation of different kinds of people that share common values and interests, at least for a few days in the year.

Finally, many cities take the opportunity of celebrating events to offer a revitalised city image. Showing a better city image will serve to attract investment and higher-profile residents. This is the reason why there is an increasing number of candidate cities to host events with the highest international impact, such as the Olympic Games or World Expositions. In this case, the value of the event brand becomes more powerful than the brand of the city itself and the impact of the event lasts for decades.

Through the creation and expansion of events, many local traditions have been transformed to attract a larger and more diverse audience. These events serve to transmit local cultural heritage but when the main focus is put on satisfying the visitors' interests rather than local participants' needs, the event can lose authenticity and become less attractive for their original creators (Brida, Disegna & Osti 2013). In these cases, there is a banalisation of intangible heritage and public spaces are turned into spaces of consumption (Paton, Mooney & McKee 2012), thus losing their original objective of being a meeting place during the festival. While events can help to make streets more vibrant (Law 1996), overcrowding by foreign visitors can lead to the displacement of local residents, due to a lack of comfort, and a loss of cultural identity as it becomes a commodified cultural product for tourists. Built heritage does not escape this risk of trivialisatoin as events are more profitable due to their greater capacity for transformation and adaptation than investment in buildings and monuments (Richards & Palmer 2010). As a result, cities that have focused their tourism strategy on events tourism, might lose interest in conserving built heritage.

## The Festival Internacional Cervantino in Guanajuato, Mexico

The city of Guanajuato is the capital of the homonymous state, located in central Mexico, 360 km north of Mexico City, in the region of El Bajío. It is a semi-desert area, in transition between the mild high plateau and the northern deserts, distinguished by their landscape full of cacti and extreme temperatures. The city has 184,239 inhabitants (Instituto Nacional de Geografía y Estadística 2016) and a diverse economy rooted in public administration, university, services, and mining. Although there were previous indigenous vestiges, the city was not founded and permanently settled until 1570 by the Spaniards, following the discovery of a silver deposit, which is still under exploitation. Guanajuato was soon one of the most important silver mines in the Spanish Empire and it became the world's largest silver producer in the 18th century. Guanajuato's city centre and adjacent mines were included in UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1988. Its main values rely on the techniques that were first applied in the city's mines and the rich built heritage that was erected thanks to the economic profit derived from this industry, especially palaces and baroque churches such as the Basílica Colegiata de Nuestra Señora de Guanajuato, La Valenciana, La Compañía and San Roque. Apart from mining, the city played a relevant historical role in the Mexican Independence War, represented by the Alhóndiga de Granaditas where a decisive battle took place.

Cultural tourism is one of the most important economic sectors in the city. Guanajuato received 2,666,052 visitors in 2017 (8% of them were foreigners) (Secretaría de Turismo de Guanajuato 2018). The main attractions of the city are the monuments that have been mentioned above, the Mummies Museum, and the Festival Internacional Cervantino. This festival is considered the most important cultural event in Latin America. It takes place every year in October and consists of an intense program of visual arts, theatre, music, dance, exhibitions and lectures. In 2017, 186 activities were organised over the festival duration and attended by more than

350,000 people (Unión Guanajuato, 2017). Outdoor activities are free and aimed at a wider audience while those held indoors are focused on new artistic trends and a more specialized audience. The festival is a tribute to Cervantes, one of the most well-known Spanish writers, and his immortal work El Quixote. This is a very interesting feature of this festival, taking into account that Cervantes never visited Guanajuato and there is no other connection between the city and the author. However, the city has developed a strong connection with Cervantes since the festival was established, up to the point of being declared America's Cervantes Capital in 2005. Nowadays Cervantes is present in the city all year round in the form of sculptures, street names, plaques and a Quixote Museum.

The origin of the Festival Internacional Cervantino has to be found in Enrique Ruelas' representations of Cervantes' little theatre pieces called Entremeses in 1953. In 1972 the festival achieved its current format in general terms (Noticiero del Servicio Exterior Mexicano 2013). Since the 1990s, the festival declined and it started to be popular as a party for young people that wanted to have fun without their parents' control. Lately, new controls have been established on alcohol consumption and antisocial behaviour, although there are tensions between residents and visitors due to noise, waste accumulation and overcrowding. The organisation of the festival is the responsibility of the Federal Government, but many government administrations are involved including the State Government, City Council, and the University. Every year a foreign country and a Mexican state are especially invited, in 2017 it was the turn of France and the State of Mexico.

**Figure 1:** The street atmosphere in the Festival Internacional Cervantino 2017 (source: the authors).

## Methodology

This study's methodology consisted of the application of a questionnaire. The main issues included visitors' perceptions about urban features, heritage visits patterns, and transformations in urban image. The questionnaire is part of a method called Event Experience Scale (EES), which has been developed to measure the experience of people attending events, focusing

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Common variables included in EES | Personal information | Place of origin |
| | | Number of people in the group |
| | | Gender |
| | | Age group |
| | | Educational qualification |
| | | Occupational group |
| | | Annual household |
| | About the visit to the event | Main reasons for attending the event |
| | | Information sources used to plan the visit to the event |
| | | Previous visits to the event |
| | | Accommodation during the event |
| | | Interest in visiting the event again |
| | | Interest in recommending the event |
| | | Importance of the event in the decision to visit the city |
| | | Activities that the person would be doing if the event was not held |
| | | Perceptions and attitudes during the event |
| | | Average spending during the event |
| | | Use of social media to share information about the event |
| | | Specific social media that were used |
| | General | Observations |
| | | E-mail address |
| Specific variables of the study case | About the visit to the event | Location of the accommodation and number of nights that the person stayed during the event |
| | | Events attended |
| | About the impact of the event in the city's image, attractions, heritage resources and public services and its surroundings | Adjectives that define Guanajuato |
| | | Kinds of transport in the city |
| | | Other activities performed during their stay in the city |
| | | The opinion of event's features and local public and urban services |
| | | Heritage resources visited in the city centre during their stay |
| | | Heritage resources visited in the suburbs during their stay |
| | | Heritage resources and historic cities visited in the surroundings during their stay |

**Figure 2:** Variables that have been used in the questionnaire (source: the authors)

on mood and emotion. The method was designed at Tilburg University in 2012 by Geus, Richards and Toepoel (2015). It resulted in an 18-item scale, comprising 4 dimensions: effective engagement, cognitive engagement, physical engagement, and experiencing newness, with Cronbach's alpha values rating from 0.83 to 0.87. EES has since been applied by members of the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education and Research (ATLAS). ATLAS was founded in 1991 to develop international educational initiatives in tourism and leisure. It serves as a forum to promote the exchange of staff and students, transnational research and facilitate career and professional development. It currently has about 175 members in approximately 60 countries worldwide. In 2014, ATLAS established the Event Experience Research Project with the objective of applying EES in different events worldwide, working together with this method makes it possible to share the data and compare visitors' perceptions of the events that are being analysed. Nowadays, the Event Experience Research Project group is composed of 15 members from Brazil, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, United Kingdom, and the USA. In Mexico, EES has been applied so far to the Festival Internacional Cervantino in Guanajuato and the Guelaguetza in Oaxaca.

In this case study, the questionnaire was applied from 11-29 October 2017, over the duration of the 45th Festival Internacional Cervantino. The questionnaire in this case study included two parts, the first was the original EES comprised 22 closed questions and the second consisted of 8 closed questions focusing on perceptions of urban features, patterns of visits to monuments, and the city's perceived image.

Participants were selected while waiting to enter the main festival venues or walking or having a rest in public spaces connecting event locations. 211 people responded in total, 52% women and 48% men. 83% were from Mexico and the rest were from abroad. Mexicans came primarily from the State of Guanajuato, Mexico City, and the State of Mexico. Foreigners were mainly from the USA.

## Key Results and Discussion

Overall, the EES results showed that urban factors are some of the key issues that affect visitors' perceptions of the festival and the city. People from abroad value air and water quality, heritage conservation, security, and accommodation positively, while view issues of accessibility, mobility, traffic and parking negatively. People from other Mexican states are more optimistic in relation to heritage conservation, security, and accommodation, while perceiving parking, traffic and noise negatively. Visitors from the State of Guanajuato consider that the most positive aspects are the festival's venues, public transport, and heritage conservation, compared to the negative aspects of noise, traffic and parking.

It is remarkable that all visitors coincide in valuing the good conservation of the city's historical buildings and monuments. This aspect is crucial for the city's economy and image, taking into account that Guanajuato is included in UNESCO's World Heritage List and heritage tourism is the city's most important tourism element. Other results worth discussing are those related to mobility. Local people are the only ones that value public transport positively, this is possibly related to the fact that they are the main users since people coming from other places might find the city's bus system confusing and unattractive. Related to this is the fact that all people value traffic and parking negatively, which might suggest that a priority should be improving walkability at least during festival days and pedestrianisation in order to make people less dependent on cars. Guanajuato is known for its narrow streets and during the Festival Internacional Cervantino, it is particularly difficult to walk due to the massive presence of cars and various obstacles. People from abroad are the only ones that realise the lack of accessibility for people with reduced mobility, also related to mobility issues, and should be improved. Noise has to do with traffic, overcrowding, and certain performances in the open air, and this is something that should be addressed in order to offer a better experience for attendees. These aspects negatively affect the quality of public spaces, as they become spaces of consumption (Paton, Mooney, McKee 2012) during festival days. If the objective is to make streets vibrant (Law 1996) without causing citizens' objections, the issues identified should be taken into account when designing the public policies reinforcement before and during the event.

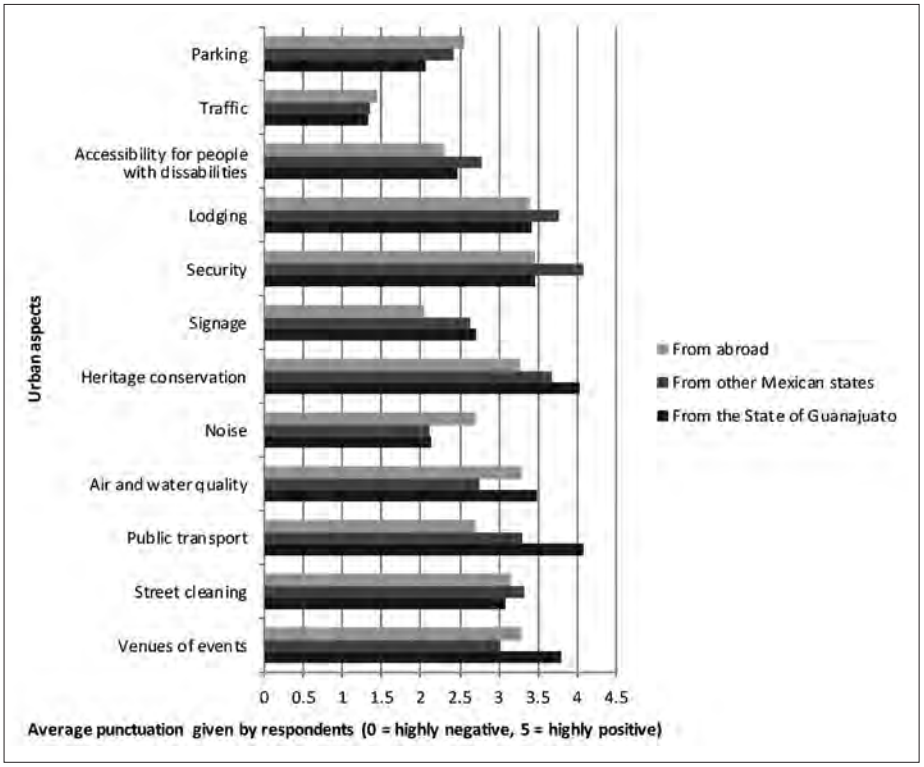


**Figure 3:** Visitors' perceptions of urban aspects during festival days, classifying survey respondents by place of origin (source: the authors).

**Figure 4:** Waste accumulation and traffic cause difficulties in the city's walkability and a bad impression (source: the authors).

The image that the city offers to residents and visitors is another aspect that affects placemaking in depth. Events serve to modify places in different ways, depending on the values that the festival is built on. People from abroad consider that Guanajuato is mostly historical and traditional. Mexicans think that Guanajuato is a colonial, traditional and historic city. Local people consider that the adjectives that better define the city are colonial and historic.

As mentioned above, events generally contribute to developing a positive image of the hosting city among tourists, residents, and potential investors. Although the Festival Internacional Cervantino is an international event with a high diversity of activities that range from traditional arts to avant-garde performances, it does not contribute to change the perception of the city towards that of modernity.

Guanajuato is widely known as a historic and colonial city thanks to its rich built heritage and, although it might be difficult to add a certain diversity to this image, it would be interesting to do so in order to attract new tourist profiles and creative entrepreneurs (Florida 2014). The opening of the Diego Rivera Museum together with other contemporary art facilities and the installation of avant-garde street art have been positive in this sense. This example shows that the capacity to

modify the city's image by an event is very limited, even if as in this case, the event is a well-established international one.

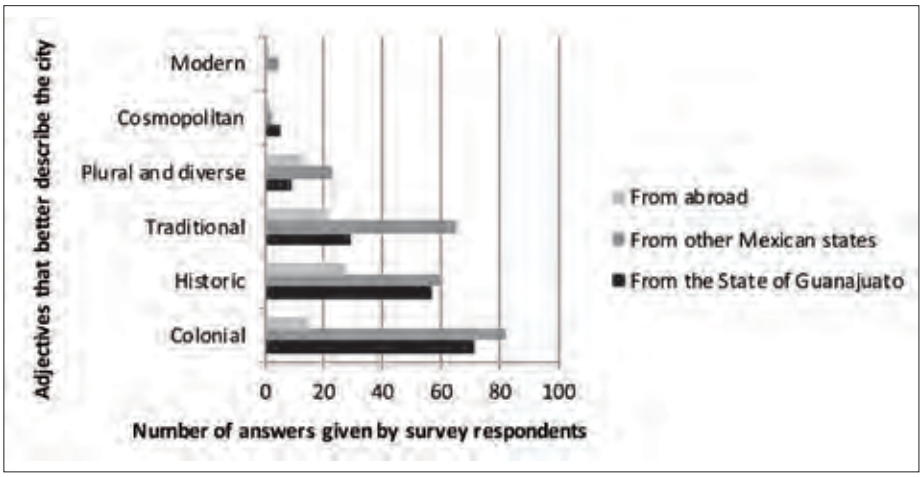


**Figure 5**: Visitors' perceptions of the city image during festival days, classifying survey respondents by place of origin (source: the authors).

The final research objective was to analyse how the festival affects the patterns of visits to monuments. Cultural tourism is a main feature of Guanajuato and such changes become relevant to assess. The main venues of the Festival Internacional Cervantino are located in Guanajuato's city centre, where many of the buildings and monuments are concentrated that make the city one of the most popular destinations for heritage tourism in Mexico, with the main attractions including the University, Hidalgo Market, and the Basílica, which is Guanajuato's main church. Outside the city centre, tourists have to intentionally decide to visit certain attractions because they are beyond the main festival sector. In that area, the Pípila Statue is the most visited place, followed by the Mummies Museum in the case of foreign and national visitors, and the Valenciana Church by people from Guanajuato. Apart from local attractions, there are a number of tourist destinations near the city, with the city of San Miguel de Allende being the most popular one.

The Festival Internacional Cervantino contributes substantially to increase visits to specific sites in the city centre, especially those that are close to the main festival venues. This fact probably helps to reinforce the perception of Guanajuato as a colonial and historic city. By contrast, heritage assets that are somewhat separate from the main festival venues are relatively unfrequented, such as the Diego Rivera Museum, which is one of the most important arts-related attractions in the city. It is relevant that the Quixote Museum is not particularly popular, taking into account that the Festival Internacional Cervantino was established as a tribute to Cervantes. In this sense, new venues might be integrated around the already consolidated festival area and the Cervantes-related spirit of the festival should be strengthened in order not to lose the event's authenticity.

Apart from the city centre, other sites are less visited, for instance, the Mummies Museum is one of the most advertised tourist places in the city, but its popularity is limited during the celebration of the festival. In addition, the Valenciana Church is one of the most remarkable baroque churches in Mexico but very few people visit it during the Festival Internacional Cervantino. In this sense, special transport and more publicity could be an offer to these attractions. Surrounding historic mining towns are also not visited during festival days, showing that the importance of mining in the city's history and heritage is not explained as it could be. This case is a clear example of the risks that events bring to built heritage (Richards and Palmer 2010). It is very difficult to develop tourist products from mining heritage, thus, the Festival Internacional Cervantino has turned a blind eye and most of the mining-related sites remain unknown and closed to most visitors. Also, the increasing poor connection of the festival with

Cervantes shows a loss of authenticity (Brida, Disegna & Osti 2013) and there is an increasing emphasis on more competitive and commercial program even if some activities are perceived as excessively commercial and unconnected to local culture.

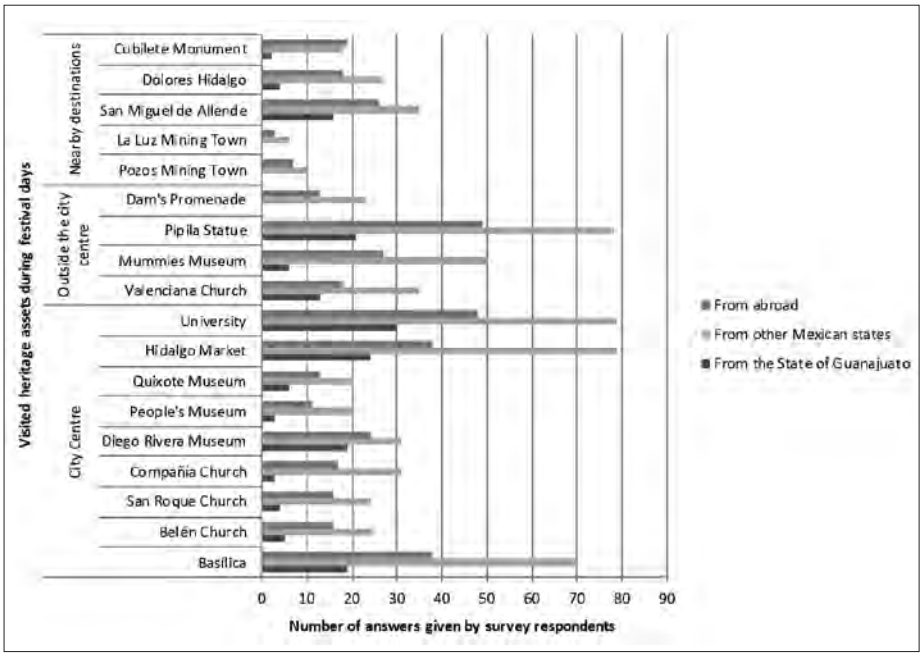


**Figure 6:** Visits to heritage assets during festival days, classifying survey respondents by place of origin (source: the authors).

## Conclusions

Traditional festivities are the basis for newly developed international cultural events and this process has both positive and negative consequences for cultural heritage places. On one hand, these events help improve social cohesion, street vibrancy, tourism attraction and local pride. On the other hand, when tourism and marketing interests become the priority, the event loses authenticity and residents might feel displaced from the event rhetoric. In the case of the Festival Internacional Cervantino in Guanajuato, its original spirit of serving as a tribute to Cervantes and the city's mining identity has faded into the background and have been replaced by more globalised representations. In addition, the festival is intended to contribute by offering an avant-garde image of the city, but this is overshadowed by its rich colonial heritage, which is the focus of most visits during festival days.

Another aspect worth mentioning is the challenge brought by the concentration of a large number of visitors in a very limited space. During festival days the public space becomes commodified, walkability is restricted due to traffic congestion, and problems such as noise and waste accumulation go beyond the residents' and visitors' tolerance. These issues should be faced appropriately in order to maintain a good quality of urban services and a positive image of the event.

Finally, the application of the Event Experience Scale has proved useful in measuring the experience of visitors attending the Festival Internacional Cervantino. It is a tool that could be applied to other traditional events that receive international attention in different cultural and geographical contexts.

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# Integrating Kaupapa Māori and Te Aranga urban design principles into the development of policy to inform better design processes

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## Abstract

**The Te Aranga principles have arisen from a widely held desire to enhance mana whenua (tribal groups with territorial rights and responsibilities over a particular area) presence, visibility and participation in the design of the physical realm. They are a set of outcome-based principles founded on Māori cultural values and formulated to provide practical guidance for enhancing outcomes in the built environment. As a tool, Te Aranga provides opportunities for local government, the development community, and construction industry to understand how they can positively engage with mana whenua in shaping the built environment. This paper discusses the Te Aranga principles, their origins, and the ways in which they might be embedded in legislation, policy, plans and procurement to improve design outcomes. Through research, policy advocacy and design, this paper recognises ways in which Māori methodologies and Mātauranga Māori (Maori knowledge) can contribute towards shaping the places people live in. It contributes to models for future sustainable development through localised solutions, founded on Indigenous worldviews and aspirations.**

## Introduction

The Te Aranga principles have emerged over the past decade as the pre-eminent tool for engaging with mana whenua (tribal groups with territorial rights and responsibilities over a particular area) cultural values in the design and development of built environment projects in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland). The principles have developed within the context of Treaty of Waitangi settlements across Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), and the amalgamation of one regional council and seven territorial authorities to create a new unitary authority—Auckland Council. These changes have been accompanied by an increasing acceptance of, and greater engagement with, Māori values through legislation, policy, and planning, both nationally and locally. It is, however, the view of the authors that there is a need for the principles to be further developed and integrated into national and local plans, policies and wider design strategies. This paper aims to develop a better understanding of how 'intangible cultural heritage' could be mandated to inform the future development of cities and communities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defines that 'intangible cultural heritage' as:

> the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage (UNESCO 2018)

In this paper, the theme of 'intangible cultural heritage' seeks to connect place, people, te taiao (the natural environment) and Māori cultural practices within New Zealand. This paper discusses the Te Aranga principles and explores the ways in which they could be embedded in planning and policy to inform more culturally appropriate and authentic design practices. This is driven by a kaupapa Māori (Māori-led and centred) approach as opposed to Eurocentric systems. This paper aims to communicate how kaupapa Māori methodologies and Mātauranga Māori (Maori knowledge) can shape plans and policies for future sustainable development, and to support better-localised solutions.


**Figure 1:** Save Our Unique Landscape Campaign—Protect Ihumatao (photo by the author).

This study is guided by a key research question and two emerging sub-themes to support the overarching premise of intangible heritage and how this connects diverse communities across New Zealand:

1. What is intangible heritage today in New Zealand and how does it connect communities across and within the diversity of the Pacific region in terms of stories, experience, practices, needs and futures?

The two emerging themes are:

   a. Connections between place, culture and community: establishing robust methodologies and exploring how these connections might be used to influence government policy.
   b. Intangible heritage in education, outreach, community and governance.

Critical analysis and findings from literature contribute to urban design policies by identifying the significance of the Te Aranga principles and kaupapa Māori approaches to planning and design. This also indicates how the principles could be strengthened within the New Zealand planning system. The study intends to contribute to the body of knowledge relating to the development of the Te Aranga principles and kaupapa Māori built environment research.

## Methodology

This paper is part of a wider project 'Shaping Places: Future Neighbourhoods' a response to growing housing and urban development challenges. The National Science Challenge: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities is a collective made up of institutional and independent researchers who partner with industry, iwi (tribes), communities and government, both local and central, to deliver robust evidence. It will identify new ways of living that reflect New Zealand's unique identity and respond to our changing lifestyle needs and aspirations. This will improve future urban environments, as local government, developers, iwi, and the community can implement practices known to be successful, as evidenced by the research. It will also inform better planning practices and land use decision-making about the structure of successful communities (National Science Challenge: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities 2018).

This research is driven by a kaupapa Māori (Māori-centric) approach as opposed to Euro-centric models. Graham Smith identifies that 'the very emergence of Kaupapa Māori as an intervention strategy, critiques and re-constitutes the "Western dominant" resistance notions of conscientization, resistance and transformative praxis in different configurations' (Smith 2003, p. 12). This view demonstrates that Māori have a responsibility to develop their own theories to counteract Eurocentric theories. It is a form of Indigenous critical theory—the term was not used in academic literature prior to 1987.

This notion has also transformed government approaches to policy. For example, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) have adopted a Vision Mātauranga Policy, with funded research required to engage with Vision Mātauranga policy for 'unlocking the innovation potential of Mātauranga Māori, resources and people' (Henry 2017). This paper draws on a review of relevant literature and policy, complemented by interviews with Māori and non-Māori practitioners.

This paper applies two research methods:

1. **Review of existing policy**

   The review of policy focuses on central and local government (Auckland Council) plans and policies, with the intention to provide a whakapapa (genealogy or historical context) to the integration of Te Aranga principles within Auckland Council policies and processes.

2. **Interviews with Māori and non-Maori practitioners**

   Experts were interviewed to provide insight into the significance of connections between place, culture and community in practice to highlight Te Aranga principles and the role they play in informing better design outcomes and engagement strategies. Interviews also discuss the challenges to the ongoing development and implementation of the Te Aranga principles.

## Legislation, Plans and Policies

### Resource Management Act 1991

The *Resource Management Act 1991* is New Zealand's primary planning legislation. Under the Act, it is mandatory for a territorial authority to prepare a district plan for managing land use and development within its territorial boundaries. The Act provides stronger recognition for issues of importance to Māori than previous legislation, and authorities preparing district plans are required to have regard to relevant planning documents recognised by an iwi (tribal) authority (such as hapū [subtribe] or iwi management plans).

The *Resource Management Act* identifies several key aspects regarding intangible cultural heritage within legislation, in particular sections 6(e), 7(a) and 8. Section 6(e) recognises the spiritual connection of Māori to their whenua, waterways and other taonga [culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas or techniques], and identifies '6(e) the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wāhi tapu [sacred sites], and other taonga' (Resource Management Act 1991) as a matter of national importance.

According to Robert Joseph in his conference paper 'Māori Values and Tikanga [customary values and practices] Consultation under the RMA 1991 and the Local Government Bill—Possible Ways Forward', there is a need for potential reform of the *Resource Management Act*:

> … there is a growing judicial testing of the Māori spiritual and cultural paradigm including values and tikanga. The result has been a significant increase in the resources and time local authorities have had to apply to Māori issues. This has led in many cases to resource management outcomes quite different from those which occurred prior to the enactment of the RMA, when Māori cultural and spiritual values could be safely ignored or side-lined. However, while Māori values may now have entered the system, there is evidence that the system may not yet have the tools, or have developed a sufficiently informed approach, to dealing appropriately with those values (Joseph 2002, p. 6).

The *Resource Management Act* is an effects-based system, based around environmental effects rather than the activities that generate them. As such, this can at times be incongruent with a Māori worldview, which in general engages a more proactive approach to achieving and maintaining environmental health, and is more holistic, encompassing cultural, social, economic and spiritual dimensions. [originally para one sentence and too long]

A number of reforms and amendments to the *Resource Management Act* were initiated in 2009, 2013 and 2017. Changes of relevance to Māori include the introduction of Mana Whakahono ā Rohe: Iwi Participation Arrangements in 2017, which establishes a statutory requirement for councils to establish working relationships with iwi (Ministry for the Environment 2017).

## Urban Design Protocol 2005

The *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol* was produced and published in 2005 by the Ministry for the Environment. The *Urban Design Protocol* is a voluntary commitment by central and local government, property developers and investors, design professionals, educational institutes, and other groups to undertake specific urban design initiatives. The intention behind this collective approach is that the actions that individual signatories take will, together, make a significant difference in the quality of our towns and cities.

Consultation with Māori in the development *Urban Design Protocol* was noticeably absent. This is evidenced by the limited recognition of Māori cultural values within the Protocol, the lack of iwi authorities or other Māori organisations as signatories, and by the subsequent response from the Māori design community. The only recognition from the Protocol is in the mission statement: 'our towns and cities are important expressions of New Zealand's cultural identity including our unique Māori heritage' (Ministry for the Environment 2005, p. 5). There is also a brief mention within the urban settlement and distinctive identity section:

> Our first urban areas were Māori settlements sited strategically to take advantage of a natural food source or an easily defended position. Patterns of previous Māori settlement and the relationship of tangata whenua with the land remain important aspects of urban design …
>
> Successful towns and cities reflect our increasingly diverse ethnic mix, including all people who have made New Zealand their home—Indigenous Māori, Europeans, Pacific Islanders, and Asians. Recognising and promoting a town's or city's identity encourages diversity of cultural expression through design that recognises the distinctive use of space, form and materials.
> (Ministry for the Environment 2005, p. 8, 15).

The process undertaken by the Ministry for the Environment in the development of the *Protocol* largely ignored Māori interests and provoked a vigorous reaction from the Māori design community.

Responding to this lack of consultation a hui of Māori professionals and supporters spanning architecture, landscape architecture, planning, engineering, design, iwi / hapū development, education, arts and local and central government, gathered with the hau kāinga at Te Aranga Marae in Flaxmere, Hawkes Bay, in 2006 to discuss and formulate a draft National Māori Cultural Landscape Strategy. The strategy has become known as the *Te Aranga* Māori Cultural Landscapes Strategy (Ngā Aho 2006) and is the first concerted attempt at defining and reinforcing Māori values through urban design. The strategy has provided the foundation for intangible cultural heritage and Māori values to inform policy and planning development to connect place, people, nature and cultural practices.

**Te Aranga: The Business Case**

The Te Aranga principles were developed post the *Te Aranga Strategy* (2006), by Ngā Aho practitioners and mana whenua in Tāmaki Makaurau working collaboratively on Auckland Council-led civic and infrastructure projects. In 2013, as part of this development process, Ngā Aho (the national network of Māori design professionals) worked alongside Auckland Council to develop a Te Aranga business case. The business case provided a set of strategies for embedding the Te Aranga principles within Auckland Council policy and processes. Although not ultimately adopted through the Long-term Plan process, the business case has informed a number of work programmes within Auckland Council, including the establishment of a Senior Māori Design specialist role (and subsequent appointment of Phil Wihongi) within the Auckland Design Office, formation of a mana whenua steering group for the Māori Design Hub within the Auckland Design Manual, and cultural competency training to upskill Urban Design Panel members.

**Auckland Design Manual**

The *Auckland Design Manual* is a non-statutory guidance document that sits alongside the *Auckland Unitary Plan* (the Auckland District Plan post-amalgamation). Ngā Aho members developed the Te Aranga text and graphics for the *Auckland Design Manual* and prepared a number of the case studies on the Māori design hub. Although guidance on the *Auckland Design Manual* is non-statutory, Auckland Council have adopted the use of Te Aranga as the best practice for many of their own projects. As a result, Te Aranga principles are being applied by Auckland Council collaboratively with mana whenua through a number of major capital work projects. Uptake by the private sector has been slower, but voluntary engagement with Te Aranga by private sector developers is increasing, perhaps in part because of the appointment of Ngā Aho members to the Auckland Urban Design Panel.

**The Auckland Council Procurement Strategy**

The *Auckland Council Procurement Strategy* (2018) is designed to ensure that procurement is undertaken in a way that is consistent with legislation governing local authorities and the intent and directives of the *Auckland Plan*. This procurement plan provides clear guidance and intent with regards to obligations to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Under Principle 2: Value Te Ao Māori [the Māori world], there are several statements made as to how procurement strategy aims to maximise Auckland Council's capability to deliver Māori outcomes (Auckland Council 2018). At a governance level, this is important because it ensures a deeper understanding of how Māori values and identity can contribute to the identity of Auckland.

The strategy provides a basis for further opportunities to embed Te Aranga principles in policy, process, and design projects. It aligns with Māori values and recognises the importance of kaupapa Māori to the design process to inform better outcomes. The strategy provides an opportunity to embed the Te Aranga principles through procurement by developing a framework to translate Te Aranga principles into the design process and contracts for iwi-public-private partnerships.

**Understanding View of MĀORI Values and Principles from Practitioners and Institutions**

Bernadette Aperahama (nō Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa, Te Arawa) is a Senior Strategic Planner at Whangārei District Council. She was previously part of the Unitary Plan team responsible for drafting the Mana Whenua provisions.

> Tools like the Te Aranga principles, they come at a conceptual stage. Well, I believe they should be at the conceptual stage of a development. I often see projects that I work on have almost three arms to them—this is before they're lodged, through Council, for any kind of formal assessment. There is the regulatory component. Then there is more of an environmental focus... And then the third component of it is the mahi toi [creative arts] component, where I see that mana whenua are asked to share their kōrero [discussion or statement] about their place, about their landscape... But through the design component, you're better able to articulate what your connection is to a place, and also use that to leverage off better environmental outcomes as well. (Kake 2018c).

Whilst the *Resource Management Act* is largely focused on protection of cultural heritage, engagement with cultural sites (identified through scheduling) in the development process offers immense design potential. This points to some of the limitations of the current 'effects-based' planning system and provides insights applicable to the development of new planning legislation and future national policy statements.

Rachel de Lambert, landscape architect and Director at Boffa Miskell recognises how the Te Aranga principles have helped to broaden the conversation, and to assist non-Māori practitioners to better understand Māori cultural values, including those which are less tangible:

> Manaakitanga [hospitality] is the key concept in a way that manuhiri [visitors / guests] are made to feel welcomed because it is that cultural way of thinking. Western people think land to water, but Māori think water to land. That's how you arrive and it's not the other way around. There's a whole lot of discussion that we are having around some of those things that find these projects that ground them in terms of good principles.

Rau Hoskins (nō Ngāti Hau) is an architect based in Tāmaki Makaurau, and the co-author of the Te Aranga principles. Rau shared his whakaaro (thoughts) on the application of the principles, and the central importance the development of robust working relationships with mana whenua as a precursor to engaging the principles:

> Well I think one of the key things is that mana whenua themselves are requesting that the Te Aranga principles be used as the basis of their engagement. So, I think that's probably a critical success factor for the development of the Te Aranga principles, is that they are not only owned by mana whenua, but they are promoted by mana whenua... There is no application of the Te Aranga principles until a working relationship with mana whenua has been established to the satisfaction of mana whenua. And when and if they are satisfied with the working relationship, then you can start to progress an investigation into the other principles, or the opportunities that the other principles signal. (Kake 2018a).

The principles are non-statutory design guidance, which means developers are not legally required to engage with the principles. Phil Wihongi (nō Ngāti Hine) is a landscape architect and planner, and the Māori Design Lead at Auckland Council. He shared his thoughts on the ways Council can model best practice through their own capital works projects:

> Through Council projects, we are in a position, and I would argue that we have a responsibility, to Māori communities and mana whenua that we do incorporate the principles within our project works. They key to that, or the important thing with that, is that Council is able to demonstrate very clearly what the outcomes are, what the processes, which in a way demystifies the processes for private development... I think the more visibility in Council projects, then it will be taken up by private development. (Kake 2018a).

Henry Crothers, Urban Designer and Director at LandLAB provides insight into working with the Te Aranga principles and how LandLAB has been able to transform their own processes and practices by engaging with mana whenua:

> I thought the Te Aranga design principles were generic. It's interesting, because it is a good method. I think the idea that they get adapted to different places and different people is great. I hope they become more understood as a way of working in other places.

Crothers also identifies the fundamental importance for both parties to understand that at the foundation of Te Aranga is a partnership relationship not a stakeholder relationship, and that mana whenua timeframes may not neatly align with development time frames—'at a governance level there needs to be more of an understanding of the process and the time frame of how it works because they're the ones making the decisions.'

Lucy Tukua (nō Ngāti Paoa) is a mana whenua regenerative practitioner based in Tāmaki Makaurau and was a pivotal figure in the development of the principles. She shares her thoughts on the adoption of the principles elsewhere, and the need to appropriately contextualise this work:

> I was at a water sensitive cities workshop in Wellington, and people were talking about the Te Aranga strategy and the principles, but they didn't really know what it was. And they were like, you know, Auckland are using it, and it's really cool, but you know we don't really know what it is. But it's so simple. It's a process that I feel is easily transferrable. But I'm always anxious about people just defaulting to the principles, because what really underpins them are the values, and we always need to be cognisant of, the values are the ones that actually underpin and hold that space for those principles. (Kake 2018b).

Julia Wick, specialist Landscape Architect at Auckland Council, shares her understanding and experiences engaging and implementing the Te Aranga within Auckland Council's Design Office:

> I learnt more about the embodiment of Te Aranga design principles when I started talking to people like Phil Wihongi and so it's people with that knowledge who then you end up working with somehow and then you realise it's not actually a tick list of things I'm trying to achieve, it is actually the fundamental philosophy of how you do things.

The interviews have provided a deeper understanding of the Te Aranga as a strategy within practice, and an approach to design thinking to address the processes of economic, social, environmental and spatial development changes. Te Aranga not only provide practical guidance for enhancing outcomes for the design environment, but also build the capability of thinking within practitioners to better understand how they can positively engage with mana whenua.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

The Te Aranga design principles have been developed from a Māori worldview, and as a tool for engagement with and expression of cultural heritage. This has happened within, and perhaps in spite of, the context of a broader planning system that has failed to adequately engage with Te Ao Māori, and where engagement with Māori concepts are tokenistic at best. The New Zealand planning system is changing, slowly, and largely as a result of the same Treaty settlement context that allowed the principles to gain traction in the first place, and to subsequently be widely implemented.

Whilst policies may provide a framework for practice, it is evident that there needs to be a heavier weighting of intangible heritage—specifically Māori values and kaupapa Maori approaches within policies at all levels. These need to be fundamentally integrated within practices and governance structures.

Aotearoa New Zealand has the opportunity to be the catalyst to support our Pacific neighbours and other nations to deconstruct the institutional and western ways of doing and thinking. If we take both a top-down and bottom-up approach, we can continue to develop connections across a range of platforms to ensure methodologies such as the Te Aranga are being adopted and adapted across New Zealand (and potentially the globe) to transform education, community and governance, to influence better outcomes.

## Glossary of TE REO MĀORI terms

This glossary has been prepared using the online version of *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*.

| | |
|---|---|
| Hapū | **(noun)** kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe—section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society. It consisted of a number of *whānau* sharing descent from a common ancestor, usually being named after the ancestor, but sometimes from an important event in the group's history. |
| Iwi | **(noun)** extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race—often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory. |
| Kaupapa Māori | Māori approach, Māori topic, Māori customary practice, Māori institution, Māori agenda, Māori principles, Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society. |
| Kōrero | **(verb)** (-hia,-ngia,-tia) to tell, say, speak, read, talk, address. **(noun)** speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse, statement, information. |
| Mahi toi | **(noun)** creative arts, creative endeavour. |
| Mana whenua | **(noun)** territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory—power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land. |
| Manaakitanga | **(noun)** hospitality, kindness, generosity, support—the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others. |
| Manuhiri | **(noun)** visitor, guest. |
| Mātauranga Māori | **(noun)** Māori knowledge—the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices. |
| Taonga | **(noun)** treasure, anything prized—applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques. |
| Te Ao Māori | **(noun)** the Māori world. |
| Tikanga | **(noun)** correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol—the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context. |
| Wāhi Tapu | **(noun)** sacred place, sacred site—a place subject to long-term ritual restrictions on access or use, e.g. a burial ground, a battle site or a place where tapu objects were placed. |
| Whakaaro | **(noun)** thought, opinion, plan, understanding, idea, intention, gift, conscience. |

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# Culture/Nature, Islander knowing and the 1875 *Chevert* Expedition

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## Abstract

**The 1875 *Chevert* expedition, headed by Macleay Museum founder William John Macleay, was the first Australian scientific expedition into New Guinea. With the explicit aim of collecting and documenting the natural environment, the expedition members collected vast amounts of animal and plant material from the east coast of Australia, Torres Strait and coastal New Guinea. The material and data from the expedition, along with important Torres Strait cultural material are a substantial collection in the Macleay Museum's holdings at the University of Sydney. The paper will survey the collections scientific and cultural significance with a view to explore how a planned exhibition of the collection's Torres Strait natural and cultural materials can articulate the connections and disconnections between place, people, nature/culture, and engage with Islander histories of knowing their world.**

## Introduction

This is an exploratory paper aimed at discerning how Torres Strait Islander histories of knowledge making can be exercised in framing an exhibition of natural history and cultural materials collected from the region during William John Macleay's 1875 expedition. As a part of the proposal development phase of the exhibition, I am interested in exploring what a detailed focus on objects and specimens, the places and contexts of collecting and the knowledge and practices associated with their uses, can reveal about the relationships between people, culture and nature in the Torres Strait. The paper is presented in two parts. Part one provides overviews of Macleay's voyage and critical early interactions between Islanders and *markai* (outsiders, often European) to convey the context in which Macleay was collecting in 1875. Part two focuses on Erub (Darnley Island) and Erubam le ways of knowing and being in place and discusses Macleay's collections from Erub.

## PART 1

## William John Macleay and the *Chevert*

As scientific expeditions go, William John Macleay's self-funded 1875 expedition into New Guinea was short in duration, yet enormously successful in terms of the natural material amassed in a short time. The expedition lasted less than five months (mid-May to early October) and netted thousands of natural history specimens which included 1000+ birds, 800+ fish and more than 1500 shells. In his October 1875 address to the meeting of the Linnean Society of New South Wales, Macleay revealed that no more than 60 days of the voyage was spent in actual collecting (1875a, p. 39).

Macleay began collecting fish and marine organisms around Sydney Harbour in 1874. To supplement and diversify the collection, he asked local fishermen to supply him with 'any unusual fish' (Stanbury & Holland 1988, p. 49). Before too long, and in the company of George Masters, the curator of Macleay's personal collection, the pair began shore collecting around Sydney Harbour, Bondi and other ocean beaches. In June, likely inspired by his discussions with the voyage scientists of the *Challenger*, Macleay hired a steam yacht for four weeks of dredging and collecting around the harbour (Stanbury & Holland 1988, p. 47). These experiences galvanised his interest in a executing a collecting voyage that would expand the size and range of his own natural history collection.

Key to Macleay's collection success was his planning and preparation before the voyage and the doggedness of his collectors. His careful planning included recruiting a Captain Charles Edwards who was well acquainted with the Torres Strait. Edwards had spent 25 years in the Pacific engaged in the marine industry and had reputedly established a *bêche-de-mer* station on Erub in 1864 (Davies 2007/11; Johannes & MacFarlane 1991). Under advice from Edwards, Macleay purchased the *Chevert* a former French Navy brig and had it modified and fitted-out for the preparation and storage of specimens.

The *Chevert* left Sydney on 18 May 1875 with much fanfare and a total crew of 30 men. The 19 crewmen included six Rotuman islanders all aged in their 20s, an American medical doctor, William H James and the first mate, Robert Williams, who kept the ship's log. The engineer on the voyage, Laurence Hargraves, also kept a diary of the journey. The nine-member scientific crew included Macleay as expedition leader and voyage entomologist, his curator George Masters, and his cousin Arthur Onslow who had been on the *Herald* in the 1857-61 survey that included Torres Strait and the Great Barrier Reef (Davies 2007/11). The remaining men were variously skilled in taxidermy, and zoological and botanical collecting.

There were a numerous collection sites along coastal Queensland and between Cape York and New Guinea. Collections in the Torres Strait began near Somerset, before moving onto the central islands and Erub on the north-east edge of the strait. Throughout the voyage, the 'dredge everywhere, take everything' approach of Macleay along with the toil of his army of professional and amateur (Indigenous and Pacific Islander) collectors generated a remarkable body of material.

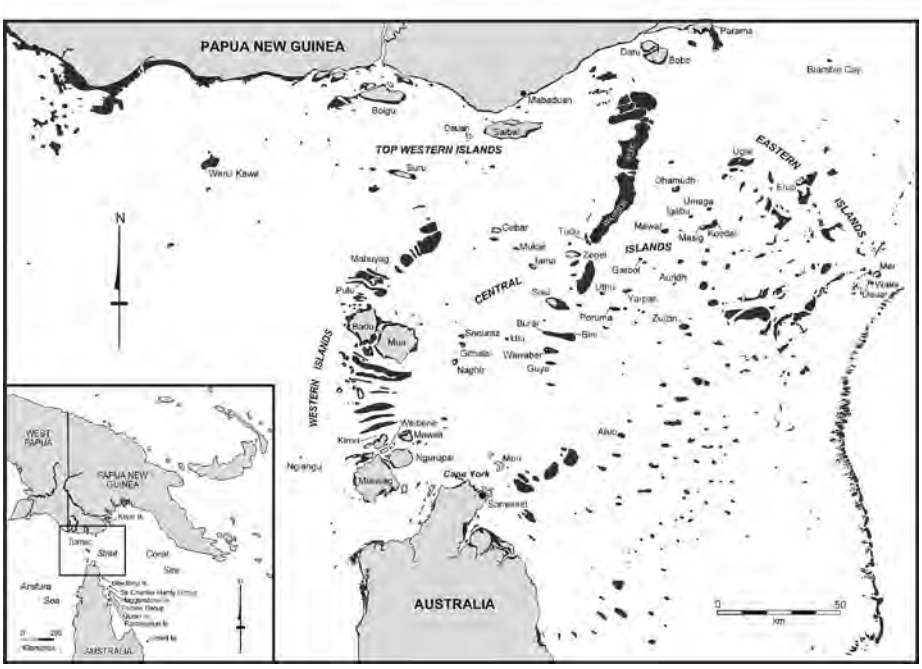


**Figure 1:** Torres Strait Map, courtesy Ian McNiven.

**Torres Strait, *Markai* and Erub**

For the people who had lived in the region for thousands of years, there was no single local name for the archipelago of islands strewn over 40,000 km sq of ocean between the northern tip of Queensland and the southern coast of Papua New Guinea, in Figure 1.

The Islanders had their own names and stories for each of the islands, reefs and sand cays, along with the winds and the constellations that guided their sea voyages in outrigger canoes. The outsider name for the region would come from a Spaniard, Luis Váez de Torres, who in 1606 was among the first known *markai* (European) to navigate a passage through the 150 km wide passage that separates Papua New Guinea from Australia. On Zegei, one of the central islands, Torres's crew saw signs of habitation, which included a stockpile of turtle shell plates and a large turtle shell mask (de Prado & Vaes de Torres,1922 translation). All evidence that a people of culture lived there.

After James Cook's 1770 voyage mapped a navigable passage that he named Endeavour Strait, it was William Bligh's 1789 account of his post-mutiny threading through the Strait that gave more prominence to the region. For Islanders this meant extending their trading practices to incorporate the materials *markai* brought with them. Along with the increased opportunities to acquire new materials, there were also increased tensions between Islanders and *markai.*

Following Bligh, in 1793 a significant clash occurred at Erub when five crewmen of the *Hormuzzer* and *Chesterfield* were killed after going ashore to replenish their water supply. Retribution was swift and brutal:

> … several Islanders were killed, and 135 huts, sixteen large canoes and whatever gardens that could be found were destroyed. A village on nearby Ugar (Stephens) was also burnt, several more Islanders killed and a boy kidnapped (Mullins 1994, pp. 18-19).

Where the conflict occurred, on the northern shoreline of Erub, became known to Europeans as Treacherous Bay and the reputation of Erubam le as fierce fighters continued until the scientific expeditions in the 1840s.

**Figure 2.** Le Op mask collected by Jukes, Erub 1845. Oc1846,0731.3 © Trustees of the British Museum

**Figure 3.** Le op mask collected from Erub, 1875. ETA466. Sydney University Image: Micheal Myers 2010

Between 1842 and 1846 the British naval ships HMS *Fly* and *Bramble* made two hydrographic survey voyages through the strait and in doing so began the first sustained contact with Islanders (Mullins 1994; Powell 2010). In late March 1845, the *Fly* dropped anchor on the north western side of Erub (Moore, 1979). Looking to replenish their meagre food and water supplies the ship's captain, Francis Blackwood, voyage naturalist, Joseph B Jukes, and a crewman made for land near the village of Keriam. Gathered on the shore were around fifty-five Islanders. Both parties were cautious. Their guarded appraisal of the intentions of each other eventually gave way to amity and a brisk trade in produce and objects ensued. Jukes would later write, '…they look upon iron implements as the most valuable of commodities' (1847, p. 177). He exchanged iron for a turtle shell mask (in Figure 2), describing it as, '… very fairly put together, with hair beard and whiskers fastened on, projecting ears, and pieces of mother of pearl with a black patch in the centre for the eyes' (Ibid).

Thirty years after Juke's was on Erub, a similar mask was collected by members of the *Chevert* expedition (in Figure 3).

Erub's location, on the north east edge of the Torres Strait made it the first point of call for all ships entering the Straits from the east. Over their many years of engaging with outsiders, the people of Erub had both resisted and accommodated the strangers that arrived on their shores. They had adapted to introduced materials and managed to continue their own way of life as a maritime people, who were skilled in navigation, marine hunting, fishing, and gardening. In 1848, the population of Erub was estimated to be between four to five hundred (Scott & Mulrennan 1999).

Once Europeans knew of the rich pearl beds in the central and eastern islands, the pearl-rush from late 1860s would change the region forever (Ganter 1997, Mullins 1994). On Erub, *bêche-de-mer* fishing fed the rapidly thriving fishing industries and propelled Islanders into sustained contact with an introduced labour force of South Pacific Islanders, Australian Aboriginal people and Europeans. After a *bêche-de-mer* station was established on Erub in 1864, Erub became a hub of economic activity (Mullins 1994). By 1871, 'dozens of them [Pacific Islanders] were living on Darnley, while the indigenous population had declined in 20 years by more than two thirds to 120-130 people' (Johannes & MacFarlane 1991, p. 103).

By the time London Missionary Society (LMS) reverends Samuel McFarlane and AW Murray landed at Erub on 1 July1871 there was already a well-established 'community' of outsiders and it was a time of economic boom. The missionaries were accompanied by Pacific Islander teachers from Lifu and Mare. It has been argued the presence of the LMS teachers offered some protection from marauding by pearling and pirate vessels and also contributed to 'pacifying' Islanders, making them 'harmless to those seeking pearl shell and possession of the islands' (Sharp 1993, p. 101). With the arrival of missionaries, the number of Pacific Islanders on Erub increased too and in 1875, a measles epidemic devastated the Erubam le population.

In 1879 the permanent presence of Europeans in the region was guaranteed by the colonial annexation of the entire region. Whilst Islanders were not separated from their home islands through forced removal, entire islands were turned into reserves for the containment and surveillance of Islanders by colonial officials. As the islands and region became overlaid with foreign ideas about property and ownership, Islanders remained physically connected to ancestral places, and thus more able to continue the cultural and maritime practices of long ago.

## PART 2

### Erub knowing, culture/nature and the Chevert Collection

A volcanic island, Erub is about 570 ha in area and at its highest point, 181 m above sea level. The fertile soil and fresh water springs supported productive gardens and each family or clan cultivated yam, banana, sweet potato as staples, and coconut grew abundantly. Garden foods were supplemented by fishing and hunting and the harvest from fish traps (*sai*) that stretch from the north-eastern shoreline along the southern coast and ended on the lower western coast of the island (in Figure 4).

Erubam le of the past and present know Erub through the communal property rights of the four primary tribal groups, Peiudu, Saisarem, Samsep and Meuram, who have rights to and responsibilities for specific tracts of land (for living on and for gardening) and sea. In the inter-tidal zone, ownership is extended to the *sai* adjacent to clan lands as ownership rights extend beyond the shoreline to also include outlying reefs and cays. The sea, like the land, is known and named and the re-telling of stories affirm knowledge and narrate cultural connection and responsibility to land and seascapes.

Erubam le knowing of time is premised on observing and learning from nature. The seasons of *naiger, koki, and sager* are the foundational measures of temporality. Their cyclic rhythm actuated and organised Islanders' relations with the environment. Wind direction and force, the breeding cycles of animals, the migration patterns of birds, and the flowering and fruiting of plant foods signalled the right timing for practices, as well as the passing of time. Whilst there is some variation in the region's climatic conditions, *naiger* is the time of calm seas, when marine turtles returned to breed and nest, *koki* is the rainy season, the time of the northwest monsoon when particular garden foods were harvested, others planted, and fish were plentiful. *Sager* brings strong south easterly winds and rough seas. It was the time to travel for trade and ceremonies (McNamara et al. 2010).

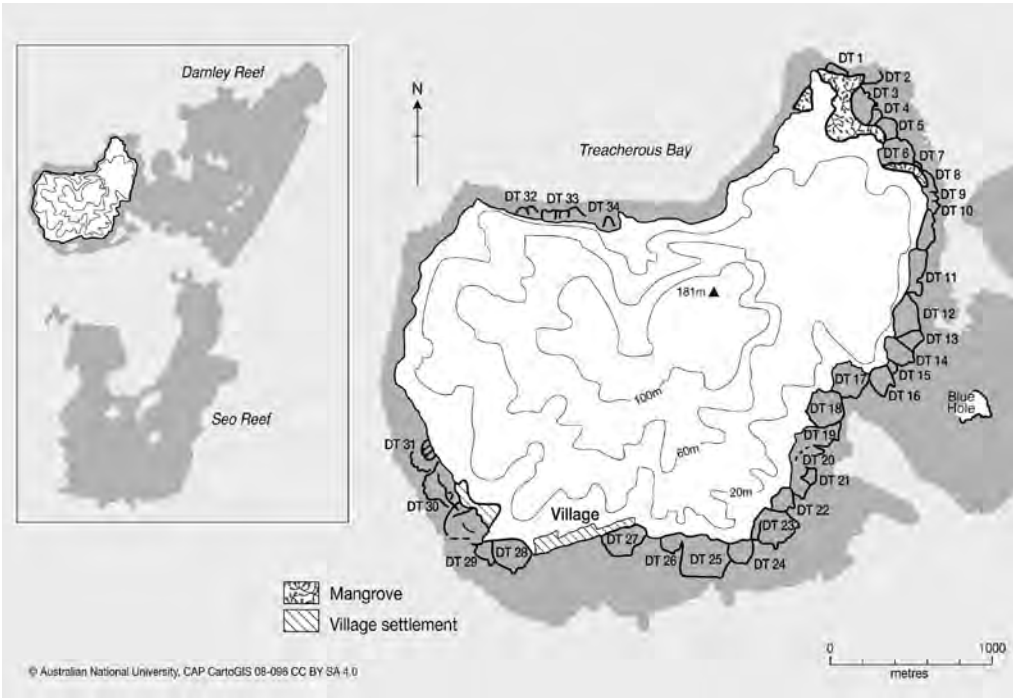


**Figure 4:** Erub fish traps © Cartography ANU, Rowland and Ulm 2011.

The winds of *sager* always brought visitors to Erub. So, it was surely no surprise to Erubam le when the *Chevert* dropped anchor on the leeward side Erub. It was 31 July, midway through *sager.* Throughout the voyage, Macleay wrote periodically in his journal giving us glimpses of the amount of material collected. Sections of Macleay's journal outlining activities on Erub are quoted below.

> Saturday 31st July—4 o'clock p.m
>
> This morning everyone went on shore, the natives were most friendly & hospitable and the missionary (a Lifu man) visited us … A few insects were got but no birds to speak of. I anticipate doing more in fish and shells here than anything else.

Monday 2nd August—8 o'clock p.m.

Most of the people of the ship were ashore all day in one direction or another. I went ashore with Brazier to search the shore at low water. He got a good many shells etc & in the evening I purchased from natives a large snake & a mummied human head.

Most of the hands have been at work today getting water, about 1200 gallons have been put on board, a number of the natives assisting.

Friday 5th August—noon

On Wednesday morning one of our Rotumah men died…He was buried the same afternoon in the village burial ground by the Missionary… Fish seem to be plentiful but we have not got many. The sucking fish are numerous about the bow of the ship. Birds are few & not much account. Insects are very few, but diurnal Lepidoptera fine.

Wednesday 11th August—noon

We are still at Darnley Island, but intend to leave tomorrow morning for Bramble Bay… I have kept the dredge going almost constantly & we have been most successful. (Macleay 1875b, pp. 79-81)

The table below provides an approximation of the number of species collected from Erub, drawn from entries in the Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales (1875-1882).

| Type | No. of species |
|---|---|
| Annelids | 19 |
| Birds | 14 |
| Corals | 20 |
| Crustaceans | 251 |
| Echinoderms | 63 |
| Fish | 42 |
| Molluscs | 759 lots |
| Reptiles | 26 |
| Spiders | 8 |

**Table 1:** Natural history specimens collected on Erub.

Whilst these figures are yet to be cross-referenced with the actual collection, the number of molluscs listed is supported by Macleay's journal entries. Further, in his report to the Linnean Society of New South Wales in October 1875, Macleay wrote that the marine mollusc collection was 'so large that I cannot even guess at the number and value of the specimen' and that 'nowhere was the yield so good as at Darnley Island' (1875a, pp. 38-39).

A variety of cultural material, such as the *le op,* was also collected by the crew of the Chevert. Macleay's collection of natural history specimens and cultural material present a unique opportunity for exploring the interconnected character of culture and nature, during Macleay's time on Erub.

In turning to an example of the interconnectedness of nature/culture in Macleay's Erub collection, I focus on the *le op* (in Figures 3 and 5), as it incorporates, either physically or symbolically, examples of the specimen types collected in 1875. The *le op* mask exemplifies the highly sophisticated sculptural works of turtle shell made by Islanders. Torres Strait turtle shell masks took two forms: the *le op* representing an elongated human face, and the *krar* most often a combination of human and animal forms. The masks are recognised as unique to the Torres Strait and remain as physical reminders of the Islander-turtle and culture-nature relationship that is thousands of years old (Fraser 1978; Crouch et al. 2007; David et al. 2004).

The *le op* collected from Erub is constructed from numerous turtle shell plates (scutes) that have been heated and shaped and then bound together with twisted vegetable fibre string, (generally hibiscus or coconut fibre). Pieces of the mother of pearl shell are used for eyes. The mask is painted with red ochre and the white pigment used to define its features is made from burnt, crushed coral. On the rear of the mask is one cowrie shell (*Ovula ovum*) painted with ochre (in Figure 5).

The inclusion of these cowrie shells is a feature of many of the turtle shell masks. Found on coral reefs, this animal is known to eastern Islanders as *bubuam* (Haddon, 1907). The mollusc is able to change the colour of its mantle to mimic its surroundings. The ability of *bubuam* to both reveal and conceal itself resonates strongly with how turtle shell masks were used to both conceal one identity and reveal another when performed in. Their inclusion on the

masks is perhaps tied to how the masks are used to contain or to mimic many identities, just like the *bubuam*. Whilst it is uncertain whether *bubuam* were among the hundreds of molluscs collected by the *Chevert's* crew, the existence of the Meriam mir word *bubuam*, denotes its occurrence in the eastern Torres Strait.

The other specimen represented on this mask is the sharksucker (*Echeneis naucrates*). Known as *gep* to Erubam, the sharksucker was used for hunting turtle. Natural fibre fishing line and rope was tied to the *gep* and when a suitable sized turtle was spotted, it was thrown into the water. The *gep* would attach itself to the underside of the turtle and the canoe would be moved to the position of the turtle. The hunter would then dive off the canoe and be guided to the turtle by the rope attached to the *gep* (Philp et al. 2015).

**Figure 5.** Le op mask with shell (Ovulam ovam). Image: Sydney University.

**Figure 6.** Gep/sharksucker. NHF1444. Sydney University. Image: Michael Myers

In early 2013, I discussed the turtle shell masks with a traditional owner of Iama (Central Torres Strait). At the time he was a gallery assistant at the Gab Titui Cultural Centre on Thursday Island. In his own research, he had spent many hours looking closely at high-resolution images of turtle shell masks. As we shared our images of the masks, we discussed what could be learnt by examining the colour and transparency of turtle shell and the various markings on the masks themselves. He indicated that the markings are not merely decorative, he saw them as 'texts' that can be read and deciphered for meaning and inspiration. The crescent shaped motif he then pointed out (in Figures 3, 5 and 6), resemble the sucker pad of the *gep.* This motif is a prominent feature on many of the turtle shell masks. On these masks both the *gep's* historical use as a fishing tool by Islanders and the relationship between the turtle and *gep* are given permanency in the repetition of the crescent shaped motif.

## Conclusion

This paper maps my early thoughts about how to represent the interconnectedness of Nature/Culture in an exhibition of Torres Strait natural history and cultural material. William John Macleay's *Chevert* collection is a vital source for capturing something of the biodiversity of Erub in a brief period during the *sager* of 1875. It is also a tremendously rich and largely untapped cultural resource for Erubam le of today for thinking about and asserting our knowledge and our ongoing cultural connectedness to all the things that live within our land, sky and sea spaces.

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# What's in a name? Case-studies of applied language maintenance and revitalisation from Vanuatu

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## Abstract

This paper examines three social development projects from the Republic of Vanuatu—the most linguistically diverse nation (on a per capita basis) in the world—that each seek to promote, support, and maintain vernacular languages. Vernacular or mother languages are widely recognised as crucial to the practice and transmission of intangible cultural heritage, as well as the continuance of biocultural diversity. Amidst substantive socio-cultural and economic change, linguistic diversity is shrinking. The locally embedded rationales behind the value of vernacular language usage in Vanuatu both echo and extend the most commonly listed attributes of vernacular language usage. In addition to nourishing cultural identity and expression, enhancing education outcomes and supporting human-environment well-being, the practitioners and participants involved in these three programs viewed vernacular language as not just a vehicle but a form of social capital itself that positively informs social order. These relatively low cost, home-grown approaches to local language maintenance, are an innovative and promising model for combating language shifts in Vanuatu, and perhaps elsewhere in Melanesia. They also raise interesting questions about who ultimately gets to define what does and does not constitute 'social capital', 'governance' and 'cultural heritage'.

## Introduction

Is vernacular language a vehicle for or an example of intangible cultural heritage? Similarly, is language a component or just a medium of social capital? Vernacular language usage is commonly linked to identity, cultural expression, improved education outcomes, human-environment well-being, and more. Drawing on three case-studies of applied language maintenance from Vanuatu, this paper examines local efforts to combat language shift through a home-grown approach that focuses on, among other things, vernacular kinship terms. The locally embedded rationales associated with the role and importance of vernacular languages in these cases both echoes and extends the more commonly cited benefits of maintaining linguistic diversity, in the process raising interesting questions about who ultimately gets to define what does and does not constitute 'social capital', 'governance', and 'cultural heritage'.

## Why does linguistic diversity matter?

Vernacular language and/or mother tongue (hereafter 'local languages') are regarded as valuable for a number of reasons. The most common rationale associated with the value of local language competence is that they:

- Reaffirm cultural identity;
- Revitalise and maintain indigenous ways of knowing and doing;
- Facilitate better childhood learning outcomes (e.g. foster cognitive & intellectual development); and,
- Linguistic diversity is linked to biodiversity (and thus a component of human-environment well-being and resilience).

Except for the proposed links between multi- or bilingualism and cognitive development (which is debated and beyond our scope, e.g. Bühmann & Trudell 2008; Diaz & Kenji 1980) these points can be subsumed under the mantle of tangible and intangible heritage.

The United Nations (UN) has recognised the importance of local languages since establishing *International Mother Language Day* (IMLD) in 2000. According to the United Nations:

> Languages are the most powerful instruments of preserving and developing our tangible and intangible heritage. All moves to promote the dissemination of mother tongues will serve not only to encourage linguistic diversity and multilingual education but also to develop fuller awareness of linguistic and cultural traditions throughout the world and to inspire solidarity based on understanding, tolerance and dialogue. (United Nations, 2018)

Local languages are recognised as a crucial medium for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. In 2002 and 2003, while the draft of the *Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention* was being prepared[1], the issue of language was extensively discussed. There were stakeholders in favour of the inclusion of language in and of itself under the definition of intangible cultural heritage, but it was ultimately decided to only include language within Article 2(2) on 'oral traditions and expressions' and highlight that language is a '**vehicle** of the intangible cultural heritage'—that is, one of the domains in which the intangible cultural heritage is manifested and sustained. As a result, safeguarding languages *per se* was not formally included in the Convention (Smeets 2004, pp. 162-163). So whilst language is acknowledged as crucial to intangible cultural heritage, most notably under the *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* (UNESCO 2006), it was decided that language as such could not be proclaimed a 'masterpiece' as this was incompatible with the principle of the equality of all human languages (Smeets 2004, p. 159).

The UN have further situated linguistic diversity as part of sustainable development, in particular in realising targets 4.6 and 4.7 of Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4) on education.[2]

Lastly, a growing body of literature emphasises the linkages between linguistic (and cultural) diversity and natural diversity. Nettle and Romaine (2000), for example, see the extinction of languages as part of the larger scenario of worldwide ecosystem collapse, highlighting that the regions of the world with the highest linguistic diversity corresponds with areas of the world that have the greatest biodiversity (2000, p. 43). The argument here is that:

> The preservation of a language in its fullest sense ultimately entails the maintenance of the group who speaks it, and therefore the arguments in favour of doing something to reverse language death are ultimately about preserving cultures and habitats […] Where communities cannot thrive, their languages are in danger. When languages lose their speakers, they die. Extinctions in general, whether of languages or species, are part of a more general pattern of human activities contributing to radical alterations in our ecosystem. (Romaine 2007, p. 127)

In the Pacific, a suite of literature documenting and promoting 'Traditional Ecological Knowledge' (TEK) or 'Local Ecological Knowledge' (LEK) has underscored the linkages between language and biocultural practices. Examples include *kastom kalanda* (seasonal horticultural practices that use the 'signs of nature' such as the flowering of a particular tree to mark planting times), *kaikai blong hangri* (ecological knowledge that supports disaster preparedness) and 'traditional' resource management practices (e.g. *tabu eria* [taboo areas]) (e.g. Hickey 2009; Hviding 2005). These locally specific ways-of-knowing and doing enhance human-environment well-being and resilience (Subramanian & Pisupati (eds) 2010), yet are dependent on local language competence.

## Vanuatu: The linguistic context

Melanesia is renowned for its cultural, linguistic and bio-natural diversity. New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and Fiji make-up just 0.14% of the total world population yet contain one-quarter of the world's total languages (over 1,000) (Dutton 2006). The Republic of Vanuatu—which is the focus of this paper—is an exemplar of this cultural and linguistic richness. The measure of distinct languages spoken in Vanuatu varies in the literature[3], mainly due to methodological issues, but all estimates are over 100 and the most recent analysis counts 138 languages (François et al. 2015). Whilst Papua New Guinea has over 800 languages, in terms of demographic[4] and geographical density,[5] Vanuatu is the most linguistically diverse country in the world.

Three further languages need to be added to the linguistic landscape of Vanuatu: English, French and Bislama, which at Independence in 1980 became the country's three official languages. 'Bislama' is the national Pidgin/Creole *lingua franca* that developed in the 1800s as a medium of communication between ni-Vanuatu and Europeans and between ni-Vanuatu from different language groups (Crowley 1990). Its pertinent to note that whilst Bislama is a 'real' language, has value and is structurally Austronesian and essentially Melanesian, 90 percent of its lexicon is based on English (Crowley 1990, p. 110). Thus, its vocabulary—whilst dynamic and growing—is small and vague, lacking the detail and contextual specificity of local languages. In biocultural terms, Bislama does not carry the requisite detail to teach someone how to identify or prepare medicinal plants, provide knowledge about fish behaviour, *kastom kalanda* or *kaikai blong hangri*. Similarly, and as discussed briefly below, much of the complex cultural and social relations articulated through vernaculars are not present in Bislama, and so cannot be fully enacted. The main languages of education are English and French; however, a new national language policy now states that '…in the first two years of school, Bislama or a local vernacular can be used while either French or English is introduced by the second semester of Year 3' (MOET 2012, n.p.).

As with measures of the amount of distinct languages, evaluation methodologies also vary for the number of extinct, moribund and endangered languages. Lynch and Crowley (2001) count 8 extinct and 17 moribund languages (moribund meaning they are 'near death' as they are spoken or remembered by only a handful of people). The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) consider 2 languages extinct, 10 as moribund and 44 as 'in trouble' (Simons et al. 2018). François et al. (2015) consider 4 languages extinct and 18 moribund (2015, p. 7). Although there are a few languages spoken by more than a thousand people, the majority are small language communities, with around 43 languages spoken by fewer than 500 people.

Although a few hundred speakers are small by global standards, this does not necessarily signal language fragility or loss; socio-historically, the language ecology in Vanuatu was built around small language communities of typically no more than a few hundred speakers (François et al. 2015). Moreover, linguistic diversity in Vanuatu has displayed considerable resilience, with only a few languages going extinct (2 to 8, depending on whose analysis one draws on).

Nevertheless, things are changing and 17 to 18 languages are currently moribund (beyond salvaging) whilst a significant number are considered endangered.[6] The drivers of language shift are numerous and symptomatic of social, cultural, economic and political factors. Linguists commonly cite bilingualism, urbanisation and urban drift, industrialisation, demographic factors (e.g. size and median age of speakers), government policy and the prestige level of a language as key influences that accelerate language shift (e.g. Cavallaaro & Serwe 2010; Kulick 1992). Many older ni-Vanuatu are deeply concerned about the future of their vernacular, often identifying Bislama as the key culprit behind language shift. Nevertheless, numerous scholars have argued that Vanuatu's linguistic diversity was not under threat from Bislama. For example, Crowley (2000) suggested that language shifts had generally been from one vernacular to another rather than to Bislama, whilst others have argued that 'code mixing'—switching between Bislama and the vernacular—had not seriously undermining the vernacular (e.g. Lindstrom 2007, pp. 21-22).

Regardless, recent evidence suggests that linguistic levelling is underway, with language usage in some locales shifting to a monolingual speech ecology dominated by Bislama. This is most evident in urban areas but is also notable in some rural locales. François et al. (2015) cite 2009 national census data that shows that only 63.3 percent of people declared using a heritage language at home, compared to 33.7 percent who favoured Bislama. This represents a ten percentage drop from the previous census undertaken ten years earlier (François et al. 2015, p. 12). When including the urban centres of Luganville and Port Vila in provincial figures, the rise of Bislama as the main language used in the home increases to 81.9 percent (Luganville) and 67.8 percent for Port Vila (François et al. 2015, p. 13).

## Combating language shifts

There is a growing literature devoted to combating language shifts. One of the most well-known is Fishman's (1991, 2001) 'reversing language shift' (RLS) plan of action. The details of RLS are beyond this papers scope, but in gloss Fishman argues that one of the most frequent errors made by activists is to attempt to prop-up a language 'from the top down'. He concludes that securing intergenerational transmission at home is generally the first move before proceeding to higher level actions, such as schools, media, government, etc. (e.g. Romaine 2007).

The specifics of Melanesia support this argument; whilst government (especially education policy) and media—in addition to documentation efforts such as Bible translations and dictionaries—are important attributes in redressing language shift, the sheer number and small size of language communities in Melanesia (and especially Vanuatu) make these 'top down', 'higher level' approaches impractical. For example, despite the Vanuatu government's new pro-active language policy which encourages children to be taught in the vernacular in the first few years of primary school, a number of substantive barriers remain. First, one survey identified that 12% of teachers do not know their vernacular (Early 2015). Second, the sheer linguistic diversity of some locales pose challenges. For instance, in South West Bay, Malekula, there is a different language every 5 miles and at least three different language communities represented at the primary school. This issue is compounded in urban areas where many more language communities are represented. Other issues include the fact that many languages in Vanuatu are yet to be properly documented and do not have an established orthography for writing and reading. As with Bible translation efforts, such documentation practices are time intensive and expensive.

In sum, formal education is an important component of maintaining local languages but ultimately it is through use in the home and community—through use—that the future of linguistic diversity in Vanuatu can be sustained. Below, we examine three home-grown attempts to promote vernacular language use and also discuss the local rationales behind the importance of local language. This echoes and extends the attributes noted above.

### CULTURAL REVITALISATION AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

#### Case Study One: Mewun *Kastom Skul*

The Mewun *kastom skul* [literally custom school) is located in the mountainous rim of South West Bay (SWB), Malekula; the second largest, third most populated and most linguistically diverse island in the country. The *skul* was begun by a Vanuatu Cultural Centre (VKS)[7] *felwoka* based in Lawa (McCarter et al. 2014). Built in 2009 but not operational until 2012, the *skul* was first and foremost concerned with promoting the use of Ninde over Bislama. The region covered by the SWB Area Council of Chiefs encompasses six active language groups (Charpentier 1982), a few more if migrants are included. Two languages are already extinct (Crowley 1998) and another two are moribund (one has only a single speaker). Elders in the area have been increasingly concerned about language shift, especially Ninde to Bislama. Ninde has been identified as 'endangered' (Vari-Bogiri 2002, p. 7). A cultural census of every household in the Ninde-speaking portion of the Bay suggested that 63 percent of households use an amalgam of Ninde and Bislama; 27 percent primarily Ninde; and 8 percent Bislama

only (*n*=158 households) (Love 2016, p. 227). When asked why they used Bislama rather than Ninde, people often replied 'why not'?

Whilst combating language shifts was a key rationale of the *kastom skul*, the underlying objectives extended well beyond fears of language 'loss' alone to encompass cultural renewal more widely. There were also classes ran on *kastom kalenda*, *kastom medicine*, *kastom* resource management [e.g. *tabu eria*], *kastom kavenans* [governance], local weavings, *kastom singsing* [customary singing] and *kastom plei-plei* [customary games], how to carve and play a *tam tam* [customary wooden gong] and promoting the raising of tusked boars and *Nalawan* grading.

Part of the impetuous behind the *skul* was the fact that the VKS *felwoka* [fieldworker] who established it had previously used teaching books developed and printed by the VKS in the local government school. These books promoted vernacular language use and touch-upon many of the topics noted above (especially bio-cultural linkages). However, the *felwoka* was forced to stop using the texts after some parents complained that the focus on *kastom* was anti-Christian. This harks back to what has been called the *tu-dak* [too-dark] phenomena in Vanuatu, where the pre-European past is viewed as 'un-godly' relative to the coming of the '*laet*' [light = Gospel] (Regenvanu 2005, p. 40). The *skul*, in part, was a move to redress this; to mainstream *kastom* as a legitimate body of knowledge and have *kastom* practice, or discussions about *kastom*, remain voluntary. Ultimately, the *skul* ceased to function altogether in 2014 due to disputes over land and because a significant number of the *skul* executive committee had joined a Christian denomination other than the primary 'mother Church' of the area (Presbyterianism).

Of particular interest are the rationales used to highlight the importance of local language. In addition to nourishing identity, demonstrating connection to land, and promoting wider cultural practices, a recurrent point was that Ninde was essential to sustaining *respek* [respect] and facilitating social order. A key platform of this was revitalising '*kastom fasin blong singoat ol famili*', which refers to using vernacular kinship terms, rather than Bislama words such as *unkle*, *aunti*, *sista*, etc., to refer to family. This was, independently, also a key rationale and focus of the other two case-studies.

### Case Study Two: Vanuatu *Kastom* Governance Partnership

The Vanuatu *Kastom* Governance Partnership (VKGP) operated from 2005-2012 and was a research and practice-based partnership between Australia's International Development Agency (AusAID), The University of Queensland (UQ) and the Malvatumauri National Council of Chiefs (MNCC).[8] Ten ni-Vanuatu facilitators', supported by a local researcher and management team, were drawn from throughout Vanuatu and included chiefs, three women, a young male and a Church elder. The project supported week-long workshops or '*storian*s' across different parts of the country, attended by community leaders (chiefs, church, women and youth) and supported through action learning and action research components (see Westoby & Brown 2007).

Addressing the societal problems characteristic of contemporary life became a particular focus for a number of the ni-Vanuatu facilitators. About mid-way through the partnership some of the VKGP facilitators put forward the idea that a positive link exists between local language(s) and broader social cooperation and order. This lead to the development of a session-module called 'language, family and relationships' (hereafter L&R). The session took the form of a presentation followed by group-work, group presentations and a facilitated discussion. Group-work consisted of people constructing a 'language matrix' and 'relationship web' where the vernacular names of societal roles, relationships and responsibilities were elicited and discussed. People were also asked to reflect on if, where, how and why, language and customary forms of social relations had or had not changed. Several other sessions were developed that also drew on the vernacular, namely: '*kastom* values and identity', 'landmarks and ground' and 'women's place in *kastom*'.

As evidenced by post-*storian* evaluations, the L&R module was extremely popular. Participants came away with a renewed appreciation for their vernacular and widely supported the assumption that it has greater power and capacity to support cooperation and respect—in effect greater civic utility—than introduced languages. Following the *storian*s, some participants conducted voluntarily outreach activities in their own communities to raise awareness about the importance of using local language in the home. This was especially pronounced in Port Vila and the islands of Malekula and Santo. In several instances, participants built *kastom skuls* or a *nakamal* (a traditional 'house') to conduct classes and help facilitate language maintenance and cultural revitalisation activities.

Several of the facilitators also undertook voluntary work to further promote the L&R approach. Daniel Lukai established 'Namakura Week'—now an annual event—in his home community of Seaside Tongoa (Port Vila). The aim of Namakura Week is to nourish links between urban emigrants and their home island (Tongoa), promote 'traditional' art, music and food, and highlight the importance of maintaining Namakura as a first language. Daniel compiled a children's book in Namakura and also organized information awareness campaigns (in Seaside and further afield through a national radio program), including one about the *Convention of the Rights of the Child*. Daniel foreground *kastom* ideals such as 'respect' and grounded them in cases of specific kin relations using the vernacular to promote child welfare without referring to 'rights' as such. Additionally, two other VKGP facilitators—Roselyn Tor and Miriam Bule—also undertook voluntarily outreach work in Port Vila, running L&R sessions in Churches and highlighting the analogous links between *kastom* and Christian values and foregrounding the civic utility of the vernacular (MNCC/UQ 2012). The rationale in both cases was to root people in a more nurturing social space, to recognize and draw on local strengths and reflect on socio-economic change in an honest but constructive manner. After the VKGP ended, the L&R approach was eventually reinvigorated in Santo under the leadership of the Anglican Church.

**Case Study Three: Anglican Church Language and Relationships program**

The late Bishop James Ligo of the Diocese of Vanuatu and New Caledonia, Anglican Church of Melanesia (ACOM) attended one of the VKGP *storian*'s in Santo and was particularly taken by the L&R session. He subsequently requested assistance in conducting L&R sessions around Santo (the second most linguistically diverse island in Vanuatu). After successfully gaining some funds from The Christensen Fund, the L&R project, supported by a partnership (first) with The University of Queensland and then RMIT University, began in 2015, with the current project cycle winding-up in October, 2018.

To commence, two of the original VKGP facilitators conducted some training with ACOM staff, after which a small team of three men and two women undertook *storian*s based on the L&R approach in various places around Santo. These consist of multi-day and half-and-one day *storian*s in rural and urban locales. Some *storian*s have been community-based, others more targeted (e.g. with school children and teachers, elders, youth, and Church representatives). Thus far, the *storian*s have reached over 500 people, representing over 20 language groups. The session remains firmly rooted in the L&R approach first developed in the VKGP, but has also expanded to include some further components, such as reference to the preamble of the Constitution (which few people are aware of) and which talks about 'cherishing our ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity'. Other aspects include talking about the meaning of the national flag and national anthem. There is also a dedicated sub-discussion on *kastom kalenda*, which offers guidance on subsistence farming and fishing and seasonal cycles.

At the request of some participants and ACOM staff, the project also recently conducted a week-long workshop with a group of Sunday school teachers and adult literacy teachers. Each group drafted a curriculum based on the L&R approach. These have since been finalised and are now in use. Moreover, a 'follow-up' system has been developed where a project member visits households and communities after each *storian*. This has resulted in less *storian*s being conducted than initially planned, but has increased the impact of the *storian*s in terms of behaviour change. Tailored tasks are set that involve participants conducting mini-home L&R *storian*s with nuclear and extended family members, as well as other 'homework' research activities. Lastly, at the request of participants, a Facebook page has been created.

## What's in a name? The value and power of language

The thread that ties these case-studies together, to quote the ACOM project 'awareness flyer', is the shared objective to 'protect, promote and use' local languages through a facilitated discussion (or *storian*). According to the flyer (and explained below), the *storian* seeks to support increased appreciation for:

- the value of language;
- the power of language;
- the significance of language to identity; and,
- the fundamental role of language in informing respect.

A recurrent motif is the view that local languages are socially and materially generative; that is, they have power. This argument takes numerous forms. One is that using 'proper' kinship terms, as well as 'proper' terms for *kastom* authority (instead of the generic term Chief [*Jif*]), can better secure peaceful social relations. Both assumptions are based on the belief that the vernacular can '*holdem taet respek*' [keep respect strong] in a way that Bislama cannot. As argued by one of the VKGP facilitators:

> ...the customary fashion of naming social relations instructs a person how to interrelate with people and what to do, where you can go and cannot go. This helps keep respect alive. (Daniel Lukai, VKGP facilitator, translated form Bislama)

Here, language is deemed to be a carriage of not just social meaning (identity, education, value) but also order, because it identifies the roles and responsibilities associated with kin (or leadership) relationships. Thus, for instance, *Nemlun* [MBs (mother's brother) nephew] means 'feather fall down' in Ninde, which references part of the initiation process associated with circumcision (where MB plays an important role) and so carries great symbolic and, for many, embodied significance. The importance of MB is evident throughout Vanuatu. In Mota language, TORBA Province, MB is called Tata [lit. 'teacher'], whilst in the neighbouring Gaua language it is Maruk ['compass']. In Namakura, MB is called *Lolo* (which also means 'look') and is described by the vernacular phrase *namtan bwilawm*, which means 'he is the eye of your mother'. MB, as well as Mother's Sister (MS), have a duty to impart knowledge to their 'nephews' or 'nieces'. MB is particularly important in dispute resolution contexts and plays an important role at life-cycle events (i.e. circumcision and marriage). Similarly, MS gives important advice on child rearing, among other things, to her 'nieces'. One of MB's roles is to protect his niece against domestic violence. These roles and responsibilities are said to be where the foundation of 'respect' is located. The social protection associated with the maintenance of these relationships goes beyond individuals to positively inform not just the household but the wider community. In the words of one man, re-vitalising the vernacular naming of social relations is part of the processes of building respect because it assists in ensuring that local conflict resolution processes are not impersonalised or contracted-out to village councils or police—'family' should be the 'court of first instance'. Using generic Bislama equivalents like *ankle* or *aunti* are not as '*hevi*' [heavy or meaningful] because they are not as morally instructive or as symbolically laden. In this view, then, language is not merely a medium of social capital but an integral component of it.

It ought to be noted that anthropologists and socio-linguists have long suggested that language not only reflects but enables social structures and values (e.g. Bourdieu 1986; Labov 1966; Lindstrom 1990); informs the formation and maintenance of social networks (Gal 1979), shapes social relations and power differentials (Gal 2012), and is integral to conflict resolution processes (e.g. White and Gegeo-Watson [eds] 1990). Indeed, as Leach (1982) noted, kinship has 'very little to do with biology' but rather refers to:

> ... a pattern of named relationships which link together the individual members of a social system in a network. The naming is crucial, for not only does this make it possible to contrast one kind of relationship with another, it also allows the group as a collectively to determine what the 'proper' behavioural concomitants of the relationship should be. (Leach 1982, p. 107)

Leach's argument resonates with those associated with the L&R approach, where '*kastom fasin blong singoat ol famili*' is used as a starting point to talk about language through, first, reflecting on socio-economic change and then building an awareness of, and appreciation for, local traditions and practices as part of those dynamics of change, in a way designed to support cultural vitality and social resilience. *Kastom kalanda* (custom calendar) and the significance of vernacular to ecological well-being and environmental change are also part of these discussions. Biocultural linkages between language and human-environmental wellbeing are hard to ignore. For example, in the Ninde speaking part of South West Bay, the flowering of a particular tree [called *nuisumbal* in Ninde] marks the time for brushing gardens and planting yams. If it is unseasonably dry or wet, the tree does not flower, nor will flowering occur, until conditions are optimal. The few older people who still plant using this *kastom kalanda* method have a superior yam crop to the majority who do not use this method (Love 2016).

Interestingly, however, it is working with language terms for kin relations that repeatedly attract the most interest; much more than *kastom kalenda* or other examples that demonstrate biocultural linkages. There seems to be something about associating language with family and national identity (the Constitution, flag, the national anthem) that finds local traction in a way that other discussions of language maintenance have not. Linking local language with social relations and social order might be said to be an example of what has been called 'language policing' or 'verbal hygiene' (Cameron 1995) in which identity politics are mobilised, fixed and policed through a form of 'language ideologies' (e.g. Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Yet in the biocultural realm, the relationship between vernacular and societal wellbeing reminds us that valuing langauge is not simply a residuum of identity politics alone—it has real world utility. There is a danger of working with kin terms, particularly when linked with discussions of the Constitution and other national references, being hijacked by aggressive identity politics. However, in practice, especially during the VKGP phase, this approach to language provide a safe and constructive means to discuss difficult and contentious topics, such as 'rights' and 'gender equality' (as Danial did with his discussion of Child Rights) (Brown 2018).

Importantly, whilst not without tensions, the L&R approach does not uncritically reify or freeze *kastom* as some ahistorical, concrete suite of practices or values. Rather, it operates from a position of critical appreciation that uses the vernacular and socially idealized frames of relations (*kastom*) as a means to think about social inclusion and order in a different register. This has been productive in an instrumental sense, through providing a conducive environment for undertaking difficult conversations, as well as opening-up spaces for better conceptualizing how social order and well-being is, and is not, being sustained in practice. Lastly, it is noteworthy that neither practitioners nor participants viewed these activities as 'education' but rather saw them as tools of development and governance. Language is understood in these approaches as not simply a medium but a form of social capital itself. This raises significant questions about when and how development 'subjects' get a say in defining what constitutes 'social capital', 'development' or 'cultural heritage' in the first place.

## Conclusion

The maintenance of a language is typically measured by: a) The status of the language as indicated by attitudes towards it; b) The size of the group who uses the language and their distribution; and c) The extent to which the language enjoys institutional support. One of the key rationales behind the L&R approach—and echoed by participants—is that people often take their vernacular for granted; many people use Bislama or another local language not so much for prestige (or identity politics) but because they have simply not thought about the practical and socio-emotional value of local languages. When the merits of local language are presented by ni-Vanuatu in a conversational, small group setting, linked to multi-linguistic and multi-cultural national (not just micro-ethnic) identities, and supported by structured follow-up, people seem to come away culturally nourished and enthused about their vernacular and the value of their life worlds. With so much of the content of the social world increasingly filled by words, practice and things from 'elsewhere', valuing language is also a way to value yourself; to focus on who you are, what you have and your own, collective creativity. Whilst not without

its challenges, we believe that this relatively low cost, home-grown approach to local language maintenance is an innovative and promising model for combating language shifts in Vanuatu, and perhaps elsewhere in Melanesia.

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## Endnotes

1 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on 17 October 2003 and entered force in 29th of April, 2006. As of September 2018, 178 states have ratified, approved or accepted the convention (see UNESCO 2018).

2 SDG 4.6 concerns the attainment of 'Universal youth literacy', whilst SDG 4.7 refers to 'Education for sustainable development and global citizenship'.

3 Tyron (1976) arrived at the figure of 105; Lynch & Crowley (2001) identified 106; whilst Tyron (2006) later revised his initial estimate higher to 113 languages. The Sumner Institute of Linguistics (SIL) use Tyron's figure of 113 (Simons *et al.* 2018).

4 With a population of approximately 280,000 people, whether it is 106, 113 or 138 languages, Vanuatu has the highest density of languages *per capita* in the world (Crowley 2000).

5 With a total land area of 12,189 sq km, Vanuatu has an average 88 sq km per language, whereas Papua New Guinea, by comparison, has an estimated language every 900 sq km) (François, *et al.* 2015: 8).

6 The 13 language languages with less than a hundred speakers—if not also some of the 21 languages with between 101-300 speakers—are considered endangered.

7 The VKS—*Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta* [Vanuatu Cultural Centre]—aims to 'promote, protect and preserve the different aspects of the culture of Vanuatu'. The VKS has a number of island-based ni-Vanuatu *felwoka* [fieldworkers] who undertake research on a wide number of topics (language, custom, history, material culture etc.) and frequently assist foreign researchers (Thieberger and Taylor (eds) 2013).

8 The MNCC is a constitutionally recognised body tasked with safe-guarding *kastom* in Vanuatu. Established at Independence, the National Council is an umbrella organization made-up of representatives from twenty Island Councils of Chiefs and two urban-based Town Councils of Chiefs (Port Vila and Luganville).


# Access to recordings in the languages of the Pacific

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## Abstract

**With over a quarter of the world's languages the Pacific is a particularly good place to focus on how language records can be made accessible. The creation and description of research records has not always been a priority for humanities academics and any records that are created have typically not been provided with good archival solutions. This is despite these records often being of cultural or historical relevance beyond academia.**

**Many academic researchers at the end of their careers despair at the task of making sense of a lifetime's output of papers, notes, images, and recordings. Our project, the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC), a collaboration between the University of Sydney, University of Melbourne, and the ANU, began in 2003 by digitising analogue tape collections and providing sufficient metadata to make them discoverable. These tapes belonged to retired or deceased researchers and would otherwise have been stored in a house or maybe a library, but in both cases are difficult to find and more difficult to access.**

**In this paper I outline how PARADISEC works and how to find information in it. I will show how we provide access to the collections we hold and how that has helped build links with people and agencies in the Pacific. We have partnered with a number of museums and cultural centres to digitise analogue tapes and are working on ways of getting information about the collection to the source communities so that they can find recordings made by their members in the past.**

## Introduction

With over a quarter of the world's languages, the world's largest ocean, the Pacific, is a particularly good place to focus on how language records can be made accessible. The creation and description of research records has not always been a priority for humanities academics, and any records that are created have typically not been provided with good archival solutions. This is despite these records often being of cultural or historical relevance beyond academia. In this paper I suggest there is a basic requirement for accessible primary language records to serve both community and research needs.

Many academic researchers at the end of their careers despair at the task of making sense of a lifetime's output of papers, notes, images, and recordings. Our project, the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC), began in 2003 by digitising analogue tape collections and providing sufficient metadata to make them discoverable. These tapes belonged to retired or deceased researchers and would otherwise have been stored in a house or maybe a library, but in both cases are difficult to find and more difficult to access.

We provide access to the collections which has helped build links with people and agencies in the Pacific. We have worked with a number of museums and cultural centres to digitise analogue tapes. We are working on ways of getting information about the collection to the source communities, typically villages in the Pacific, PNG, or South-East Asia, so that they can find recordings made by their members in the past.

## The Pacific Language Wonderland

A quarter of the world's 7,000 languages are spoken in the Pacific (Lynch 2014), representing huge linguistic diversity in this region. For linguists, this displays a range of possibilities for examining how languages diverge from each other and what changes occur within languages over sometimes relatively shallow time depths of perhaps the past fifty years. We know, for example, that Polynesian settlement of some parts of the Pacific, including Aotearoa/New Zealand, is less than a thousand years old (Kirch 2000). Here I will focus on the records of these languages, and, in particular, on ***recordings*** (audio records created in the past century to capture performance of various kinds). In Australia, recordings of Pacific languages are typically found in the hands of researchers (like linguists, anthropologists or musicologists), or in their deceased estates, ending up in museums, libraries or archives which often deal with tapes as static objects to put on shelves rather than as dynamic media to be accessed. Finding these records can be difficult and require word-of-mouth knowledge if they are located in homes or university storerooms. For people in the widely dispersed islands of the Pacific it is even more difficult to locate analogue records and to play recordings, so we have prepared digital files with catalogue information and clear deposit conditions to facilitate access.

The Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC) provides the means to curate collections of these recordings and has built systems that can ingest metadata and primary records and then expose them for access by registered users of the catalogue. PARADISEC began in 2003 after a group of linguists and musicologists recognised the need to preserve many priceless analogue recordings that were at risk of being lost. We had great help from the National Film and Sound Archive and the National Library of Australia in determining what metadata and equipment standards were required, and we applied for Australian Research Council funding for a year to build research infrastructure. With that, we started building PARADISEC, a completely digital archive that is a collaboration between the University of Sydney, University of Melbourne, and the ANU. We are grateful to Australian national storage and network programs like AARNet, RDSI, ANDS, and Nectar,[1] that have supported our work over time. In 18 years the archive has grown to 86 terabytes, and has material from 1,236 languages, now including over 12,500 hours of audio recordings. While the initial focus was on the region around Australia, the collection now holds material from anywhere in the world. It is a significant collection that has been listed on the UNESCO Australian Memory of the World Program's Register (AMW 2013).

## Building PARADISEC

To begin with, we surveyed linguists, initially at the ANU in Canberra, and from that work identified hundreds of hours of recordings made since the 1950s in PNG, Indonesia, other parts of Melanesia, and further afield. We negotiated with the collectors, or with the executors of their wills, to digitise the tapes, and we developed a deposit form in which they can license how the recordings could be used. We also developed access conditions that are agreed to by users of the collection. We employed an audio technician who built the system to digitise the tapes, with suitable analogue-digital converters and using the Quadriga system to create archival Broadcast Wave Format (BWF) files.

As digital language archives started to operate in the early 2000s, the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC) 2011) proposed a metadata set to be used by language archives. Based on the Open Archives Initiative and Dublin Core, this minimal set of metadata terms was designed to allow interoperability of metadata so that OLAC could aggregate metadata from all archives

and present it in a unified format. PARADISEC has been an OLAC-compliant archive since 2004 and a great benefit of this is that all public catalogue items in PARADISEC are harvested every day by OLAC and made available via their system to other services, maximising the reach of our catalogue. OLAC provides a page for every language in the world, listing everything that is in each archive for that language (see OLAC 2011).

PARADISEC is one of several digital archives with a focus on the Pacific that are also part of OLAC. Three others are: the University of Hawai'i's Pacific collection (discussed further below), Pangloss at the CNRS/LACITO in Paris, (CNRS/LACITO n.d.), and CoCoOn, also in Paris (CoCoON n.d.).

We wrote a database to catalogue the PARADISEC collections that uses controlled vocabularies (for languages, countries, roles of participants and so on) and standardised entries via popup menus, populated from existing terms (for people names). The catalogue entry for each item enforces the deposit conditions provided by a depositor who is able to assign access rights to particular individuals, even if a collection is otherwise closed. There is provision in our catalogue to mark items as being 'private', so they are not published or visible to anyone except the depositor, which is useful for the period in which a collection is being developed.

We based our metadata set on the OLAC recommendations and provided for export of a snippet of XML (customised markup language) from the catalogue to be included inside the wrapper of each wave audio file in order to make a BWF (broadcast wave format) file that identifies it and its provenance in our collection. A key feature of modern digital language archives is the use of a standard language identifier, ISO-639-3, which provides three-letter codes for each language in the world, avoiding the problem of using language names or descriptors which can vary in spelling. This three-letter code underpins the services that OLAC provides as it aggregates records from participating archives.

OLAC is one service that uses PARADISEC's catalogue feeds. Our catalogue's APIs (application program interface) (http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/apidoc) export collection-level (Rif-CS) and item-level (OAI-PMH) metadata that is also picked up by Research Data Australia (https://researchdata.edu.au/) and the National Library of Australia's TROVE, as well as Google. All of this provides the incentive to researchers that their work will become locatable and accessible, and above all, citable, through international networks.

However, even if an item is in a collecting institution, it is unlikely to have its content language noted in the catalogue in a standard format. In Australia, the National Library of Australia and most State Libraries do not use ISO-639-3 in their catalogues, so it remains difficult to find items in these collections for anyone searching for language records. As an example of how this can be done, the University of Hawai'i Library's Pacific Collection has recently had its catalogue updated to include language identifiers that are now findable via OLAC (see Kleiber 2015).

We use the PARADISEC catalogue to index existing resources that have no language identifiers. This allows the OLAC system to harvest that information from our catalogue, and to include it in their online database of resources for each language. A website may include excellent language material—perhaps a transcript of missionary records, or a dictionary—but it is not registered in OLAC's directory. Because websites are at risk of being moved or lost, we find the version of the same site that is hosted in the Internet Archive and point to this preserved version from our catalogue, ensuring persistence of the link. So, for example, there is a wonderful site of information about Rotuma (http://www.rotuma.net/) that includes typed versions of early sources in the language, so we have included a link to the persistent form of this site

(https://web.archive.org/web/20080917070401/http://www.rotuma.net:80/os/Gardiner/GdrContents.html) in our catalogue (http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/External/items/rotuma) and this means it is also now found in the OLAC page for Rotuman (http://www.language-archives.org/language/rtm).

The materials we deal with have personal connections to the communities they were recorded in, being stories and songs recorded with a range of people, from the 1950s through to the present. They always represent a time slice of performance, recording how people spoke at a particular time, and sometimes recording stories or songs that are no longer known today. A primary motivation for our work is ensuring that the people recorded, or their families, can access these pieces of their cultural heritage.

## A Race Against Time

Analogue recordings are soon going to become unplayable due to the failure of the tapes themselves or due to the lack of playback equipment. It is now a race against time to find tapes that need to be preserved, tapes that contain unique cultural information. We set up an online questionnaire (DELAMAN n.d.) that we publicise every year asking anthropologists, linguists, and musicologists about tapes they own or know about, that need to be digitised. As a result, we have been able to digitise significant collections. For example, we recently arranged for a collection of several hundred tapes held at the Basel Museum, Switzerland, to be sent to our colleagues at the language archive in Nijmegen, Netherlands, for digitisation. A small collection of eight tapes in Yonggom, Papua New Guinea, were sent to our colleagues in Texas, USA, who digitised the tapes and sent the files to us to accession into the collection. Similarly, we arranged for a collection of 44 tapes from Papua New Guinea in the Wampar language, recorded in the years between 1958 and 1972 and held on cassettes in Switzerland, to be digitised by colleagues in London, UK, who then sent a hard disk to us for accession. This demonstrates the kind of productive international collaboration we have developed between language archives. The need for this work has also been recognised by funding agencies like the Endangered Archives Programme (British Library n.d.) and the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme's Legacy Materials Grants (ELDP 2020).

As many of the tapes we locate have little metadata beyond what is written on their cases, we enter what we can into the catalogue (typically country, collector, date, and maybe language or village) and invite anyone with more information to send it to us. In 2016 we were funded to enrich our Papua New Guinea collection metadata and employed Steven Gagau, a PNG national to work on the collection. He was able to add to the descriptions by listening to the recordings (not something we generally have the time to do) and by asking his networks for more information. In 2017 we worked with the Divine Word University in Madang, Papua New Guinea, who had a project of playing audio from our collection at a local market stall and asking people there to add what they could about the recordings. They sent us a spreadsheet of new metadata that we added to the catalogue. We hope to increase this kind of activity in future.

In order to allow feedback from the level of a person in a small village or town about a language in our collection, the recording needs to be delivered in a way that can be interpreted locally. The recording is downsampled (a digital audio signal made smaller) as part of our ingestion process (wav files become mp3, and video is transcoded to low-resolution mp4), so that it can be downloaded over low-bandwidth connections. For places with limited or no internet connection we are exploring methods for creating sub-collections that are self-describing sets of files. Each time a PARADISEC catalogue entry is saved, it writes an XML file to the item's directory, thus keeping all contextual metadata together with the primary records. These XML files can then be collected together to write a catalogue of all items in the selected sub-collection. The catalogue can be supplied together with a hard disk of files, or, where a hard disk is not appropriate, for example where computers are not commonly available, on a local wifi transmitter. This means that any device that can receive wifi can be used to access records transmitted from the wifi transmitter.

## Implications for Current Practice

Because we have seen so many recordings in deceased estates, we have developed suggestions for current researchers in ways to create their documentation. In particular, we encourage all researchers to make a will and to appoint a literary executor, so that it is as clear as possible

what is to be done with the legacy of records created during their career. Depositing research records as soon as they are created provides a citable form with persistent identification and location, and can be added to by transcripts that can be improved over time. It is now not uncommon to have recordings deposited by fieldworkers from their field location, or as soon as they return from the field, contradicting the previous notion of archiving at the end of a research career (see Barwick 2004).

Citability, reproducibility, and verifiability of claims made in research papers have long been critical issues in scientific research and are becoming increasingly important in the humanities (see Berez-Kroeker et al 2018). A repository provides a citable form of primary records, which is a critical contribution to research practice (see Thieberger 2016). If a researcher makes a claim about the occurrence of a sentence or construction, performance style, intonation, and so on, they must be able to point to where in their corpus of recorded material it occurred. It is not sufficient to say that some phenomenon has simply been observed, as this leaves open the possibility of examples being constructed to suit the analysis.

## A Museum of Language?

In 2016, we were approached by the Canberra Museum and Gallery to prepare a display about PARADISEC for an exhibition on UNESCO's Memory of the World Programme (CMAG 2016, p. 3). We built an augmented reality poster that allows users to hear stories in 14 different languages, by holding a mobile device over a poster. We also built a virtual reality (VR) display based on PARADISEC's metadata. We ran an algorithm that took twenty second snippets of mp3 files in the collection and these files were then put into a map of the Pacific, where users could interact via goggles with the data (we call this 'Glossopticon') and see locations of each of the languages of the region. Further development has led to a web VR Google cardboard version that can be displayed on any mobile phone. These have had a great impact and have been reported on in the public media, both in Australia and in the Pacific (including the Fiji magazine 'Turaga', Islands Business Magazine, and the Air PNG inflight magazine). They also serve to illustrate that properly constructed data and metadata can have multiple uses beyond that envisaged by the original research project.

Another example of presenting archival material in novel ways is the online exhibition of a collection that represents the estate of Arthur Capell, who was a professor of linguistics at the University of Sydney, with images of many of his records from all over the Pacific (PARADISEC 2014). The exhibition displays images with enough metadata to make them findable, but with no transcriptions, and so is a relatively easy way to make this information available.

## Conclusion

Novel means of presentation of recorded cultural heritage need to be based in a collection that provides long-term curation, and long-term identification of the objects it holds. In this paper I have described the ways in which a group of linguists and musicologists have built the infrastructure necessary for us to carry out our work, bearing in mind our dual responsibilities, first to the people we work with to make records of their communities available to them in the long term, and, second, to the research we are creating, providing citable and verifiable primary records for others to build on.

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## Endnote

1 AARNet: Australia's Academic and Research Network; ANDS: Australian National Data Service; NECTAR: National eResearch Collaboration Tools and Resources; RDSI: Research Data Storage Initiative

# Landscape as middle ground: a resilience approach to conservation and promotion of UNESCO World Heritage Site, Levuka, Fiji

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## Abstract

**Conservation and resilience are inextricably connected. Both are concerned with the identification and protection of core values in the face of disturbance; both recognise the importance of adaptation. Yet sometimes they produce contradictory rather than complementary outcomes. The contested landscape of Levuka on the island of Ovalau in Fiji is a good example. In this recently listed UNESCO World Heritage Site, the conservation of buildings in a colonial port sits at odds with an indigenous culture struggling to thrive in a place beset by economic and environmental disturbance. Cyclone Winston brought these contradictions to a head, prompting the question: how might the tensions between conservation and resilience be reconciled?**

**If a culture is to thrive, it must adapt to an ever-growing array of economic, political and environmental disturbances. Using a design research methodology, a research team analysed the reciprocity between culture and landscape in Levuka and discovered that where built fabric needs to be conserved, landscape can act as useful alternative site for adaptation. This approach protects built fabric while encouraging culture and landscape to co-evolve. It also allows for a quicker response to fast shocks like hurricanes, earthquakes and floods while buying time for the slower adaptive cycles of protected built fabric. In this way, landscape emerges as a potential middle ground between the tensions of conservation and resilience.**

## Introduction

When Levuka was listed as Fiji's first UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2013, an opportunity arose to think critically about the cultural values this place represents: recent studies had focused on the significance of the colonial town (Smith 2006) which at the time of listing was in disrepair. Then in 2016, Cyclone Winston ravaged the island of Ovalau, damaging not only Levuka's heritage fabric, but also much of its port and harbour. Cyclones, along with the threat of rising seas, pose questions about the sometimes-challenging and contradictory priorities of conservation and resilience (Hall et al. 2015). These contradictions were clearly in evidence when, in January 2017, the authors of this paper arrived in Levuka.

We were there with a team of ten Masters of Landscape Architecture students from Victoria University in Wellington (VUW), New Zealand, to investigate the cultural landscape of Levuka in light of its heritage status. Our fieldwork emphasised observing, drawing, and talking to people to see how the landscape and built environment provided work, access, enjoyment, safety and dignity to the local community. We began in the town, but our interest quickly shifted to accommodate the town's edges, peripheries and in-between spaces, because this seemed to be where important interactions were taking place.

## Ovalau: History and Geography

Levuka is on the eastern coast of Ovalau, a 106-square kilometre volcanic island sited 20km off the coast of Viti Levu. All around the island, the coast rises steeply to a mountainous rim which encloses an extensive and more moderately inclined caldera at the centre of the ovoid shaped island. Most of the coastal fringes are too steep for settlement, though the hundreds of streams that radiate from the peaks create alluvial flatland, and sandy beaches where they meet the sea. These sites provide access to the sea for many of the village settlements. Like all volcanic islands in the tropics Ovalau is surrounded by a coral reef, in this case a barrier reef that provides protected deep navigable water along the eastern side of the island. The island's geomorphology has shaped the culture of its inhabitants, from early days as a remote village, to its colonial era and through to the present.

Foundation stories relate how the original inhabitants settled in the centre of the caldera, which was sheltered and fortified by the geography of the mountainous rim. The first village, named Lovoni, which still exists today, was organised around 16 clans and each played a particular role within the community, from the Turaga (chiefs) to the Bati (warriors) to the Gonedau (fisher people) (Lagi 2015). In the 19th century, Lovoni was one of the last holdouts against the warlord Cakobau, who conquered the village and banished the inhabitants. Cakobau eventually conquered all the Fijian islands, declared himself king, but ceded the islands to the Britain in 1874 when he ran out of financial resources.

Land-based heritage, called 'vanua' in Fiji, plays a strong role in identity in indigenous Fijian knowledge and cultural systems (Lagi 2015) and explains why eventually, the displaced Lovonians and their progeny filtered back to Ovalau, to lay claim to the land which was rightfully theirs. However, on returning, they found that a number of acres of land in the crater had been sold to a bank, and misunderstanding the actual area this covered, inferred that they could not return to Lovoni village. Instead, in acknowledgement of Fijian custom that clan membership confers collective ownership over land, they divided the ovoid island into 16 wedges, one for each of the 16 original extended families. By then, Fijian society had transformed from a collection of warring tribal villages to a trade-oriented colonial economy, and many families abandoned the highlands to form new villages at the coastal edges where occupants could fish and prosper through trade[1].

During Cyclone Winston in 2015, many of these coastal villages were flooded or severely damaged. Ovalauans are fortunate in that each village holds high-ground territory, due to the wedge-shaped ownership structure, and so managed retreat from the coast could occur without encroaching on the traditional lands of another village. On the other hand, managed retreat presents problems with access, especially because most of the infrastructure is located by the coast.

## Levuka and World Heritage Status

Levuka emerged when Totongo village, in the centre of the present town, and Levuka village, to the north, were settled in the 1830s by 'beachcombers', former sailors who acted as trade mediators between indigenous Fijians and Europeans. The deep-water lagoon and barrier reef adjacent to the town facilitated anchorage for boats and the flat alluvial land at the mouth of the Totongo and Levuka Creeks provided the largest opportunity for flat land settlement beside this eastern coastline of Ovalau. By the 1850s, missionaries had introduced models of private property and Western architecture, along with Christianity. The churches came to own large tracts of land and remain the town's major landowners today. Superimposed on the indigenous layout, the structure of the township took on an irregular patchwork pattern. By the time of Cakobau's declared kingship and the establishment of Levuka as capital of Fiji, the Euro-Fijian town was an established trade port (Harrison 2004, Fisher 2000). The following colonial era saw the introduction of wharfs and Beach Street shops, as they are known today (Figure 1). Although the capital was moved to Suva in 1882 as a result of the spatial constraints of Levuka's mountainous geography, the town thrived as a copra hub until the 1950s. When the Europeans left Levuka in the post-colonial era, their structures and spaces were largely reclaimed by mixed-heritage descendants and native Fijians.

Currently the town, with a population of about 1000, has only one significant employer, the Pacific Fishing Company (PAFCO). The schools in Ovalau and Levuka attract students from across the Fiji Islands, as they have done for over 100 years, and some small enterprises persist on Beach Street. Access from Viti Levu, the main island, is regular but infrequent; and travel from Nadi, the nation's only international airport is complicated. Even the lure of a UNESCO Cultural World Heritage listed town has not yet improved the tourist industry on the island.

The colonial town layout is still intact, and most of the heritage buildings located on the flat lowlands are extant, though in need of repair. The harbour's facilities are less intact: most of the jetties have been washed away. The port area is consolidated on the southern headland, where the PAFCO factory is located. The island's main road, which is still the high street in Levuka, hugs the coastline where it is often inundated when the sea wall is breached by king tides and storms, flooding from upstream, or disrupted by repairs to bridges which cross the numerous creeks. The landscape of the flat lowlands is mostly cleared of vegetation and scored with open channels that don't always deal adequately with extreme rain conditions and often overflow. Housing extends up the valley of the Totongo Creek. All of it is surrounded by luxuriant vegetation and produce gardens. The main access roads also run up the valleys, though most of the housing is accessible only on foot.

**Figure 4.** Beach Street shops, Levuka. Source: Lizzie Yarina

Levuka's 'reflection of late 19th century stages of maritime colonisation', and its 'interchange of human values in terms of European-Indigenous relations over the period of its settlement' are the basis behind UNESCO's World Heritage Listing (ICOMOS 2013). Leaving aside this uneasy pairing of 'colonisation' and 'exchange', the act of heritage designation freezes Levuka and its fabric in time with meticulous detail, even prescribing the imported European paint that must be used on any buildings with heritage status. David Harrison (2004) documents that much of the impetus for heritage designation came from outside the town, or from European expatriate residents. He also suggests that the supporting documentation was largely a product of Japanese research, sponsored by the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), and that most locals have been unsupportive or at best indifferent to the proposal.

Following Cyclone Winston, many home and business owners in Levuka delayed rebuilding, hoping for UN-designated funds to cover the restoration of heritage buildings as they struggled to meet the demands of reconstruction guidelines. During our visit, a full year later, many of these rebuilding projects continued to languish. Conservation does not happen in a vacuum, and Cyclone Winston is likely to be an early harbinger of increasing climate risk to which Levuka and Ovalau must adapt, as Levuka's historic Beach Street is only a few metres above sea level and floods easily. Whilst the UNESCO evaluation document acknowledges that vulnerability is likely to increase with climate change, what this changing context means for Levuka as a heritage site has not been evaluated. The UNESCO application file lists 'coastal protection and sea buffer boosted' (UNESCO 2012, p. 22) as the long-term strategy to cope with climate

change and sea level rise. This response is underdeveloped and fails to address the confluence of runoff with rising seas or increasing cyclone risk.

These tensions—between 'traditional' conservation practices and the urgency for cultures and places to adapt—are partly the product of different approaches of managing change (Fischer et al. 2009). Conservation focuses in a relatively narrow way on the protection of what is deemed significant (ICOMOS Australia 2013). For example, in Levuka when storm surge and sea level rise threaten the integrity of the town's built fabric, the conservation response is to provide immediate protection by raising the level of the sea wall. Ironically this simply increases vulnerability. The wall makes the immediate threat disappear, life goes on as before, people become complacent and have no reason to develop the adaptive strategies that might protect them in the future should the wall fail, or a combination of flooding and storm surge inundate the town.

Resilience is the product of a different paradigm: less about preventing change, more about absorbing it (Walker et al. 2004). Resilience strategies identify what is core to a system's identity and what can change without affecting its characteristic structure, function and feedback loops (Walker et al. 2004). Scale is critically important to this process: a system that is not resilient at one scale may be a component of system resilience at a larger scale, so for example a household may not be resilient at the scale of the house but as part of a network of houses which form a resilient village. The network of resilience in the village of Levuka might include building fabric, landscape and community with a focus on the interplay between them. This expanded field of relationships give the village 'room to move' in the face of disturbance and communities adapt by using the network to absorb the disturbance rather than trying to make it disappear.

The contradictions between the conservation of Levuka's built fabric and the resilience of its community are evident in the town. Whilst the built fabric is obviously significant, what is equally compelling is the relationship played out between people and place in the town's landscapes and urban spaces: its rugby fields, the market, the river, and the paths connecting them. Our research questions, given what we observed, were: 'what is significant?' and 'how can the competing interests of conservation and resilience be resolved so that the built fabric of the town persists while allowing the local community to adapt and thrive?'

## Design as a Methodology

Design is a useful methodology when issues are complex and there are competing interests at stake (Balducci & Mäntysalo 2013). The design studio process, where designers work collectively to raise questions or solve problems, allows designers to visualise the implications of multiple scenarios, assess impacts on local communities, spatialise and accommodate a broad range of complex impacts and competing interests, and communicate possible futures to communities and stakeholders. It can also act as a 'scoping' exercise: the wide range of design solutions that emerge from a design studio can be sifted to quickly determine the most salient problems and thus direct the research questions in a targeted way.

Our design investigations began with field work in Levuka. We observed daily life, the interactions between people and place, the landscape and the village, and colonial and post-colonial overlays. We were looking for evidence that contemporary life was thriving and adapting in that environment. We spoke with the chief town planner and a representative of the heritage office in Levuka, and to locals about how spaces were used and what the town and the island meant to them. We travelled to several villages and listened to local stories about the cultural foundations of Ovalau.

Many of these interactions had a spatial dimension which were further examined through a process of multiscalar mapping to explore what might be affecting resilience and vulnerability on the ground. For example, studies incorporated global and regional cyclone tracks and geotectonic plates and their impacts on Ovalau and coastal vulnerability, or transportation and trade routes across the Asia-Pacific region, and issues of food imports and transportation

infrastructure in Ovalau (Figure 2). In light of these multiscalar mappings, each member of the design team began to consider a local site and propose an idea that addressed cultural significance, while enhancing resilience to a range of fast and slow shocks. We reflected on the resulting work and arrived at a series of themes that not only guided this work but also served as a starting point for considering the larger questions around the integration of conservation and resilience perspectives.

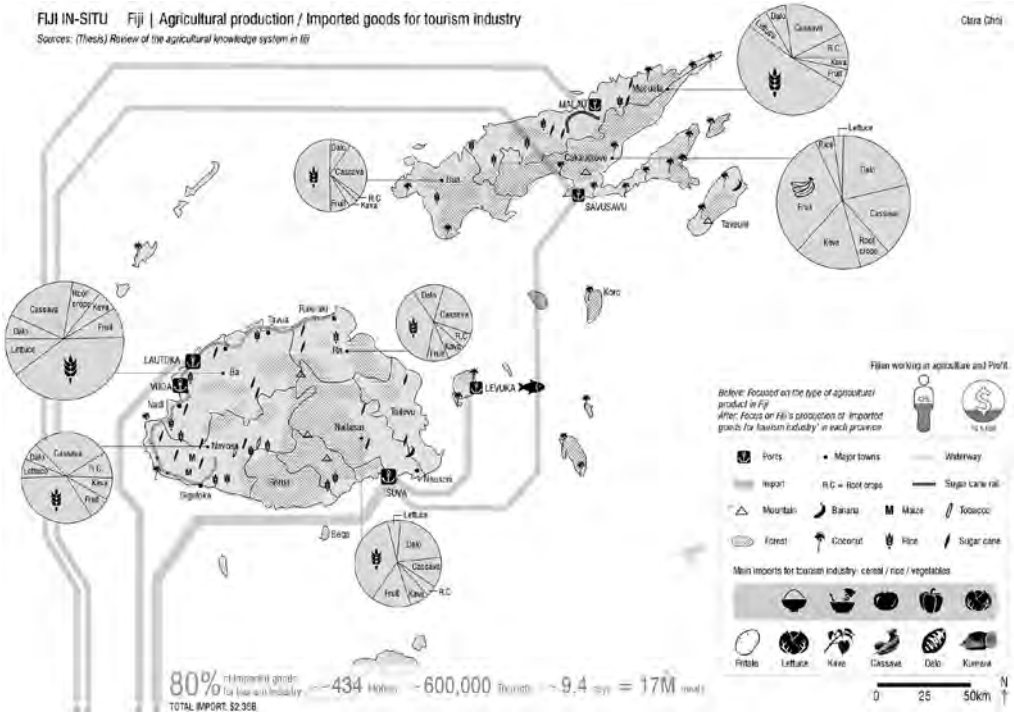


Figure 2: Mid-scale Mapping: Fiji as importer of foods for a Western tourist market (photo by Clara Choi, VUW))

## THEMES

The first theme considers expanding the definition of significance to include relationships fundamental to cultural life—between the local community, the river, the markets, the schools and the sports fields. The second concerns diversification of the island's economy, reframing tourism to capture the growing global interest in local environments and local culture. The third theme focuses on the potential of infrastructure to act as a catalyst for the regeneration of ecosystems and the emergence of new adaptive forms of cultural practice. Whilst these themes overlap in the work, we have used them here as an organising device to describe a selection of projects.

### Cultural life

ICOMOS' World Heritage Management Document (2013) suggests that significance and the management of significance should include intangible as well as tangible heritage. It stresses the importance of broadening the assessment of significance to include values over and above the physical fabric of a site while recognising the need to identify and carefully manage the complexity of competing interests and potential threats. Despite this, there is no mention of intangible heritage in ICOMOS' listing for Levuka and the local environment surrounding the town is not mentioned.

However, the work in this category is based on our observations that much of Levuka's cultural life is played out in its landscapes, where local values are supported, and intangible heritage and cultural life is acknowledged and celebrated. It addresses the benefits and potential threats

of an expansion of tourism in the town and suggests how its landscapes' delicate ecologies might be protected in the face of a projected expansion of the tourism industry. Rather than suggest that either built environment or the local environment takes precedence in terms of significance, they offer the perspective that built fabric and the local environment might productively be considered interdependent parts of greater whole.

For example, one of the designs maps the significance of Levuka, expanding it to include intangible heritage: the town's complex foundational narratives and the importance of the river to both sacred and everyday cultural practice. It proposes an online tourist brochure which describes the special river places in Levuka, (Figure 3) without identifying them on a map. To get there, rather than visiting on one's own, a tourist needs to be invited. This cultural ritual uses technology as an adaptation that continues the culture of non-text-based narratives. It gives the locals a measure of control over how their heritage is expressed, encourages visitors to tread lightly and respectfully, and protects environmental and cultural values, while encouraging engagement with significant cultural practices.

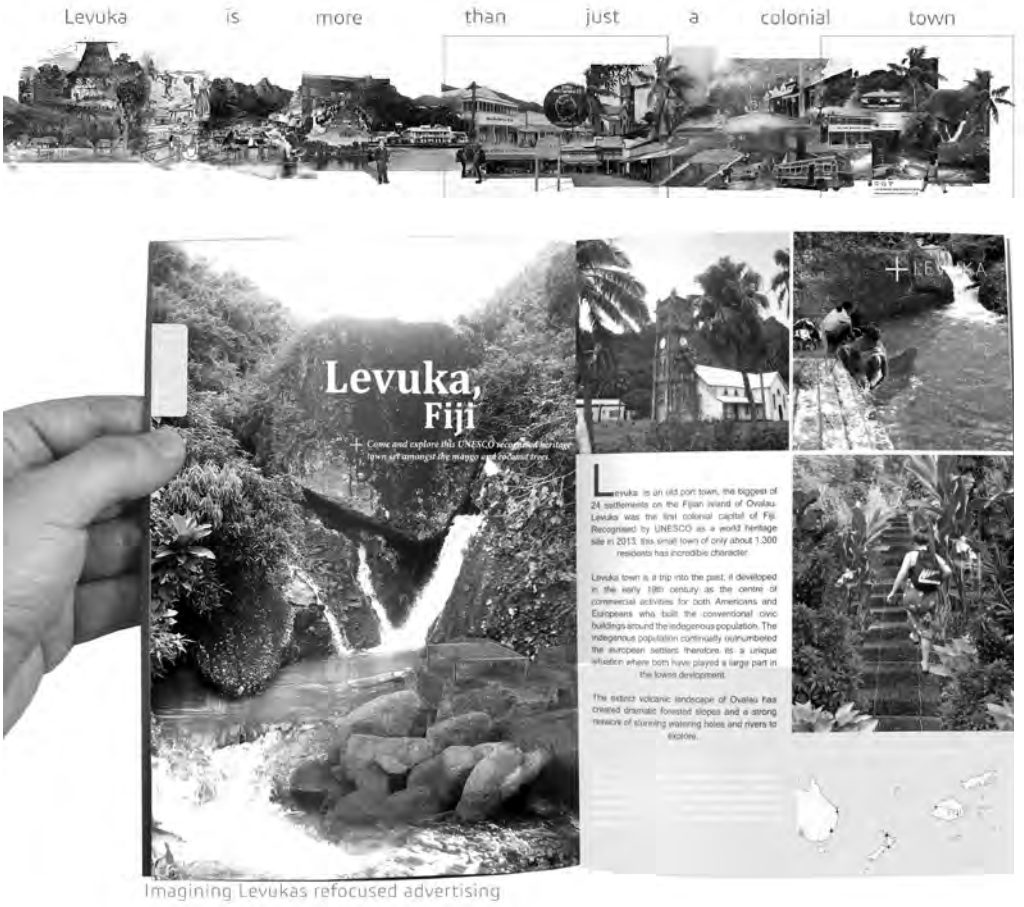


**Figure 3:** Collage of the 'significance' and Tourism brochure (photo by Rebecca Freeman, VUW)

### Economic Diversity

UNESCO recognises the reciprocal relationship between conservation and a healthy economy and because it boosts tourism, world heritage status is often seen as a way of supporting economic growth (UNESCO 2018). But relying on tourism to boost the economy in Levuka is risky: financial resources to improve infrastructure are scarce; the island is periodically exposed to cyclones and tourists are warned away from visiting during these times; there is often political

instability which affects visitation; periodic downturns in the global economy can negatively influence visitation; and uncontrolled tourism in Levuka could negatively impact the resilience of indigenous cultural values.

Spreading economic risk can help deal with those vulnerabilities so the second group of projects targets the theme of economic diversification. The multiscalar mapping projects revealed that Ovalau is poorly served by trade in the region. Fiji imports more than 80% of its food products to support the tourism industry and Ovalau has many abandoned farms. If more food were produced locally this would spread the risk inherent in relying on global food markets, help to support the development of local agriculture, diversify the economy by satisfying a growing demand to experience local expressions of culture and sample local produce, and provide more jobs on the island. Expanding the island's economic base in this way could support the livelihood of the local community, while at the same time responsibly expanding the tourist market.

There is already a nascent industry in Levuka in the production of artisan kava and beer. One project in this category explored the potential for this industry to expand to include a cooperative market garden which could accommodate day-to-day communal activity and seasonal festivals (Figure 4). Markets could be established on a vacant site next to the heavily used sports field as part of a strategy to increase the amount of food grown in and around Levuka for locals and visitors. The cooperative could supply the town and its restaurants with more locally grown produce, in this way encouraging tourists to engage more fully with the local expression of culture. The project draws on the permaculture cultivation that already proliferates on the hillsides around the town, encourages a shift away from foreign owned to locally owned businesses, and makes agriculture a visible component of Levuka's centre. It invites locals and visitors to explore this new community activity in what is arguably the cultural heart of the town.

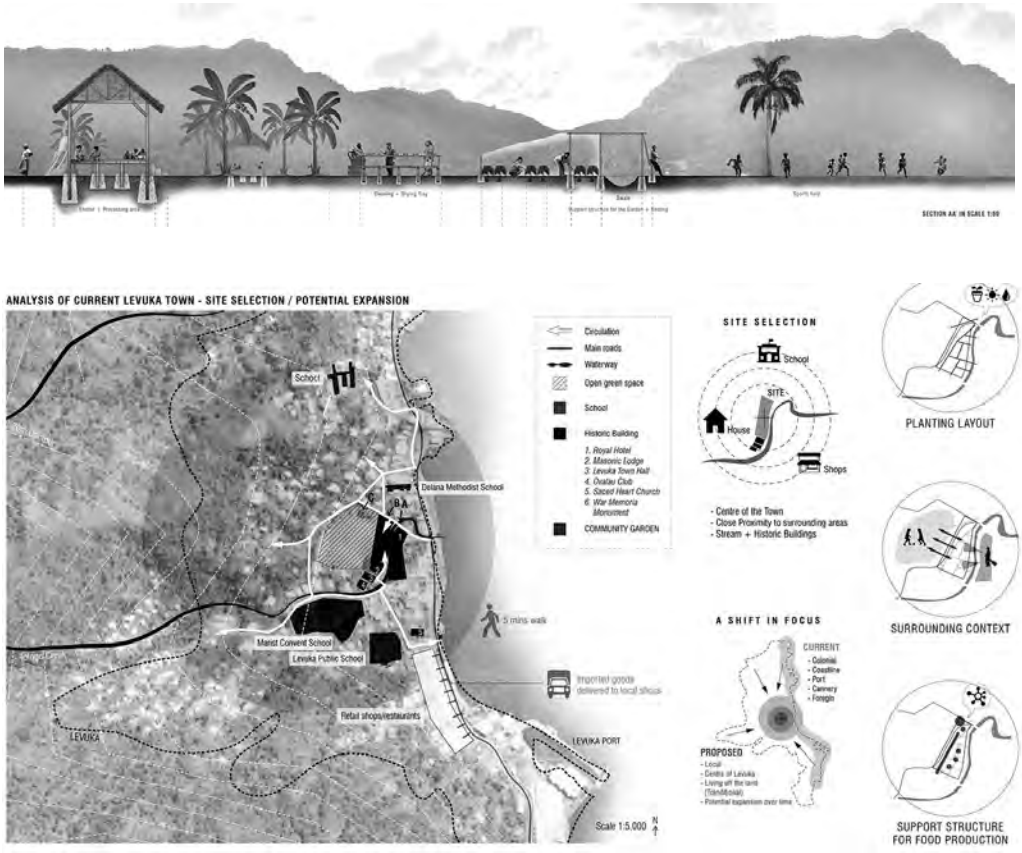


Figure 4: Market garden for Levuka (photo by Clara Choi, VUW)

## Infrastructure

Whilst tourism could be an important contributor to the economy, visits have diminished in recent decades. The main road around the island, which also connects the western port with Levuka, hugs a narrow strip of land between mountains and sea, and vulnerable points are often washed out by storm surge and high tides. This presents a problem not just for tourists, as it also has the potential to impact important connections between villages. The final category of design proposal sees this kind of 'problem' as an opportunity to couple infrastructure with cultural practice in ways that make the island more environmentally and economically resilient.

The project featured here proposes a shift of life away from the waterfront, encouraging a slow but steady movement of coastal villages inland (Figures 5 & 6). It proposes a walking/cycle track that runs parallel to the coastal edge, elevated above the existing coastal road. Over time and with use, the track would become more dominant, and when sea levels rise substantially there will already be a network in place to deal with any loss of connection between the villages.

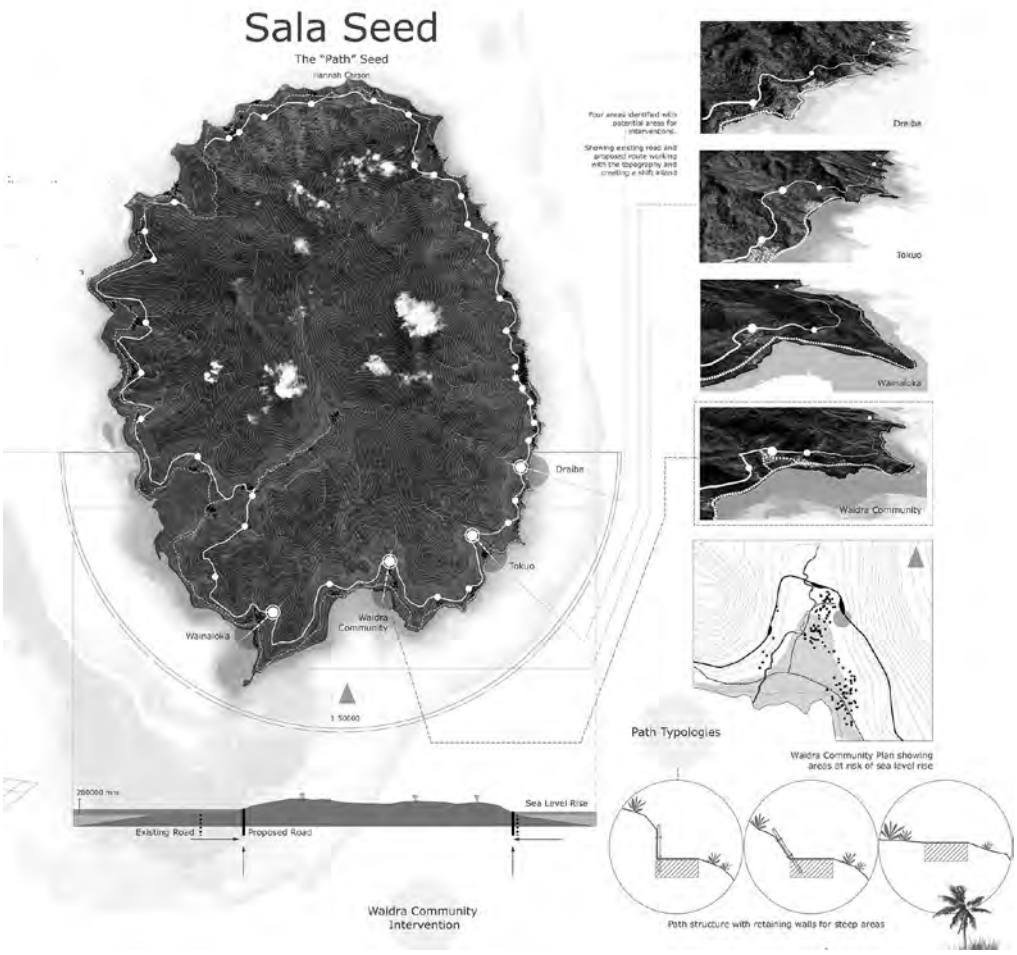


**Figure 5:** Cycle path as instigator for a new, high ground road around Ovalau (photo by Hannah Carson, VUW)

The route also provides new social spaces for communal and recreational use including structures for seating, shelters, recreational activities and domestic use. There are also opportunities for tourists to engage with local culture. The route includes stops that integrate small jetties for fishing, spots to clean and scale fish, and market stalls. The structures and the track, both simply constructed using local materials, would act as seeds or catalysts: access

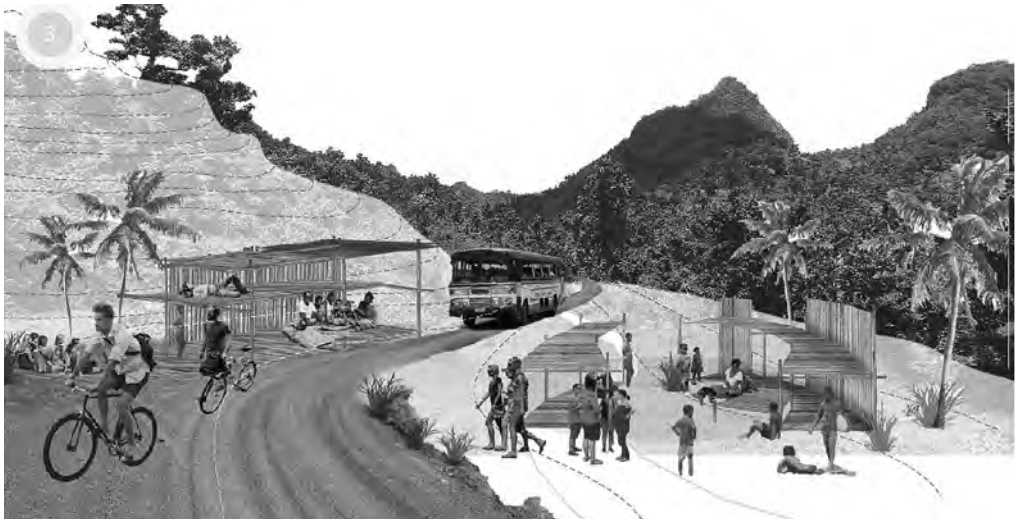

**Figure 6:** Proposed community structures associated with new cycle path (photo by Hannah Carson, VUW)

would gradually improve as tourist visits increased, and local communities could share their culture with tourists, and create opportunities for both local and tourist trade.

Whilst the track is a modest intervention, designed to tackle the most difficult stretches of road at first to test its feasibility, it would ultimately signal the development of an all-weather road on safer, high ground (Figure 6). This type of adaptation shows the potential of working out solutions over long time spans, as funds become available. It provides an example of how emergency preparedness might also add value to the everyday lives of the local community.

## Discussion

Levuka's World Heritage Listing coupled with the recent impacts of Cyclone Winston presented us with a conundrum: restricting heritage status to the built environment clearly prioritised the town's European history while neglecting the local indigenous community. And the policies associated with protecting that built fabric were clearly inadequate to deal with the range of anticipated but unpredictable threats that beset the town.

We exist in a complex interplay with the world around us. Singling out and focusing on one aspect of significance to the detriment of others can be problematic. There is no point in a protected town with no culture to breathe life into it. Indigenous culture and its reciprocal relationship to land—responsive, nuanced, grounded in place, and expressed through cultural practice—is fundamental to any notion of significance and must be accounted for if one is to operate in the midst of that complexity.

When not just heritage but the lives and well-being of the local community are at stake, an alternative approach to conservation might be to increase the scope of concern so that competing interests can exist together on the same ground. When the scope is enlarged to accommodate global *and* local impacts, tangible *and* intangible heritage, built fabric *and* the spaces in between, it can encourage a view of multiple perspectives and varying time frames. It also provides an opportunity for mediation between what seem to be the competing interests of 'traditional' conservation practices and adaptation.

Threats such as sea level rise, storm surge, cyclones, a failing economy, or a sudden surge in tourist numbers need careful analysis but can all be anticipated and accommodated. The built fabric in Levuka has little capacity to absorb impacts. But it is entirely possible with a little foresight and planning for the spaces in between, the towns landscapes and interstitial spaces, to accommodate impacts while enriching culture and supporting a healthy tourist economy. The small-scale local design proposals of paths, pavilions, markets and gardens described here

not only support intangible culture and environment, they also potentially contain the seeds or frameworks for future community-led adaptations. They can perform as places for everyday life as well as sites for response to long-term, unpredictable risk.

Instead of reinforcing tensions between overlapping or competing interests, design can enlarge the field of enquiry to accommodate them all. The shift in focus protects built fabric while encouraging culture and landscape to co-evolve. It allows for a quicker response to fast shocks like hurricanes, earthquakes and floods while buying time for the slower adaptive cycles of protected built fabric. In this way, landscape emerges as a potential middle ground between the tensions of conservation and resilience.

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## Endnote

1 This foundation story was gathered from a number of sources including stories told to us by Epineri Bole, and written accounts (Rogoyawa 2001, Fisher 2000, Harrison 2004).

# Book Reviews

## Iconic Planned Communities and the Challenge of Change

Editors: Mary Corbin Sies, Isabelle Gournay, and Robert Freestone
Publisher: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019
ISBN: 9780812251142
Review by: Elisha Long, Long Blackledge Architects

It is curious to be reviewing a book on planned communities in the midst of a global pandemic of such significant proportions. The core value of planned communities throughout time has been health and the best possible quality of life for its inhabitants.

The continued existence and considerable beauty of many of these planned communities should remind us of the benefits of high-quality large-scale planning and design, though the execution sometimes did not meet the high intentions of the original proposal. The book focuses on the importance of ongoing governance controls and the need to ensure that the intentions of the original design are stewarded through maturing control processes which allow for the changing contexts of each generation: 'few jurisdictions have effective mechanisms for preserving key features of master planning *entire* communities…' (p7).

A sense of the potential fragility of these controls is a key feature of the book. Even where they were once well established, political changes, economic shifts, changes to local industry and employment or gentrification can quickly diminish essential designed qualities of the community to the detriment of the whole. This can lead to the reduction or loss of key features, e.g. the views though a neighbourhood (as in John Charles Olmstead's Uplands on Vancouver Island), or the loss of significant building fabric (Menteng, Indonesia), poorly considered additions to original buildings (Greenbelt, Maryland or Batovany-Partizanske, Slovakia) or communal features (community gardens, Garbatella, Rome). Some communities have found solutions to the pressures of change, but for many it is an ongoing process which needs continual care and vigilance.

The strength of this book is the range of examples provided: 23 case studies from 6 continents. There are examples of worker housing or company towns by enlightened industrialists, like New Lanark (begun 1785) near Glasgow, or Batovany-Partizanske (1930s) in Slovakia. There are many examples of Garden City Movement suburbs, like Riverside (1860s Chicago), Letchworth, Hampstead and Welwyn garden cities /suburbs (1903-1907, 1920 England), Den-en Dofu (1915 Tokyo), and Colonel Light Gardens (1922 Adelaide). There are also idyllic residential settings in natural landscapes (1953 Tapiola, Helsinki), expatriate community housing (1910 Menteng, Indonesia), depression era social housing (1930s Greenbelt, Maryland) and the youngest example: the neo-traditional resort haven, Seaside (1985 Florida). The authors make the case that conservation efforts 'succeed best when they build on foundational planning principles, address landscape, architecture, social engineering together and respect the spirit of the place' (cover text).

The scholarly discussion for each example is exemplary with good histories of each site and careful discussions of the changes to both the physical environment, the residential make up and governance over time. Illustrations are well chosen, with some coloured plates. It would have been wonderful to see even more illustrations, given the quality of the sites and case studies. Even though each chapter is by a different author, the book is well edited and is consistently easy to read. The introduction and the two concluding chapters provide good context to the case studies and tease out the successes from the poorer outcomes.

In this otherwise excellent book, the use of the word 'iconic' throughout the book felt clichéd and 'iconicity' did not assist the discourse. Isabelle Gournay defends the terminology: 'It is true that "icon" has become a buzzword and "iconic" a substitute for "famous"' (p.436). She uses the definition of a 'person or thing…considered worthy of admiration or respect' (p.436-7). She argues that a 'planned community…can be deemed iconic from various physical, social or symbolic perspectives' (p.437). She makes a case that a presentation or photograph for a given planned community has often become a representative symbol of its visual and social characteristics, the bird's eye views of New Lanark being one such enduring image, and that many of these sites, like Greenbelt, were intentionally presented to be 'iconic'. These planned communities were *intended* to be model examples, that is literally icons to be emulated. However, could they also be described as planned communities of *cultural significance*? Their significance, including the significance of their published images against various values could then be established. This may be applying terminology from the Burra Charter, and an Australian lens to the subject, but would avoid, or simply reduce, the clichéd use of the word 'iconic', possibly avoid 'iconicity' entirely, and thus provide some further nuance to the discussion.

The book will be of great interest to urban designers, town planners, social planners, architects, and landscape architects, and anyone either designing new communities or working in the conservation or ongoing management of planned communities.

## Geelong's Changing Landscape: Ecology, Development and Conservation

Editors: David S Jones and Phillip B Roös
Publisher: CSIRO Publishing, 2019
ISBN: 9780643103603
Review by: Kim Burrell MA (University of Melbourne); Cultural Heritage (Deakin University) University Archivist, Victoria University

This book is a considered and engaging study of Geelong's environmental, urban, cultural, and social history. The editors have gathered contributions from a variety of academic and professional disciplines and perspectives to produce a publication that is timely, cogent and profoundly relevant. Its great strength is that it embodies a collaborative editorial approach, reflected in the stories and analyses it presents to create a text that has relevance beyond its regional scope.

*Geelong's Changing Landscape: Ecology, Development and Conservation* is carefully organised with an introduction that articulates and considers the region's environmental history and ecology, and how these have been changed over time by human interaction with the natural environment. While the book may focus on a particular region, early chapters establish a narrative about the environment that is far wider. This is supported by three distinct parts. In an overarching introduction, 'Geelong: *Djilang*—a tapestry of histories, voices and ecologies' the editors state clearly that they intend the book to

> ... instigate a discussion about where is Geelong going, and the need for us to make wise, culturally and ecologically sensitive decisions and judgements about this direction so as not to destroy that which we hold so valuable as representing the essence of this place, this landscape, this Country. (Jones & Roös 2019, p. 5).

Part 1 explores in three chapters, the environmental history of the Geelong region from a variety of perspectives, in terms of natural, cultural and social contexts, ranging from the geological formation of its landscape to postcolonial development. As a whole these chapters demonstrate how intricately the present day landscape is linked to all that has gone before. Carr's chapter on pre-European vegetation presents an ecological history of the Geelong area (Carr 2019). It is written with engaging enthusiasm for his subject and represents meticulously documented research, embracing an array of information in a variety of formats. As well, Carr looks to the future of the ecological landscape on a broader geographical scale, articulating a strong case for science to adopt stronger moral and ethical leadership that, as is this book's strength, engages with other academic disciplines:

> We find ourselves, morally and ethically, on a precarious path and must do better. It is neither too late nor too hard to protect what we have left and to restore, if and where appropriate, with all actions based on scientific data and input from multiple sources and disciplines. (Carr 2019, p. 37)

Chapter 4 is written by Uncle Bryon Powell and *Tandop* David Tournier (to whom the book is dedicated) with the editors (Jones & Roös eds, 2019 pp. 44-84). 'Welcome to *Wadawurrung* Country' relates in great detail ecological beginnings, explaining the different perspectives of the landscape's first inhabitants with those of Western science and colonisers, profoundly highlighting the extent to which indigenous understandings are supported by evidence-based science.

In Part 2, four papers each deal with separate, ecological elements of the Geelong region and its ecological history with regard to vegetation, waterways, and marine and coastal environments, to comprehensively describe the region's natural history. Trengove's (Jones & Roös eds, 2019, pp. 125-135) detailed description of the ways the vegetation has changed with the intervention of European settlement reflects the scope of this book, embracing research and evidence gathered from a variety of traditional scientific resources along with personal communications, historical sources, and the visual arts. This is complemented by Murphy's (Jones & Roös eds, 2019, pp. 136-154) fine focus on the Bellarine Peninsula's earliest ecological history, highlighting the interdependence of native plantings before early European settlement.

Part 3 looks most closely at the development of the region's social, cultural and industrial landscape now and towards its future. Drawing on its history of industrial heritage and associated population growth, it poses principles for social and environmental adaptation facing growing, coastal communities at the same time, concurrently presenting Geelong as a microcosm in a broader context.

In every respect the editors and contributors take a holistic, multidisciplinary approach to the heritage, conservation, revitalisation, development of the natural, built, and social environment. Much of what is most interesting in this book is its broad and creative approach in challenging traditional understandings of concepts of 'landscape', as reflected by Keeney and O'Carroll (Jones & Roös eds, 2019, pp. 261-267):

> Landscape as a microcosm has a strange way of smacking us over the head from time to time ... It is this sentiment that needs to re-enter landscape design and urban planning. (Keeney & O'Carroll 2019, p. 261)

The breadth of the voices, stories, theories presented in these papers is the key to this book's interest and integrity. Not only is it a thorough account of the way Geelong has developed environmentally, socially, and culturally, but it is also an invaluable professional and educational resource that encompasses salient considerations for future development planning in the face of today's natural and cultural challenges. Its strength is its meticulous and broad-reaching research and the quality of the work it gathers, underpinned by an ethical approach, thorough knowledge and respect for the region and its inhabitants over time.

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## Gariwerd: an environmental history of the Grampians

Author: Benjamin Wilkie
Publisher: CSIRO Publishing, 2020
ISBN: 9781486307685
Review by: Steve Brown, Honorary Associate, The University of Sydney

Benjamin Wilkie's book is a history of more than 20,000 years of human-environmental interaction in and around Gariwerd (The Grampians) in central western Victoria, Australia. The book describes and examines Aboriginal history—from the deep past to the present (Chs 2 & 7) and provides an account of colonisation from the 1830s until the declaration of the Grampians National Park in 1984 (Chs 3-6). The writing is in plain English and the book is aimed at a wide readership. Wilkie is an historian, writer and academic based in the town of Hamilton, in close proximity to Gariwerd.

Internationally, ICOMOS is currently engaged with bettering the integration of natural and cultural heritage, via the Nature-Culture Journey, a project being undertaken in partnership with the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). Thus, I read *Gariwerd* with an eye to seeing how environmental history—'the study of environments, humans, and their interactions over time' (p. ix)—might contribute to this global project. Wilkie frames the book with the question: what is the *nature* of Gariwerd? He responds to this question by 'explaining' the environment of Gariwerd (Ch. 1), describing and accounting for human interactions with the environment, and exploring how humans have (radically) changed the environment. The material presented in the book is well researched and the chronological narrative works well; but, to my mind, it does not satisfactorily integrate science and history, nature and cultures. These topics are adeptly covered alongside one another, rather than integrated or blended. I think this speaks to the difficulty and challenges of nature-cultures integration in presenting place-based histories, rather than being a critique of *Gariwerd*.

I found the book to be an engaging read, although, by its end, I felt deeply saddened and disturbed. Stories of reprisals and killings, massacres, e.g. the Whyte brothers' massacre of a Jardwadjali clan in 1841 (pp. 65-66), pastoral invasion, dispossession and treatment of Aboriginal peoples, the horrors capitalist-colonial society inflicted on peoples and environments, landscape devastation, and contemporary denial of Traditional Custodian's rights to Country infuse Wilkie's narrative. They are simultaneously dreadful and powerful. While such histories are common to all parts of modern Australia, they never cease to shock.

The story of more than 22,000 years of Aboriginal settlement and occupation of Gariwerd is well presented (Ch. 2). The material draws from primary historical sources (colonial explorer, settler, Aboriginal protector, and newspaper archives), as well as from contemporary analyses and research, particularly the work of historian Ian Clark, and archaeologists Ben Gunn, Caroline Bird and David Frankel. Actual Aboriginal voices are rarely used, in contrast, for example, with Gib Wettenhall's *The people of Gariwerd* (1999). Wilkie's account provides insightful descriptions of pre- and early-contact Djab wurrung and Jardwadjali language groups and societies (whose Countries incorporate Gariwerd). I found the section on 'biocultural and ecological knowledge' (pp. 27-36) to be particularly informative, including material on Aboriginal plant cultivation/ agriculture and associated fire use.

The story of 'pastoral invasion' is one of the most confronting. Chapter 4, 'Dispossession and environmental transformation', covers the period 1830s-1840s when introduced epidemics spread through local Aboriginal groups and the first wave of colonial usurpation took place (1840-1851). Wilkie describes how 'the stealing of livestock by Jardwadjali and Djab wurrung people, which inflicted economic damage on the pastoralists … was followed by violent reprisals'; and was a theme 're-enacted across the region at various scales' (p. 61). The 'grim legacy' of colonial invasion resulted in Jardwadjali and Djab wurrung populations being reduced, by 1845 by 70%-80%, from an estimated 4,500-8,500 people (p. 24), of which 'a quarter had been shot by the colonists' (p. 68).

The story of environmental change and degradation is additionally confronting (Ch. 5). These impacts were associated with pastoralism and agriculture (including tobacco growing), the profound alteration of water systems within Gariwerd, forestry operations that extended over 150 years, as well as recreation and tourism. There was also a short and intensive period of goldmining, a consequence of which was the loss of extensive evidence of Aboriginal aquaculture in the areas around Duwul [Mount William]. From an environmental perspective, I was left wondering how many more years of landscape 'exploitation' are needed before 'restorative' land management practices become the norm (and here I am thinking of Charles Massy's wonderful book, *Call of the Reed Warbler* [2017]).

Chapter 6 provides a fascinating account of the formation of the Grampians National Park in 1984, the culmination of 75 years of campaigning and conflict. In addition to my feelings of sadness, the book did give some hope for an optimistic future for Gariwerd. Ownership by Traditional Custodians and joint management of the 'Greater Gariwerd Landscape' is a distinct possibility, and thus the opportunity for this Aboriginal Country to become a beacon for Aboriginal healing, truth telling and reconciliation, caring for Country, teaching, learning, employment, and respect for contemporary Aboriginal culture. But, then, I am by nature an optimist.

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