

PACKAGING A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: A CASE STUDY OF THE
PAPAHĀNAUMOKUĀKEA WORLD HERITAGE NOMINATION

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PAPAHĀNAUMOKUĀKEA WORLD HERITAGE NOMINATION

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to Mom, Dad, and Mitch (LYTTSAB), as well as my extended family members who are academic role models, understanding listeners, and a generally very supportive group. I also want to dedicate this to my chosen family (geographriends & regular friends), who are some of the loveliest, smartest, most engaging people I know. I may have been able to do this without you, but I definitely wouldn't have had as much fun over the past two years. Thanks for being loving, supportive, and encouraging. You're the best.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANT: Actor-Network Theory
CBD: Convention on Biological Diversity
DLNR: Department of Land and Natural Resources
DOC: Department of Commerce
DOD: Department of Defense
DOI: Department of the Interior
FWS: Fish and Wildlife Service
HPD: Historic Preservation Division
ICCROM: The International Centre for the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites
IMO: International Marine Organization
IUCN: International Union for the Conservation of Nature
IWGIA: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MANWR: Midway Atoll National Wildlife Refuge
MMB: Monument Management Board
MMP: Monument Management Plan
MOA: Memorandum of Agreement
NaKoa/Koani: NaKoa Ikaika KaLahui Hawaii and The Koani Foundation
NHPA: National Historic Preservation Act
NOAA: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
NPS: National Parks Service
NWHI: Northwest Hawaiian Islands
NWR: National Wildlife Refuge
OHA: Office of Hawaiian Affairs
ONMS: Office of National Marine Sanctuaries
OUV: Outstanding Universal Value
PMNM: Papāhānaumokuākea Marine National Monument
POM: Plan of Management
RAC: Reserve Advisory Council
SEB: Senior Executive Board
TEK: Traditional Ecological Knowledge
The List: The World Heritage List
UN: United Nations
UNDRIP: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNPFII: United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
USCG: United States Coast Guard
USGS: United States Geological Survey
WHIPCOE: World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts

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ABSTRACT

This thesis research explores the representation, inclusion, and exclusion of Native Hawaiians in the nomination of the Papahānaumokuākea World Heritage Cultural Landscape in Hawai'i, the only cultural landscape and mixed World Heritage site in the United States. Archival research and textual analysis methods are employed in this study to examine how goals of creating the Cultural Landscape category in 1992 are reflected in the nomination documents for this site, thus contributing to discussions of Indigenous rights, the human-environment relationship, and the local-global nexus that characterizes UNESCO World Heritage sites. This study concludes that although many efforts to include Native Hawaiians in the nomination and management of this site are evident in the nomination dossier, pre-existing institutional and management structures focused on natural resource conservation, a value of pristine nature, and representation of Native Hawaiians as a homogeneous group join the NaKoa Ikalka KaLahui Hawaii and Koani Foundation's objection to the site's nomination in challenging the idea that the nomination process was completely inclusive. This research contributes to World Heritage and heritage studies literature as well as geography, exploring the nature-culture relationship and the influence of the Sauerian cultural landscape approach on the textual representation of cultural landscape in the World Heritage context.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In 2012, the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) organized The International Expert Workshop on the World Heritage Convention and Indigenous Peoples in Copenhagen, Denmark. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in the context of the World Heritage Convention. This committee of officials, scholars and Indigenous representatives demanded that, in implementing the World Heritage Convention, Indigenous peoples are: a) recognized as rights-holders, not merely stakeholders, with a right to self-determination; b) engaged and represented in all stages of site nomination: identification, decision-making, and management; c) respected by States in identification, nomination, management, and reporting processes in Indigenous territories, lands, and resources; and d) provided the necessary information and power to give free, prior, and informed consent to the nomination, inscription, and management of places as World Heritage sites. In order to achieve these standards, it was recommended that new measures be put in place to enable such consultation and participation and that currently inscribed sites be retroactively addressed to ensure compliance. It was also proposed that “a key mandate of the Indigenous advisory mechanism should be to identify and appoint appropriate Indigenous experts and representatives to take part in World Heritage processes impacting Indigenous peoples, including the evaluation of nominations, on-site evaluation missions, evaluation of the state of conservation of World Heritage sites and monitoring missions” (IWGIA 2012, 62). Although several World Heritage sites were evaluated, many have yet to be examined through the lens of Indigenous rights and

participation at stages of identification, nomination, and management. One such site is the Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument (PMNM) of Hawai'i, USA.

Papahānaumokuākea is a mixed Cultural Landscape World Heritage site that was inscribed to the World Heritage List in 2010. It is the only Cultural Landscape site in the United States as well as the only site inscribed as “mixed” – that is, one inscribed for both cultural and natural values. Papahānaumokuākea is a cluster of islands roughly 250 km northwest of the main Hawaiian Islands. The entire marine national monument spans 2000 km from northwest to southeast. As described on the UNESCO World Heritage website, “The area has deep cosmological and traditional significance for living Native Hawaiian culture, as an ancestral environment, as an embodiment of the Hawaiian concept of kinship between people and the natural world, and as the place where it is believed that life originates and to where the spirits return after death” (UNESCO 2016). In addition to these cultural associations, PMNM is also inscribed for its natural value geologically, as an example of island hotspot progression, and ecologically, as home to various apex predators and marine habitats endemic to the area including some that are endangered.

The Cultural Landscape category was created in 1992 to recognize “combined works of nature and man.” Although this language acknowledging human-environment relationships was present in the 1972 World Heritage Convention, this type of heritage was not formally recognized as a category of its own until the Cultural Landscape designation was created. There are three types of cultural landscapes: a) a clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man, which includes gardens and parks; b) an organically evolved landscape, which originated through a social, economic,

administrative, and/or religious impetus and has developed its present form through association and response to the natural environment; and c) an associative cultural landscape, for which the religious, artistic, and/or cultural associations of the natural element are stronger than material evidence of this association (Rössler 2014, 29-32). PMNM is listed as an associative cultural landscape due to the cultural connection of Native Hawaiians to the marine and terrestrial environment. Its nomination as a mixed site recognizes the natural value of the area in addition to these cultural values, and a major goal of the site's nomination as a World Heritage site is preservation of the marine and terrestrial ecosystems and target species.

Around the same time that the IWGIA held the Copenhagen workshop, James Anaya, United Nations Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, reported on the state of Indigenous peoples' rights in the United States. He met with United States federal government departments and agencies as well as members of Native American, Alaskan Native and Native Hawaiian communities. In regard to Native Hawaiians, Anaya acknowledged that "While having some form of federal recognition, Native Hawaiians do not have a similar status under United States law as that of American Indians and Alaska Native groups" (Anaya 2012, 5). Further, he concluded that:

Also uniquely vulnerable are the indigenous people of Hawaii, having experienced a particular history of colonial onslaught and resulting economic, social and cultural upheaval. They benefit from some federal programmes available to Native Americans, but they have no recognized powers of self-government under federal law. And they have little by way of effective landholdings, their lands largely having passed to non-indigenous ownership and control with the aggressive patterns of colonization initiated with the arrival of the British explorer James Cook in 1778. Indigenous Hawaiians have diffuse interests in lands "ceded" to the United States and then passed to the state of Hawaii, under a trust that is specified in the 1959 Statehood Admission Act and now managed by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (Anaya 2012, 16).

Given that the territory which is now PMNM is part of these ceded lands, it is essential that Native Hawaiian rights to this land are acknowledged and, further, that steps are taken to facilitate Native Hawaiian engagement in site management going forward in conjunction with UNDRIP and the responsibility of the State of Hawai'i, through the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), to manage these lands for the “betterment of conditions of native Hawaiians” (OHA 2010a).

During the PMNM nomination process, two Native Hawaiian groups, NaKoa Ikaika KaLahui Hawaii and The Koani Foundation (NaKoa/Koani), objected to the nomination on the grounds that free, prior and informed consent – arguably, the operative requirement of the UNDRIP – was not obtained for the nomination (NaKoa 2010; Trask 2014). Mililani Trask, former member of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and convener of the NaKoa/Koani objection, spoke at the Copenhagen workshop on this specific topic, also addressing the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, the Kenya Lake System in the Great Rift Valley, the Western Ghats and the Trinational de la Sangha as sites in which free, prior, and informed consent from Indigenous rights-holders was not obtained (IWGIA 2012, 15). As recounted in the workshop report,

“The record reveals,” said Ms Trask, “that for several years Indigenous peoples as well as United Nations bodies, including the UN General Assembly, have repeatedly attempted to address the ongoing human rights violations resulting from the implementation of the World Heritage Convention by making recommendations for corrective action... The World Heritage Committee and UNESCO have not had any problem in applying these criteria to sites of significance to dominant society, Ms Trask remarked, “but consistently demonstrate their inability to apply these standards to nominations involving Indigenous lands, territories and resources. In the case of Indigenous peoples, UNESCO and its affiliates IUCN, ICOMOS, and ICCROM, impose their own interpretations of ‘outstanding universal value’, ‘integrity’ and ‘authenticity’ rather than ensuring that the cultural values of Indigenous people are included and

addressed” (IWGIA 2012, 16).

Underlying these various reports, working groups, and conferences is an agreement that recognizing the rights of Indigenous peoples is imperative. When cultures are the source of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), integrity, and authenticity, justifying inscription to the World Heritage List, these Indigenous and local cultural resources are interpreted and packaged to, among other aims, ultimately benefit the nominating State Party.

I began this study of PMNM because I was interested in how the Cultural Landscapes designation might allow for greater local community participation and implementation of Indigenous rights; I was also drawn to cultural landscapes because of the integrated understanding of nature and culture that was missing from the process of designating sites as solely “natural” or “cultural.” This connection is an important one, and it has been a major focus of scholars studying cultural landscapes. McNeely and Keeton (1995), for example, explain the relationship between biological and cultural diversity and make a case for “the wisdom, technology, and knowledge...” possessed by smaller scale “local” communities and cultures “to live within the limits of their environments...” that is the result of “long experience” in these places and culturally embedded controls on consumption of resources. In contrast, a Western ontological separation of nature and culture characterizes the dominant “world culture increasingly characterized by very high levels of material consumption, at least for a privileged minority” (25-26). The 1988 Declaration of Belem recognized the inextricable link between cultural and biological diversity; in 2010, the International Conference on Biological and Cultural Diversity: Diversity for Development-Development for Diversity was held in Montreal, Canada. Building upon the 1992 Convention on Biological

Diversity (CBD), the purpose of this conference was to recognize the fundamental role that cultural diversity plays in sustaining biological diversity, and vice versa. Further, this conference acknowledged that “Local, indigenous or traditional knowledge systems bridge the gap between biological and cultural diversities,” (UNESCO 2010, 2) which the CBD acknowledges as well. Without cultural diversity, biological diversity is threatened to an even greater degree with the loss of languages and knowledge systems that are the result of extensive land/marine and human relationships and that could inform more sustainable approaches to resource management in our world today. In the World Heritage context, cultural landscapes are the most strongly linked, theoretically and pragmatically, to these aims.

Cultural landscapes provide opportunities for inclusion of Indigenous peoples and local communities and recognition of world views that do not separate nature and culture; examining dossiers, the documents on the basis of which sites are inscribed to the World Heritage List, provides an opportunity to explore the process of packaging cultural landscapes, which can result in inclusion and/or exclusion of local communities and Indigenous peoples. In focusing on the only World Heritage Cultural Landscape and mixed site in the United States, PMNM, I seek to contribute to discussions of Indigenous rights and participation in the World Heritage nomination process. According to Adams (2005), “Conservation landscapes are excellent potential sites for rethinking the relationship between settler/Indigenous, and nature/society” (6). I employ a mixed inductive and deductive, textual and archival approach to the PMNM nomination document, supplementary documents pertaining to Native Hawaiian opposition to the nomination, and correspondence letters between UNESCO and United States officials to

explore how Native Hawaiians are included and excluded from the nomination process through the production of these texts.

This study has inherent limitations. First, as was identified by the Copenhagen workshop attendees, it is imperative that Indigenous perspectives are given space within the conversation about, and process of, recognizing, upholding, and implementing Indigenous rights to territory and resources. My perspective is not an Indigenous one; as an archival research project, the goals of this study are limited to exploring and describing how official documents housed in the UNESCO and ICOMOS archives demonstrate and influence Native Hawaiian participation in the nomination process. This study illuminates just one of the many facets of the World Heritage system, cultural landscapes, nature-culture relationships, Indigenous rights, and local participation in the World Heritage nomination process. It is my hope that this study can serve as an impetus for further investigation and exploration of the Cultural Landscape category and the World Heritage goal of preserving global cultural and natural heritage in ways that empower Indigenous peoples and local communities to integrate those perspectives to develop more sustainable relationships with the natural environment.

The two research questions this study answers are:

- 1) How are Native Hawaiians included in/excluded from the nomination dossier?
- 2) How are Native Hawaiians represented in the nomination dossier?

In order to answer these questions, I first provide a summary of the World Heritage system and the nomination process. I then outline bodies of research that informed the conceptual lens through which I explored the PMNM nomination and supplementary documents. This review of the literature is followed by a description of the methods of

analysis used in this study and the results of said analysis, focusing on Native Hawaiian inclusion in and exclusion from the nomination process as a product of the institutional and management structures of the site, identification of a value of pristine nature which influences how Native Hawaiian culture and other human-environment relationships are portrayed, the representation of Native Hawaiians as a homogenous group as a result of the strategic nature of these documents and their role in portraying the local scale as globally valuable, and finally a description of the NaKoa/Koani objection and its role in contesting the aforementioned representations. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of these results as related to the UNDRIP, Copenhagen workshop, connections to the cultural landscape concept in geography, and paradigm shifts in protected area management as well as future research opportunities.

1.2 A Brief Primer on UNESCO World Heritage

In 1972, a desire to preserve the world's cultural and natural heritage led the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to establish the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Focused on engendering commitment to global heritage preservation, the Convention was designed to be ratified by the international community and continued on a permanent basis. Each State member of UNESCO was presented with the option to ratify the Convention, thus committing to promoting policy, research, and infrastructure for the purposes of identification, protection, conservation, presentation, and rehabilitation of its nation's heritage (UNESCO 2015a). As of August 15, 2014, 191 States had ratified the Convention.

According to UNESCO, the benefits States Parties incur for ratifying the Convention are twofold. First, having ratified the Convention establishes the state as part of an international community committed to preservation of international heritage. Thus, membership in the States Parties to the Convention and having sites inscribed on the list garners a level of prestige that may prompt increased awareness of heritage for preservation, international cooperation in the form of financial assistance, and increasing opportunities for tourism industry development surrounding these natural and cultural sites of interest. The second important benefit is access to the World Heritage Fund, which is used to aid States Parties in the process of identifying, preserving, and promoting World Heritage sites. Another component of this fund is emergency assistance following human-made or natural disasters causing damage to a World Heritage site. Finally, the List of World Heritage in Danger focuses national and international attention on conservation efforts at sites whose preservation is threatened (UNESCO 2015b).

In 1992, a new World Heritage site designation category, Cultural Landscapes, was created. These “combined works of nature and humankind...express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment” (UNESCO 2015d). The intention behind creating a cultural landscape category was threefold: 1) to increase representation of global regions other than Europe; 2) to recognize cultural heritage characterized by land relationships rather than monuments; and 3) to acknowledge the connection between biological and cultural diversity through sustainable land use practices (Mitchell et al. 2009). In World Heritage cultural landscapes, the natural and

cultural cannot be separated; local communities and their natural environments are seen as intertwined.

In addition to promising commitment to the aspects of heritage preservation outlined above, States Parties to the Convention are also required to develop a list of properties to be nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2015c). Nomination procedures are outlined in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. This document, like the World Heritage system itself, is constantly evolving – the first version, created in June of 1977, has been revised 24 times between then and the most recent 2013 version (UNESCO 2013). It plays an important role in making World Heritage system priorities tangible and transparent.

After compiling a list of properties to be nominated, the state is required to prepare a nomination packet for each. These nominations are meant to provide a complete, well-rounded understanding of the site and justification for its nomination to be evaluated by various organizations and, ultimately, the World Heritage Committee. The site is first identified, usually involving maps delineating the boundaries and location of the property. Descriptions of important natural features and history and/or an account of the cultural features and history contained within this site are the secondary component of the nomination, followed by a justification of the site as worthy for inscription on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2013).

This justification is usually presented in terms of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). As defined by the 2013 Operational Guidelines, OUV “means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity” (UNESCO

2013, 14). It is determined somewhat differently for natural and cultural sites; however, the scientific lens plays an important role in determination of value. For cultural sites, value must exist from scientific, historical, aesthetic, ethnological, or anthropological points of view. In natural sites, value is determined from a scientific, conservation, or natural beauty perspective (UNESCO 2013, 13). The property must also be justified in a national and international context through a comparative analysis with other properties possessing similar characteristics. The final piece of justification is a statement of integrity or authenticity. It must be noted that both OUV and integrity as objective concepts have been questioned in the literature because the concepts are grounded in Eurocentric thought and value systems (see Tucker & Carnegie 2014 and Gullino & Larcher 2013, respectively).

In addition to identification and justification of the property in terms of OUV, information regarding the current state of, and threats to, conservation is required in the nomination process. Factors affecting the site are also an important component of this section of the nomination. Establishment of these characteristics serves as a baseline for future monitoring efforts. A plan of management for the property must be outlined by the nominating state. This is meant to cover legislative, regulatory, contractual, planning, institutional, and traditional measures of protection in addition to the system of management. Finally, a monitoring system of some kind must be included to ensure the continued protection of the site and preservation of World Heritage (UNESCO 2013, 33-35).

The next step of the nomination process involves inspection by advisory bodies related to UNESCO. For natural sites, the International Union for the Conservation of

Nature (IUCN) is responsible; the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is responsible for cultural sites. The International Centre for the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) is a third advisory body for certain sites. These evaluations are intended to be “objective, rigorous and scientific,” should include a verification or denial of OUV, and should be conducted systematically, taking into account all relevant criteria and justifying the recommendation through relevant literature. Information received after February 28 of the same year that the nomination is deliberated by the World Heritage Committee will not be considered (UNESCO 2013, 38).

The World Heritage Committee’s deliberation is the final step in the nomination process. The committee is comprised of 21 State Party representatives who have the ultimate decision regarding inscription of sites and site status, being able to remove sites from the list if deemed fit. It is explicitly stated in the Operational Guidelines that the committee’s decisions ought to be made objectively and scientifically (UNESCO 2013, 5-6). In recent years, doubt has been cast on the credibility, solvency, and authority of the Committee. These issues include the dismissal of ICOMOS and IUCN recommendations, credibility of and increasing number of inscribed sites at the expense of protection, limited financial resources for site monitoring efforts, reduced trust in “expert” opinions, and decision making based on geopolitical interests (Meskell 2013). In addition, in 2011, the World Heritage Committee declined a proposal to establish a World Heritage Indigenous Peoples’ Council of Experts (WHIPCOE) as a consultative body to the Committee; Dr. Mechtild Rössler, Chief of the Policy and Statutory Meetings Section at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, described this dismissal as “one of the

saddest moments in the history of the Convention” (IWGIA 2012, 15). Despite the challenges associated with managing the preservation of global heritage, the World Heritage system is one that has the potential to continue contributing to sustainable development, recognizing Indigenous and local community rights, and addressing global environmental problems. As such, it is imperative that scholars, managers, and stakeholders continue to interrogate the system and its assumptions and impacts to fine-tune approaches to heritage conservation.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This thesis research is informed by multiple bodies of literature: 1) heritage studies, with specific focus on scholarship on World Heritage and World Heritage cultural landscapes; 2) the nature/culture relationship in geography; 3) cultural landscapes in geography; 4) World Heritage cultural landscapes; and 5) Indigenous and community participation in World Heritage, especially in sites with both natural and cultural values. Each of these bodies of literature is multidisciplinary, including research from geography, anthropology, archaeology, tourism management, sociology, and heritage studies; this literature informs the conceptual framework underpinning analysis of the PMNM nomination.

2.1 World Heritage Critique: Structure, Values, and Diversity

The World Heritage system aims to preserve global cultural and natural heritage that possesses OUV. Tucker and Carnegie (2014) argue that, in contrast to the supposed unbiased scientific determination of value, the concept of OUV is quite subjective and Eurocentric and, consequently, has the potential to be exclusionary to alternative viewpoints. This is the result of a World Heritage Committee dominated by Western States Parties (Bertacchini et al. 2015), a global distribution of World Heritage sites heavily concentrated in Western, developed nations which reinforces these Eurocentric, universalist frameworks of what constitutes valuable heritage (Labadi 2007), and resulting promotion of a non-neutral (Europe-centered) past, with the discipline of heritage studies based in literature that is based on processes of exploration and colonization (Winter 2014). States' varied approaches to the nomination process, which are informed by heterogeneous national identities, set the tone for the presentation of

national and group heritage (Van der Aa 2005). Although consideration of a multiplicity of historical interpretations (Labadi 2007) in constructing national identities through World Heritage nomination may be one of the avenues through which to avoid homogenizing national histories and identities, the structure of the World Heritage system must ultimately leave this responsibility to States Parties, as the World Heritage Centre's role is coordination rather than identification, nomination, or management of World Heritage List properties.

Meskell (2013) contends that the “statist power structure” of World Heritage “is inescapable when attempts are made to instigate structural changes, whether creating an indigenous expert advisory panel, recognizing nonstate actors like nongovernmental organizations, or upholding the heritage rights of minorities within nation states” (485). Over time, the composition of the World Heritage Committee has shifted from mainly heritage professionals to “politicians and bureaucrats” who increasingly disregard the recommendations of advisory bodies IUCN and ICOMOS, voting to inscribe sites after “backstairs discussions by sympathetic delegations during Committee meetings” (Cleere 2011, 520). Bertacchini et al. (2015) refer to this trend as an increasing ‘politicization,’ suggesting that one of the reasons for this might be the more rapid growth of developing nations in comparison to developed ones, the former group asserting their national interests in the global heritage arena. The World Heritage Committee attempted to address these issues in 1994 with the Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative, and Credible World Heritage List, which was intended to “broaden the definition of World Heritage to better reflect the full spectrum of our world’s cultural and natural treasures and to provide a comprehensive framework and operational methodology for

implementing the World Heritage convention” (Taylor & Lennon 2011, 538). However, the aforementioned research indicates that there is still work to be done to achieve balance, representation, and credibility in a system aiming to make positive contemporary impacts while meeting the goal of heritage preservation over time.

2.2 Considering Scale: A World Heritage Comprised of Local Communities

In 2002, the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage committed “to ensure the active involvement of our local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of our World Heritage properties” (UNESCO 2002). Subsequently, in 2007, New Zealand moved that a fifth “C”, communities, be added to the World Heritage strategic objectives (UNESCO 2007) which also include credibility, conservation, capacity-building and communication (Oviedo & Puschkarsky 2012), further extending the commitment to prioritizing local communities within the World Heritage process. The “common heritage of humanity” (Bandarin 2007) the World Heritage Convention seeks to preserve is actually a conglomeration many sites, people, and perspectives that comprise, together, the heritage of humanity. Multiple scholars have examined how the global is localized and the local is globalized through processes of World Heritage and tourism. To use Milne and Ateljevic’s (2001) term, it is World Heritage sites’ unique place at the ‘global-local nexus’ that makes the issue of local involvement in World Heritage a subject of complex and ongoing debate. Proulx (2013) conceptualizes looting of archaeologically valuable World Heritage sites through the lens of glocal¹ processes,

¹ Roland Robertson (1995) first elucidated the terms ‘glocal’ and ‘glocalization’ to acknowledge that the global and local scales are at once shaping and distinguishing the other as processes of homogenization and heterogenization are simultaneously occurring rather than being separate and distinct. This idea stands in opposition to the understanding of globalization processes as creating a world that is *either* more

attempting to situate the global phenomenon of looting within the individual and unique local contexts in which it occurs. Drawing on Latour (1993), Proulx contends that the global is in fact “local at all points” (113).

The nomination, inscription, and management of sites as part of the World Heritage system is a global scale phenomenon necessarily rooted in and affecting the local context. The World Heritage Convention is a supranational treaty ratified by States Parties that nominate places within their territories for tangible and intangible qualities, thus deriving value from the unique, local context. Debarbieux and Price (2008) argue that such transnational and supranational organizations alter power structures between these different scales, especially related to the decreasing or changing power of nation-states to declare, manage, and protect global common goods. Some of these global common goods, the authors argue, are not distinct to one location, such as health or water; World Heritage sites, on the other hand, are part of the class of global common goods that are directly tied to specific places, areas, or ecosystems (150). Global common goods differ from common goods at the national scale because there is no central authority by which their value can be considered legitimate; as a result, global common goods are rooted in shared interests and varied meanings, and thus must be legitimated by heterogeneous groups of stakeholders who promote and adapt the good to make it relevant to their own context (150). As Milne and Ateljevic (2001) understand the relationship between tourism and local economy development, tourism destinations are “endlessly (re-)invented, (re-)produced, (re-)captured and (re-)created” (386). The

homogeneous or more heterogeneous (27). Robertson argues that, in situating the global and the local as opposite and separate, we miss the point that what is thought of as local is itself “constructed on a trans- or super-local basis” (26).

same could be said for World Heritage sites – global influences and approaches to management and conservation are inherent to the process of local re-invention and re-creation. Trau et al. (2014) examine how the Lelema community of Chief Roi Mata’s Domain, Vanuatu has translated the Western concept of buffer zones into local terms and forms in complex, multifaceted, and contested ways. The authors argue that the World Heritage system should acknowledge the nuanced ways in which forces of globalization and management approaches that stem from it are locally digested, rather than relying upon the assumption that “local meanings, desires and dispositions” are homogenous (98).

Local “host” community investment and participation in the World Heritage process is understood to be an essential component of reaching long-term preservation goals. Two aspects of World Heritage that both impact and are impacted by local communities, conservation and tourism, have been studied extensively, often examining the impacts of World Heritage designation on communities and community perceptions of designation. Nzama (2009), for example, concludes that biodiversity conservation in the South African iSimangaliso wetland park will be more successful when conservation and livelihood are linked through the participation of the local community in ecological management efforts. Another study conducted with a conservation goal in mind was You et al.’s (2014) study of Wuyishan Scenery District mixed site in Southeastern China. The authors posit that community perceptions of the site are influenced primarily by demographic characteristics, specifically: level of education, gender, socioeconomic status (especially household income), and established management systems and organizations. These studies provide evidence to the point that local involvement in

natural World Heritage sites is essential and assert that human, social, and cultural influences cannot be extracted from natural conservation goals.

2.3 Indigenous Peoples, Protected Areas, and World Heritage

Disko and Tugendhat (2015) call attention to the intersection of Indigenous peoples' rights and World Heritage by focusing on the relationship between World Heritage site designation and Indigenous peoples affected by those designations from the perspective of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The UNDRIP "builds upon relevant provisions of human rights instruments of general applicability... Therefore, while the UN Declaration itself is not a legally binding document, the standards found therein connect to existing State obligations under other human rights instruments that are legally binding on States" (6-7). The authors identify the 5 main provisions of the Declaration: self-determination; autonomy, self-government and the right to participate in decision-making; cultural rights and identity; land rights; reparation, redress and remedies. Because the Declaration passed in the UN General Assembly, UNESCO has the responsibility to implement these principles, but a multi-layered governance structure creates a "challenge... in relation to the World Heritage Convention, a self-standing multilateral treaty with its own States Parties and a separate intergovernmental governance structure" (Disko & Tugendhat 2015, 17). With regard to land rights, the authors explain that access to and control over lands, territories, and resources is essential, as Indigenous peoples depend on these for their livelihoods, identities, and cultural survival (Disko & Tugendhat 2015, 12).

Scholars in multiple disciplines, especially related to natural resource management, have established a direct connection between Indigenous peoples and

protected areas. It is understood that for many Indigenous cultures, land relationships are embedded within their knowledge systems and world-views, resulting in a strong correlation between Indigenous homelands and high biological diversity and ecosystem richness (Stevens 1997). This maintenance of healthy and diverse ecosystems has resulted in such areas being targeted as protected areas. However, the conceptual basis for such places is that they are, and must remain, pristine wilderness areas untrammelled by human influence. This has resulted in the removal of Indigenous peoples from their homelands for the specific purpose of creating wilderness areas without noticeable human activity (Lascorgeix & Kothari 2009; Bodley 2014). World Heritage sites are no different. Oviedo and Puschkarsky (2012) explain: “The idea of natural World Heritage sites as pristine areas of wilderness, undisturbed by human impact, has been prevalent in the thinking and practice of conservation agencies for a long time, and probably still persists in some places today. There is extensive literature showing that local and Indigenous communities who live in these areas or in their vicinity are often marginalised, impoverished and discriminated against by the majority population” (286). Indigenous knowledge, which is also referred to as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), has become a focus of research in multiple disciplines, where TEK is “co-opted by natural resource managers and development projects to inform scientists of local conditions, providing ethno-botanical and ethno-biological knowledge that supplements scientific knowledge” (Babidge et al. 2007, 150). Scholars have developed ways to incorporate local knowledge systems into the management of World Heritage sites: Ruddle (2000) argues for the value of local knowledge in developing and maintaining conservation management regimes because they are sociocultural, empirical, and

practical in nature; Cullen-Unsworth et al. (2012) promote a research methodology to integrate Indigenous and scientific knowledge into cultural landscapes through a case study of Wet Tropics of Australia, pointing to cooperative problem-framing and research as strategies for this integration; and Barrow and Pathak (2005) highlight the ability of communities and indigenous groups to conserve landscapes for utilitarian, cultural, and/or spiritual reasons (65). The wider category of collaborative tourism efforts involving local stakeholders beyond conservation goals is also of importance (Mitchell and Reid 2000; Bianchi 2002; Aas et al. 2005). However, despite integration of such knowledge, Babidge et al. (2007) argue “little has changed for many indigenous people in terms of participation in the control and regulation of their country” (150). It is imperative that Indigenous rights are central to the process of integrating Indigenous knowledge and TEK into the nomination and management of World Heritage sites so as to avoid exploitation of the peoples whose knowledge is considered highly valuable to conservation.

2.4 The Cultural Landscape Concept

As an academic term and focus of inquiry, the cultural landscape concept originated in geography, where the “intellectual and practical foundation on which modern interdisciplinary cultural landscape studies have been built” (Taylor et al. 2014, 3). In 2003, Dr. Mechtild Rössler, head of the World Heritage Centre at the time, enlisted Peter Fowler to conduct a review on World Heritage Cultural Landscape sites from 1992-2002. In this review, he lays out the connection between the cultural landscapes concept in geography and its employment in the World Heritage context:

The conceptual origins of the term, but not the actual phrase, lie in the writings of German historians and French geographers in the mid/late

19th century. ‘Cultural landscape’ as a term was apparently invented in academia in the earlier 20th century...The World Heritage Committee has over the last decade been a pioneer in applying in a practical way such an intellectual concept within the template of its own global remit. In continuing to do so – and it is most important that it does, - it is also important that it keeps in touch with the academic milieu from which it has borrowed the concept, informing the academy of its experience while being alert to inevitable, research-led changes there in the idea of ‘cultural landscape’ itself (Fowler 2003, 18).

Therefore, I have chosen to provide an overview of the cultural landscape concept’s development in geography with a heavy focus on debates pertinent to the Sauerian approach as an essential part of the World Heritage Cultural Landscape genealogy.

The cultural landscape idea is often attributed to Carl O. Sauer and the Berkeley School. However, as Rowntree (1996) points out, equating Sauer with cultural landscape both diminishes his and his colleagues’ further contributions to the discipline of geography and negates the work of other geographers in the now wide-ranging and more expansive subdiscipline of “landscape studies.” Regardless, Sauer’s methods and approach to understanding humans’ influence on their environments as active agents remain a fundamental jumping-off point for understanding the lineage of the cultural landscape concept. Sauer’s (1925) “The Morphology of Landscape” draws from European geography as well as anthropology; at the time, geography had become caught up in environmental determinism, a framework that conceptualized humans as passively existing within the world. Sauer flipped this on its head to examine how human agents alter and impact their natural environments through the medium of culture. W.H. Hoskins, an English geographer, operated with a similar ontological approach in his work on the English countryside. Primarily a historian, his narratives of the changing English

landscape were more chronologically structured, but his and Sauer's work parallel one another in their descriptive approach to landscape study (Wylie 2007).

Though Sauer helped elevate cultural landscape study to a significant line of inquiry, its momentum was halted in 1939, when Richard Hartshorne leveled a criticism at Sauer's approach and the cultural landscape concept more broadly, arguing that landscape studies was too subjective and the landscape concept itself was too spatially ambiguous (Castree 2005, 65). Rowntree (1996) clarifies that Hartshorne was concerned Sauer's approach "contaminated the Kantian logic of objective space (as in area and region) with the subjectivity of aesthetics and human values" (132). This critique was characteristic of one distinct trajectory in geography post WW2. The second trajectory, Rowntree explains, became a "full-blown" humanistic geography by the 1970s, with two branches of historical, interpretative inquiry: one focused on material, visible details of landscape (material culture) and the second focused on emotion, cultural perception, and visual preferences surrounding landscape: social meaning (Rowntree 1996, 134).

The most well known scholar with this humanistic approach is J.B. Jackson, who focused on the vernacular landscape to "articulate and advocate the insider's or inhabitant's point of view" (Wylie 2007, 41). His interest ran parallel to cultural materialist work in geography and anthropology, finding its place in landscape architecture and other disciplines in addition to geography. Jackson's focus on the vernacular and everyday life through material culture, interest in individual and small group scale analysis, study of the emotion of place, and conceptualization of landscapes as dynamic are some of the major contributions of his work to the field of landscape studies (Rowntree 1996, 136). Additionally, Jackson not only viewed landscape as a

material resource, but a symbolic one as well, as “a source and repository of myth, imagination, symbolic value and cultural meaning” (Wylie 2007, 44). In the humanistic approach to landscape studies, Jackson was joined by John Kirkland Wright and David Lowenthal in the subfield of environmental perception as well as Yi-Fu Tuan who focused on “landscapes of the mind.” These scholars were writing at a time when the mainstream current of geography was flowing in the direction of positivism, but their work posed an “alternative to the methodological rigor and quantitative tyranny of the theoretical revolution” with a landscape studies approach more closely aligned with the way cultural landscapes are conceptualized today (Rowntree 1996, 137-138). Though contemporary landscape studies is a broad, rich, and multidisciplinary field, Wylie (2007) identifies major threads in this current work, including: landscape as text; memory, identity, conflict, and justice in landscape; the relationship between landscape, life, and law; landscape phenomenologies; hybrid geographies of culture-nature relations; and exploration of landscape through affect, presence, biography, and movement (188). Despite this broadening and deepening of landscape studies in geography, the Sauerian approach remains important to the topic of this thesis because the World Heritage Cultural Landscape category’s essence can be directly attributed to Sauerian cultural landscape. Therefore, in the following paragraphs, considering that contemporary World Heritage use of the term is at least imprinted with it, I explore some critiques of Sauer’s approach, which geographers and scholars from wider disciplines have scrutinized for its characteristics of superorganicism, focus on materiality, and tendency toward description rather than explanation.

Sauer focused on the material evidence of culture, cultural change, and distribution of cultures by examining, for example, architectural and agricultural practices to understand the morphology of a landscape, using the “nature + culture = cultural landscape” thesis central to his 1925 work. As geographers part of the “new cultural geography” became more interested in the intangible elements that make up cultures: shared cultural beliefs, rituals, and ideologies, Sauer’s descriptive, materially driven approach to understanding cultural landscapes fell short because it did not contribute to understanding or defining culture itself. This has been referred to as a ‘superorganic’ view of culture, where “culture is understood to be a uniform living entity independent of individual humans” (Wylie 2007, 28).

Duncan (1980) attributes the superorganicism evident in Sauer’s work to his academic lineage. Sauer studied in Germany for five years (Wylie 2007) and considered Ratzel to be “the father of cultural geography.” Herbert Spencer, who coined the term superorganic, influenced Ratzel’s work (Duncan 1980, 186). Subsequently, at Berkeley, Sauer was influenced by the work of anthropologists Kroeber and Lowie, who had been proponents of the superorganic view of culture within American anthropology (Sauer 1925). The problem with this ‘extreme’ point of view, as Duncan calls it, lies in its negligence of individual action and agency in producing and reproducing culture. It is an entirely holistic versus individualistic perspective. Culture is reified to the status of an entity that both “consists of the cultural or social facts that transcend the individual and at the same time mold his actions,” conceptualizing humans as agents carrying out the work of a given culture (Duncan 1980, 188). Wylie (2007) contends that superorganicism is problematic in three ways: 1) since culture is given, it is not subjected to “theoretical

scrutiny”; 2) “individuals are rendered passive and homogenous”; and 3) “a totalising and determinist concept of culture precludes in advance any critical consideration of issues of difference and conflict” (28). Mitchell (1995) has more recently provided a critical perspective on the view of culture as having ontological existence, arguing that there is no such thing as culture. He argues that “culture...comes to signify artificial distinctiveness where in reality there is always contest and flux. What gets called ‘culture’ is created through struggles by groups and individuals possessing radically different access to power” used for “defining and ordering” (108). Further, “the very idea of culture has been developed and deployed as a means of attempting to order, control, and define ‘others’ in the name of power or profit” (104). Mitchell thereby expands upon Wylie’s (2007) and Duncan’s (1980) critique of the superorganic view of culture to consider that not only does culture perhaps not exist as an ontological given, but that new cultural geographers would be well served to consider how the identification and delineation of different cultures is a process steeped in power and profit dynamics.

Consequently, Sauer’s contemporaries as well as subsequent cultural geographers have opined that his approach to cultural landscapes rendered them static and artefactual. This is tied to the material focus of Sauer’s landscape studies that, in critics’ eyes, overlooked social dimensions of culture to instead “catalogue and map cultural traits in the landscape (log buildings, barns, etc.)” leading to “a cultural geography that was able to *describe* but not *explain* landscape patterns” (Wylie 2007, 29). This focus on materiality was something that Sauer and Jackson had in common, in addition to their rejection of formal theory and approach to landscapes as practical rather than purely aesthetic (Wylie 2007, 43-44). However, whereas Sauer prioritized firsthand observation

and a commitment to empiricism, Jackson's interest in the vernacular was paired with symbolic, imaginative geographies tied to collective beliefs, which was "quintessentially humanistic, and it remains Jackson's most visible legacy..." (Wylie 2007, 46). These two basic components of cultural landscape studies in geography – material and symbolic culture – correspond with the World Heritage terms tangible and intangible heritage.

The cultural landscape concept remains ambiguous, used many different ways in various disciplines. Rowntree (1996) argues that this ambiguity is both one of the concept's weaknesses, echoing Hartshorne's (1939) critique, and a strength: "to some, the notion of cultural landscape is an appropriate bridge between space and society, culture and environment, while to others this definitional fluidity weakens the concept and disqualifies it from serious analytic usage" (127). The proliferation of the cultural landscape concept to multiple disciplines and its important role in geography speaks to the appeal of this concept as a way to understand the relationship of human cultures to our environments, as agents of change in our surroundings and natural environment (Rowntree 1996, 131). As Fowler (2003) acknowledges, scholars, practitioners, and managers have adopted and molded the cultural landscape concept into the World Heritage context over time. The World Heritage system has no doubt played a crucial role in this diffusion and application. While this study focuses on the World Heritage version of cultural landscape, its roots in geography tie it irrevocably to our discipline and therefore may provide additional insight for geographers into how, why, and with what consequence the concept is invoked.

2.5 The Nature-Culture Relationship

Since the initial adoption of the World Heritage Convention, there has been a distinct separation between people (culture) and environment (nature), with sites inscribed for natural values being evaluated by the IUCN, or cultural values with ICOMOS evaluation (Cameron 2014). As Taylor and Lennon (2011) put it, “Culture and nature were uneasy, sometimes suspicious, companions” stemming from an investment in the idea of a wilderness untrammelled by human influence. Geographers have long been interested in the relationship between humans and our environment. As illustrated above, the imprint of human culture upon landscapes is the precise focus of Sauerian and Jacksonian cultural landscapes, albeit with different foci and epistemological foundations. Castree (2005) expands on this relationship in *Nature*. He also examines how geography and geographers’ research have played an important role in crafting “nature imaginaries” through the production of expert knowledges. Significantly, Castree acknowledges that such imaginaries and knowledges are produced and reproduced in other arenas as well, for example: media, entertainment, tourism, the state, the private sector, and the non-governmental sector. Nature is conceptualized, encountered, and regulated in each of these areas, influencing how people collectively understand nature. Castree’s book is epistemologically focused; he argues “because knowledges of nature are not reducible to the ‘real’ nature they depict, it is essential to ask what authorises these knowledges and what sorts of realities they aim to altogether” (xxi)².

² Castree defines knowledge as “any form of understanding that can be articulated verbally, textually, or pictorially. In other words, knowledge is how we represent the world in which we live to both ourselves and to others” and acknowledges that it “can be modified over time and space.” He articulates the three major components of knowledge: it has a point (points) of origin – the institutions, person, or groups which promulgate a

Castree's genealogy of geographical inquiry into nature begins in the 19th century, when geography was made a university discipline. He begins with Halford Mackinder, who viewed geography as a discipline to bridge the gap between the natural sciences and humanities to explore the relationship between humans and environment. As continues to be the case, at that time, geography was diffuse, with geographers dabbling in many different disciplines, with the resulting claim that other disciplines could do everything geography could but in a more focused way. Mackinder, like many other geographers after him, desired a more cohesive identity for the discipline. William Morris Davis, a geomorphologist and contemporary of Mackinder, also viewed geography as a discipline through which to study the linkages between the physical environment and human society. The third major player in creating space for geography as a university discipline was Andrew John Herbertson. He focused on the influence of the physical environment on human society (as opposed to the relationship or mutual influence between the two). He was a proponent of the regional approach to studying geography, which characterized the discipline until the 20th century. Significantly, this approach was consistent with the colonial origins of geography in Britain. Castree argues that these three scholars were mainly responsible for defining geography as a university subject and creating its identity.

As a result of these overlapping but distinct interests, geography was stretched thin as a discipline prior to World War 2. Afterwards, however, a shift occurred in which

body of knowledge or knowledge claims, a referent (referents) – material things or other bodies of knowledge and an addressee (addressees) – intended audience for a representation (representations) of the world. He also addresses the important delineation between vernacular and expert knowledge, the latter usually possessing a degree of exclusivity (12-13).

two distinct branches emerged. Hartshorne first tried to define geography as “the study of areal differentiation,” a regionally focused approach distinctly focused on the particular rather than the universal or general. Fred Schaefer challenged Hartshorne’s regional approach, instead advocating for geography to be a spatial science, on par with chemistry or physics in the systematic, empirical, law-based approach to understanding processes occurring on the earth’s surface through a spatial lens. Physical geographers echoed this positivistic approach of inquiry as well. Human geography subsequently emerged as a subfield in the 1950s and 60s. Similar to physical geography, this human geography was defined by its spatial approach rather than a topical identity. Therefore, at that point, the discipline was not significantly divided, with most scholars using the scientific method and a commitment to discovering laws and developing theories that could be generalized (Castree 2005, 65-68).

Subsequently, in the 1970s, the divide between human and physical geography began to widen, separated by ontological distinctions between humans and the non-human environment. Behavioral geography, for example, studied humans, but “at a distance” – as spatial scientists, they used large, quantifiable data sets to study human decision-making. Humanistic geographers such as Yi-Fu Tuan, David Ley, and Edward Relph took a distinctly different approach to studying people, with a focus on meaning, values, and goals, which were referred to as “life-worlds”. This qualitative and hermeneutic approach further widened the divide between physical and human geography – although humanistic geography explored “human nature,” these scholars did not delve into non-human nature. Marxist geography, focused on the “social relationships specific to capitalism” through a structural lens, was similarly

anthropocentric. Castree (2005) explains this process as a “de-naturalisation” of geography that continued through the 1980s, qualifying that the exceptions to this process were resource geography, Sauerian landscape geography, and cultural ecology. In the 1990s, the tone of environmentalism shifted to focus on anthropogenic environmental change, taking a “de-naturalising turn,” where “many human geographers have looked at those things that are often *thought to be natural* and argued that they are, in fact, wholly or partly *social, cultural and economic*” (Castree 2005, 90; original emphasis). Ultimately, Castree argues, this inquiry demonstrates that “by exposing the social component of both ideas about nature and uses of it, 1990s human geographers influenced by postmodernism, post-structuralism, and post-colonialism were trying to ‘de-mystify’ collective understandings of the environment” (91-92). Since the early 2000s, a small number of geographers have begun to incorporate actor-network thinking, non-representational theory, process dialectics, and new ecology in their research; geographers with these approaches are characterized as relational thinkers, who “argue that phenomena do not have properties in themselves but only by virtue of their relationships with other phenomena” (Castree 2005, 224). Such relational approaches provide an opportunity to move away from an ontological separation of nature and culture that characterizes Western thinking. In the case of World Heritage associative cultural landscapes, where relational Indigenous thought systems are the centerpiece of the site’s inscription to the List as is the case with PMNM, it may be valuable to consider such relational approaches to analysis.

2.6 World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: Integrating Nature, Culture, and Communities

The World Heritage Committee adopted the cultural landscape designation in 1992 with a nod to the concept in geography, but the meaning and application of the term have evolved through its association and use in the World Heritage context (Fowler 2003). The new category was first included in the 1992 Operational Guidelines and remains unchanged in the 2013 version. Rössler (2014) includes the paragraph on cultural landscapes in her review of cultural landscapes in World Heritage from 1992-2002:

The term ‘cultural landscape’ embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment... Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of the natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature. Protection of cultural landscapes can contribute to modern techniques of sustainable land-use and can maintain or enhance natural values in the landscape. The continued existence of traditional forms of land-use supports biological diversity in many regions of the world. The protection of traditional cultural landscapes is therefore helpful in maintaining biological diversity (Rössler 2014, 31).

According to this description, cultural landscapes are an avenue for recognizing culture-nature relationships that have evolved over time and which are intrinsically linked to one other, identifying sustainable land (and marine) use systems that can educate the global community about such locally adapted systems, and promoting biodiversity by developing and maintaining these systems at local scales throughout the world.

The World Heritage Committee adopted three types of cultural landscapes in 1992:

- **Clearly defined landscape** designed and created intentionally by man,
- **Organically evolved landscape** including relict (fossil) landscapes and continuing landscape, and

- **Associative cultural landscape**, where “The inclusion 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” (Rössler 2014, 32).

PMNM is inscribed as an associative cultural landscape. This category of cultural landscapes specifically holds Indigenous peoples and local communities’ relationships to place as a central focus; these place relationships are also the central focus of intangible heritage values (Taylor et al. 2014, 7). Millar (2006) provides perspective on the significance of intangible heritage values, which is directly related to more widespread participation in the World Heritage process by local people, businesses, and other non-governmental groups. Prior to the early 2000s, only governments, conservation experts, and local authorities were able to garner any sort of clout within the World Heritage context; the rise of intangible heritage, she argues, assisted in the re-centering of ‘people’ in the World Heritage debate, as intangible heritage is directly attributed to people and communities. One of the challenges faced in expressing intangible heritage to tourists is its complexity, making it more difficult to convey than tangible heritage values.

In addition to being nominated as an associative cultural landscape, PMNM is inscribed as a mixed site. Rössler differentiates between cultural landscapes and mixed sites: “A World Heritage cultural landscape is a site where the interaction between people and their environment is considered to be of outstanding universal value. A mixed site is a place where cultural values and natural values are to be considered as being of outstanding universal value” (32). Therefore, the difference between mixed sites and cultural landscapes lies in the *relationship* between culture and the natural environment: at a mixed site, the relationship between natural values and cultural values may not be

elaborated, whereas in cultural landscapes, value is directly derived from the human-environment relationship. Rössler (2014) elaborates: “Most cultural landscapes clearly reflect natural values, but they are often not recognized as being of outstanding universal value, except if such a site has been nominated and evaluated and then inscribed by the Committee as a mixed site. In a few cases, a renomination has been requested by communities and stakeholders who wanted their cultural values to be recognized, as was the case for Tongariro National Park in New Zealand..., Uluru-Kata Tjuta in Australia..., and St Kilda” (33). Additionally, it is possible for a cultural landscape to not be inscribed under cultural or mixed criteria as well as a cultural landscape, but it is not possible for a cultural landscape to be a “natural” cultural landscape.

While the Operational Guidelines document is constantly changing to reflect the evolution of World Heritage, important changes post-1992 are: the inclusion of sustainable land use and subsequently sustainable development with a focus on the role of local communities, the recognition of traditional management and customary law recognized in 1992 for cultural landscapes but later, in 1998, for natural heritage (Rössler 2014, 33). Additionally, the 2005 Operational Guidelines combine cultural and natural inscription criteria into one set of 10 items as opposed to the previous separate lists, demonstrating a shift in World Heritage discourse related to the relationship between nature and culture (Taylor & Lennon 2011, 538).

Cameron (2014) identifies three major challenges for implementing the World Heritage Convention in the context of cultural landscapes: a) scale – large properties are being nominated that encompass multiple values, creating questions of “effective conservation, buffer zone management and visual integrity; b) protected areas – “The

1992 cultural landscapes definition and categories made it possible for many heritage sites that represent the interaction of people and nature to be considered for World Heritage designation. But it is still difficult to bridge the culture-nature divide in large protected natural areas inhabited by groups of people, often indigenous populations...” (69); and c) the evaluation process – ICOMOS and IUCN still carry out separate evaluations for the cultural and natural values of sites, further entrenching the nature-culture divide rather than a continuum, the latter being a specific aim of the cultural landscapes designation. In reference to protected areas, Cameron argues that “Large inhabited natural areas with intangible cultural values do not necessarily fit the World Heritage requirements for selectivity and exceptionality and thereby run the risk of being excluded from the protection afforded by this international treaty” (70). As discussed in previous sections, the identification, nomination, and inscription of World Heritage sites is complex; here, Cameron acknowledges the additional challenges and complexities associated with cultural landscapes as a particular type of World Heritage site which are grounded in intangible heritage values and aim to address the nature-culture divide, with perhaps varied degrees of success.

Ultimately, however, cultural landscapes do present an opportunity to explore relationships between Indigenous peoples, local communities, and land/sea that have developed over time; rather than focusing on only natural or only cultural values, the PMNM mixed associative cultural landscape would, in theory, allow for a more holistic view of the natural and cultural values of a site contextualized in place and centering Native Hawaiians’ role in nomination and management of the site. While these values have been addressed in the literature at the theoretical level as well as the pragmatic level

regarding management of sites, there are currently few studies of the nomination dossiers themselves. Labadi (2007) conducted a survey of 106 sites' nomination dossiers, illuminating "representations of the nation and cultural diversity" in these documents. Palmer (2016) conducted a case study of Uluru-Kata Tjuta using Actor-Network Theory (ANT). This descriptive study therefore fills a gap in the literature by focusing specifically on the PMNM nomination as a case study. It also contributes to the literature on World Heritage cultural landscapes by exploring emergent themes relevant to the goals of creating the cultural landscape category including the inclusion, exclusion, and representation of Native Hawaiians as well as the representation of the relationship between nature and culture as presented in the dossier and supplementary documents.

CHAPTER 3. DATA AND METHODS

3.1 Data Sources and Research Questions

Nomination packets, or dossiers, are essential to sites' inscription to the World Heritage List. Labadi (2007) succinctly summarizes their role in the inscription process and the World Heritage Convention as a whole:

...States Parties ... submit nomination dossiers, which are arguably the most important and comprehensive documents that States Parties have to prepare in their implementation of this Convention. Indeed, these documents 'should provide all the information to demonstrate that the property is truly of "outstanding universal value"' and should be included on the List ... These dossiers are official documents that are written by diverse actors, from national or international civil servants to consultants or academics, but these texts have to be endorsed and signed by an official representative of the State Party and then submitted to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre located in Paris, France (Labadi 2007, 154).

Despite this significance, aside from Labadi (2007) and Palmer (2016), researchers have, generally speaking, not focused specifically on nomination dossiers as a source of data, making methodological templates for analysis of nominations limited. I therefore took a mixed approach to analyzing the PMNM nomination that is both inductive and deductive, where World Heritage and cultural landscapes literature influenced the topics I focused on, but I did not apply a specific theoretical framework or lens, instead allowing themes and relationships between these themes to emerge from the data through a process of open coding described below. It was not until the first phase of open coding was complete, for example, that the focus on Native Hawaiians' representation emerged as an interesting and important lens through which to try to weave the nomination and supplementary documents together. While I, as the researcher, was certainly influenced by the work outlined in the above literature review, the themes I focus on in the results, as well as the relationship between them, emerged

during the coding process. For example, although I was interested in the nature-culture relationship and how it is represented in the nomination dossiers of cultural landscapes, it was not until I noticed repeated reference to pristine nature that I began to build upon this theme and consider the relationship of this idea to the research questions.

My original research question was:

1) What are the contents of this nomination dossier and its associated documents? How do these documents portray and involve Indigenous and local communities, scientific conservation, approaches to management, nature, and culture?

The research questions that developed throughout the nomination document analysis and became the lens through which I analyzed the supplementary documents were:

2) How are Native Hawaiians included in/excluded from the nomination dossier?

3) How are Native Hawaiians represented in the nomination dossier?

This research incorporates data from two different archives: the UNESCO archives, located in the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, France, and the ICOMOS archives, located in the ICOMOS headquarters in Charenton le Pont, France. The State Party nominating a site submits the nomination to UNESCO. These nominations are meant to provide a complete, well-rounded understanding of the site and justification for its nomination to be evaluated by various organizations and, ultimately, the World Heritage Committee. The site is first identified, including maps to delineate the boundaries and location of the property. Descriptions of important natural features and history and/or an account of the cultural features and history contained within the site are followed by a justification of the site as worthy for inscription on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2013). All dossiers also contain a plan of management (POM). They also

contain supplementary materials such as tourism pamphlets and brochures, books, and other materials deemed relevant to the site's nomination by the nominating party. These dossiers are housed in the main UNESCO archive.

The archive is connected to the UNESCO headquarters library. In order to access the library and archives, checking in with the front desk and temporarily trading one's passport for a researcher badge is required, as entering the UNESCO headquarters is restricted to employees and associates. Researchers working in the archives are allowed to work in the library during library hours as well as the archives themselves, a separate room, during restricted hours. It is therefore necessary to determine which dossiers one needs the day prior and submit a request for those. The archivists set out all of the dossiers for the next day on a table in the library for researchers who work before they arrive. I obtained the second data source used in this thesis research at the ICOMOS archive, located in the ICOMOS headquarters. Like the UNESCO archives, these are restricted to pre-arranged visits and require planning in advance to request the appropriate dossiers. The data I collected here pertained to the advisory bodies ICOMOS and IUCN including correspondence between the State Party (The United States), ICOMOS and the IUCN, and the World Heritage Centre regarding the site and, more specifically, the NaKoa/Koani petition against the nomination as well as a copy of the petition materials. A description of the contents of the PMNM dossier follows in the results section.

Conducting analysis on text alone has its limitations, as does any form of research. Jones (2003) reflects that all narratives are shaped by the researcher's filter—they are "necessarily selective." In the context of this study, this idea applies in two ways: 1) the data source, methods of analysis, and writing of results are shaped by my

own interests and goals as a researcher, and 2) the nomination dossier is the product of multiple individuals employed by various organizations connected to the site and is therefore filtered through these writers' perspectives and strategic objective, which is to have the site inscribed to the World Heritage List as a result of this nomination. The dossier is presented as a cohesive, unproblematic description of the site and its merits, legitimized through the institutional networks to which it is connected, including: The Department of Commerce (DOC) through the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the Department of the Interior (DOI) through the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS), and State of Hawai'i through the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR). Further, there is no opportunity to follow-up with authors of these documents, unlike with interview and ethnographical methods, and the site's recent date of inscription (2010) limits public availability of documents.

Archival data sources are wrapped up in power relationships in two major ways: first, documents written for, and housed in, governmental departments are "made and used in accordance with organizational routines, and depend for their intelligibility on shared cultural assumptions. More politically, archives can also be thought of as an integral part of the apparatus of modern government..." (Hannam 2002, 113). Further, Hannam argues, archived documents are given a privileged status, and although the anonymity of authorship tends to lend archives an objective, factual status, archival documents are products of culturally partial ways of ordering knowledge (Hannam 2002, 114). Further, different information was available at the ICOMOS archives than was available at the UNESCO headquarters, the former significantly altering the trajectory of my study by making the objection and correspondence letters available.

Archival sources are a category of primary sources – “non-current records of government departments held in public archives” (Roche 2005, 134). Roche (2005) advocates for approaching archival research by first conducting in-depth reading of scholarship surrounding the topic but maintaining “an openness to discovery” (135). For this study, the archival research process was streamlined in that most of the dossier and supplementary documents were available on CDs I was able to download to my computer. At the ICOMOS archives, the available disc only contained information from a portion of the available data. I recorded the rest by photographing each page for later analysis. Generally, the first phases of archival research process Roche (2005) outlines were similar to my experience: 1) contact archivists at the organization to notify them of your visit and describe the general aims of the project; 2) make requests for delivery of dossiers in advance, as hours are restricted and files are not freely accessible. The ability to photograph and download each page of the nomination dossier and ICOMOS files made the need to selectively choose sources throughout the data collection process much less pronounced.

3.2 Document Analysis Methods

The data itself and the types of questions that could be asked of the nomination and supplementary documents drove the methods of analysis employed in this research. Further, in my view, the complexity of the case required a complex approach to analysis. The nomination document itself was subjected to the question: How are Native Hawaiians represented in the nomination? This required methods of textual analysis. I approached the management plan, advisory body evaluations, and ICOMOS documents using Roche’s (2005) methods to combine the emergent themes from the nomination

document with these supplementary data sources to explore how Native Hawaiians are included and excluded from the nomination. Influenced by my advisor, Dr. Mark Palmer's, work (Palmer 2016), I also conducted preliminary analysis using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a heuristic tool to understand the institutional and management structure of the site and accountable actors. Actors are those afforded authorship power based on their position within this institutional structure. I followed Martin (2010) to "trace," or identify, these actors and organizational relationships laid out in the nomination and Monument Management Plan (MMP) for PMNM, to identify how this network includes and excludes Native Hawaiians from the nomination and management of the site.

Hannam (2002) helps make sense of the process of "coping with archival and textual data" by advocating for the following steps for "extracting the most pertinent or valuable material for the aims of their investigation," which are informed by a subjective and creative selection process where "researchers are actively making sense of the material based upon the knowledge they have built up doing other reading and research" (189):

Usually researchers have a specific question or problem in mind which has been prompted by secondary sources, and this will determine the selection of material by establishing the researcher's criteria for relevance... most researchers will hopefully lie somewhere between these two extremes. They will have well-formulated theoretical questions in mind but will allow the material itself to suggest new, alternative lines of enquiry... (Hannam 2003, 190).

This was definitely the case for my data collection and research question formation process. I decided to conduct an archival case study on a World Heritage cultural landscape prior to visiting the archives resulting from the research and aims of creating

the category. However, it was not until I visited the UNESCO archives and determined that the clarity and extensive amount of data available for the PMNM site that it became the main focus of my research; the choice to study Native Hawaiian inclusion and exclusion in the nomination process in particular was subsequently solidified when I visited the ICOMOS archive and discovered the NaKoa/Koani objection petition and related correspondence letters between NaKoa/Koani, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, and the United States Co-Trustees responsible for the nomination. The groundwork for this decision was formed through previous research, but the focus crystallized after visiting the archives and identifying important themes that could be explored through the data sources available to me. However, as my study developed, I continued to record and consider other relevant theoretical questions involving the relationship between nature and culture, the legal and management framework within which the site was nominated and is managed, the relationship between the local-national-global scales, and the role of various debates within the World Heritage literature regarding Eurocentrism and the role of tangible and intangible heritage. I also attempted to, as Hannam states, “allow the material itself to suggest new, alternative lines of enquiry” (190).

My approach to the data combined Hannam’s (2002) description of textual analysis methods, which involves

...going slowly and thoroughly through the material a line or sentence at a time and attempting to think about what was meant and why. The material is then open coded, i.e. as ideas emerge they are written down alongside the text itself... As the themes accumulate they will hopefully spark off more theoretical ideas which can be followed up later. The notes are then formalized into categories or codes... This is an iterative process in that some of the codes will break down when it is found that a particular pile

of material contains significant differences and needs to be recoded in more detail (193).

with Cope's (2005) explanation of coding in qualitative research. Coding serves three purposes: "data reduction, organization and the creation of searching aids, and analysis" (225). Cope advocates for beginning with a set of the most important themes, adding to and dividing them as the data guides the relevance of these themes. She differentiates between "descriptive & category codes" and "analytic codes & themes" (229), the latter often being established later in the analysis process, but not always. Citing Anselm Strauss, one of the founders of grounded theory, she pinpoints 4 types of themes: conditions, interactions among actors, strategies and tactics, and consequences. Cope further expands this to include meanings, processes, and definitions. After establishing a list of codes and themes, Cope then emphasizes the importance of revisiting the data to "capture connections that may have been missed the first (or second, or third) time around" (237). It was during this process of revisiting the data that the themes addressed in the following results, particularly with regard to the conceptualization and representation of a pristine nature and Native Hawaiian culture, that these ideas began to coalesce.

I also incorporated Roche's (2005) archival research methods to integrate the supplementary documents into my analysis. Roche provides two strategies for approaching archival materials: a) topically, noting specific details and referencing quotations, and b) chronologically, recording pertinent information from each file, then identifying common themes between the files that emerge (139). My approach more closely resembled the former, as my investigation of the ICOMOS files and the plan of management was influenced by themes that emerged as I analyzed the nomination

document, also augmenting my understanding of those themes. The use of exemplars in my results section also aligns with this approach of noting details and referencing specific quotations.

A summary of the steps I took in this mixed approach to analysis is as follows:

1. Read through nomination document line-by-line, making notes in the margins about key ideas pertaining to the research questions: How are Native Hawaiians included and/or excluded from the nomination; How is Native Hawaiian knowledge and connection to PMNM represented; How is scientific knowledge represented; What is the relationship between nature and culture presented by this text? This is called open coding: “as ideas emerge they are written down alongside the text itself” (Hannam 2002, 193) as opposed to a theoretical framework determining how the data is coded.
2. Trace nomination document and MMP to identify accountable actors and institutional structure whose authorship/management power is explicitly stated in these documents.
3. Upload PMNM nomination document to NVivo coding software; enter strong/salient codes and themes identified in open-coding process above as potential categories in which to categorize text.
4. Re-read nomination document line-by-line a second time, sorting text based on both pre-established categories and developing new codes and categories pertinent to research questions but not adequately conveyed by existing codes; for example, I developed an “Anthropogenic perturbations” code as there were repeated references to negative human impacts on natural resources in the

Monument. Using phrases directly from the data as codes is called “in vivo” coding (Cope 2005, 224).

5. After the entire document has been coded, coalesce categories into themes: for example, three strong categories that emerged were related to knowledge production, Native Hawaiian knowledge, and scientific knowledge. Another category included a “value” category, a “nature-culture relationship” category, and a “resources” category, which I realized were connected to another code called “pristine nature” – I titled the category “pristine nature” because quotations that expressed value, the nature-culture relationship, and understanding of resources had in common a view, and value of, an idea of pristine nature.
6. Revisit categories and codes with few ; consider whether this category is significant, or if the code reflects a concept or theme expressed by another category – if the former is the case, retain category; if the latter is the case, re-code into other category and delete former.
7. Combine categories into larger themes; consider relationships between the categories as well as individual statements to the categories and themes.
8. Topically explore secondary documents including MMP, objection petition, and correspondence letters, identifying how this correspondence and objection supports, augments, or contradicts the findings from the nomination document.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

4.1 The Papāhānaumokuākea Nomination Dossier & Supplementary Documents

The nomination dossier for PMNM is comprised of several sections. First, the main nomination document itself includes an Executive Summary, Introduction, and nine chapters, totaling 296 pages. Nomination dossiers in the UNESCO archives are contained in cardboard boxes listing the site name and number; PMNM’s file contains both a hard copy of the nomination and a CD. Figure 1 shows this file as well as pages from the nomination representative of the document’s aesthetic:



Fig. 1. PMNM file in the UNESCO library and pages from the PMNM nomination.

As stated in the 2005 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, the nomination “The nomination document is the primary basis on which the Committee considers the inscription of the properties on the World Heritage List. All relevant information should be included in the nomination document and it should be cross- referenced to the source of information” (UNESCO 2005, 29). This document is a textual and cartographic description of PMNM and a justification for its inclusion on the World Heritage List. Second, all nominations include management plans; the PMNM Monument Management Plan (MMP) serves as a management guide for at least 15 years following inscription. It is comprised of 5 volumes: “Management Plan” of 411 pages, “Environmental Assessment” of 477 pages, “Appendices” of 263 pages, “Midway Conceptual Site Plan” of 87 pages, and “Response to Comments” of 596 pages.

These documents are accompanied by Appendices A-P, which are supplementary documents detailing the registration on the National Historic Register for islands Nihoa and Mokumanana (Necker) Island, the 1993 U.S. Congress Apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, a summary of submerged historic resources (i.e. shipwrecks) on the property, protocols related to endangered species and disease quarantine protocols, international legal measures relevant to PMNM, federal legal measures and laws relevant to PMNM including the Executive Orders which established protected area status, state legal measures, Hawaii revised Statutes, a restoration plan for Laysan Island, a Midway Visitor Plan, conservation plans for various target species, emergency plans, newsletters, cultural handouts, a recording of the PMNM *mele*, and photograph files. GIS data and

cartographer information is also included in the dossier as well as a copy of advisory body evaluations. The PMNM dossier is on the larger end of the spectrum in comparison to other dossiers I saw during my time at the UNESCO archives.

World Heritage dossiers appear to be partial archives, varying slightly from organization to organization. For example, the ICOMOS archives house additional information related to the nomination not available in the UNESCO archives. This file includes letters of correspondence between the United States Permanent Delegate to UNESCO, the Director of the World Heritage Centre, the United States National Parks Service, the Chief Clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and letters from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in response to the NaKoa Ikaika KaLahui Hawaii and Koani Foundation's objection to the nomination of PMNM, which is also included in this archive.

4.2 Inclusion, Exclusion, and Representation of Native Hawaiians

In exploring and describing how Native Hawaiians included in and excluded from the Nomination of PMNM as well as how Native Hawaiians are represented in these documents, I identify 4 major components of my answer to these questions: PMNM's institutional and management structure, the NaKoa/Koani objection to the nomination, the representation of Native Hawaiians as a homogeneous group to justify conservation approaches underscored by a value of pristine nature, and attempts at combining knowledge systems for both the nomination and management of the site.

4.2.1 Accountable Actors, Institutional and Management Structure

One of the preliminary phases of analysis that proved extremely illuminating was tracing the institutional and management structure of PMNM, which involved

identification of the accountable actors – individuals responsible for creating the nomination and management plan that have the power to include, exclude, and represent Native Hawaiians – both explicitly addressed as authors of the documents as well as those granted authorship power through institutional and management networks. The nomination document is a description of PMNM and a justification for its inclusion on the World Heritage List. It is a textual construction of the cultural landscape of PMNM, with information the authors deem necessary to convey the site’s cultural and natural values. The nomination was prepared by:

- Athline M. Clark, **State Co-Manager**, PMNM
- Wayne Haight, State Office PMNM
- Janna Shackeroff, Ph.D., NOAA Office of National Marine Sanctuaries (ONMS) PMNM
- Employees of the **State of Hawai’i** in the Division of Aquatic Resources and the State Office PMNM
- Employees of the **Office of Hawaiian Affairs** including Native Rights Lead Advocate and Native Rights Policy Advocate
- Employees of **NOAA ONMS PMNM**, including the NOAA Superintendent, Special Projects Coordinator, Data Information Coordinator, Research Logistics Coordinator, Constituency Advocate, and Maritime Archaeologies; a Regional Maritime Archaeologist with the ONMS Regional Office; NOAA Office of the General Council employees in the International Programs Office and Office of National Marine Sanctuaries
- Employees of the **U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service**, including Chief of External Affairs, Refuges Program Biologists, Pacific Regional Office Archaeologist, and Midway Atoll National Wildlife Refuge (NWR) Biologist
- An Archaeologist/Anthropologist with **Bishop Museum**
- The **Kamehameha Schools** Land Assets Division Cultural Assets Manager
- Reviewers: The U.S. National Park Service (NPS) Office of International Affairs, NOAA/National Marine Fisheries Service, a Charles Latrobe Research Fellow, a U.S. Department of State Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs Diplomacy Fellow, the retired NPS Regional Director, a retired NPS Ecologist, an employee of the U.S. Geological Survey Hawaii Volcanoes Observatory, and two Native Hawaiian Cultural Practitioners (UNESCO 2009, 264).

These are the explicitly defined accountable actors in the nomination, granted authorship power through their positions of leadership and management of PMNM.

The site is subject to layers of international, federal, and state legal measures. At the Federal level, PMNM has been designated a variety of types of protected areas over time:

- 1909: President Roosevelt designates the islets and reefs a preserve for native birds (except Midway Atoll)
- 1940: The area is named the Hawaiian Islands National Wildlife Refuge
- 1988: “overlay” national wildlife refuge Midway Atoll National Wildlife Refuge (MANWR) created
- 2000: Battle of Midway National Memorial designated within MANWR
- 2000: Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI) Coral Reef Ecosystem Reserve established (finalized in 2001, with the outer boundary nearly the same as PMNM’s boundary)
- 2006: Northwestern Hawaiian Islands Marine National Monument established through Presidential Proclamation
- 2008: International Marine Organization (IMO) develops regulations for ship reporting within NWHI boundaries (PMNM 2009,180-82).

The establishment of the site as a Marine National Monument was the direct precursor to the site’s nomination to the World Heritage List. Regarding the establishment of NWHI, President George W. Bush stated that

‘Our duty is to use the land and seas wisely, or sometimes not use them at all. Good stewardship of the environment is not just a personal responsibility, it is a public value,’ said the President in his proclamation speech explaining why it was necessary to close off such a large area for the sake of conservation (PMNM 2009, 16).

Additionally, in a section titled “Overview of the Proclamation,” the following items are listed as a summary of the goals of the national monument:

- Prohibit unauthorized access to the monument;
- Provide for carefully regulated educational and scientific activities;
- Preserve access for Native Hawaiian cultural activities;

- Enhance visitation in a special area around Midway Atoll;
- Phase out commercial fishing over a 5 year period; and
- Ban other types of resource extraction and dumping of waste (PMNM 2009, 17).

This list of goals, as well as President Bush’s statement, indicates that the original intention behind designation of the monument was mainly oriented toward nature conservation and research, with a focus on restricting access and use of resources to embody “good stewardship” for public value. Native Hawaiians are included here, with a major goal of the national monument being to preserve access for Native Hawaiians. Previously, when the site was designated the NWHI Coral Reef Ecosystem Reserve in 2000, it was also required that “Native Hawaiians, among others, provide advice regarding management of the Reserve and ensuring the continuance of Native Hawaiian practices... through provisions allowing for ‘culturally significant, noncommercial subsistence, cultural, and religious uses’” (PMNM 2008, 279). These statements throughout the nomination and management plan indicate that Native Hawaiian involvement in the site to build and maintain connections to PMNM through cultural activities is a priority. Further, three seats on the Reserve Advisory Council (RAC) were set aside for Native Hawaiians, and a grant to the University of Hawaii’s

Kamakakuokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies enabled

Native Hawaiians to develop the content of NOAA’s report on the cultural history of the NWHI from an indigenous point of view. The grant also convened key Native Hawaiian community members for a two-day planning session to make recommendations about future research, educational, and cultural activities that should be made available to Native Hawaiians and others to ensure a strong cultural link in the planning and management of the Reserve... (PMNM 2008, 279).

Setting aside seats on the RAC included Native Hawaiians in the management structure, and this grant specifically enrolls Native Hawaiians in the planning process, setting up

their inclusion in management processes for the future.

In 2006, State of Hawai'i Governor Linda Lingle, United States Secretary of Commerce Carlos M. Gutierrez, and United States Secretary of the Interior Dirk Kempthorne signed a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) to coordinate management of all lands and waters within the boundaries of PMNM; it also established responsibility of the three Co-Trustees: the State of Hawai'i DLNR, the U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI) FWS, and the U.S. Department of Commerce (DOC) NOAA (PMNM 2008, ES2). These three Co-Trustees wrote letters of support for nomination, which are the first three documents in the nomination. They are also in charge of issuing permits to visitors, a process which is highly controlled and monitored. The Co-Trustees have an ability to control key components of both nomination and management processes via formal legal relationships. The \$34-50 million annual budget for the PMNM is mainly procured through the Co-Trustee agencies, with \$7.1 million coming from the ONMS, \$6.8 million from the FWS (roughly half of this amount goes to the management of Midway Atoll), and \$462,000 from the State of Hawai'i (via staffing and resources). NOAA's National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) also contributes to the annual budget, but information provided in the dossier is only for the total annual budget of all of the organization's programs. The rest of the annual budget is mainly allocated to management and operations and is covered by the NOAA Office of Law Enforcement, FWS Refuge Law Enforcement, the Coast Guard (USCG), the University of Hawai'i Undersea Research Lab (via National Science Foundation Grants, the NOAA Ocean Exploration Program, and the NOAA Undersea Research Center), and the Hawai'i Institute of Marine Biology (PMNM 2009, 202-203). The Co-Trustees must authorize all of these research and

management endeavors via the strict permitting system. The MOA also created the institutional framework for site management via the MMB, which is the network of field staff responsible for day-to-day operations of the site (PMNM 2008, 89). It also established the Senior Executive Board (SEB), which is comprised of a senior-level representative from the DOC, DOI, and DLNR who collectively provide “policy guidance” to the MMB, especially related to the development of the management plan. Additionally, the Co-Trustees authorized the establishment of the Papahānaumokuākea Interagency Coordinating Committee (ICC), which is comprised of representatives from the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), Department of Defense (DOD), USCG, and Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to facilitate management as an extension of the Monument Management Board (MMB) (PMNM 2008, 89). While the MMB adds strength to pre-enrolled actors in the network through various agencies under the Co-Trustees, the ICC enrolls other actors in the context of managing the property.

Native Hawaiians are integrated in this institutional framework in two major capacities. First, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) is “a trust agency established by the Hawai’i State Constitution and mandated by Hawai’i statutes to work for the betterment of Native Hawaiians” (OHA 2010a, 1) by assuring “the perpetuation of Hawaiian cultural resources in the Monument, including the customary and traditional rights and practices of Native Hawaiians exercised for subsistence, cultural, and religious purposes...” (PMNM 2008, Note to Reviewers). The State of Hawai’i Historic Preservation Division (HPD) plays a role in this arena by ensuring that Native Hawaiian cultural and historic sites are preserved (PMNM 2008, 87) via the Native Hawaiian Preservation Act (NHPA). This act legally binds the OHA and HPD to the network: “co-

trustees must consult with the State Historic Preservation Division, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA)... to ensure that Native Hawaiians have appropriate access...” (PMNM 2009, 189), though “appropriate access” is not specifically defined. In addition, OHA staff serve on the MMB. The OHA possesses a significant amount of influence through its connection to the MMB. However, the other Co-Trustee agencies are integrated in this institutional framework through a far greater number of agencies that are all focused on the site’s natural values. The ICOMOS evaluation of Papahānaumokuākea acknowledges this dynamic as well:

The three management Agencies are the US Fish and Wildlife Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and the State of Hawaii Department of Land and natural Resources – all primarily ‘natural’ agencies. For historical reasons, cultural heritage has only recently been elevated to a similar level of significance and importance as natural heritage in the property (UNESCO 2009, 36).

Second, the MMP acknowledges that:

Strategies will be developed to involve the Native Hawaiian community in the management of the Monument not only because of strong public support, but also because of the mandates of the Office of National Marine Sanctuaries to protect biological and cultural resources in the areas it manages, of the FWS to preserve historic sites as well as conserve and promote wildlife and their habitat, and of the State [of Hawai’i] to protect ceded lands and the rights of Native Hawaiians (PMNM 2008, 280).

While the ONMS and FWS are focused on natural and cultural resources, the State of Hawai’i exclusively is responsible for ensuring that Native Hawaiians’ rights to access are acknowledged; this difference in focus is another layer of the PMNM management structure which may influence Native Hawaiian inclusion and/or exclusion. Figure 2 expresses the foci of the three agencies, the Office of National Marine Sanctuaries through NOAA, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and the State of Hawai’i.

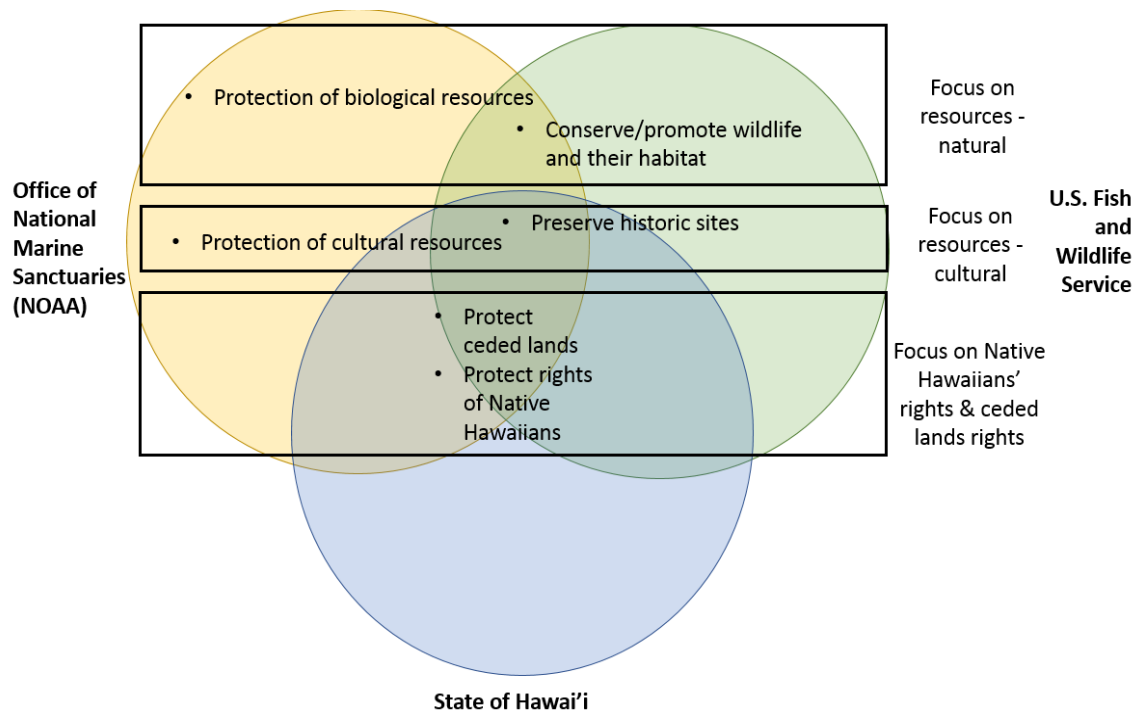


Fig. 2. Management agency priorities and Native Hawaiian community involvement.

While these agencies' foci overlap in regard to Native Hawaiian involvement of the site, as evidenced by the center section of the diagram, the State of Hawai'i focuses on Native Hawaiians' rights and protection of ceded lands and the FWS and NOAA are focused on natural and cultural/historical resources. For NOAA and FWS, Native Hawaiians are involved in the site on the basis of their contribution of associated cultural and historical resources and, to a lesser degree, contributions to the management of natural resources; it is only the State of Hawai'i which explicitly is focused on maintaining the rights of Native Hawaiians in the context of the management of PMNM.

4.2.2 The Objection

In the months leading up to the July 2010 World Heritage Committee meeting in Brazil, NaKoa Ikaika KaLahui Hawaii and the Koani Foundation filed a formal petition in opposition to the site's nomination:

...on two grounds: 1) the NWHI Monument is part of the Ceded Lands Trust created as part of the Hawaii Statehood Compact “for the betterment of conditions of native Hawaiians”. It is a trust asset which the state of Hawaii manages pursuant to strict fiduciary responsibilities which are constitutionally prescribed, and which have been the subject of significant statutory and juridical interpretation; 2) NaKoa/Koani also object as traditional owners of the NWHI with human rights to the lands, territories and resources which comprise the ‘Monument’ and which were “federalized” by Presidential Proclamation of George W. Bush in 2006 to facilitate the nomination. In the process, Native Hawaiian human rights and beneficiary rights and entitlements to their trust lands have been terminated. For example, sustenance fishing is now only allowed to fishermen as long as they agree not to bring home fish for their families! In addition, the Bush Proclamation exempted all US Military activities in the Monument from the requirements of federal environmental law. These uses include military maneuvers and missile launching which petitioners do not support as part of the Conservation Management plan under WHC guidelines (NaKoa 2010, 1).

The petitioners also objected to exclusionary consultation processes, NOAA’s permission of “extraction research” which was part of “ongoing State Court Litigation,” the use of the name Papahānaumokuākea as Native Hawaiian cultural and intellectual property, exclusion of the broader community from IUCN and ICOMOS evaluation processes, and finally an opposition to the World Heritage Centre’s regional scale Pacific Action Plan (NaKoa 2010, 1-3).

Following this statement, the groups recommended that: a) the nomination be deferred and that the Obama administration convene with petitioners to resolve the aforementioned issues and that UNESCO, the WHC, and advisory bodies ICOMOS and IUCN send representatives to a NaKoa/Koani consultation in Hawaii; b) a working group including UN Special Rapporteur James Anaya and experts from the Pacific as well as representatives of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues be created to address alleged violations of rights established by UNDRIP; and c) the Pacific Action Plan be

deferred until a policy on indigenous peoples is established including consultation with “all indigenous Pacific Peoples” (NaKoa 2010, 3).

The petitioners held that the nomination decision and process were inherently exclusionary because the “participation of a few individuals who were federal advisors and in some cases federal employees, and paid contractors” (NaKoa 2010, 2) does not constitute involvement of all of the beneficiaries of the Ceded Lands Trust, which is meant to promote betterment for conditions for all Native Hawaiians. Further, the petitioners claimed that

There is no criterion established for persons designated by the USNOAA as ‘Cultural Advisors’, nor is there any standard for determining how these people assess applications for cultural permits under the USA ‘Pono’ Rule. Meetings of these people are not publicly noticed, nor is there a regular record kept of the deliberations of the Cultural Working Group, and who actually attends. What is known about this group is that they have approved several permits for themselves (NaKoa 2010, 23).

What this objection seems to point out is that, although members of the Native Hawaiian community were definitely involved in the nomination process, this involvement may have been limited to certain individuals as opposed to a wider consultation process. The MMP corroborates this idea that involvement may have been selective:

Many Native Hawaiians remain unaware of efforts under way to protect the NWHI through management of the Monument. Although several prominent members of the Native Hawaiian community have been involved in the management and implementation of the Reserve, many others should be engaged, in part by working more closely with Native Hawaiian institutions (PMNM 2008, 279; emphasis added).

Although Native Hawaiians have been involved in the management of the site since its designation as an ecosystem reserve in 2000, it is important to consider the scope of this inclusion as well as the types of institutions that are involved – this affects to what degree members of the wider Native Hawaiian community are able to engage in the nomination

process as opposed to a more selective inclusivity, whether intentional or accidental.

In response to World Heritage Centre Director Francesco Bandarin's request for comment on the objection in May 2010, the DOI's Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks asserted that

Throughout the process leading up to the creation of the Monument and its nomination to the World Heritage List, it has been one of our highest priorities to incorporate the Native Hawaiian culture and history into the telling of the area's story and its on-going management. We do this in recognition that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices, contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment (DOI 2010, 1).

The secretary also attached a copy of the OHA's "Documentation of Consultation and Engagement with Native Hawaiians: Papāhanaumokuākea Marine National Monument." This document outlines Native Hawaiian engagement with the monument from 1997, when members of Hui Malama I Na Kupuna O Hawai'i Nei reinterred ancestral remains that had been taken to Bishop Museum in 1923, to 2000, when then-President Bill Clinton established the NWHI through an Executive Order, through following years of decision making regarding fishing practices and addressing Native Hawaiian cultural significance of the area, to 2003, when the Polynesian Voyaging Society reestablished its connection with Nihoa for the cultural practice of long-distance voyaging, to a discussion of establishing a marine refuge in 2004 and finally the creation of the refuge in a public meeting in 2005. Throughout this timeline, opportunities to attend public meetings and submit testimonies are outlined in addition to various consultations regarding the management of the site including a series of 10 public meetings held about the Draft Monument Management Plan in 2008. When the topic of World Heritage designation specifically was addressed in these meetings,

... it became clear to OHA staff that if a World Heritage application went forward, *as the Governor of Hawai'i had committed that it would*, the Native Hawaiian community should decide whether or not it wanted the application to include cultural resources values as well as natural resources. The sacredness and significance of Papāhanaumokuākea warranted that question being asked (OHA 2010b, 7; emphasis added).

This paragraph is followed by documentation of consultation with:

Native Hawaiian kūpuna, or respected elders, and other Native Hawaiians with deep *kuleana*, or responsibility, for Papāhanaumokuākea met to discuss the meaning and purpose of World Heritage designation and to determine whether they felt it appropriate to seek World Heritage status for Papāhanaumokuākea as a mixed natural and cultural site... At that meeting, it was determined that Papāhanaumokuākea should, if possible, be designated for its outstanding cultural, as well as natural, values. To do otherwise would be considered insulting to Native Hawaiians. At that meeting, it was also decided that if the application was accepted only for natural resources, that the Monument Management Board would have to pull the application and not submit it... (OHA 2010b, 8).

While efforts to include Native Hawaiians in the nomination process are clearly demonstrated here, given that Hawai'i Governor Linda Lingle “had committed that [PMNM] would” be nominated as a World Heritage site, these meetings were held in a context where the fate of the site was predetermined. In other words, although Native Hawaiian *kūpuna* were given the opportunity to consult on the nomination of the site, their options were, seemingly, limited: they could a) choose to have Native Hawaiian culture included and represented in the nomination and management of a place deeply significant to them; or b) choose not to be included, but the nomination would be submitted regardless. Operating on the assumption that both the OHA and Co-Trustees’ statements are true, that there were opportunities for public participation in the nomination process, but also that the NaKoa/Koani petitioners’ statements are true, that there were exclusionary processes involved in the nomination, politics of contestation associated with World Heritage nomination emerge.

4.2.3 Homogenizing Native Hawaiians

Throughout the nomination and supplementary materials, Native Hawaiians are represented as one homogenous group, with the same beliefs and values grounded in cultural practices, which has reached consensus regarding the decision to apply for World Heritage nomination of PMNM. This homogenous representation takes multiple forms. First, it occurs through the process of textually representing Native Hawaiian beliefs, knowledge, and culture as static and universal. Further, the text defines what counts as “culture,” “knowledge,” and “worldviews” by describing these aspects of Native Hawaiian culture. For example:

In the Native Hawaiian worldview, the interface between natural and cultural resources is seamless. Hence, Papahānaumokuākea is a longstanding site of outstanding associative value to the living Hawaiian culture, and ultimately the global community (PMNM 2009, 27; emphasis added).

These worldviews and spiritual beliefs are further elaborated, getting to the core of the cultural landscape concept, which is focused on the relationship between humans and their environments. This is a relationship situated in place, aligning with Rössler’s (2014) definition of cultural landscapes. Here, the beliefs of Native Hawaiians, again as a homogenous group, are presented:

Papahānaumokuākea is a sacred area, which contains the boundary Pō, a place of darkness that is reserved for their many revered gods and ancestral spirits. The best-known genealogical and creation chant of Hawai‘i, the Kumulipo, describes the Hawaiian universe as being comprised of two worlds: Pō and Ao, the realm of light where Native Hawaiians and the rest of Hawai‘i’s living creatures reside. *Native Hawaiians believe that* Mokumanamana, in southeastern Papahānaumokuākea, represents the boundary between these two worlds (PMNM 2009, 49; emphasis added).

Another example positions PMNM at the center of the revival of Hawaiian culture and spiritual beliefs:

These understandings, *central to the Native Hawaiian world-view*, are passed down through oral histories and traditions, but require a living, physical manifestation to have more than abstract or historical meaning. Papahānaumokuākea serves a critical function today for Native Hawaiians who are seeking ways to not only reconnect and expand their cultural practices, but also ways to improve degraded natural environments in the main Hawaiian Islands, to which their cultural practices are intrinsically linked (PMNM 2009, 111; emphasis added).

This relationship comprises the intangible heritage of the site. In many cases, the spiritual is inextricably tied to knowledge. Again, “Hawaiians” are represented as one homogenous group. In this case, knowledge of navigation for non-instrumental voyaging or wayfinding, a major cultural practice referenced throughout the nomination (PMNM 2009, 54-55) is attributed to all Hawaiians:

Hawaiians know the waters of the tropics as the safest for navigation, and they mark the sacredness of that multi-dimensional realm with celestial gods. The sun’s path, *which Hawaiians mark as the sequential points on the horizon at which it rises and sets throughout the year*, is bordered by the points at which it travels furthest north (*Ke ala nui polohiwa a Kāne*—The long, black shining road of Kāne) and furthest south (*Ke ala nui polohiwa a Kanaloa* – The long, black shining road of Kanaloa) (PMNM 2009, 49; emphasis added).

Today, Papahānaumokuākea’s cultural landscape, dominated by the ocean, plays a critical role in two *major living traditions of Native Hawaiians*: Hawaiian voyaging and wayfinding. The voyaging route between Kaua‘i (in the main Hawaiian Islands) and Nihoa and Mokumanamana is used today as the best training ground for apprentices of Hawaiian wayfinding, non-instrument navigation, before undertaking a long, open ocean voyage beyond the archipelago (PMNM 2009, 52; emphasis added).

Native Hawaiian culture is also frequently referenced within the nomination document.

Culture, like the Native Hawaiian worldview and knowledge, is defined by its identification within the text:

In Native Hawaiian culture, human life comes not only from two biological parents, but from a complex spiritual and literal genealogy that ties humans with a bond of kinship to everything else, both living and non-living, in the natural world (PMNM 2009, 27; emphasis added).

The transmission of Native Hawaiian knowledge is described in the nomination:

Until relatively recently, Native Hawaiian culture relied exclusively on oral traditions (oli (chant); mele (song); mo‘olelo (story); mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy); and hula (dance)) to transmit knowledge. *When reading and writing were introduced to Hawai‘i after Western contact, Native Hawaiians took to them quickly, and by the 1860s—less than a century later—the Native Hawaiian community was almost universally literate (Silva 2004). As a result, many oral traditions were documented and preserved in books, journals and newspapers; however, many more were either lost or continued to be transmitted only orally, to trusted recipients, in accordance with Hawaiian custom. This application relies on oral sources—firsthand accounts of widely respected Hawaiian cultural practitioners, who are considered reputable sources of information in the Hawaiian culture—as well as on academic and historic references (PMNM 2009, 53; emphasis added).*

Here, the claim is that “Native Hawaiians took to [reading and writing] quickly” after Western contact; again, this conveys wholesale adoption by all Native Hawaiians of these forms of knowledge transmission. Cultural practitioners and *kūpuna* are important vessels for knowledge, as described in the nomination:

In the Native Hawaiian culture, *kūpuna* (elders, or ancestors) are accorded reverence and respect, and are looked to as teachers by right of their greater experience. Native Hawaiians consider the islands of Papahānaumokuākea (also called the Kūpuna Islands in recent times) to be their *kūpuna*. Each island is a teacher, and each island has its own unique story and message. As the younger generation, humans are tasked to *mālama* (care for) the *kūpuna* (PMNM 2009, 27).

As the boundary between Pō and Ao, Mokumanamana today serves as a critical place for ongoing Native Hawaiian cultural research into celestial movements, particularly during major solar events. In 2007, renowned Native Hawaiian cultural practitioner and researcher Pualani Kanahale and a group of cultural practitioners called Ha‘ae Wale Ka Hānauna Lolo visited Mokumanamana to study the relationship between the island’s heiau and the path of the sun during the summer solstice (PMNM 2009, 52).

Kūpuna and cultural practitioners are portrayed as uncontested leaders in the Native Hawaiian community. As such, a group of them were given the opportunity to consult and make the decision whether or not Native Hawaiians and their culture would play a role in the nomination of PMNM, a decision that made it possible for the site to be nominated as a cultural landscape. The NaKoa/Koani objection calls into question the ability of a few individuals to make decisions on behalf of the wider community of Native Hawaiians, some members of which (as evidenced by the objection) may not have supported the nomination. Further, it demonstrates the inherent heterogeneity and complexity associated with preserving world heritage comprised of local communities. Representing the needs and opinions of diverse local communities is one of the challenges associated with nominating sites to the World Heritage List; this difficulty is further exacerbated by the requirement of representing such local-scale and place-based cultures as globally valuable.

4.2.4 Using Native Hawaiians to Justify Conservation and Inscription

PMNM's motto is "Bring the place to the people, not the people to the place" (PMNM 2009, 204). It is made possible by a strict permitting process to limit tourism paired with extensive educational programs about PMNM on the mainland of Hawaii. It is justified by the idea that the islands and surrounding waters are pristine. Maintaining this pristine-ness is represented as a fundamental contribution to the preservation of Native Hawaiian culture:

Papahānaumokuākea serves a critical function today for Native Hawaiians who are seeking ways to not only reconnect and expand their cultural practices, but also ways to improve degraded natural environments in the main Hawaiian Islands, to which their cultural practices are intrinsically linked (PMNM 2009, 111).

Papahānaumokuākea continues to be a preeminent location for experiencing and understanding seascape (inclusive of the islands connected by the sea) *hō'ailona* (signs, omens in nature) that occur in pristine environments... In Papahānaumokuākea, because of its pristine beauty and direct, unimpeded links to Native Hawaiians' spiritual, historical and ancestral origins, these *hō'ailona* are distinct, regular and available for the culturally and spiritually aware mind to interpret and understand (PMNM 2009, 143).

This intersects with the value of having a pristine environment in which to undertake scientific research, restoration, and conservation efforts for target species and ecosystems:

As detailed throughout this application, the integrity of Papahānaumokuākea's marine environment is nearly pristine, with minimal disturbances. Though some terrestrial environments still bear the imprints of mankind, they also showcase the resiliency of many native species and the potential for restoration through human endeavors (PMNM 2009, 143).

These *still-wild* ecosystems contain powerful lessons for those of us in the main Hawaiian Islands who are witnessing the decline of our finite island resources. They teach us the importance of caring for the natural world on which our lives and livelihoods depend, and they give us a living model to guide restoration efforts (PMNM 2009, 164; emphasis added).

The relationship between a pristine natural environment and Native Hawaiian culture is elaborated in the nomination. Significantly, anthropogenic impacts are singled out here, establishing value in that the terrestrial and marine environments “remain relatively lightly affected by humans”:

The natural integrity of Papahānaumokuākea is exceptional. In a Pacific and Hawaiian context, this integrity is of paramount cultural importance, particularly in comparison to the largely degraded terrestrial and marine ecosystems in the main Hawaiian Islands. *Terrestrial, and particularly marine environments, that remain relatively lightly affected by humans, with high rates of endemism and life that is unique to the Hawaiian Archipelago, are crucial to an indigenous understanding of the important relationships between ocean and land; between living things in a unique, fragile and induplicable ecosystem; and particularly between humankind and the natural world.* These understandings, central to the Native

Hawaiian world-view, are passed down through oral histories and traditions, but require a living, physical manifestation to have more than abstract or historical meaning. Papahānaumokuākea serves a critical function today for Native Hawaiians who are seeking ways to not only reconnect and expand their cultural practices, but also ways to improve degraded natural environments in the main Hawaiian Islands, to which their cultural practices are intrinsically linked (PMNM 2009, 111; emphasis added).

The idea that the area is only lightly affected by humans is a central one; it is a fundamental aspect of how the OUV of PMNM is conceptualized. Maintaining a low flow of traffic is therefore represented as beneficial to both Native Hawaiians and scientists whose work is dependent upon the maintenance of a pristine natural environment. This is reflected in the ICOMOS evaluation of the site as well:

Papahānaumokuākea is not accessible to the general public owing to the extreme fragility of its cultural and natural resources and the need to maintain strict quarantine to limit the spread of highly-destructive exotic species of the sorts currently being removed from the islands... In addition to controlled scientific access for cultural and biological research and management, special tours are and will continue to be permitted for Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners as well as carefully-selected US and international educators who can disseminate information about the property (UNESCO 2009, 37).

This fragility is used to justify restricted access to the site, only by those “carefully selected” members of the general public as well as Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners. Those granted power to manage the monument are able to control how and when and by whom the monument is engaged with and represented through such selective processes.

The focus on this light human footprint at the site is consistent throughout the nomination and MMP documents. It is important to note that as a cultural landscape site, central component of the value of PMNM is derived from Native Hawaiians’ place relationships and beliefs. However, there are also other layers to the cultural landscape

and tangible heritage of PMNM addressed in the nomination document, including shipwrecks and other marine archaeological sites:

Whaling shipwrecks are an example of the international importance of this region in the early 19th century, when whale oil fueled the cities of the Industrial Era, and drove ships halfway around the globe in search of this invaluable resource (PMNM 2009, 92).

Combined with known aircraft losses, there are a total of 127 potential maritime resource sites, giving Papahānaumokuākea a significant and basically undisturbed marine archaeological legacy (PMNM 2009, 93).

In addition, remnants of different historical uses of multiple islands in the archipelago add layers to the tangible heritage and cultural landscape of PMNM, including at

Midway:

Military activities during World War II resulted in significant alterations to the atoll, with Tern Island being largely dredged up and formed into the shape of a runway to serve as a refueling stop for planes en route to Midway. The original seawall, runway, and some structures remain (PMNM 2009, 96),

The Tern and East Islands:

The U.S. Coast Guard occupied Tern and East Islands from 1944 until the 1970s and ran a LORAN station, evidence of which still remains (PMNM 2009, 96),

and Laysan Island:

In 1890, Laysan was leased by the Hawaiian Kingdom to the North Pacific Phosphate and Fertilizer Company for a period of 20 years. Guano mining and digging occurred on Laysan from 1892 to 1904, when the supply was exhausted. This period saw the construction of several buildings, including a lighthouse and a small railroad, which supported this trade; between 100 and 125 tons of guano could be shipped from Laysan per day (Ely and Clapp 1973). Today, the only obvious terrestrial remnants of this operation on Laysan are guano piles, pieces of rail, and human grave sites. Large 19th century anchors, which may have served as moorings for the guano landing, lie submerged near the shore (PMNM 2009, 97).

Tangible heritage related to Native Hawaiian culture, mainly in the form of sites of Native Hawaiian religious and/or subsistence activities, is also part of the nomination:

A diverse range of ancient site types are well represented, including habitation terraces and rock shelters, some of substantial size and expert architecture, extensive terraces for dryland agriculture, and a plethora of shrines and *heiau/marae* for ritual activities. Survey and excavation have recovered artifacts suggesting that a range of activities were carried out by pre-contact Native Hawaiians on these islands. These include daily domestic activities (cooking, food preparation and storage, manufacture of stone tools and fishing gear), subsistence activities (fishing and collecting marine resources, cultivating dryland crops), and ritual activities (including burial of the dead) (PMNM 2009, 108).

In regard to this tangible heritage, these archaeological sites' value is derived from minimal human or other disturbance:

The archaeological sites on both Nihoa and Mokumanamana retain their original designs, materials, and workmanship. Their settings on remote islands in the expansive Pacific Ocean distinguish the sites from any others in Hawai'i and in the world. In such remote settings, the sites remain virtually untouched, and human disturbance is minimal. In comparison, all known sites in the main Hawaiian Islands have been negatively affected by some combination of land use change, invasive species, cattle ranching, feral ungulates, and other anthropogenic disturbances (PMNM 2009, 147).

Therefore, PMNM's archaeological resources are a source of the property's integrity, a benchmark which is essential for its nomination to the World Heritage List. The preservation of Native Hawaiian culture through such tangible heritage is an important component of the nomination and revolves around limited human influence on these sites.

The tangible and material heritage of the site is also not limited to that which represents Native Hawaiian culture in that a great deal of conservation work is undertaken at PMNM including removal of invasive species:

Laysan is also home to a semi-permanent FWS field camp to support wildlife monitoring and habitat restoration (PMNM 2009, 76).

and conservation of target species:

Each summer for nearly two decades, personnel from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and National marine Fisheries Service have established temporary field camps at Pearl and Hermes to monitor bird and Hawaiian Monk Seal populations (PMNM 2009, 98).

These activities might also be considered part of the cultural landscape, as value systems dictate such removal of species and active preservation of certain species. Maintaining bird and seal populations were key motivators for first establishing the area that is now PMNM as a protected area. However, these activities are not presented as “cultural”; instead, they are only discussed in the context of “natural” resource management or in the historical description of the site.

4.2.5 Combining Western Science and Hawaiian Traditional Knowledge

Throughout the nomination and management plan, there are multiple references to the importance of integrating “Western paradigms of conservation” and “indigenous knowledge of sustainable management” (PMNM 2009, 112), finding common ground in the desire to maintain a “nearly pristine environment.” One such example is a Response to Climate Change (RtCC) Workshop held in 2008, where

... Monument staff and Native Hawaiian practitioners hosted a workshop for Hawai‘i-based coral reef managers entitled “Response to Climate Change (RtCC).” This five-day workshop, based on one designed by the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, was redesigned to incorporate traditional Native Hawaiian knowledge into modern reef management practices (PMNM 2009, 170).

The goal of this workshop was to

...interweave multiple forms of knowledge into the management of Papahānaumokuākea, as exemplified by the MMP vision, goals and strategies... (PMNM 2009, 170).

These efforts to integrate “modern” Western and “traditional” Native Hawaiian knowledge systems occur within a context in which the Western conservation paradigm remains the dominant system. At another 2008 workshop, titled “Traditional Ecological Knowledge” held in Kona,

...the TEK workshop aimed to promote and strengthen traditional knowledge and customary practices in Oceania, foster the intergenerational transfer of traditional knowledge and customary marine management practices, and share lessons about the importance of incorporating traditional knowledge into modern management at the 2008 U.S. Coral Reef Task Force Meeting in Kona, Hawai‘i Island. Additionally, each community represented at the TEK Workshop received a “TEK Toolkit,” including digital cameras and voice recorders, and instruction on how to (1) collect oral histories relevant to traditional marine management, and (2) instructions on the incorporation of TEK into marine management (PMNM 2009, 209).

By explaining that participants were instructed in how to incorporate TEK into marine management, the description of this workshop reinforces that TEK serves an important, but perhaps secondary role, in the management of marine resources. The incorporation of Native Hawaiians’ knowledge of natural resources into “western scientific” management practices is a theme throughout the nomination document:

Because oral traditions are Native Hawaiians’ baseline for the status of their ancestors’ environment, being able to compare past stories with present circumstances in a nearly pristine environment is invaluable. Cultural baselines and interpretations can provide clues to solving problems for which western scientific baselines are relatively recent. Traditional knowledge based on cultural resiliency *can only help* to manage this place and others similar to it (PMNM 2009, 142; emphasis added).

Here, Native Hawaiian knowledge is represented as an essential tool for management, but one that “can only help” to solve problems the dominant Western scientific approach cannot. This is further echoed in the Management Plan:

Cultural accesses will incorporate opportunities for the perpetuation and expansion of traditional knowledge, including natural resources

conservation and management. Such accesses may emphasize the interconnectivity of the entire Hawaiian archipelago and assist Native Hawaiian practitioners in reconnecting to the natural resources knowledge and experience of their ancestors, which will further assist them in teaching and practicing traditional resource management in the main Hawaiian Islands as well as *assist managers of Papahānaumokuākea* (PMNM 2008, 159; emphasis added).

This reinforces the notion that Indigenous knowledge is viewed as an asset to Western scientific approaches. Whereas Western conservation approaches stand alone as management and research paradigms, Native Hawaiian knowledge is exclusively integrated with scientific management in the context of natural resource management. Cultural resource management, on the other hand, is the domain of Native Hawaiian knowledge, culture, and practice; for example, the Director of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service endorses the nomination of PMNM, stating:

Numerous natural treasures of international significance are found within Papahānaumokuākea... Equally significant are Papahānaumokuākea's cultural resources, including unique archaeological sites on Nihoa and Mokumanamana, the strong association of the seascape with the cosmology and oral traditions of Native Hawaiians, and its continuing opportunities to allow Native Hawaiian practitioners to perpetuate customary practices such as wayfinding (PMNM 2009, vi).

Although attempts to integrate the systems of knowledge are clear throughout the nomination, this integration occurs in the context of scientific knowledge taking precedence with regard to natural values and Native Hawaiian knowledge confined to cultural values. This contradicts the Management Plan's acknowledgement that:

The Native Hawaiian traditional knowledge and worldview is valued for its rich base of empirical knowledge and practical methods of resource management, developed over hundreds of years of living and interacting with the lands and ocean waters of Hawai'i ... Traditional management practices take advantage of understanding seasonal patterns in weather, patterns of biological species, and the designation of ecological zones... Through detailed observations of the oceanic environment, its interrelation to the terrestrial environment, seasonal and lunar patterns,

and species life cycles, species of the ocean and land realms were taxonomically partnered, and systems for resource management developed...Kapu, or restrictions, on resource extraction were implemented based on these ecological understandings...Other traditional strategies were set up to naturally enhance marine resources through increased protection, growth, and reproduction... Understanding the Native Hawaiian worldview of ecosystems and relationships, along with traditional approaches to resource management, aids in moving toward an ecosystem-based management approach for the NWHI (PMNM 2008, 103).

Here, Native Hawaiian knowledge is again represented as a component of the ecosystem-based management approach. In the nomination, PMNM is represented as a place that:

... provides Native Hawaiians and the broader public a region to observe and learn from that is nearly pristine and unspoiled (PMNM 2009, 112),

which has global significance as a place to learn and conduct research:

This example can teach valuable lessons in conservation that can be applied to the archipelago's main islands... and beyond, to other places that seek to integrate indigenous knowledge of sustainable management practices with current Western paradigms of conservation. In particular, islands such as Nihoa and Mokumanamana offer examples of how the ancestors of Native Hawaiians implemented their traditional knowledge to sustain their presence on remote islands with fragile environments (PMNM 2009, 112).

While such knowledge systems are acknowledged in the nomination and MMP and, further, serve to justify PMNM's universal, global-scale value, these specific knowledge systems are not elaborated to the degree that conservation science management practices are. Instead, they are mentioned as a possible, but not necessarily vital, avenue of management. This contrasts with the presence of extensive descriptions of scientific research and knowledge production throughout the nomination:

In the late 20th century, scientific research efforts underwent a paradigm shift, becoming more focused on knowledge and conservation of the natural ecosystems. This shift stemmed from the recognition that increased

technology and human populations have created significant pressures on ocean ecosystems. In 2000, the State of Hawai'i, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, NOAA and several research institutions launched the NWHI Reef Assessment and Monitoring Program (NOWRAMP) to characterize and monitor coral reefs and establish a baseline for comparison and to facilitate monitoring temporal changes in the ecosystem. In addition to this group, NOAA has also initiated a comprehensive mapping effort using satellite imagery, multibeam sonar, and other remote sensing techniques to provide detailed characterizations of benthic habitats (PMNM 2009, 102).

Volunteers participate in the annual Midway Atoll National Wildlife Refuge albatross count. Each active nest is marked as it is counted (PMNM 2009, 102).

Finally, just as the text defines Native Hawaiian culture, beliefs, and knowledge, the nomination of the site and its subsequent inscription to the World Heritage List both confines Native Hawaiian engagement with the site to cultural practices and subsequently defines the parameters of what cultural practices are:

Presidential Proclamation 8031, which established the Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument, recognizes that the NWHI have great cultural significance to Native Hawaiians and provides a means to promote access to Papahānaumokuākea *for cultural purposes* by establishing a permit category specifically to allow Native Hawaiian practices. *The Proclamation defines these practices as cultural activities conducted for the purposes of perpetuating traditional knowledge, caring for and protecting the environment, and strengthening cultural and spiritual connections to Papahānaumokuākea that have demonstrable benefits to the Native Hawaiian community. This may include, but is not limited to, the non-commercial use of Papahānaumokuākea resources for direct personal consumption while in the property* (PMNM 2009, 163; emphasis added).

The nomination focuses heavily on Native Hawaiian association with PMNM as a place and the relational human-environment relationship which characterizes this associative cultural landscape, and the MMP acknowledges the opportunities for improving management through Native Hawaiian resource management systems and other knowledge. However, as the above exemplar demonstrates, Hawaiians' engagement with the site in an official capacity as outlined in the nomination and

management documents is limited to cultural activities. The consistent portrayal and value of a pristine nature devoid of human impact demonstrates a separation in thinking between nature and culture which underscores the nomination of this site. As a result, by defining and confining Native Hawaiian engagement with the site for “cultural purposes,” there may be fewer opportunities to realize the potential of the site’s nomination in the cultural landscape category for moving past such divides towards a more relational view of nature and culture that could infuse management practices.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion

The Papahānaumokuākea cultural landscape nomination and supplementary documents are more than just representations of a landscape; they are collections of laws, resources, world views, contestations, and knowledge production. This textually represented cultural landscape is multilayered and complex, influenced by multiple actors with potentially different goals and beliefs. Through the process of nominating a complex local site to a global system, however, this complexity is streamlined. In the case of the Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument, this streamlining results in a homogenous representation of Native Hawaiians as a group, operating within a value of pristine nature. The site's institutional and management structures underscore this dynamic, while the NaKoa/Koani objection challenges it.

5.1.1 Connections to Copenhagen: Natural & Cultural Values

In comparison to other sites discussed at the 2012 Copenhagen Workshop, in some ways, PMNM demonstrates the positive direction that UNESCO World Heritage is headed in terms of recognizing Indigenous rights to participation and decision making both in the context of a rights-based approach, championed throughout the workshop (IWGIA 2012) and for the development of partnerships for more effective conservation of heritage. For example, the Pemon people of the Canaima World Heritage site in Venezuela feel that the site's listing occurred solely to their detriment and not their benefit, as "They had no role in the creation of the park, there are no shared institutional decision-making bodies, and there was no consultation in the zoning plan that exists for the eastern sector of the park. The only role that the Pemon play in park management is

as park guards and fire fighters” (IWGIA 2012, 37). In contrast, Native Hawaiians have had advisory and decision making power through the Reserve Advisory Council since the NWHI were established in 2000 and currently through the OHA and therefore through the MMB. In addition, throughout the nomination, interviews with prominent Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners are cited and several workshops have been held to integrate Hawaiian knowledge and values into the management of PMNM.

An important theme that emerged at the Copenhagen Workshop was the correlation between sites’ nomination under cultural criteria in addition to natural criteria and the increased ability for Indigenous peoples and local communities to participate in the nomination and management processes. This was often addressed in the context of re-nominating sites to reflect said cultural values. While Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia and Tongariro National Park in New Zealand were both renominated under cultural criteria with success and marked improvement in site management, both Dr. Mechtild Rössler and Tatjana Puschkarsky, head of the World Wildlife Fund, acknowledged the costliness and time-consuming nature of the re-nomination process. In response, Bruce White, Bana Yarralji anthropologist and founding member of the Rainforest Aboriginal Network, countered that:

‘While it may seem like a small thing to have Indigenous knowledge valued, to have the role that Indigenous people play in caring for country valued, it has big results. In the 20 years since the Wet Tropics were listed as a natural World Heritage Site, I have seen the last language speakers pass away in nearly all the Aboriginal groups. What we are fighting is a whole management regime that is focused on an impoverished core of natural values only. If they can do something cultural, it is just extra. And when it comes to priorities, it quickly gets sacrificed’ (IWGIA 2012, 36).

Dr. Douglas Nakashima, Chief of the Small Islands and Indigenous Knowledge Section of UNESCO, UNESCO Focal Point for Indigenous Peoples subsequently commented that:

the whole concept of natural sites was based on the outdated paradigm that there were virgin places in the world where there are no people (i.e. ‘wilderness’)... ‘So through the implementation of the Convention, because of the built-in divide between nature and culture, you have these perverse outcomes’ (IWGIA 2012, 36).

Considering both White’s and Nakashima’s ideas in the context of Papahānaumokuākea demonstrates the complexity of the “thinking and practice” (Oviedo & Puschkarsky 2012) associated with establishing World Heritage sites. On one hand, PMNM was originally nominated as a cultural landscape, making an important stride on the path that the Copenhagen Workshop sought to forge. As discussed above, Native Hawaiians are integrated into the management of the site and their culture is conceptualized as central to the site’s OUV, an approach that is promoted in the workshop but remains a challenge for many sites. In the case of PMNM, these cultural values were not sacrificed which, as White identifies, is a too-common trajectory when natural and cultural values are being addressed in the nomination process. However, the findings of this study indicate that PMNM cultural values, at a more conceptual level, might be slightly more “extra” than the natural values as related to management approaches and knowledge systems in the context of resource management. For example, in this study, I found that Native Hawaiian knowledge seems to be perceived as an additional tool for the dominant, baseline form of management as institutionalized through the various natural resource conservation oriented agencies NOAA, FWS, and DLNR, as opposed to an equally valued and elaborated form of management. In that sense, management

approaches that are culturally specific to Native Hawaiians, though addressed in the nomination as potentially valuable, are “extra” – it does not seem that such knowledge systems are so fully integrated in the nomination or management plan so as to fundamentally alter the way the site is managed if the site were, say, only inscribed under natural criteria. In contrast, the Western scientific conservation paradigm is so fundamental to the management of PMNM that, if the site were nominated under only cultural criteria or as a non-mixed cultural landscape, the management plan would likely look much different. Because of this, it might be fair to say that Native Hawaiian knowledge regarding natural resource management has been assimilated into the dominant Western conservation science paradigm. Nakashima identifies the separation of nature and culture that permeates the implementation of the Convention, i.e. the nomination, evaluation, inscription, and management processes, and the relationship of this divide to the perception of untouched wilderness which underscored the protected area movement. The findings of this study show that this idea is still alive in the PMNM nomination and management plan, especially in the context of identifying and justifying the site’s OUV.

Palmer (2016) also addresses the incorporation of multiple knowledge systems in the context of the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia, which, as mentioned above, is considered a success story. He finds that “sustainable collaborations have occurred between indigenous knowledge holders, scientist, and state actors in relation to the UNESCO world heritage convention” (22). This study will contribute to his broader research for NSF grant 1329556, which is comprised of case studies of multiple World Heritage sites including the 2016 study of Uluru-Kata Tjuta. The findings from my

research are congruent with his in that there is a great deal of heterogeneity and complexity evident within the nominations of both Uluru-Kata Tjuta and PMNM as opposed to being static representations.

5.1.2 The Yellowstone Model and PMNM

In the context of parks and protected areas, the idea and value of pristine nature has driven what Stevens (1997) refers to as the legacy of Yellowstone. Stevens explains that the practice of designating national parks and protected areas has broadened from being “as a means to preserve scenery, places of spiritual renewal, venues for outdoor recreation and tourism development, or scientific research sites,” where the conservation of pristine wilderness was the major driver, to this type of preservation becoming “a major tool in global efforts on behalf of preserving endangered species, habitats, and ecosystems, and valued natural and cultural landscapes” (13-14). However, in protected area management, a shift has occurred from viewing protected areas as places of pristine nature with no traceable human influence to acknowledging that most landscapes can be understood to be significantly altered by human influence; however, “recognizing the historical inaccuracy of the concept of uninhabited wilderness challenges one of the basic premises on which many national parks and protected areas have been established in many parts of the world” (22). Coming to terms with this belief has led to an increased awareness of, and appreciation for, place-based management of resources and ecosystems among the international conservation community. As Stevens (2014) points out, this shift in thinking is reflected both by the adoption of the term ‘protected areas’ itself, which specifically expands the focus beyond national parks, and the validation of diverse forms of protected area governance beyond management and designation by

nation-state central governments only, as was the IUCN's previous approach (29).

Stevens (2014) delineates 4 key assumptions inherent in the 'old' paradigm of conservation:

- 1) protected areas should be created and governed by states;
- 2) the goal of protected areas should be strict nature preservation and particularly biodiversity conservation;
- 3) effective protected area management requires protected areas to be uninhabited and without any human use of natural resources, because Indigenous peoples and local communities are threats to the objectives of protected areas; and
- 4) coercive force is legally and morally justified to remove resident peoples and protect biodiversity (36).

This is contrasted with the 'new' management paradigm, the policy origins of which can be traced to the IUCN's 2003 World Parks Congress (WPC) in Durban, South Africa. This new paradigm "presaged a new relationship between Indigenous peoples and protected areas" with "policy recommendations that affirmed that Indigenous peoples' knowledge, conservation contributions, and rights must be respected and that they must fully and effectively participate in the establishment, governance, and management of protected areas in their territories (51-52). Similar to the UNDRIP and the Copenhagen Workshop, such recommendations grew out of a recognition that such participation constitutes a fundamental human right.

Stevens continues that, "Although the U.S. National Park Service began to change its relationships and interactions with Indigenous peoples in positive ways in the 1970s, old paradigm principles continue to dominate U.S. protected area management" (36). PMNM is listed as an IUCN Category 5 Protected landscape or seascape, "where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced a distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural, and scenic value, and where safeguarding the

integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values” (32). Although the site’s value is derived from this human-environment interaction over time, any human-environment interaction at PMNM is now mediated by Federal and subnational agencies, corresponding with assumption (1) of the old management paradigm. Further, consistent with assumption (2) of the old management paradigm, human access to the site and use of resources within the site are highly restricted. However, scientists involved with natural resource management living on the islands temporarily to carry out monitoring efforts, invasive species removal, and other research are repeatedly referenced throughout the nomination document. Native Hawaiians are also allowed access to the site, but only in the context of “cultural activities.”

Stevens (2014) points out that “The old paradigm requires the construction of uninhabited wilderness, often in places that have been the homelands of Indigenous peoples for centuries or millennia” (37). Although he discusses this in relation to the displacement of people to construct such uninhabited wilderness, there is an element of textual construction of pristine wilderness present in the PMNM nomination dossier. Though there was no physical displacement involved since the islands have been uninhabited for hundreds of years, the representation of PMNM as pristine and devoid of human impact reflects the old paradigm of management. Simultaneously, Native Hawaiians are allowed access to the site, but only through cultural practices, which is consistent with the site’s characterization as a cultural landscape. Although Stevens refers to the cultural landscape designation specifically as acknowledging the importance and validity of human interaction with the landscape, it is interesting to

observe that, in the process of representing PMNM and justifying its value for inscription to the World Heritage List, ideas of pristine wilderness that should perhaps be confined to the old paradigm are reinvoked. Practicing culture grants a pass to the site, but this pass comes with a host of restrictions, one of which being that what counts as cultural practice is defined by federal and sub-national level agencies with natural resource conservation as the main focus.

What has become evident through close reading of the nomination document is that the value of a “pristine natural environment” continues to play an important role in the process of justifying PMNM’s value as a nominated World Heritage site. Although Native Hawaiians are able to access and participate in the site’s management in many ways, there is a discursive contradiction between this focus on a pristine natural environment and another major thread throughout the nomination, the cultural landscape and place-based knowledge and spiritual beliefs that form the basis of why Native Hawaiians are allowed access to the site when access to the general public is highly restrictive. In fact, Native Hawaiians are not viewed within the category of “general public.” Because of this, however, their involvement in the site is restricted to parameters of “cultural activities.” Although the dossier unproblematically identifies what constitutes such activities, the NaKoa/Koani petition flips this on its head.

5.1.3 Representation of Native Hawaiians and Superorganic Culture

The NaKoa/Koani objection is significant in many ways; one that I am particularly interested in (and can be explored in textual data) is that it challenges the assertions made throughout the nomination in regard to Native Hawaiian participation in the site and, further, desire to have Native Hawaiian culture, knowledge, and views

integrated in the site. Nomination packets are strategic; their purpose in the World Heritage nomination process is to convince the World Heritage Committee that a site is worthy of inscription to the World Heritage List. For World Heritage cultural landscapes, this justification is achieved through conveying a specific place-people relationship, which falls into the category of intangible heritage. The objection challenges that Native Hawaiians are a homogenous group, especially in regard to the desire to be included in the nomination of PMNM. While the nomination includes ideas of pristine nature devoid of human impact, it also represents Native Hawaiian culture in a particular way – as homogenous – and positions this culture as opposite to the “Western scientific conservation paradigm.” Further, the definition of Native Hawaiian culture also defines the way Native Hawaiians are able to engage with the site and its resources, as such engagement is enabled for the purposes of maintaining culture and cultural practices. The vantage point of the nomination itself is one that separates nature and culture into discrete categories of value, and presents each as independent of the other, except when describing Native Hawaiian culture and knowledge, which are specifically positioned as tools for aforementioned scientific management of PMNM.

It is important to consider how nomination dossiers represent the cultures which make up cultural landscapes in the World Heritage context. Shaw et al. (2006) write that:

Conceptualizations of indigeneity and Aboriginality, and notions of First Nations and native, are contested and highly context-specific... These terminologies all carry a range of associated politics around their usage. One result is that a variety of experiences, somewhat awkwardly and, at times, unwillingly, falls under the banner of ‘Indigeneity’ (267).

The authors’ focus is “re-imagining and decolonizing geography” in relation to

Indigenous peoples. They acknowledge that “as an umbrella term to encompass a huge variety of peoples, ‘indigenous’ is not without problems,” (268) running the risk “of essentializing or categorizing very distinct groups of peoples into some kind of monolith dubbed ‘Indigeneity’” (267). In the process of representing Native Hawaiian knowledge, beliefs, and worldviews as uniform for the purpose of conveying “culture” as in cultural landscape, the nomination necessarily dilutes context-specificity and variety of experience. The NaKoa/Koani objection is the primary piece of evidence for this, as its mere existence challenges the notion that all Native Hawaiians feel the same way about the site’s nomination to the World Heritage List and the management of resources located within the site’s boundaries.

Therefore, I argue that the process of representing the PMNM cultural landscape replicates the superorganic understanding of culture characteristic of the Sauerian view of cultural landscapes, where culture is reified to the status of an entity that both “consists of the cultural or social facts that transcend the individual and at the same time mold his actions,” conceptualizing humans as agents carrying out the work of a given culture (Duncan 1980, 188). Recalling that the superorganic view is characterized by three major assumptions: 1) since culture is given, it is not subjected to “theoretical scrutiny”; 2) “individuals are rendered passive and homogenous”; and 3) “a totalising and determinist concept of culture precludes in advance any critical consideration of issues of difference and conflict” (Wylie 2007, 28), the findings of this study indicate that the PMNM World Heritage cultural landscape does not stray far from the Sauerian cultural landscape in this regard. On the other hand, the PMNM nomination diverges from Sauer’s material view of landscape, focusing on the intangible heritage and associative aspects of Native

Hawaiians' relationship to the place. Further, this study illuminates the definition of culture as an ontological given of which Mitchell (1995) sought to purge cultural geography and cultural studies. Relying on homogeneous representations of Native Hawaiian culture, the packaging of the PMNM cultural landscape for World Heritage List nomination is a source of power and profit for the most powerful social actors, in this case, the United States as well as federal and state level agencies that most directly benefit from the inclusion of the site on the World Heritage List. Geographers interested in the power relationships inherent in the identification and definition of culture may find opportunities to explore these processes in this contemporary and far-reaching application of the cultural landscapes concept in the context of World Heritage.

5.2 Future Directions

This research involved making sense of contradictions. Native Hawaiians, via cultural values, are inextricably tied to the nomination and management of PMNM and are the central focus of the nomination; it is therefore highly inclusive of Native Hawaiians in the capacity of culture and the human-environment relationship as characterized by spiritual beliefs, knowledge, and cultural practice. Documentation of Native Hawaiian involvement both in the nomination itself as well as supplementary documents indicates this inclusion in the process of nominating the site. On the other hand, the NaKoa/Koani petition indicates that not all Native Hawaiians supported the nomination and/or nomination process, arguing that it was exclusionary and participation was limited to only certain elite individuals. While the nomination argues that, at PMNM, “nature and culture are one,” (PMNM 2009, 49) there is a distinct separation between

descriptions of the site's "natural" components and "cultural" components as well as the associated Western scientific management and Native Hawaiian traditional knowledge.

Ultimately, this research generated more questions than it answered. Therefore, my position is that nomination and supplementary documents are an important resource for researchers in heritage studies and geography, as there are many future research directions that could follow this exploration of the PMNM nomination. First, assuming that the OHA's and nomination's authors' argument that Native Hawaiians were presented with many opportunities to participate in the nomination of the site is valid but also that the NaKoa/Koani petitioners' claims are valid, how can these directly contradictory positions exist simultaneously? One of the ways to address this question might be to conduct an ethnographical and on-the-ground study of the dynamics between disparate community interests to understand how they both coalesce and clash throughout the process of portraying a dynamic cultural landscape. There is also opportunity for critical geographers to delve into the many discourses present in this nomination including, as discussed above, the idea of pristine nature that permeates the way the site and its value are conveyed. There is opportunity to interrogate this concept using discourse analysis and to explore other discourses present in the nomination that connect to various aims. There are also opportunities for critical GIS and community based research scholars to employ their expertise and familiarity with these processes to examine who and what is included and excluded from the nomination dossier in relation to such approaches.

Additionally, this thesis research and my work as a research assistant with Dr. Mark Palmer contributes to his investigation of UNESCO World Heritage mapping

processes, an ongoing NSF funded project. While we both ask the question: “How are Indigenous peoples included in and excluded from the nomination?”, we approach this question in different ways. My research augments his exploration of this topic, both reinforcing his findings (Palmer 2016) and suggesting trajectories or lenses through which to approach investigation of the Actor-Networks of other sites.

For me, this study illuminated the challenge of representing a local-scale place and culture for the purpose of nominating it to the global-scale UNESCO World Heritage List and the ways in which complexity is diluted, perhaps out of necessity, through this process. The findings of this study could be a jumping-off point for exploring how the geographical cultural landscapes concept has found a second life in its application in the World Heritage context, presenting opportunities to make connections between theoretical work in cultural geography on the concept of culture itself and evolving aims and challenges in the World Heritage arena. This study contributes another perspective to the evolution of the World Heritage system and could also add to the discussion and process of fine tuning how dynamic cultural landscapes are packaged as texts, through nomination dossiers, for their inclusion on the World Heritage List.

APPENDIX I

NaKoa/Koani Objection “Executive Summary” adapted from NaKoa (2010)

Page #1. Objections and Claims of NaKoa Ikaika KaLahui Hawaii and The Koani Foundation to the Nomination of the Northwest Hawaiian Islands Marine Monument (NWHI) to the UNESCO World Heritage List & to the UNESCO/WHC Pacific Action Plan:

Objections:

1. Petitioners object to the nomination of the “Papahānaumoku” (NWHI) Monument to the UNESCO/World Heritage List by the USA and the State of Hawaii. The nomination constitutes a breach of trust and violation of State Constitutional law that requires that the territories and resources of the NWHI are held in trust for the “betterment of conditions of native Hawaiians”. In addition, Petitioners object because of violations of international law set forth herein and because we and other indigenous Hawaiians have not been afforded our right of consultation, and are negatively impacted by Federal processes which abridge our rights to sustenance, and to economic, cultural and social development in the NWHI. Petitioners and other Native Hawaiians have not given their free, prior and informed consent to the listing of the NWHI as a World Heritage Site. The management plan proposed by the United States abridges Indigenous rights, does not meet the criteria for WH listing and contains numerous misrepresentation and omissions.

2. Petitioners object to the UNESCO/WHC processes and procedures that have had the effect of excluding petitioners and other Native Hawaiians from the nomination and evaluation process and which have been undertaken in secret and in violation of petitioners’ human rights set forth herein;

3. Petitioners object to the UNESCO/WHC Pacific Action Plan and to the UNESCO/WHC processes and procedures that have excluded the indigenous peoples of the Pacific from meaningful participation in the Plan, and subjected their lands, territories and resources to increased State and international control.

Follow-up on this Complaint should be made to:
Mililani B. Trask, Convener, Na Koa Ikaika KaLahui Hawaii, mililani.trask@gmail.com, PH: +1-808-990-0529
Kaiopua Fyfe, The Koani Foundation, kaiokauai@gmail.com

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Koani Foundation and NaKoa Ikaika KaLahui Hawaii (Petitioners) are indigenous Hawaiian Organizations who are objecting to the World Heritage nomination of the “Papahānaumoku” Monument by the United States and the State of Hawaii. They have a long history of interfacing with the United Nations System and have attended and actively participated in UN work relating to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as well as many meetings of various UN bodies which address indigenous issues, and numerous international meetings under various Conventions including the Convention on Biological Diversity, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the World Heritage Convention, and the Human Rights Conventions.

NaKoa/Koani object to the nomination on two grounds: 1) the NWHI Monument is part of the Ceded Lands Trust created as part of the Hawaii Statehood Compact “for the betterment of conditions of native Hawaiians”. It is a trust asset which the State of Hawaii manages pursuant to strict fiduciary responsibilities which are constitutionally prescribed, and which have been the subject of significant statutory and juridical interpretation; 2) NaKoa/Koani also object as traditional owners of the NWHI with human rights to the lands, territories and resources which comprise the ‘Monument’ and which were “federalized” by Presidential Proclamation of George W. Bush in 2006 to facilitate the nomination. In the process, Native Hawaiian human rights and beneficiary rights and entitlements to their trust lands have been terminated. For example, sustenance fishing is now only allowed to fishermen as long as they agree not to bring home fish for their families! In addition, the Bush Proclamation exempted all US Military activities in the Monument from the requirements of federal environmental law. These uses include military maneuvers and missile launching which petitioners do not support as part of the Conservation Management plan under WHC guidelines.

Nakoa/Koani objections are based in part on the exclusionary processes, which the United States utilized in the nomination, which did not include broad and transparent consultations with the beneficiaries of the trust but were limited to participation of a few individuals who were federal advisors and in some cases federal employees, and paid contractors. Petitioners object to the denial of their rights including their right to freely pursue their economic, cultural and social development in the Monument and the lack of procedures to accommodate their sustenance rights and cultural practices.

Nakoa/Koani refer to ongoing State Court Litigation that is challenging the refusal of the State of Hawaii to apply State environmental law to numerous activities being “permitted” by the USNOAA in the Monument, including numerous permits for extraction research. In addition, they document the introduction of coral diseases into the pristine waters of the Monument by USNOAA permit holders, and the ongoing failure of the USNOAA to monitor and enforce biosafety standards in the Monument. Petitioners support this litigation and do not believe that the nomination of the USA should be addressed by the World Heritage Committee before the Court delivers its ruling on the issues before it which directly relate to environmental and conservation management of Native Hawaiian trust assets in the Monument.

NaKoa/Koani also object to the taking of the sacred name “PAPAHANAUMOKU” and to its use by the Unites States to designate the monument as it is clearly the collective intellectual property and heritage of the Native Hawaiian peoples.

Nakoa/Koani question the Advisory Bodies’ (ICOMOS and IUCN) capacity to be independent (IUCN) and object to the processes followed by the site evaluators who are supposed to meet with all stakeholders including indigenous peoples who are practitioners, fishermen etc. This did not occur although the evaluators spent nearly a month in Hawaii during which time they flew to Hilo to tour the volcano and visit the Museum, had dinner on a replica of the Hokulea, had a 2 ½ week “cruise” of the NWHI, and met with Native Hawaiians who are “cultural advisors” of the USA.

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Petitioners also object to the UNESCO/WHC Pacific Action Plan that was drafted and developed without the meaningful participation of indigenous peoples who are customary landowners and still exert control over 90% of the territories of independent Pacific States. Nakoa/Koani refer to several UN human rights reports and documents, including the World Heritage Committee's own Operational Guidelines, that impose upon UNESCO and the WHC (and its advisory bodies) an affirmative obligation to implement the provisions of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in their work. Nakoa/Koani cite specific examples of how World Heritage designations on the lands of indigenous peoples have created serious human rights problems and in some cases resulted in the relocation of indigenous peoples.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Regarding the World Heritage nomination of the NWHI ("Papahānaumoku"):

- a. NaKoa/Koani recommend that the UNESCO/WHC defer action on the nomination of the NWHI and request that the Obama Administration consult with PETITIONERS to resolve issues relating to the rights of indigenous Hawaiians to access their trust resources in the NWHI (including sustenance rights), and to provide a fair process for Hawaiians to obtain permits for cultural and other uses of their resources in the NWHI.
- b. Nakoa/Koani recommend that the UNESCO, WHC, ICOMOS and IUCN (incl. TILCEPA) agree to send representatives to attend a consultation in Hawaii, hosted by Nakoa/Koani, at which time data, information and personal testimonies of practitioners and fishermen will be provided to them.

2. Regarding the procedures and processes utilized by UNESCO/WHC and their failure to integrate the human rights protections contained in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples or adopt internal policies relating thereto:

- a. Nakoa/Koani recommend that the UNESCO/WHC immediately convene a Working Group of Indigenous Experts, including experts from the Pacific, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights of indigenous people (Jim Anaya), representatives of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and others.
- b. Tasks of the Working Group will be 1) to draft an overarching policy on Indigenous Peoples (Model Policy) to guide the work of UNESCO and the WHC, incl. the work on the Pacific Action Plan; and 2) to create a framework for meaningful consultation between UNESCO/WHC and indigenous Pacific Peoples on the Pacific Plan.

3. Regarding the UNESCO/WHC Pacific Action Plan:

The UNESCO/WHC should defer adoption of the Pacific Action Plan until it has adopted a framework policy on indigenous peoples (referred to in 2 above) and a process for consultation. Thereafter, UNESCO/WHC should initiate consultations with all indigenous Pacific peoples in order to ensure their involvement in the conservation and management of their heritage and the inclusion of protective measures to ensure that their human rights, including their rights to fish, are acknowledged, preserved and integrated into the plan.

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