

Appendix: Background Readings for Teachers

Number 1 Cultural Sites; a heritage approach to teaching history and social studies in the Pacific islands

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Summary¹

The Pacific has an abundance of places with special cultural and historical significance to the local people, the nation, the region and the wider world. Yet many sites are not protected by legislation, do not have management plans, are in poor repair and are often unknown to other Pacific Islanders. A curriculum based on cultural sites will initiate community, national and world awareness of the legacies of the past and develop in young adults a spirit of community action to conserve and preserve these special places, and equip them with a set of skills so they can access knowledge about their own cultural heritage.

A regional approach

During discussions with educators at workshops and meetings across the region between 1995 and 2002, it was revealed that history and social studies teachers and curriculum specialists were committed to decolonising their national curricula. They wanted to replace existing metropolitan and world history orientated syllabi with local, national and regional histories that would focus students' attention on their own nation's achievements and historical record. At these meetings, held as part of a seven year project known as *Teaching the Pacific Forum* (TTPF) and later as *HistoryCOPS*, educators argued for a history and social studies curriculum which would develop skills, which would allow students to investigate their own historical traditions, heritage and culture and which would develop an appreciation of events and places in the region with cultural and historical significance.

These concerns overlapped with a long term objective of the TTPF project to promote the place of Pacific Island histories in the integrated, social studies, middle-school curriculum, to provide professional development opportunities for teachers keen to tackle this decolonised curriculum and to develop materials for students based on local, national and regional topics. The "cultural sites"

¹ An early version of this paper was presented at a regional workshop for history and social studies teachers, Suva, Fiji, July 1997 and subsequently published as "Cultural sites in the Pacific Islands: an approach to teaching history and social studies", in *Education, culture et identité*, edited by Weniko Ihage, Noumea: CORAIL, 1998, 267-90. *

project which evolved from these discussions is mirrored by two similar professional development programs for history teachers managed by the Hawai'ian Council for the Humanities (HCH) and the Pacific Resources Educational Laboratory (PREL) Office in Saipan. The Hawai'ian Council for the Humanities project targets the World History syllabi and textbooks followed in most American-flag and former American-flag nations. The aim is to infuse World History courses with Pacific Island topics demonstrating the Pacific Island context of events otherwise presented as unrelated World, European and American events. By offering workshops, training sessions and developing materials for classroom use, the Hawaiian project hopes to infiltrate and localise the existing, entrenched metropolitan curriculum. A similar project, under the PREL office in Saipan, is running History Institutes at which Pacific History scholars work with local teachers to develop a greater appreciation of Micronesian history. The three projects shared a common goal of hastening the decolonising campaign now affecting curriculum across the region.

This decolonising impetus in Pacific education systems is paralleled by a campaign to coordinate the move of Pacific Island nations towards signatory status of international and regional conventions affecting public access, conservation and preservation of sites now being acknowledged as important in an inventory of the common World Heritage. In 1996, a regional workshop held in Pohnpei, organised by the Pacific Islands Museum Association (PIMA), attempted a tentative inventory of sites and discussed processes for formal listing. In particular, UNESCO has led the way and in July 1997 convened the first regional conference in the Pacific on possible World Heritage sites, the need for national legislation to protect these sites, and the need for education programs to raise private, community, political and national awareness of these sites.²

Teacher delegates to TTPF workshops and other meetings of educators argued that a textbook written by Pacific Island teachers on cultural sites across the region would be an effective classroom resource, would serve as a vehicle for introducing local content into the curriculum and would have the long term outcome of an increased community awareness of the Pacific Island contribution to World Heritage. This concept was translated into a practical tool when a regional writing workshop was convened with the specific purpose of drafting a textbook on cultural sites for use in Years 7-10 in lower and middle secondary school social studies and history classrooms. For schools with computer facilities the possibility existed of developing a CD-ROM version of the textbook. The workshop was held in Suva in July 1997.³

In this paper, educational elements of World Heritage and the National Estate are linked to arguments supporting a "cultural sites" approach in schools. This is followed by a slight detour to visit sites of personal resonance, a commentary on commitment within the region to the protection of sites of cultural and historical importance and finally to the syllabus implications of introducing an innovative "cultural sites" program in schools.

Sites and places

² The four day conference, "3rd Global Strategy Meeting: Identification of World Heritage Properties in the Pacific", was held in Suva, Fiji. Although a list of "World Heritage" sites for the Pacific was not agreed upon, several nations, both signatory and non-signatory nations to the UNESCO Convention, offered tentative listings for their nation. These sites included well known sites such as the Sigatoka sand dunes (Fiji), Marovo Lagoon (Solomon Islands), Latte stones (Guam), Bikini atoll (RMI), Malietoa cave (Samoa), Roy Mata complex (Vanuatu) the Huon Terraces (Kuk, PNG) and others. There are now four World heritage sites in the Pacific, and four more on the "interim" or waiting list for discussion and approval.

³ The TTPF project later published *Pacific History, museums and cultural centres: a guide for history teachers*, Brisbane: TTPF, 2003. A second edition was published by PIMA in 2005.

“Site” is the technical word applied to a special historical or cultural landscape, precinct or place. The idea of using a site as a means of introducing students to aspects of their own and others’ culture, history and geography is a new approach in a social studies curriculum that has in the past been dominated by great men and women, great battles, cataclysmic and influential periods of change and political events regarded as turning points in history. The classroom strategy of using a place – a rock, tree, reef passage, village, town or building – as a vehicle for studying the essential characteristics of a people’s history and culture is not widespread or well-known and for most teachers a syllabus wholly based on sites and places will be a major innovation.

The benefits for students are that they will be examining the relationship between sites, events and people. This includes investigating the local, national, regional and global contexts in which places, events and people are connected and observing how these relationships change over time. A sites approach offers the opportunity to make local visits and excursions, to undertake fieldwork-based research activities and to contribute to the recording, preservation and protection of important places in the student’s own local community.

Students undertaking a sites approach will be engaged in *cultural mapping*, identifying, documenting and creating an inventory of their own and others’ cultural resources, including tangible elements such as historic landmarks, buildings, special places or events and intangible elements such as personal histories, memories, stories, attitudes and values associated with these places. A syllabus based on cultural mapping will lead students to the productions and presentation of written histories, video, multimedia, artworks, quilts, plays, songs, heritage trails, “working bees” and community conservation strategies. The ultimate aim of *cultural mapping* is to equip students so they can recognise, celebrate and support the preservation and conservation of places of importance to their community. This approach stresses the contribution historical skills make to an understanding of what each generation leaves as a legacy for those that follow.

The “site” approach is also a vehicle for introducing local fieldwork studies. While scholars and academics are writing in related fields of cultural maintenance, heritage, environmental consciousness and the nexus between history and tradition, so far no textbooks or syllabi have been developed, with Pacific content, using a “sites” approach.

An integrated approach

The idea that students should study culture – their own and others’ – is well established in the Pacific school curriculum. For example, Kiribati and Tonga teach “Culture Studies” and Palau has taken an earlier PREL initiated project and written a full curriculum statement, schedule and syllabus framework based around “Palauan Culture”.⁴ The idea that students should study history by examining events and peoples’ lives as they change over the centuries is also well established in the curriculum. As history teachers have pointed out, in many Pacific nations this is not necessarily structured around their own national, regional or Oceania histories. Stanley Karuo’o from the Solomon Islands, in a speech at the 1997 “Pacific Education Conference” in Majuro, noted that “post-independence Ministers of Education have maintained a metropolitan curriculum” rather than

⁴ “Culture studies” in these contexts are usually taken to mean arts, crafts and language studies which immerse students in their own communities and traditions. Historical, geographical and environmental considerations of place are of secondary importance or are missing in these “culture” syllabi.

develop localised studies, citing in their defence the expense of professional development, the convenience of existing printed and well-known syllabi, the accessibility of Euro-American texts and sources, and fear of creating a new but second rate certificate unacceptable to tertiary institutions on the Pacific rim.⁵ There is now a brighter outlook and across the region local and national histories are being slowly integrated into junior and middle school social studies curricula.

As a syllabus based on cultural sites will be innovative for many teachers, each school and education system must be convinced of the need for change, and will require assurances there is a textbook upon which to base the instruction, and secondly, a clear set of pedagogical aims and objectives for the students undertaking such a syllabus.

The key to selling a syllabus on cultural sites resides in the potential it offers to teach using an *integrated approach*. A textbook on sites of historical and cultural significance, such as Pohnpei's Nan Madol, Palau's Rock Islands or PNG's Kuk Irrigation Ditches, brings students into contact with a range of social studies skills and essential learnings. Students' learning based around sites will involve them in the acquisition and application of skills of;

- comprehension,
- reading and interpretation,
- interview,
- visitation,
- oral history collection,
- mapping,
- library research,
- art,
- graphics,
- statistical collation,
- and a variety of presentation modes.

They will be examining the physical topography of sites, past and current use, access issues bylaws, legislation and the way sites have been represented in drawings, paintings, song, dance and story telling. All the contributing disciplines in the social sciences curriculum will be involved, including non-print activities such as theatre, mime, oratory, art, music and dance. This can be a truly inclusive, integrated social studies approach.

The meaning of heritage

The other key to selling a syllabus based on cultural sites relies on gaining acknowledgment among educational planners that an appreciation of *heritage* is important.

⁵ From a workshop presented at the "Pacific Education Conference", Majuro, RMI, August 1997, and printed in *Update 14*, Brisbane, TTPF Project, October 1997, pp.2-4.

Heritage, and the phrase “cultural heritage management” are in common use these days, and are often taken to mean anything “old” such as a heritage building, a heritage festival (of traditional dances) or heritage in the sense of what people inherit from their ancestors. The concept of a “world heritage” was introduced in 1972 when UNESCO adopted the World Heritage Convention. Simply this is a list of universal things worth keeping. This legacy of past human achievements is what we now have around us, and in turn we must pass on these sites as “things worth keeping” to future generations. Because of their aesthetic, historic, scientific or social significance, other special values or natural or social qualities, sites are judged to be worth keeping as part of a universal, World Heritage. By 1995 there were 440 sites around the world on the list of the World Heritage Commission. 326 are cultural sites, 97 are natural sites and 17 are listed jointly as a natural and cultural site.⁶ The number of sites being listed in the associated sites category (both natural and cultural significance) is increasing.

In Australia the phrase “*The National Estate*” is used collectively for all the heritage sites worth keeping but there is still widespread confusion about the terminology – what is old; what is heritage; is an historical site different to a traditional or cultural site; how can a particular valley or building be thought of as encompassing one’s own heritage? In Australia for example, the Register of the Australian Heritage Commission, published in 1981, listed 6 600 sites worth keeping because of their natural environment, built environment, archaeological importance or significance for Aboriginal Australians. In 1980, in the Australian state of New South Wales, 200 sacred and ceremonial tribal sites and 5 000 rock art and painting sites were included in a list of 9 650 sites of special significance to Aboriginal Australians. By then Australia had eleven world heritage sites.

Natural qualities; are that a site must demonstrate a major stage in the earth’s evolutionary history, biological or geological processes, represent human interaction with the environment, be a habitat for endangered species or have unique or scenic qualities. Natural phenomena and unique landforms with mythological importance or exceptional beauty are also included.

Cultural qualities; are that a site must be unique or of great antiquity, be an outstanding example of a type (building, machine, settlement), have influenced people and events over a long period, be representative of artistic, aesthetic or creative genius, be associated with great ideas, beliefs, events or persons to be authentic.⁷ Pohnpei’s Nan Madol, Kosrae’s Lelu stone-walled city, Papua New Guinea’s Kuk ditches, Yap’s canoe houses, Palau’s Rock Islands and Tonga’s Koka or Royal Installation Tree easily meet the criteria for inclusion. Teachers think so and they have written chapters on these and other sites for the textbook.

⁶ Examples include; the Great Mosque at Cordova, Spain (built between 785 and 987 AS); Nubian monuments, Nile Valley, Egypt; Angkor Wat, Cambodia; Machu Picchu ruins, Peru; Eiffel Tower, Paris, France; Manu National Park, Peru; Greater Zimbabwe stone-wall ruins, Zimbabwe; Grand Canyon, USA; Head-smashed-in Buffalo Jump, Canada; Uluru, Australia.

⁷ There is also a category in heritage listings for *cultural property* (books, clothes, machinery, art works, tools). These are the moveable property, objects, collections, archives (and the inventory of Museums and galleries) passed down from earlier generations, often referred to as “the goods and chattels” of a nation’s National Estate.

Heritage sites also exist below the sea and several nations have historic shipwreck legislation, littoral (or coastal) zone laws and ocean floor restrictions.

A site is not necessarily a single building or narrowly delineated place. There is a further category which refers to a *precinct*. For example, a series of smaller sites, or a whole district may qualify because of the unifying perspective of related surrounding features. In this category a scattered complex of statues or burial sites, the remains of an ancient village complex or a huge tropical rainforest of thousands of hectares may be listed. The *Moai* complexes on Rapanui, Iron Bottom Sound in the Solomon Islands or the Royal Tomb Complexes in Tonga might fit this category. *Townscape* and *historic town* are further related concepts in which a whole town, such as the old port town of Levuka in Fiji, might be listed for its historic qualities. Districts within a town or city, such as the Spanish Mission area of Colonia on Pohnpei might be designated as *historic precincts*, *historic districts*, or *urban conservation areas*.

Cultural landscapes

The concept of a *cultural landscape* overlaps with the use of the phrase “cultural site”. Cultural landscapes include physical landforms, ecology and environments but also the legacies of human interaction with that land. A cultural landscape tells a story. It records human involvement with the land, such as the fenced agricultural uplands of Oahu Island, the ancient stone fish traps along many fringing reefs, abandoned plantations, harbours, towns and settlements. The cultural landscape also includes incomplete, renovated or recycled buildings, as well as physically altered landscapes and the abandoned and damaged relics of earlier generations.

A related concept is that of *ordinary landscapes*. When nominating places for inclusion on heritage lists it has often been the practice to privilege chiefs, elites, empires, the rich and the famous by designating the mark they have left on the land as worth keeping. The listing of King Kamehemehe’s birthplace, colonial Governor’s mansions and modern Parliament Houses are examples of this practice. These are sites worth keeping. However, we also need to privilege the landscapes that show us how the lives of ordinary people – workers, servants, families – were linked to the land and changed over time. In a curriculum based on cultural sites care must be taken to acknowledge social history or history from below and to be inclusive, highlighting the ordinary as well as the elite lives of past generation. The selection of sites for study must also take into account the recent past and Euro-American-Asian contact with the Pacific. Sites such as Kealakekua Bay and James Cook’s commemorative obelisk are significant in both Hawai’ian and British histories, while the Bay of Islands in Aotearoa has meaning for early Christian missions, Euro-American capitalist incursions through whaling and for Maori agency in their manipulation and accommodation of the

strangers on their shores.⁸ Sites such as these can be listed with an encompassing duality that acknowledges the entangled and contested histories of both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.

Cultural tourism and eco-tourism

The advent of “cultural tourism” is a recent phenomenon, so while tourists continue to visit the Pacific because the diving, surf, beaches and weather are good, many others are following the eco-tourism or cultural-tourism trail,

These tourists want to engage in meaningful discourse about a place, its past and its natural qualities. Rather than travel quickly from one place to another being told what they are seeing (known as commodity tourism), they want to engage with and imaginatively construct the past. There are reputed to be 3 000 educational tour companies worldwide offering this type of contact.⁹ Cultural tourism is educational leisure, or leisure activities which enhance awareness and appreciation of natural and human history of a region. These are admirable objectives and translate easily into syllabus statements. For students a syllabus based on cultural sites could serve the same purpose – enhancement and awareness of neighbouring Pacific communities and cultures. For a government conscious of human resource planning and for educators with a vocational imperative, it might be pragmatically pointed out that today’s students are more than likely to take jobs in these booming eco-tourism and cultural-tourism industries.

The legal jargon

Cultural sites are protected by an array of by-laws, regulations, acts of parliament, management agencies and international conventions. Students need not weave through this minefield, but their investigation of sites should bring them up against the vexed question of access and use versus preservation and conservation (to keep safe as it is now by prohibiting use, or to keep safe but manage the site to allow access and use). Who should own the “Virgin’s Grave” on Western Samoa’s Savai’i Island; who should profit from displays of Yapese stone money; who should control access to the Japanese gun emplacement and tunnel at Nefo in Chuuk? Are unwritten community laws enough to protect the Lelu stone-wall ruins now surrounded and over-run by settlements? Who protects sites in unoccupied areas such as the *marae*, guano mining and nuclear testing remnants on remote Maiden Island? Can resort developers in Hawai’i limit access to Maui’s legendary canoe launching sites?

⁸ For multiple histories of the Bay of Islands and Maori agency in the early 19th century see; James Belich, 1996, *Making Peoples; A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Honolulu, University of Hawai’i Press, Chapters 5-7.

⁹ Cited in *Cultural Tourism*, a special feature in *Trust News* (Journal of the National Trust of Victoria), Vol. 23, no. 1, 1994.

An investigation into the control, access and use of sites is likely to entangle students in community disputation, questions of state versus public responsibility, individual versus community rights and a web of bureaucratic, parliamentary and legislative submissions, hearings and objections. Teachers will need to guide their students carefully but this should not be cited as a reason for not tackling these important heritage issues.

Overcoming objections and the supernatural

Studying sites in other nations in the region should lead students to discover sites worth keeping in their own community. This is a worthy objective but also fraught with problems. For example, owners of private property need to be contacted regarding access before a student group goes trampling around ancestral burial sites or spiritually laden rock outcrops. A code of behaviour for students and hosts needs to be established. Appropriate approval will be needed prior to the photographic, video or artistic recording of a site and consultation will need to take place before fieldwork projects are put on public display. Sensitive negotiations may be needed regarding sites from the pre-Christian era, or for sites with current religious significance. Historical sites regarded as sacred may also be tapu or be regarded with fear due to their supernatural properties. Some pre-Christian sites are treated negatively by today's Christian communities and efforts by students to recover them, describe them or work on their conservation and preservation might incur the displeasure of their elders. Students at school and elders in the community must feel comfortable when confronting these issues and discussing past and present use, access, community action or campaigns for protective legislation.

Privileging an individual site by recording its story, or isolating a particular site and not seeing it in relation to a wider geographic complex of associated sites, may also be seen to be devaluing a site or valuing one site more than another. For example, to highlight the *Te Puna Vai ote Moko* (The Lizard Pond) on Rarotonga would be to devalue the scattered but connected sites up to eight kilometres distant.¹⁰ Yet many of the related sites are less visible now, having been dismantled, left to ruin or encompassed in harbour, residential and commercial developments on Rarotonga. Rebuilding one *marae* in a complex of significant sites might seem a good community action for students undertaking a cultural sites syllabus, but teachers need to guide students carefully through the community values, beliefs and contesting claims made when highlighting one particular site over others.

A personal tour of cultural sites

Personal involvement is a powerful force in community or grassroots action. Yet, surrounded by sites of great significance, we are often ignorant of their meaning, disinterested in their state of repair or security and often exploitative of qualities which we view pragmatically in dollars rather than emotionally in terms of heritage, tradition and culture. A syllabus based on cultural sites can be a means to address these failings. My own experience as an educator, historian and peripatetic

¹⁰ Tongia, M. (1980) "Problems on Reconstructing Historical Sites" in *Pacific Perspective*, Vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 36-38.

observer of peoples and places, illustrates how personal involvement can become a driving force for change in the way we teach.

My mother's name was Grace. She had been named after a famous fifteen-year-old Australian, Grace Bussell, who rode her horse in 1875 with Sam Isaac, an Aboriginal Australian stockman, repeatedly into the surf to rescue people from the shipwreck of the *Georgette* during a storm on the Western Australian coast. This story is well-known to many generations of Australian school children from an illustrated story in a compulsory primary school reader.¹¹ Grace Bussell had in turn been named after the young British heroine, Grace Darling, who saved shipwrecked people from the *Forfarshire* in a violent storm off the English coast in 1838. I have been to the coast near Busselton and I have stood upon the cliffs above the wind-swept beach where Grace and Sam's dramatic rescue took place in huge waves. I now feel an affinity with that event, that girl and that place. I have a sense of the place. This site also resonates with my understanding of how indigenous peoples were treated in Australia then and now. It is a sad reflection on Australia, then and now, that Sam Isaac was mostly ignored for his efforts in the rescue. This site is not on world or national heritage lists, but it is on my personal list of sites worth keeping and knowing about.

Another site I have seen is 160 kilometres south of Alice Springs in the Northern Territory. Chambers Pillar is a sandstone mesa of great significance for indigenous Australians. For indigenous Australians it is a mark of Alcera, the mythical warrior who travelled west killing men and capturing women, until he stopped to rest and for his sins was turned into stone. It also had significance for the invading settler community, and today for advertising agencies and tourism promoters alert to its striking geological silhouette. The pillar was a signpost for Europeans exploring the inland and many drew or photographed it. For them it was a marker along a track to somewhere else. Later, pastoralists carved their names in its rock walls. For them it served as a marker of their possessions and grazing rights.¹² For all these reasons it is listed in the National Register of the Australian Heritage Commission. Around this site, 340 hectares have been declared a "Historical Reserve". Examination of the European art works, photographs, explorers' diaries and Aboriginal Australian stories and art about sites like Chambers Pillar offers an instructive pathway to understanding how land and people are inter-connected. The study of Chambers Pillar offers access to current Australian concern over indigenous identity and sovereignty, pastoral leases and the extinguishment or not of native title.

A third site I have visited several times is Kealakekua Bay on Hawai'i's big island. I always stood in awe of its portent. It was a place loaded with emotion for a child brought up to believe Cook was the world's greatest navigator. It was significant to me because of the connection to great themes of exploration, adventure and conquest in European history. As an educator who had written about Cook's death for a textbook, but had never visited the place, I thought on my first visit it

¹¹ This was a compulsory reader used in most Australian states. See, *Victorian Reader; Grade 4*, Education Department, Melbourne, 1930 edition, pp. 85-88.

¹² See, Paul Carter, 1992, *Living in a New Country: History, Travelling and Language*, London, Faber and Faber.

was forbidding and yet alive with the past.¹³ After several visits, and having read a new wave of scholarly debates on Hawai'ian motivations for Cook's death,¹⁴ my perception of the place sharpened. In recent visits I now see, not Cook's ship anchored in the bay, but Hawai'ians moving in and out of the hinterland, plotting and planning a welcome and a challenge on a stage in which their distant and future histories became entwined momentarily with a few European strangers. I regard it now as a place with ritual significance in Hawai'ian history, a place that echoes the deeds of ancestors and the sovereignty cries of contemporary Hawai'ians. I would argue now that it warrants inclusion as both an indigenous and non-indigenous site of historical and cultural significance.

Another personal experience with heritage sites came about when writing an atlas and associated textbook for schools. I convinced my co-authors that it should include information for students about World Heritage Places. To my surprise I found there were only four World Heritage sites in Oceania; the big island of Hawai'i's volcano district; the whole island of Rapanui including its megalith portraits or *Moai*; Henderson Island and the unique fauna of Ecuador's Galapagos Islands, also significant because of Charles Darwin's visit and subsequent theories on evolution. This did not seem at all to represent the culture, history, geography and heritage of Pacific Island peoples. Why was Kaba Point in Fiji, Lapita in New Caledonia or the famous pre-historic canoe factory on Tetiaroa Island in French Polynesia not included, along with a dozen others?

When the TTPF project began I heard teachers in the region saying they wanted to introduce a "Pacific" syllabus on local history, culture and heritage, my personal experiences with sites like Busselton, Chambers Pillar and Kealakekua Bay seemed to mesh with an opportunity to address both a huge gap in the World Heritage listings, and in students; learning experiences about their own histories.

Studying cultural sites – what do students gain?

At the end of a semester studying *cultural sites*, students should have acquired;

- knowledge of change over time in their history,
- an appreciation of endangered features of their cultural heritage,
- an appreciation of the unique qualities of Pacific sites and places,
- an appreciation of past creative and technical achievements,

¹³ Quanchi, M, 1987, "The Death of James Cook; Why Did He Die in Hawai'i?" in Gurry, T. ed., *Living History*, Melbourne, Collins Dove, pp. 155-177.

¹⁴ Dening, G, 1982, "Sharks That Walk on the Land", *Meanjin Quarterly*, Vol. 41, pp. 417-437; Sahlins, M, 1985, "Captain James Cook: Or The Dying God" in his *Islands of History*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 104-135. A decade later, interest in Cook's death was revived by two new books; Gananath Obeyesekere, 1992, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, and Marshall Sahlins, 1995, *How "Natives" Think About Captain Cook for Example*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

- an understanding of the link between places and social, cultural and spiritual identity, skills for yielding information from sites
- a desire to participate in their community's valuing of heritage passed on from earlier generations.

This is a daunting list, but it is achievable and I think these outcomes should convince Curriculum Specialists and Principals of the importance of having a syllabus devoted to cultural sites from across the Pacific.

A "cultural sites" syllabus for junior secondary students should place equal emphasis on *knowing* about their own and others' cultural and historic sites, on *skills* for finding out about the world around them, and *attitudes* and *values* towards culture, history, heritage and environment which they will carry into adulthood as caring and responsible members of their community. The classroom approach should be inclusive, allowing us as wide a range of sites as possible including those from the distant past, recent past and contemporary eras. This chronological structure conforms to the narrative presentation of most existing middle school social studies curricula in the region. An alternative structure for classroom presentation would be to consider a thematic arrangement of sites. Possible themes might include progression through mythical and legendary sites, spiritual sites, sites associated with chiefly systems and ruling dynasties, sites associated with the colonial era, modern identity and nation status and sites of spectacular beauty or environmental significance. The choice of sites is wide;

- meeting places,
- mysterious places,
- sacred or supernatural sites,
- special environments (lagoons, river systems, valleys),
- performing or ritual sites,
- "firsts" (eg first canoe landing site),
- sites of early villages and settlements,
- sites of battles,
- sites associated with myths, legends and genealogies,
- national parliament buildings,
- World War II sites,
- historic towns, precincts or townscapes
- larger associated natural and cultural complexes.

The primary concern in selecting sites and designing student activities is to ensure the study of the site can be completed by students without recourse to resources other than a "cultural sites" textbook. This acknowledges that schools in many systems across the region are still inadequately resourced. Another design dilemma is that a unit of work on a particular site should challenge students in urban centres with well stocked libraries and access to government agencies and communication networks. But other students in outer-island schools will lack access to electricity, books and regular postage services, others will be surfing the net looking for home pages, chat boxes and list servers of conservationists, legislators and international heritage agencies.

A textbook and “cultural sites” syllabus, even if nothing else was to be achieved, would be valued as an impetus for national governments in the region to enact legislation to register and protect sites of importance and to become signatories to the UNESCO convention on World Heritage. If students were active initiating and carrying out minor, local conservation projects and calling for heritage action by their community leaders and elders, it would be a remarkable outcome, demonstrating to students that they could indeed change the world. Cultural landscapes and cultural sites have a quality which can evoke stories of great deeds, grand adventures as well as intimate stories of personal endeavour. A textbook and syllabus structured around cultural sites also has the potential to introduce history to students in a challenging and enjoyable manner, and it might make them activists and pro-active guardians of the heritage they have inherited, and in turn which they will pass on to their own children.

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