

ANCESTRAL LANDSCAPES AND WORLD HERITAGE FROM A MĀORI VIEWPOINT

MERATA KAWHARU
University of Auckland

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was formed in 1945 to establish the conditions for peaceful coexistence between nations. In 1972 UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Its principal aim is to safeguard cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value for present and future generations (UNESCO 2004a: 3). The convention established a World Heritage Committee, which is charged with drawing up a World Heritage list of cultural and natural sites of outstanding universal value. Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention provide criteria and guidance for the listing of sites (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines>).

With more than 17 years of practice and 55 sites listed, the concept of cultural landscape is now well accepted in World Heritage. This experience has contributed towards developing guidelines on what cultural landscapes are.¹ Less well understood, however, is the concept “ancestral landscape”. It is not in the Operational Guidelines and there are no guidelines for interpreting how it might usefully apply in World Heritage. This article considers possible expansion of the Convention’s implementation to include “ancestral landscapes”. Ancestral landscapes are important to “communities” who are linked to them by virtue of their ancestry. This article has three parts. It begins with an overview of the current World Heritage guidelines on defining cultural landscapes. It examines the three sub-categories of cultural landscape: (i) landscape designed and created intentionally by man, (ii) organically evolved landscape, and (iii) associative cultural landscape, with reference to Māori examples in each. I argue it is the third category that best incorporates Māori views of ancestral landscape, particularly because it recognises the significance of intangible values and the way in which landscapes shape cultural identity.

Second, the essay examines implications of “community” becoming a fifth strategic objective (“fifth c”) alongside credibility, conservation, capacity-building and communication in the Operational Guidelines.

Third and finally, this essay briefly explores three New Zealand examples of how community is applied. They offer possibilities for considering indigenous, customary and local community involvement in World Heritage.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND ANCESTRAL LANDSCAPES

The notion of “cultural landscape” was first articulated in the Asia-Pacific region (UNESCO 2004a: 18) and has been debated and discussed in numerous World Heritage meetings and workshops (Fowler 2003). Heritage experts met in France in late 1992 and proposed a new text on cultural landscapes to further help interpret the World Heritage Convention. The World Heritage Committee at Santa Fe shortly thereafter expanded the criteria for assessing sites that may be proposed by countries for inclusion in the World Heritage list. This new direction was to specifically include “cultural landscapes”. The new emphasis on cultural landscapes is reflected in Article 47 of the Operational Guidelines, which describes cultural landscapes as cultural properties that “represent the combined works of nature and of man... illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal” (UNESCO 2008). Simply stated, this meant that sites proposed for World Heritage which have important cultural values may be given due recognition by World Heritage. In 1993, Tongariro National Park in New Zealand was the first place in the world to receive recognition of cultural landscape values after the passing of the revised Operational Guidelines. At the time of writing, 54 other cultural landscapes have also been included on the World Heritage list (among them Australia’s Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in 1994 and the Rice Terraces of Philippine Cordilleras in 1995) (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/>).

As the list of 55 World Heritage sites demonstrate, many sites of importance to communities, including indigenous communities, have received recognition of their communities’ cultural values in relation to the places. No doubt this group is only a fraction of other potential sites. World Heritage status is, however, a significant accomplishment. The ultimate test from a World Heritage perspective is that all nominations for World Heritage status must demonstrate “outstanding universal value”. Not all applications that have cultural landscape or ancestral landscape values would necessarily meet this test.

The Operational Guidelines outline three categories of cultural landscapes (<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-annex3-en.pdf>, p. 2):

- (i) *landscape designed and created intentionally by man*. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

- (ii) *organically evolved landscape*. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories:
- a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.
 - a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.
- (iii) *associative cultural landscape*. The inscription of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.

Ancestral landscape may be understood in relation to one or more of these categories. It is an important heritage concept that may assist with interpretations and meanings about the inter-relationships between people and places and associated knowledge systems. Ancestral landscape is important in the Pacific (Crocombe 1987, Smith 2007), Australia (Clarke 2003; Morphy 1991, 1995) and New Zealand (Kawharu 2008, Tapsell 2006), and among other indigenous peoples elsewhere. Given also the recent emphasis of the World Heritage Committee to have a more balanced and representative World Heritage list (Smith 2007: 337, UNESCO 2004a: 16, UNESCO 2004b: 10), and their desire to encourage more listings of sites from the Pacific region, it is becoming increasingly important for guidance to be provided on what ancestral landscapes are.

For the first category, New Zealand examples might include villages (*pā/papakāinga*), ceremonial meeting places (*marae*), boundary markers (for example, *pou paenga* ‘posts’ [perhaps carved]) or rock art. This category might not, however, be an ideal fit because these landscapes may not have been altered for aesthetic reasons. More importantly, landscapes were modified for practical, often political, reasons such as to strengthen a group’s claim, or *mana* ‘authority’, to lands and to strengthen their identity. For Māori, landscapes are imbued with metaphysical values as well, not least

when tribal groups' stories tell of gods, mythological heroes or ancestors carving or shaping the environment. The stories of the demi-god Maui are well-known throughout Aotearoa and in wider Polynesia, and it was he who fished up the North Island. Tribal groups have many traditions about more recent ancestors who achieved great feats in relation to the environment which are recalled in proverbs, songs, place-names and in the landscapes themselves. Stories are remembered because they tell of protocols, practical and ethical ways to care for places and people.

Of the second category, namely "organically evolved landscape", examples of ancestral landscapes in New Zealand are not restricted to, but might include villages, gardens and *wāhi tapu* 'restricted areas' such as burial grounds or caves. *Pā* or villages were expressions of customary authority in relation not only to the village, but also to a wider territory (*rohe*). Successive groups may have occupied a *pā* and built earthworks such as trenches, terracing, building and food storage sites. Their cultural footprint, however, extended well beyond the *pā* to include a wider landscape that sustained their community. Maungakiekie, or One Tree Hill, in Auckland, is one example. It could be considered a relict landscape. It could also be considered a continuing landscape in the way in which the intangible values of the *pā* and surrounding region continue to inform the identity of, for example, Ngāti Whātua. Ngāti Whātua claim descent from Tuperiri who played a key role in acquiring authority over the region through battles and who established his settlement Hikurangi there. However, the sub-category "continuing landscape" also states that "the evolutionary process is still in progress" (UNESCO 2008: 86). Physical or tangible evidence is important in this category, as it is with relict landscapes. Maungakiekie, like other ancestral landscapes, ceased to demonstrate a continuation of the evolutionary process in material terms, yet the *pā* as part of a wider territory continues to be vitally important in cultural terms. The sub-category continuing landscape can be applied to Māori landscapes, but the guidelines still highlight the physical. What is important for Māori is the association of landscapes with people and the values that describe that relationship rather than physical evidence.

It is the third category "associative cultural landscape" that best applies to Māori understandings. Following the introduction of cultural landscape into the Operational Guidelines in 1992 and the subsequent listing of Tongariro and then Uluru-Kata Tjuta, which demonstrated associative cultural landscape values, the World Heritage Committee soon realised that further detail on defining and evaluating associative cultural landscape was required. The concept was developed at a series of meetings in Australia in 1994 and 1995, culminating in a final regional Asia Pacific workshop at Sydney in December 1995 (Australia ICOMOS 1995). At two meetings, associative

cultural landscape was explored as traditional indigenous cultural landscapes, demonstrated through Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander examples. The Sydney workshop established that:

Associative cultural landscapes may be defined as large or small contiguous or non-contiguous areas and itineraries, routes, or other linear landscapes—these may be physical entities or mental images embedded in a people’s spirituality, cultural tradition and practice. The attributes of associative cultural landscapes include the intangible, such as the acoustic, the kinetic and the olfactory, as well as the visual. (<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/cullan95.htm>)

The workshop participants also highlighted two things: “... the link between the physical and spiritual aspects of landscape”, and “[t]he recognition of associative cultural landscapes [being] particularly relevant to the Asia Pacific region where a diversity of traditional cultures both depend on and have influenced the landscape for their corporeal and spiritual wellbeing.” (<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/cullan95.htm>, pp. 2, 5-6).

Associative cultural landscapes embrace the idea that spiritual and cultural values link people to specific areas. They accentuate the importance of social and cultural relationships between people and landscapes (Smith and Jones 2007). Te Heuheu, a leading figure in World Heritage and leader of Ngāti Tūwharetoa of New Zealand whose people are the custodians of the Tongariro National Park area, expressed ideas about ancestral landscapes and associative cultural landscapes:

The physical, cultural and spiritual ties that bind my people, Ngati Tuwharetoa, and Tongariro are real. Management systems may change over time but the one constant is the affection and association for this landscape.... “man passes but the land endures.” Te ha o taku maunga ko taku Manawa (The breath of my mountain is my heart). (UNESCO 2004a: 110).

In New Zealand there are many examples of ancestral landscapes as associative cultural landscapes where tribal groups interpret areas, large or small, as intimate features of their *whakapapa* ‘genealogy’, heritage, identity and status. Tangible values are important, but more so intangible values because they help explain relationships between people and their environment, their reverence for places, and the reasons why trusteeship is important. Examples of landscapes not yet recognised in World Heritage might include the large *pā* Maungakiekie, Te Rerenga Wairua at the most northern tip of the North Island, Hokianga Harbour and dunes in the northwestern North Island, and Waitangi in the northern North Island where the Treaty was signed between the British Crown and Māori.

In sum, elements of a Māori cultural landscape may be identified using the three categories outlined by the World Heritage guidelines. The categories, being technical terms, are helpful for interpreting sites. However, associative cultural landscape best reflects Māori interpretations of landscape. The category enables a mix of values to be recognised.

In determining whether places meet the associative cultural landscape test it is of critical importance that interpretation of places and culture should occur within their local context and with the relevant cultural frameworks. The 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity sets out these and related arguments well. It:

...acknowledges that “judgments about values attributed to cultural heritage, as well as the credibility of related information sources, may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. [The] respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged primarily within the cultural contexts to which they belong”. (UNESCO 2004b: 10)

Within a wider heritage and conservation context, Galla (2008: 10-25) makes the same arguments in support of local interpretation and notes the move over the last two decades towards better recognising “first voice”: that is, the perspectives of indigenous peoples on trusteeship practices and principles concerning tangible and intangible heritage.

Using much the same principles that underpin the current three World Heritage cultural landscape categories, but packaged slightly differently, landscapes from a Māori perspective can be considered in another way as ancestral landscapes. Ancestral landscape emphasises the centrality of ancestors as original trustees and the centrality of trusteeship values guiding present and future generations. The concept describes more than a site type, but also a wider geopolitical and spiritual context. Sites are part of a network of places and areas that were created or used by gods, mythological heroes, ancestors and their descendants. Tribal traditions in New Zealand are also replete with stories about groups acquiring and then defending, often vigorously, their political association with regions. While Māori landscapes may fit into one or more of the above categories, it may also be appropriate to develop an additional framework on ancestral landscapes as a type of associative cultural landscape, to enable proper emphasis on, and interpretation of, the values and principles that underpin those landscapes. Concerning cultural interpretation, Durie has argued, “A problem ...arises when the criteria adopted by one system of knowledge ... are used to decide on the validity of another system that subscribes to different criteria. Further, there might be difficulties in understanding (a culture) if one is not versed in that culture” (Durie 2007: 3). With the lack of clarity on what ancestral

landscapes are, there is risk that the values important within the concept may not be appropriately appreciated within the present regime.

Māori ideas attached to ancestral landscape may be thought of as follows:

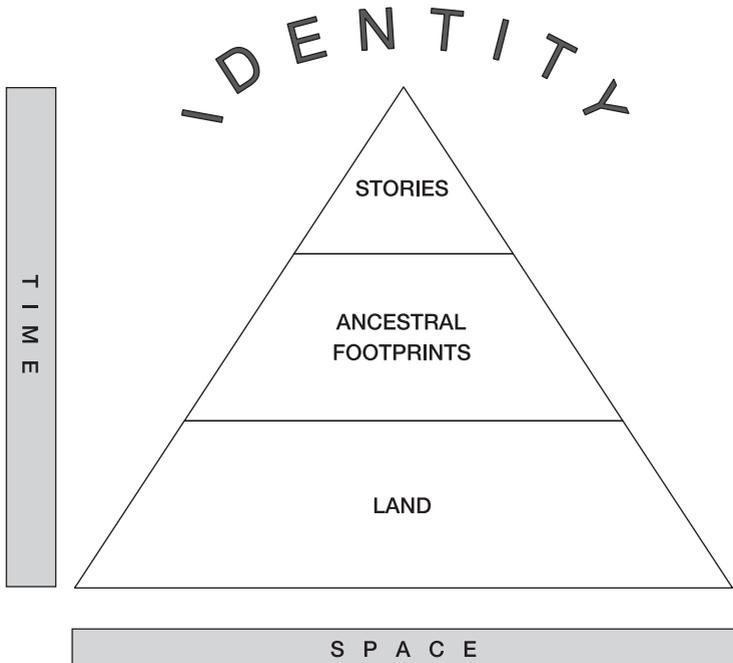


Figure 1. A Māori perspective of an “ancestral landscape”.²

The diagram highlights the enduring aspect and life-sustaining qualities of land that has enabled people to explore, exploit and manage its many resources. Land and its resources, including waterways (sea, rivers, lakes, streams), provide the foundation for survival. “Ancestral footprints” refers to the revered pathways and seaways of ancestors and highlights to their descendants the importance of the experiences of ancestors on landscapes and seascapes, not only by colonising new places, developing resource management strategies and defending lands and resources, but also by

enabling present and future generations to benefit from their efforts. Reference to ancestors and spiritual beings who perhaps created places or left their marks is also important for understanding *mauri* ‘life force’ of things. *Mauri* is an essence of matter—of places and things—that requires consideration and care. The ideas canvassed so far are encapsulated in the proverb spoken by northern Māori leader Sir James Henare (Kawharu 2008: 68):

E kore e monehunehu te pumahara ki nga momo rangatira o nehera, na ratou i toro te nukuroa o Te Moananui-a-Kiwa me Papatuanuku. Ko nga tohu o o ratou tapuwae i kakahutia ki runga i te mata o te whenua – he taonga, he tapu.

Time will not dim the memory of the special class of rangatira [leaders] of the past who braved the wide expanse of the ocean and land. Their sacred footprints are scattered over the surface of the land, treasured and sacred.

In a wider Pacific context, ancestral footprints also refer to the exploratory events and cycles of ancestors who travelled extensively throughout the Pacific in search of new lands for settlement. These periods in time have, in turn, been explained and preserved in oral traditions as represented by songs, proverbs and place names as noted above, in legends, genealogies, carvings and paintings, and in environmental sustainability best practices that are passed down through generations. It is the stories that may offer lessons about how and why sustainable best practices have emerged, and explain the implications of behaviour. The experiences of ancestors and their descendants shape indigenous value systems. What does this mean? First of all, it means that principles to guide behaviour in relation to the environment and in relation to people may be identified. These principles include trusteeship, reciprocity and respect which are codified by Māori laws of *tapu*. *Tapu* ‘to be set apart’ and *noa* ‘free from restriction’ are particularly relevant and meaningful (Barlow 1998, Durie 2003: 191, Kawharu 2002). Many oral traditions may continue to be *tapu*.

On the importance of trusteeship values passed from leaders of one generation to another Kawharu (n.d.) wrote.

From an imaginative simulacrum of the “real” world shaped by the psychic influences of a pantheon of deities (‘*atua*’), enlightenment and power in whatever form or degree were delegated through generations of ancestors (‘*tupuna*’) augmented by their own deeds and gifts of wisdom, down to the living. Thus equipped, chiefs, priests and elders could seek to maintain the safety and integrity of their tribal communities by exercising their political, intellectual and administrative skills over all the material (for example, ‘*whenua*’ or land) and human (‘*tangata*’) resources available to them.

To elaborate on these ideas a little further, in New Zealand strong emphasis is placed on claiming descent from original inhabitants who controlled areas to help justify their claim, or *mana whenua*, which is the authority of land and the authority over land. The community holding *mana whenua* resides within a traditional territory, protecting their rights and access to resources by occupation or *ahi kā* ‘customary fires of occupation kept alight’. As demonstrated in the late 19th century in the Native Land Court system, claimants to particular areas, or blocks, would argue their case on grounds including genealogy to ancestors of those places, association with revered sites and continued occupation (Ballara 1998, Kawharu 1998, Williams 1999). More than 100 years later, the same sorts of arguments are presented in the context of Treaty claims. *Mana whenua* is often vigorously contested and the lack of agreement between groups has in several cases stymied progress of Treaty settlements (for example, cross-claimants in the Tamaki region and the hold put on Ngāti Whātua o Orakei and the Crown’s formal Agreement in Principle). While tribal groups or claimants debate one another on who is rightfully entitled to a landscape, there is agreement between them that landscapes are primarily ancestral and that ancestors are a crucial ingredient in interpreting the values associated with those areas and the types of current resource management practices that should be implemented.

Values and associated principles relating to ancestral landscapes may be measurable and have practical use. One such practice, for example, may be the observation of respect to an area associated with an ancestor’s death, perhaps a burial ground or a battle site where bones lay or much blood was spilt. Policies and practices in relation to those places might be to implement *rāhui* or prohibition on the use of an area temporarily or permanently, or to enable restricted use such as guided walks for small groups. Other practices might include: limited harvesting of flora and fauna; a ban on *noa* ‘unrestricted’ activities (for example the consumption of food, which is the antithesis of *tapu*); official openings of new buildings at dawn to appease ancestral and spiritual guardians, enabling everyday work to proceed without restriction. In other cases again, limited development of the ground may be permitted in ways that are sensitive to the history and to the values of the place. Foreshore development, for example, may be permitted as long as spiritual and physical pollution is addressed appropriately.

Durie (2007: 9) also emphasises the measurability aspect of principles that underpin heritage places—connectedness, *mauri*, continuity, contextual significance and reciprocity. The principles described in relation to the diagram, namely trusteeship, reciprocity and respect, are elements of the same value system. Taking all of these principles into account then, they may be understood by considering relationships between communities and their

environment as explained in written and oral histories, land court records, songs, and current resource management practices. An examination of these kinds of sources will provide a picture of what ancestral landscapes mean to the community living in the landscape.

To reiterate, ancestral landscape is not only about describing site type. This position is also supported by the World Heritage “Global Strategy”, a non-typological methodology developed in 1994. In short, this strategy enabled a fuller appreciation of places and values ascribed to them. Thus, for example, two major themes were proposed: (i) human co-existence with the land—movement of peoples, settlement, modes of subsistence, technological evolution; and (ii) human beings in society—human interaction, cultural co-existence, spirituality and creative expression.

In summary, ancestral landscape highlights the importance of history and of actors in history, i.e., ancestors, who were original trustees for sites and regions, in defining a framework to interpret places and associated trusteeship responsibilities. The concept also emphasises the importance of kin-based value systems or “traditional knowledge”. The coupling between traditional knowledge and landscapes is because of the close engagement between people and their environment. There is no separation between the material and non-material, the tangible and intangible. Interpreting a landscape in its entirety, therefore, requires an understanding of the relationships between people and their environment over time, and an understanding that sites are reference points of a cultural value system. Places must be understood within a specific cultural context, one that gives a certain mandate to present and future trustees to act and to manage places and associated knowledge systems. The concept, therefore, reminds living descendants of some parameters for interpreting places. Ancestral landscape stresses the practical aspect of spiritual values. The linkages between ancestor and spiritual values are not remote or obscure.

Identity, ancestral landscapes and rights

These ideas underpinning ancestral landscape and identity is summed up in another way in the Māori Heritage Council’s 2009 statement on Māori heritage: “Māori heritage is a living spirituality, a living mana moving through generations. It comes to life through relationships between people and place” (Māori Heritage Council 2009: 2). Similarly, Durie (2003: 272) remarked, “Human identity is an extension of the environment within which they live, and the ancestors are to be found as much in the world around as in the lives of those long since departed.” Furthermore, ancestral landscapes are not simply about describing the past or historical associations of a place, but equally about defining the present. The following Californian Indian view

of landscapes also resonates with Māori and the ideas expressed by Durie and the Māori Heritage Council: “It is the long-term association with a place and the plants and animals that inhabit it that translates into tangible, distinct tribal ethnicity” (Anderson 2006: 326).

The expression of ethnicity as outlined by Anderson, or ethnic identity as it relates to ancestral landscapes, is also about recognising certain rights and responsibilities. Māori often articulate their rights in a Treaty context, also as noted above. Article Two of the Treaty guaranteed to Māori customary rights of trusteeship, of chieftainship or *rangatiratanga* over their lands, forests, fisheries and treasures. Māori expect to be involved in decision-making in affairs that concern them. World Heritage, therefore, as with any other jurisdiction such as health, education, housing, is approached from this position.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE “FIFTH C”: “COMMUNITY” AND THE WORLD HERITAGE CONTEXT

World Heritage processes are refined from time to time and one particular development that emphasises the importance of “community”, provides new opportunity to give effect to ancestral landscapes. Until recently, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention contained four strategic objectives: credibility, conservation, capacity-building and communication. At the 31st meeting of the World Heritage Committee held at Christchurch, New Zealand in 2007, the committee recognised,³ “...the critical importance of involving indigenous, traditional and local communities in the implementation of the *Convention*, [and] further decides to add ‘communities’ as a fifth strategic objective.”⁴

The proposal to include the concept “community” as a strategic objective of the Operational Guidelines was developed in early 2007 at Tongariro. This proposal was made on the following grounds.

The identification, management and successful conservation of heritage must be done, where possible, with the meaningful involvement of human communities, and the reconciliation of conflicting interests where necessary. It should not be done against the interests, or with the exclusion or omission of local communities. (<http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-13be.doc>)

Further thinking behind the proposal was that

...the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention recognise and provide for community participation, values and

expertise, including of indigenous peoples, at all stages in the implementation of the Convention. (<http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-11ce.doc>:10)

“Community” places further emphasis on the importance of local values such as those encapsulated by ancestral landscape. UNESCO itself emphasised that to achieve “an optimal application of the World Heritage Convention”, it appears imperative to fully understand, respect, encourage and accommodate local values, practices and traditional management systems in management and development strategies (UNESCO 2004b: 9). UNESCO also stressed the importance of recognising the link between universal and local values (UNESCO 2004b: 9). The emphasis on community encourages further bridging between macro World Heritage “system” and micro community levels. For their part, the World Heritage Centre is concerned to develop tools to interpret what community means in practice and, in return, communities are concerned to continue advancing their understandings of World Heritage criteria and processes in workshops and training (Smith 2007: 337, Boccardi pers. comm. May 2008).

Certainly the introduction of the “fifth c” has created a new opportunity for local communities to be formally recognised as important players in the World Heritage process. This is a significant step particularly where some communities have had minimal involvement in World Heritage despite their traditional lands being nominated for World Heritage, or having already received World Heritage status. Sullivan explained that the World Heritage system has not adequately involved local people nor has it honoured their connections with place (Sullivan 2004: 49). She further argued (Sullivan 2004: 49, 51) that some peoples find World Heritage listing as “inimical to local custodianship”, a point she finds unsurprising as World Heritage is “a global concept ... imposed from above—a submission by a national party to an international committee with the aim of achieving recognition of a value of universal significance”. World Heritage is, for some communities, a remote concept and with the lack of formal guidance on, or recognition of, communities and local values such as ancestral landscapes in the World Heritage system so far, it is perhaps not so surprising that some communities have been doubtful about the usefulness of World Heritage to them. Other communities have had more positive experiences of World Heritage, one of which, concerning Tongariro National Park, will be explored below.

Benefits of recognising community in World Heritage may include the improved implementation of sustainable management regimes where the concept of ancestral landscape is central. Values inherent in ancestral

landscape such as trusteeship, reciprocity, connectedness, continuity, contextual significance and relationships between people and landscapes, may be given proper or further attention and protection. Cultural tourism and education are other areas where ancestral landscape and community are important. The success of recognising ancestral landscapes as a dimension of sustainable management, tourism and education initiatives at World Heritage places depends on several things, not least community involvement at local, national and international levels. Turning to the international level and the early stages of the World Heritage process, a critical question remains: how can formal roles be undertaken by indigenous or cultural experts in providing advice on and evaluating where relevant, cultural values that are associated with a site proposed for World Heritage nomination? No formal role for the assessment of nominations by indigenous or local community and cultural experts currently exists. The World Heritage Guidelines at paragraph 81 emphasise the importance of making appropriate judgments of value attributed to cultural heritage (<http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf>). As discussed, local and expert interpretations of indigenous and traditional culture and value are important.

Determining what is valid in cultural value terms is important. Continuity of cultural values may also be important, even where physical change occurs to sites or landscapes. UNESCO illustrates these two points well in relation to a Nepali example. Nepali craftsmen may prefer to replace, rather than repair, decaying structures and thus contribute to the cyclical renewal of sites and cultural values. UNESCO (2004b: 31) further argued:

Conservation is basically a western concept that has been adopted by the modern bureaucracies of states that have replaced traditional societies. Specific aspects of authenticity are easily swept aside by “international” standards and principles. Globalisation has brought about a need for ongoing dialogue to ensure that the potential of a Nepalese carpenter or an Indian master mason might guide notions of authenticity in the future.

This is true for Māori, too. Until at least the 20th century many communities preferred to allow meetings houses to rot or they burned them down before building another. While the Nepali example might be concerned with conservation and management of an existing World Heritage site, the principle of expert interpretation of cultural values nevertheless applies at the nomination stage. And given the need for a balanced, credible and representative World Heritage list, consideration of how indigenous and cultural experts can contribute to nomination preparation and assessments appears to be timely.⁵

World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE)

Proposals on indigenous participation in World Heritage have arisen over at least ten years. In 1999 participants at a World Heritage regional meeting in Vanuatu asserted: "...it is essential that future nominations of properties for inclusion in the World Heritage List in the Pacific be prepared by communities, through Governments, to ensure the agreement of communities in all issues relating to their land and traditions" (<http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/vanuatu99.htm>).

In addition to local involvement in nominations, other types of involvement have been mooted. In 2000 and 2001 in Australia and in Canada, indigenous leaders discussed establishing a World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE).⁶ The proposal was put to the (Helsinki) World Heritage Committee in 2001 but not accepted for legal, funding, definition and other reasons. The rationale for WHIPCOE does, however, have relevance in the current context of considering what community as the "fifth c" means in policy and practice. The ideas within WHIPCOE are, therefore, of relevance to the World Heritage Committee. The proposal asserted:

Indigenous peoples are the owners and keepers of their knowledge, traditions and values, which apply to all their ancestral lands, particularly those now designated as World Heritage properties. Indigenous peoples have a duty of care to ensure that their knowledge is passed on to future generations. This knowledge can provide valuable information and direction to other Indigenous Peoples concerned with properties that are or may become World Heritage properties. To achieve this the expertise of Indigenous Peoples should be provided to the World Heritage Committee and to States Parties regarding decisions affecting World Heritage properties. Therefore, it is recommended that a Council of Indigenous Peoples be established to advise the World Heritage Committee and States Parties, in support of the goals of the World Heritage Convention. (<http://www.whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-496-4.pdf>:9)

The WHIPCOE proposal emphasised proper interpretation of cultural values and knowledge associated with cultural landscapes. Although the proposal was for indigenous participation, others with extensive experience working with indigenous communities may also have a role. The proposal in principle is relatively straightforward. Many issues concerning the "how", such as committee membership, support (including financial and administration), the role of state parties and indigenous peoples, and coordination with others in the existing process, would need to be worked through. WHIPCOE may be a model from which ideas can be developed and elaborated upon. WHIPCOE, or a variation of it, would also be well placed to consider and elaborate on

concepts such as ancestral landscape. Further issues for consideration include the training of community and World Heritage experts and the development of appropriate policy language, for example, substituting for the common phrases “to recognise and provide for” or “to give effect to” less prescriptive language like “take into account” and “consider” in relation to community participation, values and expertise.

It is also notable that in 2007 the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was approved by 143 states. Although there were 11 abstentions and four initially voted against the Declaration (New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States), it is a significant international instrument that gives further impetus for issues such as participation of indigenous, traditional and cultural groups to be formally addressed within World Heritage.

NEW ZEALAND MODELS RELATING TO COMMUNITY

Turning to the final part of this essay, I now briefly examine three New Zealand examples where community (Māori) is addressed in policy. In all cases, the values inherent in ancestral landscapes that define communities, their relationship to the environment, if not also their relationships to other groups, are recognised.

Auckland War Memorial Museum (AWMM)

In interpreting its guiding legislation, the Board and the Museum’s Māori advisory committee, the Taumata a Iwi, developed principles for engaging with Māori and for fulfilling custodial duties in lore and law terms (Kawharu 2000). These principles are: (i) the right to advise, (ii) partnership, (iii) Māori expectations, (iv) active protection, and (v) redress for past misunderstandings. These principles may help inform the application of “the fifth c”. In relation to each of these, possible questions I propose are the following:

- Right to advise: How will communities provide advice on cultural heritage as it relates to a proposal in accordance with their values and protocols, to external bodies that have responsibility for advancing a World Heritage nomination? What steps do external agencies need to follow to ensure the appropriate advice is sought and received?
- Partnership: Who are the parties involved in advancing a World Heritage nomination? How is “community” defined and identified? How will local communities and state parties (their departments and/or agents) act reasonably and with the utmost good faith? How will they encourage a spirit of partnership and goodwill, as expected by each party? What

steps should be undertaken to ensure that engagement with indigenous communities in World Heritage matters accords with domestic treaties and agreements with indigenous people? How will each party be accountable to the other?

- **Community expectations:** How will state parties recognise and provide for reasonable community expectations in relation to World Heritage processes?
- **Active protection:** How are the protocols, values, trusteeship obligations, traditional knowledge and rights of local communities protected in World Heritage processes?
- **Redress:** What processes for redress exist to address misunderstandings between local communities and other parties involved in World Heritage processes?

An approach such as this, addressing these issues and other related ones, is essentially in some way concerned with advancing a two-way dialogue, involving appropriate community representatives and agreeing on the role and benefit of World Heritage in community contexts. On the subject of relevance of World Heritage to communities, Sullivan (2004: 54) remarked, “So often the issue is one of the necessity for local empowerment, before the effective conservation of local values, the active involvement of local people, and the implementation of traditional management practices can begin.”

New Zealand Historic Places Trust Māori Heritage Council

The Māori Heritage Council of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT) registers *wāhi tapu* ‘places and areas set apart or sacred’, provides advice and support to Māori concerning built heritage in particular and Māori heritage generally, develops policy and guidelines for Māori heritage and provides general leadership on Māori heritage (NZHPT 2006). Trust staff responsible for Māori heritage (Te Tira) are located in regional offices and their work is co-ordinated by a team of senior staff at the head office in Wellington. Te Tira work alongside other branches of the organisation including archaeologists, the registrar, tourism and marketing to carry out goals set by the Māori Heritage Council.

Te Tira and the Council recognise that Māori strongly desire to manage their own heritage places. In meeting this expectation, the Council has developed principles to guide its work. These are: (i) encourage active participation by Māori communities in heritage issues; (ii) implement effective consultative protocols; (iii) develop and maintain positive and cooperative working

relationships with Māori (which means investment of time and resources); (iv) encourage collaboration in heritage identification, protection, preservation and conservation; and (v) develop exemplary standards and appropriate cultural approaches to addressing issues and so meet expectations of Māori and other stakeholders (for example, government). The Council and Te Tira are guided in their work by a clear understanding of the traditional and dynamic nature of Māori culture. They also acknowledge the central importance of recognising and protecting oral traditions and knowledge associated with cultural landscapes (Māori Heritage Council 2009).

Each of these principles also applies in World Heritage. Translated into a World Heritage context, these principles might mean early and active involvement of mandated community representatives in the preparation of a World Heritage site nomination. A first step would involve identifying who are the appropriate people to consult. This is not necessarily clear cut when there are competing interests over an area, or when leadership within groups is not clear. Important issues include identifying how communities should be involved including clarifying the best forms and forums of communication and information dissemination.

Tongariro World Heritage area

Ngāti Tūwharetoa are the ancestral custodians of the Tongariro National Park area. In 1993, the area obtained recognition for its cultural and spiritual values and obtained dual World Heritage status, adding to the recognition that the area already received for its volcanic and geological values. Together with the government's Department of Conservation, Ngāti Tūwharetoa has been involved in developing a joint management plan (*he kaupapa rangatira*). The thrust of *he kaupapa rangatira* is to put into practice Treaty of Waitangi principles that enable the government to govern (Article One of the Treaty), and the local tribal people to exercise their customary authority and control, or *rangatiratanga* (Article Two of the Treaty). The plan concerns the relationship between Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the Crown in the Department's area of jurisdiction or conservancy, which includes the World Heritage area. The Department's introduction to the plan⁷ highlights the need for:

- consultation between the parties;
- participation in conservation management projects;
- participation in the conservancy's annual business planning;
- sharing of resource information;
- in exercising powers under the Resource Management Act 1991, recognition of the parties' perspectives and sharing of resources;

- in exercising powers under the Resource Management Act 1991, development of resource management approaches to achieve the protection of taonga [treasures];
- involvement in the process of considering concession applications;
- iwi involvement in concession opportunities;
- cultural resource allocation;
- management of waahi tapu;
- participation by iwi in the preparation of management plans, strategies and policy;
- development of projects which give effect to the principles of tino rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga [guardianship];
- involvement in visitor services to achieve ongoing protection of taonga;
- identification of restoration projects for iwi participation;
- use of tikanga Māori [Māori protocols] in the department's work;
- staff development in cultural learning;
- Departmental involvement in relevant Treaty claims.

As with the Māori Heritage Council principles noted above, the Department of Conservation's plan also offer ideas for applying the concept of community. The plan highlights the role of communities in ongoing management and preservation of lands and traditional knowledge. It also contextualises this work within the Department's business planning, which is an essential step where human and financial resources are concerned.

* * *

The idea of cultural landscape is now well-embedded in World Heritage. Ancestral landscape is an important concept but is less well understood within the World Heritage system. However, following the introduction in 2007 of community as a strategic objective in the Operational Guidelines, two related opportunities appear to emerge. The first is to develop further policy and guidelines on cultural landscape that would enable better recognition of ancestral landscape. This would include developing guidelines on what ancestral landscape means. Ancestral landscape, as it applies in Aotearoa New Zealand, if not elsewhere among other indigenous peoples, embodies relationships between people and their environment. In providing a local, cultural interpretation of values important to a place, ancestral landscape provides a platform for fully considering the cultural, political and social dimensions of associative cultural landscapes. A second related opportunity in this new World Heritage environment is to progress indigenous expert participation. Participation may be at a number of levels from the community level to the international level. The WHIPCOE proposal was possibly

ahead of its time, but it contains ideas that are relevant for considering how community may be applied. These include expertise in interpreting cultural values as they relate to ancestral landscape, emphasising customary-based trusteeship over knowledge and places and cultural expertise in managing places while developing best practice models that incorporate indigenous values where relevant.

A key challenge continues to be balancing local community values and involvement in World Heritage with meeting World Heritage objectives of conservation and sustainable management for “the world community”. Related to that is bridging the divide between the local and the universal (Sullivan 2004). The ways in which indigenous cultures interpret places, which allows a smoothness or fluidity between values such as the tangible-intangible, the sacred- profane, may provide clues for as yet unrealised potential in World Heritage. Greater appreciation of local values as encapsulated by the term “ancestral landscape” is now possible with the recognition of community as a fifth strategic objective. Securing this subtle level of appreciation, balanced against an appreciation of universal qualities, may enable places to be recognised as truly outstanding as the World Heritage Convention envisaged.

NOTES

- 1 See <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-annex3-en.pdf> for guidelines on cultural landscapes.
- 2 Adapted from M. Kawharu 2009.
- 3 www.whc.unesco.org/download.cfm?id_document+8896; www.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-24e.doc; www.miljo.fi/download.asp?contentid=73597&lan=sv
- 4 In environmental contexts, the Global Environment Facility (GEF) also promotes local community involvement in project design, implementation and evaluation, particularly indigenous peoples, as a critical factor to the success of a project. GEF argues, “successful implementation of conservation projects affecting indigenous and local communities can be guaranteed on a long-term basis only when there is consent from and collaboration with the communities.” See http://www.gefweb.org/uploadedFiles/ExternalAffairs/Publications/GEF_biodiv_ins06.pdf
- 5 Sullivan (2004: 49-55) has also argued for community participation and indigenous practices to be considered and dealt with from the beginning of a World Heritage listing process. Before the nomination proposal, an explicit process for involving stakeholders and the identification of all heritage values should be established. See UNESCO 2004a: 185.
6. The purposes and functions of WHIPCOE are, in co-operation with the States Parties, Advisory Bodies and Indigenous Peoples, to (<http://www.whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-496-4.pdf>:10):

- ensure Indigenous voices are heard in efforts to protect and promote the world's natural and cultural heritage;
- bring Indigenous competencies and expertise to complement other expert groups, in order to support the objectives of the World Heritage Convention;
- support and enhance best practice management in World Heritage properties and when requested by the Indigenous people/s and State Party involved make recommendations for improvements; and
- build and serve as a network for Indigenous peoples to achieve the above purposes.

And to (<http://www.whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-496-4.pdf>:10):

- advise in the preparation of nominations for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List for its Indigenous values;
- advise in the management of World Heritage properties to protect and respect Indigenous values; and
- assist in building the capacity to manage World Heritage properties in accordance with Indigenous values.

At the request of the World Heritage Centre, and in accordance with the Operational Guidelines, and together with the Advisory Bodies:

- contribute to the evaluation of nominations of properties for inscription on the World Heritage List for Indigenous values;
- participate in reactive monitoring and periodic reporting; and contribute to the system of international assistance.

7. <http://www.doc.govt.nz/upload/documents/about-doc/role/policies-and-plans/010-tongariro-taupo-cms-kaupapa-Māori.pdf>

REFERENCES

- Anderson, M. Kat, 2006. *Tending the Wild. Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Australia ICOMOS, 1995. Asia-Pacific Regional Workshop on Associative Cultural Landscapes: A Report by Australia ICOMOS to the World Heritage Committee. 27-29 April. Sydney, NSW: Australia ICOMOS.
- Ballara, Angela, 1998. *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Barlow, Cleve, 1998. *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Clarke, Philip, 2003. *Where the Ancestors Walked: Australia as an Aboriginal Landscape*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

- Crocombe, Ron (ed.), 1987. *Land Tenure in the Pacific*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Durie, Mason, 2003. *Nga Kahui Pou. Launching Māori Futures*. Wellington: Huia.
- . Outstanding Universal Value: How Relevant is Indigeneity? World Heritage Committee Pacific Workshop, Tongariro.
- Fowler, P.J., 2003. *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes*. World Heritage Papers 6. Paris: UNESCO.
- Galla, A., 2008. The first voice in heritage conservation. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 3: 10-25.
- Kawharu, I. H., n.d. Ko Te Mana Whenua o Ngati Whātua o Orakei. Draft paper for Ngati Whātua o Orakei Trust Board.
- Kawharu, Merata, 1998. Dimensions of Kaitiakitanga. An Investigation of a Customary Māori Principle of Resource Management. Unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University.
- . 2000. *Kaitiakitanga: A Māori anthropological perspective of the Māori socio-environmental ethic of resource management*. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 110 (4): 349-70.
- . 2002. Outstanding native interests. In M. Kawharu (ed.), *Whenua: Managing Our Resources*. Auckland: Reed, pp. 145-66.
- . 2008. *Tahuhu Korero. The Sayings of Taitokerau*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- . 2009 (in press). Environment as a marae locale. In R. Selby, P. Moore and M. Mulholland (eds), *Kaitiaki: Māori and the Environment*. Wellington: Huia.
- Māori Heritage Council, 2009. *Tapuwae. The Māori Heritage Council Statement on Māori Heritage. A Vision for Places of Māori Heritage*. Wellington: New Zealand Historic Places Trust.
- Morphy, Howard, 1991. *Ancestral Connections. Art and an Aboriginal System of Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1995. Landscape and the reproduction of the ancestral past. In E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon (eds), *The Anthropology of Landscape : Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 184-209.
- New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 2006. *Statement of Intent 2006-2009*. Wellington: New Zealand Historic Places Trust.
- Smith, Anita, 2007. Building capacity in Pacific Island heritage management: Lessons from those who know best. *Archaeologies*, 3 (3): 335-52.
- Smith, Anita and Kevin L. Jones, 2007. *Cultural Landscapes of the Pacific Islands*. ICOMOS Thematic Study. Paris: ICOMOS.
- Sullivan, Sharon, 2004. Local involvement and traditional practices in the World Heritage system. In UNESCO (ed.), *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage*. World Heritage Papers 13. Paris: World Heritage Centre, pp. 49-55.
- Tapsell, Paul (ed.), 2006. *Ko Tawa. Māori Treasures of New Zealand*. Auckland: Bateman.

- UNESCO, 2008. *The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Paris: World Heritage Centre.
- UNESCO (ed.), 2004a. *The State of World Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region 2003*. World Heritage Reports 12. Paris: World Heritage Centre.
- UNESCO (ed.), 2004b. *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage*. World Heritage Papers 13. Paris: World Heritage Centre.
- Williams, David V., 1999. *'Te Kooti Tango Whenua': The Native Land Court 1864-1909*. Wellington: Huia.

Websites

- <http://www.doc.govt.nz/upload/documents/about-doc/role/policies-and-plans/010-tongariro-taupo-cms-kaupapa-Māori.pdf>
- http://www.gefweb.org/uploadedFiles/External_Affairs/Publications/GEF_biodiv_ins06.pdf
- <http://www.miljo.fi/download.asp?contentid=73597&lan=sv>
- <http://www.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-24e.doc>
- <http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/cullan95.htm>
- <http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf>
- <http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-11ce.doc>
- <http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-13be.doc>
- <http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-annex3-en.pdf>
- <http://www.whc.unesco.org/archive/vanuatu99.htm>
- http://www.whc.unesco.org/download.cfm?id_document+8896
- <http://www.whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/>
- <http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines>
- <http://www.whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-496-4.pdf>

Personal Communications

- Boccardi, G., May 2008.