Valuing Culture in Oceania

Methodology and indicators for valuing culture, including traditional knowledge, in Oceania

Report prepared by Synexe Consulting Limited
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Abbreviations and acronyms

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADRA	Adventist Development Relief Agency
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BRCSS	Building Research Capability in the Social Sciences
CARITAS	Catholic Agency for International Aid and Development
CEDAW	UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport, United Kingdom
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDP	Human Development Programme
HGDP	Human Genome Diversity Project
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
IFACCA	International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultures Agencies
IFCP	Island Food Community of Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia
IP	Intellectual Property
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
LMMA	Locally Managed Marine Area Network
MC	Micronesia Challenge
MEHRD	Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, Solomon Islands
MIC	Micronesians in Island Conservation Network
MICA	Ministry of Information Communication and the Arts, Singapore
MIRAB	Migration, Remittances, Aid, Bureaucracy (model explaining the economies of small island nations
NIS	National Integrity System
NGO	Non-government organisation
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDMCs	Pacific Developing Member Countries of the Asian Development Bank
PIFS	Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat
PIMPAC	Pacific Islands Marine Protected Area Community Network
PNG	Papua New Guinea
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
SPREP	Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme
TK	Traditional Knowledge
TOR	Terms of reference
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WFDD	World Faith Development Dialogue
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization

Executive summary

Culture has always been an integral component of development. The idea that 'culture matters' in development processes is not a new one, but the central role it plays in achieving sustainable development has only recently been recognised by development planners and incorporated into development policy. Since the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988–1997), a series of significant international meetings have focused on creating harmony between culture and development, harnessing culture to achieve sustainable development, and promoting cultural creativity and diversity through development. Organisations such as UNESCO have been instrumental in placing culture at the heart of development policy and planning. UNESCO has created a number of conventions to protect all forms of culture, the most recent being the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions 2005

In Oceania the importance of culture to development has been recognised at the highest levels: by the Pacific Ministers of Culture in their 2002 Declaration, which included the promotion of sustainable and profitable cultural industries as a priority; and by the Pacific Islands Forum trade ministers and leaders, who incorporated it into the Pacific Plan (2005). While Oceania is a region rich in culture and cultural diversity, the role played by culture in achieving economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security (the four pillars of the Pacific Plan), is not well understood. Even within the Pacific Plan itself, culture only appears in one of the four pillars (i.e. sustainable development).

As this report will show, culture is integral to achieving all objectives across the four pillars of the Pacific Plan. Culture is fundamental to sustainable development, and in the current climate of global economic recession it has the potential to contribute to economic growth and security through employment linked to services (d'Almeida 2009:2). Promoting cultural values and identities also has the potential to improve social cohesion and wellbeing and to contribute to good governance in a time of crisis.

The main objective of this project was to develop a methodology and to propose indicators for valuing culture, including traditional knowledge, in Oceania. The methodology and indicators comprise the first essential step in formulating a regional cultural strategy, to maintain and strengthen Pacific cultural identity for the consideration of Pacific leaders in 2010.

At the beginning of the project we established a practical concept of culture to use for developing a methodology and indicators for valuing culture in Oceania. Culture is 'the learned, shared understandings among a group of people about how to behave and what everything means' (Omohundro 2008:27). Oceanian cultures shape and are shaped by understandings and practices of development in the region. The following principles underpin this methodology:

- all human beings have culture; it is something we learn and teach that guides our actions, customs and behaviours, and provides a source of creativity and innovation that manifests in various ways.
- culture can sometimes be hard to 'see'.
- Oceania is rich in cultural diversity.
- Oceanian cultures are innovative, creative and hybridised.
- culture is not static but changes over time and in different locations.
- common Oceanian values can be recognised and used as a starting point to identify fundamental aspects of cultural identity around which indicators for valuing culture can be built.
- Oceanian cultural practices can be both enabling and constraining forces in development.
- culture is central to the methodology as both the object of investigation and the process by which methods and indicators are developed, used and evaluated.

In many parts of the world, culture is now seen as an industry (one of the fastest growing in certain regions) and as the 'fourth pillar of sustainability'. The 'creative economy' is a concept that links the creative impulse associated with culture to entrepreneurship, innovation, productivity and economic growth (UNCTAD 2008:3). According to UNCTAD, cultural and creative industries are at the heart of the creative economy. Although they have different origins, the terms 'cultural industries' and 'creative industries' both refer to industries that use creativity, skill and intellectual property to create tangible and intangible goods, activities and knowledge. Regardless of which term is used, a common theme is clear: cultural activities are creative and this creativity can be harnessed for economic growth.

Given the enthusiastic reception of the cultural and creative industries in the developed world, it is unsurprising that culture has also been identified in development thinking as fundamental to successful aid outcomes. A new development paradigm has emerged which repositions culture from obstacle to asset; culture is now seen as a key driver in economic, social, and sustainable development. Culture is incorporated into development thinking and policy in three ways as:

- **institution** (where local values, social networks and indigenous forms of organisation are incorporated into project processes and objectives)
- **product** (where tangible and intangible culturally distinctive products and services are brought to the market) and
- **a creative, flexible resource** (a view that incorporates the idea of culture as institution, increases the scope of culture as product to include intangible property and modern forms, and recognises that culture is not static but is a source of creativity and innovation).

UNESCO regards culture as a 'vast untapped' resource for development in the Asia-Pacific region. Consequently, the development of cultural and creative industries within the Asia-Pacific region is favoured as it fits well within the new development ethic. These industries are sustainable, translate into both economic success and social unity through meaningful cultural production, operate best under democratic and inclusive governance and require leadership and participation by the stakeholder.

Nationally, regionally and internationally different strategies have been used to engage with culture according to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan (economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security). Culture is a key input that needs to be taken seriously and Oceanian cultural knowledge should be placed at the centre of strategies for effective development. A literature review that we conducted as part of this project revealed that:

- promoting culture as a vehicle for economic growth has tangible and intangible outcomes that reach beyond the pillar of economic growth
- culture is also creatively used to resist economic growth and
- development a sustainable society depends on a sustainable culture
- understandings of 'corruption' are context-specific and local practices such as gift-giving need to be analysed in context
- traditional Oceanian accountability structures could provide a useful framework for constructing effective governance programmes in the region
- traditional and modern systems can be used synergistically to create culturally appropriate strategies for development
- biopiracy, food security and environmental security are areas of particular concern in Oceania.

In developing the conceptual framework for this methodology, we began by reviewing approaches others researchers working on measurements and policies for culture and development have taken.

This methodology draws on two key sources: the Maria-Rosario Jackson et al. (2003) framework for measuring art and culture in communities in the United States and Hawkes's (2001) description of how the concept of culture can be applied to public policy.

An initial draft of the methodology for valuing culture and a strategy for three seven-day field visits to selected Pacific Island countries was developed after conducting a literature review. The purpose of the field visits was to consult with a representative sample of stakeholders on the value of culture to ensure that a range of views were considered, assessed, documented and analysed.

Our strategy for the field visits was to focus on specific case studies or aspects of the interaction between culture and development in each place. Five areas of investigation were pursued:

- how culture is currently used in development at the village, district and national level
- what kinds of policies exist relating to traditional knowledge and intellectual property
- how development projects that involve culture are supported
- how the impacts of development projects involving cultural activities are currently evaluated and by whom, and
- what kinds of handicrafts and other cultural products are made and how they are sold or exchanged.

As a result of interviews and discussions with key stakeholders in each country, different foci were developed. In the Solomon Islands the focus was on creative arts and cultural policy frameworks. In the Federated States of Micronesia the focus was on food security and environmental issues. In Tonga the focus was on education, performance arts and cultural heritage. See Appendix 1 for a full description of the methodology used in preparing this report.

The following four questions, developed from background research and fieldwork, guided the conceptual framework of this methodology:

- How is culture defined, presented and valued in relation to the economy, sustainable development, governance, and security in the community/village/district/nation/region?
- What should be measured and why?
- What data are already available for this purpose?
- What kinds of information need to be collected?

The next step was to develop four guiding principles for this methodology (adapted from Jackson et al. 2003) that are useful for identifying the multiple facets of culture. These guiding principles were then supplemented with parameters for describing cultural activities. This kind of description is necessary for developing indicators to measure the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan. The proposed **framework for measuring the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan** is as follows:

Guiding Principles	**Parameters**
1. Oceanian cultures are innovative, creative and change over time and in different contexts	Presence
2. Culture is an enabling and a constraining factor in development	Participation
3. Cultural activities contribute to a range of tangible and intangible outcomes	Impacts
4. Cultural activities, producers and events draw on a range of resources	Support

This framework was used to develop preliminary quantitative and qualitative indicators. Developing indicators to evaluate how culture contributes to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan is challenging. The preliminary indicators proposed are designed to be useful for assisting a range of stakeholders to 'see' the ways in which culture and cultural values are already present in activities as well as opportunities for further engagement. The indicators are informed by common Oceanian values and are organised around the four parameters of this framework (presence, participation, impacts, support). In particular, they aim to identify the ways in which culture contributes to development as process and outcome. It is envisaged that these indicators will be used as a starting point for a range of stakeholders to adapt and so they can develop their own indicators to suit their needs.

Funding and resources available for data collection are limited in Oceania and some information needed for the preliminary indicators can be drawn from existing sources (such as national surveys, census data and published research). However, some new data will need to be collected. In line with the belief that culture should be central to the methods used to gather data, Oceanic research paradigms such as those listed below are recommended along with culturally appropriate approaches such as *talanoa:*

- Fa'afaletui research methodology (Tamasese et al.
- 2005) Fale (Koya et al. 2007)
- Fonofale model (Pulotu-Endemann 1995)
- Kakala research framework (1992, modified in 2005 by Taufe'ulungaki and Johansson-Fua – – see Thaman, 2006)
- Kaupapa Māori (see Smith, G.H. 1997; Smith, L.T. 1999 and Pihama
- 2001) Na'auao/Hawaiian epistemology (Meyer 2001)
- Te vaka atafaga model (Kupa 2009)
- *Teu le va* research paradigm (Anae 2007)
- Tivaevae model (Maua-Hodges 2000)
- Vanua Resesarch Framework (Nabobo-Baba 2006:136–137)

These are paradigms that could be fruitfully used to gather data for the preliminary indicators and other indicators developed by stakeholders to suit their needs. As pointed out by UNCTAD, no information base exists for identifying indicators and creating policy around cultural and creative industries (UNCTAD 2008:81) . Although methods for collecting new data will require specific resources, such data would be a valuable addition to cultural indicators and to policy development. The following tools are fluid and responsive to change, as is culture.

- assessing cultural values and cultural
- value cultural mapping
- surveys and questionnaires
- joint research projects

When developing their own indicators, stakeholders could use any of the research paradigms listed above while undertaking the following suggested steps:

1. carry out an assessment to establish the cultural values of an entity (e.g. community, NGO, local government department) and the cultural value of its activities. Information could be gathered using surveys or questionnaires, or other culturally appropriate methods such as *talanoa*. This will provide baseline data on the value of culture to the entity and its members/affiliates.
2. carry out cultural mapping of the entity to identify and document local cultural resources that are already being used, or that have the potential to be used, in its activities (see Recommendation 2). This will help the entity 'see' how culture is already present in its policies and activities, or where it could be incorporated.
3. develop a policy, activity, programme or proposal based on the data collected.

4. evaluate the policy, activity, programme or proposal using a cultural framework (see Recommendation 1).
5. using the Framework for Measuring the Contribution of Culture to the Four Pillars of the Pacific Plan (see Section 4.1.4), develop indicators to achieve the outcomes and objectives as defined by the policy, activity, programme or proposal.

Recommendations

Recommendations for a regional cultural strategy, based on the guiding principles in the methodology, are as follows:

Recommendation 1: Develop a cultural framework

A cultural framework provides a standard method of assessing the potential of all policies, activities, programmes and proposals to maintain and strengthen Oceanian cultural identity (Objective 11.1 of the Pacific Plan). Similar to cultural impact assessments, a cultural framework is a high-level, flexible tool used to assess and evaluate existing and proposed policies, activities, programmes and proposals as to their likely and/or achieved impact (negative or positive) on the four pillars of the Pacific Plan (this idea is adapted from Hawkes 2001:32). Different stakeholders, ranging from village councils and civil society organisations to local, provincial, and national governments to international agencies can use a cultural framework in many different contexts.

Recommendation 2: Conduct cultural mapping in each country

Cultural mapping of existing cultural values, activities, structures, resources and products should be undertaken in each Pacific Island state. This will help identify strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and obstacles posed by culture to development objectives, and by development processes to cultural values. From here, countries will be able to identify and plan specific policies according to their interests and resources. Cultural maps are often used as the basis for cultural planning and policy formulation, and undertaking this activity across Oceania will provide valuable qualitative and quantitative information about the links between culture, cultural values, and the four pillars of the Pacific Plan (economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security).

Recommendation 3: Establish a virtual regional cultural 'think tank'

Establish and resource a virtual regional cultural 'think tank' to source information, conduct research and make publicly available findings on how culture interacts with the four pillars of the Pacific Plan. This 'think tank' might consist of cultural experts from local, regional and international pools and include cultural users and producers to indigenous and foreign consultants and academics. The research undertaken will be useful in assisting governments, development partners, and other stakeholders to understand the challenges involved with protecting, preserving and promoting cultural diversity in Oceania and address priorities in a careful, considered manner. This 'think tank' could also be charged with creating a new information base for identifying indicators and creating policy around culture and development, providing support for cultural mapping, and contributing to an initial draft cultural framework for Oceania.

Recommendation 4: Prioritise resources for valuing culture in development

Culture is one of Oceania's biggest resources and should be supported accordingly.
Prioritise national and regional resources for valuing culture in development. This might involve setting aside a percentage of national budgets for protecting cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge in an autonomous manner. Resources could also be provided to help establish a new information base for Oceanian cultural statistics. This might also encourage the different institutional bodies dealing with culture and cultural issues to communicate and work collaboratively. Development partners could also be asked to dedicate specific resources so entities can protect, preserve and promote Oceania's cultural diversity — the regional 'think tank' could be funded in this manner, for example.

All four recommendations form the essence of a regional cultural strategy for maintaining and strengthening Oceanian cultural identity (Strategic Objective 11.1 of the Pacific Plan). The recommendations also contribute to all four pillars of the Pacific Plan in the following ways:

- a cultural framework can be used to assess and evaluate the contribution of culture to policies, activities, programmes and proposals on economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security.
- cultural mapping is a useful tool for revealing all the ways in which culture contributes to economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security.
- a virtual regional cultural 'think tank' would be tasked with creating a cultural framework, undertaking cultural mapping, and bringing knowledge of the central role of culture in the four Pacific Plan pillars into the public domain.
- finally, given that culture is central to development, and that culture is one of Oceania's biggest assets, prioritising national and regional resources for valuing culture will help achieve the overall goal of the Pacific Plan, which is to enhance and stimulate economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security for Pacific countries through regionalism.]

The following steps are recommended for developing a regional cultural strategy for Oceania:

1. establish a virtual regional cultural 'think tank' (see Recommendation 3).
2. carry out cultural mapping in each Pacific Island country (see Recommendation 2).
3. develop a cultural framework for use by a range of stakeholders in different contexts (see Recommendation 1). Engage with stakeholders from three different Pacific Island countries in culturally appropriate ways (see the suggested toolkit of methods in Section 5.3) to test, review and refine the cultural framework.
4. choose and develop appropriate methods to gather and analyse information for a new information base (see Recommendations 3 and 4 and the suggested toolkit of methods in Section 4.3). This information base will be used for identifying indicators to build on the list of preliminary indicators provided, and for creating policy around culture and development.
5. launch the cultural framework at a regional meeting (such as a Pacific Island Leaders' Meeting or a meeting of the ACP Ministers of Culture) and discuss priorities and challenges involved with protecting, preserving and promoting Oceania's cultural diversity.
6. monitor and evaluate the uptake and usefulness of the cultural framework in achieving its goal of maintaining and strengthening Oceanian cultural identity.
7. report on and discuss the effectiveness of the cultural framework in achieving its goal of maintaining and strengthening Oceanian cultural identity, and its usefulness in assessing the impacts of policies/activities on economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security, at a regional meeting (such as an annual Pacific Islands Forum meeting, or meeting of the ACP Ministers of Culture).

Introduction

Background

Culture has always been an integral component of development. The idea that 'culture matters' in development processes is not a new one, but the central role it plays in achieving sustainable development has only recently been recognised by development planners and incorporated into development policy. Since the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988–1997) a series of significant international meetings have focused on creating harmony between culture and development, harnessing culture to achieve sustainable development, and promoting cultural creativity and diversity through development. Organisations such as UNESCO have been instrumental in placing culture at the heart of development policy and planning. UNESCO has passed several conventions to protect all forms of culture, the most recent being the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions 2005.

In Oceania, the importance of culture to development has been recognised at the highest levels: by the Pacific Ministers of Culture in their 2002 Declaration, which included the promotion of sustainable and profitable cultural industries as a priority; and by the Pacific Islands Forum Trade Ministers and Leaders, who incorporated it into the Pacific Plan which was endorsed in 2005. While Oceania is a region rich in culture and cultural diversity, the role played by culture in achieving economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security (the four pillars of the Pacific Plan), is not well understood. Even within the Pacific Plan itself culture only appears in one of the four pillars (e.g. sustainable development).

As this report will show, culture is integral to achieving all 13 objectives across the four pillars of the Pacific Plan. Culture is fundamental to sustainable development, and in the current climate of global economic recession it has the potential to contribute to economic growth and security through employment linked to services (d'Almeida 2009:2). Promoting cultural values and identities also has the potential to improve social cohesion and wellbeing and contribute to good governance in a time of crisis.

Objectives of the study

The specific objectives of the study, according to the terms of reference were to:

1. define culture in a Pacific context and its current application, as well as further potential applications, to economic, social and political development.
2. demonstrate how culture, including traditional knowledge, has come to be viewed as an economic and social asset in other parts of the world and by major international financial and donor agencies, and the consequences of this on development policy, particularly for the Pacific region.
3. identify, review and analyse existing national, regional and international priorities, strategies and documents relating to, or impacting on the cultural sector of the Pacific Islands region, including small island states.
4. consult with a representative sample of stakeholders, including targeted communities, on the value of culture to ensure that a comprehensive and significant range of views are considered, assessed, documented and analysed.
5. establish a qualitative and quantitative methodology and propose preliminary indicators for measuring the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan —governance, security, economic growth and sustainable development. These methodologies and indicators should be easily interpreted, adapted and used by local communities, state actors and regional and international partners/donors.

6. design an initial workplan that will support the development of a framework which, based on the methodology, begins to identify, the key components which should make up a regional cultural strategy to satisfy the major needs and requirements of stakeholders over a ten-year period from 2010.

Structure of the report

This report is divided into the following sections:

- an executive summary
- an introduction that outlines the background and objectives of this study.
- Section 1 discusses the concept of culture, looks at common cultural values found within Oceania despite its cultural diversity, and describes the relationship between culture and social, political and economic development in Oceania.
- Section 2 examines how culture came to be viewed as a vehicle for promoting economic and social development.
- Section 3 discusses existing strategies that engage with or impact upon the cultural sector nationally and internationally. This discussion is organised around the four Pacific Plan pillars of economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security.
- Section 4 describes the methodology and preliminary indicators developed to assist communities, countries and regional and international organisations understand how to evaluate the value and role of culture in different parts of the region. It also includes a suggested toolkit of methods that could be used to gather data for the proposed indicators.
- Section 5 identifies four key components and recommends an initial workplan for a regional cultural strategy.
- Appendix 1 describes the methodology used in this study.
- Appendix 2 contains field visit reports and a list of persons consulted during the process.

1. Culture and development in Oceania

This section addresses culture and development in Oceania. First, a general definition of culture is provided to establish what this term covers. This definition is followed by a discussion of the cultural diversity that exists within Oceania and whether any common Oceanian cultural values can be established. Finally the relationship between culture and social, political and economic development in Oceania is discussed.

Hau'ofa's (1994) term 'Oceania' is used to refer to the Pacific region in this report. This is an inclusive term that encompasses the vast space of human connection through voyages, trade, kinship, and increasingly, the internet. Hau'ofa's representation of Oceania includes those Pacific Islanders living 'outside' this geographical area (Jolly 2007:530): the diasporic communities and individuals now residing across the globe but still engaged socially, politically, economically, and spiritually with Oceania.

1.1 The concept of culture

To begin, it is necessary to provide a definition of culture that is useful for developing a methodology and indicators appropriate to an Oceanian context. In everyday discourse the term 'culture' is often used to refer to 'the arts' or the lifestyles of exotic, non-Western 'others'. However culture is more than that — culture is what makes us human, it is the foundation of society, and it is something all human beings have.

Konai Helu Thaman has discussed how the use of the term 'culture' has changed over time, from its beginnings in the 16 th century when culture referred to those who were wealthy and was associated with western arts, music, theatre, literature and sculpture (known as 'high culture') to more recent views of culture as symbolic or social practice (2003:6). From an Oceanian perspective, Thaman 1998, cited in Taufe'ulungaki 2004:11 defines 'culture' as:

> a shared way of living of a group of people, which includes their accumulated knowledge and understandings, skills and values, as expressed and constructed in their language, which is perceived by them to be unique and meaningful.

Culture is something that:

- we learn and teach family members, neighbours and others in our communities through language and social interaction over the course of our lifetimes;
- guides our actions and habits (conscious and unconscious), our customs and beliefs, our social, economic and political systems, and the relationships we form with our wider environments;
- is a source of creativity and innovation that can be expressed in a range of ways, from custom and tradition to biological, medical, agricultural and environmental knowledge; from livelihood techniques and skills to visual and performing arts; from decision-making and leadership to music, literature and the built environment;
- can sometimes be hard to 'see'. Just like a fish does not think about the water constantly surrounding it, we do not always think about the way of life we share with others in our communities or the reasons why we do things the way we do.

In his description of culture, Hawkes (2001:3) writes that 'the question is no longer "what is culture?" but "what isn't?"' This is a good question — the concept of culture is not useful if it is too broad.

To help sharpen our understanding of culture, anthropologist and educator John Omohundro (2008:46) provides a number of examples of what culture is *not*:

> Culture is not the same as civilization, nor does it refer to refinement or sophistication. Culture is not the same as society, although the two do make each other possible. Culture cannot explain everything that people think or do. It does not refer to the observed behaviour itself, although it guides behaviour. Culture is not limited to observable ethnic flags such as food, music, and costume. Finally, culture does not imply complete agreement or consensus among its practitioners.

Culture is a shared way of living among a group, but some societies create, share and perpetuate more than one culture. Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, is a bi -cultural society with Māori and Pākehā. In Fiji, indigenous Fijians coexist with Indo-Fijians. In addition, not everyone with the same cultural identity will have the same values and opinions. For example, while many Oceanian peoples agree that Christian faith and values are important, there is a great deal of diversity in the different religions people follow. People disagree about how to deal with criminal offenders, who should own land, and who can be elected into systems of government. Age and gender are also affected by and affect culture — the United Nations Population Fund recognises that there are pressures towards and against women's empowerment and gender equality in all cultures and calls for culturally sensitive approaches to development programming (Moncrieffe et al. 2008). 'What culture actually does is define the debates and provide a language for our disagreement' (Omohundro 2008:46).

In summary, culture is 'the learned, shared understandings among a group of people about how to behave and what everything means' (Omohundro 2008:27).

- Culture is something we **learn and teach,** that **guides our actions, customs and behaviours**, and provides a **source of creativity and innovation** that manifests in various ways.

This concept of culture provides the most useful and appropriate starting point for developing a methodology and indicators for valuing culture in Oceania.

1.2 Oceanian cultures

In her definition of culture cited above, Thaman notes the relationship between language and culture. Language is often described as the carrier of culture as it is through language that we communicate. Both western and Oceanian understandings of culture acknowledge that language is embedded in culture (Taufe'ulungaki 2004:11).

Box 1: Vernacular language education

One of the key issues confronting those who work in the cultural sector in the Pacific is that culture is seen as constituting part of everyday life, and so is not perceived to need support in the same way that a country's health system or education system might require support. However, culture is not separate from issues such as health and education. In Solomon Islands in recent years there has thus been a concerted effort by some involved in the cultural sector to include vernacular languages within the country's education system.

A strong link has been shown between the use of vernacular education in the early years of the education process and subsequent achievement in later levels. In addition, given the strong linkage between language and the conceptual underpinnings of culture, there is a desire to ensure that vernacular language education is included within the country's education system. In association with the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (MEHRD), representatives from the National Museum and other groups with expertise in the role of vernacular language education are working to develop a new curriculum which would see basic education from kindergarten through to Year 6 being delivered in local vernacular languages with a subsequent gradual transition through to English. In addition this same group is also working to develop new 'cultural studies' units for Years 7 and 8 with the goal of having this in use by 2012.

In doing this, the group is following on from best practice examples that have demonstrated the importance of vernacular education for improved educational attainment by children.

One of the key difficulties faced in moving forward is the lack of a national language policy that could act as a framework upon which these new developments could be based. So too, there is still a strong belief by some people in government and in communities, that vernacular education is an impediment to development and so the education system should focus on English as that is the international language of trade and economic development. The point to note, though, is that the proposed developments within MEHRD's curriculum are not at the expense of English language education but are rather seen as complementary, allowing a more stable educational platform to be created for children who enter the country's education system often speaking no English language.

By the criterion of language alone, it is evident that Oceania is a region rich in culture. Although just 0.1 per cent of the world's population lives within Oceania, but it is home to one third of the world's languages: more than 1000 languages are spoken in Melanesia,[1] for example, with 700 different languages spoken by 6 million people in Papua New Guinea (Secretariat of the Pacific Community 2004; Goff 2006:25; Blake 2006) . 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki makes the point that 'multilingualism is the norm in almost all Pacific countries' (Taufe'ulungaki 2004:5).

Oceania is spread over 30 million square kilometres containing 7500 islands (only about 500 of which are inhabited). Although many of the region's inhabitants share a voyaging tradition and have societies that have evolved with migration, there are distinct cultural differences among (and within) groups of people from different islands mainly due to their isolation (Blake 2006). Melanesian states are made up of mostly rural communities living on ancestral lands and typically see more internal movement than overseas migration (White and Tengan 2001:386), whereas Polynesian states such as Tonga and Samoa see a considerable amount of out-migration along pathways created in colonial times (Rallu and Ahlburg 1999:259). Pacific Islanders who have migrated from Oceania to live and work abroad also develop cultural differences from families and communities who have stayed at home; for instance, Auckland-based Samoans develop cultural differences from Apia- based Samoans, and culture evolves in both places over time as people respond to changing socio-cultural, political, economic and physical environments.

There are two points here:

- Oceanian cultures are innovative, hybridised and creative. For example, Albert Wendt has noted that Oceania has 'a cultural diversity more varied than any other in the world' (1976:57, cited in Wood 2003:348).)
- Culture changes over time and in different locations; it is not static.

These are important points to note. The idea that cultures, including those of the Pacific, are static stems from old colonial power relations, where colonisers viewed the colonised as 'primitive' and unchanging and understood their own cultures to be dynamic and innovative. Today the ethnocentric (and sometimes racist) assumptions underpinning this view have been recognised and few scholars, cultural experts or development practitioners would argue that cultures do not change. However, people sometimes do resist cultural change for a range of reasons, but this is not unique to Oceania and methods to resist such change can be extremely creative.

1 Oceania is often divided into three geographical areas that share biological and environmental continuity. As a bio-geographic referent, Melanesia encompasses the island countries of Papua New Guinea and its outer islands, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia in the south-west Pacific (D'Arcy 2008:xxii). Polynesia encompasses a large group of more than 1000 islands in the northern Pacific ranging from Hawai'i to New Zealand to Easter Island, and including Tonga, Samoa, the Cook Islands, Tuvalu, and French Polynesia. Micronesia comprises hundreds of small islands in the northern Pacific, including Guam, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, and Palau. It is important to note that these terms are insufficient for describing the cultural diversity that exists within these geographical regions — people living in Vanuatu may have little in common culturally with Indo-Fijians, for example, and coastal-dwelling Papua New Guineans can share little linguistically or culturally with highland-dwelling Papua New Guineans.

The diversity of cultures within Oceania is a key asset: 'Just as biodiversity is an essential component of ecological sustainability, so is cultural diversity essential to social sustainability' (Hawkes 2001:14). **This methodology embraces Oceania's rich cultural diversity and recognises that culture changes over time.**

1.3 Common Oceanian cultural values

Given the amount of cultural diversity within Oceania, it is no surprise that there is a great deal of variation between the value systems of different Oceanian cultures (Crocombe 2005:302, cited in Huffer 2006:50). Different cultural values result in distinct practices regarding land use and inheritance and political systems. For example Tonga's monarchy is quite different from Samoa's *matai* system and family relationships (including notions of *tapu* and gender roles).

Despite Oceania's cultural diversity, much has been written about a common set of Oceanian values. Government organisations and academics have developed their own notions of common cultural values. For example, New Zealand's Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs' *Pacific Consultation Guidelines* states that we must be sensitive to Pacific values and that Pacific people:

> tend to be motivated by individual benefit within a wider value of communications; are likely to see mutual help as bringing future security more effectively than individual policies; like to take time to properly understand and come to a consensus view; emphasise spiritual dimensions and see the church and pastor as very important; highly value reciprocity and give and expect thank you gestures; and may pay greater respect to the authority and value status specific in their nation. (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs n.d.:2).

A summary of values frequently listed[2] as common to Oceanian cultures is:

- Obligation, reciprocity and human responsibility
- Kinship, church and community
- Solidarity, loyalty and commitment
- Collectivity, cooperation and shared leadership
- Attachment to land and sea, movement and embeddedness
- Respect, humility and generosity
- Upholding of human dignity
- Love, harmony and peace.

It is important to be aware of the problems that arise in applying a common set of values to such diverse groups of people. One immediate problem is that there is nothing uniquely or inherently 'Oceanian' about these values — a large number of cultural groups throughout the world identify with many or all of these values. Another concern is that even within one culture, different members of that cultural group might have different values and relationships with one another depending upon their age, gender, socio-economic background, and other factors.

2 Sources: Huffer 2006; Powles 2006; e-mat 2006; Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs n.d.; Meleisea 2004; Taufe'ulungaki 2004; Konai H Thaman 2004.

What is unique to Oceanian cultures, however, is how values such as those listed above play out in practice. Hawkes (2001:5) argues that all acts of public intervention (such as development policies) are fundamentally informed by sets of values, and values are an important component of culture.

Cultural values also feature in the sustainable development pillar of the Pacific Plan. Strategic objective 11.1 seeks to 'develop a strategy to maintain and strengthen Pacific cultural identity' (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat 2007:17) . **This methodology uses the common Oceanian values listed above as a starting point to identify fundamental aspects of cultural identity around which indicators for valuing culture can be built.**

1.4 Cultural, economic, social and political development in Oceania

Just as it is important to gain a clear understanding of the term 'culture', so too must we discuss 'development' as it pertains to Oceania. Antony Hooper's description of cultural change, 'development' and 'common sense' in Tokelau is worth quoting at length:

> A hundred and fifty or so years ago, when people of the Tokelau atolls began to have access to iron, European cordage and nautical goods, they set about acquiring it by whatever means available. They discarded their shell fishhooks and made their own out of iron, replaced their sennit lines with manufactured ones and their matting sails with canvas. They learned of *pulaka* (*Cytosperma chamissonis*) from what was then the Ellice Islands, laboriously dug up acres of their rough coral ground two metres down to the fresh- water lens and planted flourishing crops. When manufactured hooks and monofilament lines appeared they set upon those as well, and, much later, enthusiastically set about acquiring aluminium dinghies and Japanese outboard engines. Nobody in the atolls now refers to all this as 'development', however. It is regarded simply as common sense, what the people themselves did, for themselves, to make their production more efficient and to secure their food supply (Hooper 2005:8).

Oceanian cultures are innovative, creative, and actively engage in change and 'development'. However, as Hooper states, this is not how development is understood in Oceania today. The term 'development' is notoriously difficult to define and the subject of much debate, and it is not our intention to review the vast body of literature available on the topic. Some general points can be made instead:

- current understandings of development stem from the post-World War II era when 'development' became a global project, driven by the United States and the United Kingdom
- in the 1950s development was equated with economic growth
- the disastrous and sometimes devastating failures that resulted from development policies based solely on economic growth led institutions and governments to reconceptualise development as a more holistic venture, taking into account factors such as culture and gender. (Section 3 below reviews how culture has come to be viewed as an economic and social asset in development)
- development today is generally accepted to mean directed social change
- one of the difficulties with the term 'development' is that it is used both descriptively (this is what it is) and normatively (this is what it ought to be), and it can refer to the ends or to the means of social change (Goulet 1992:467).

Oceania is viewed by outside actors such as NZAID and the World Bank as a region in need of development. The United Nation's Human Development Report categorises most Pacific Island countries in the Medium Development Band,[3] with only one (Tonga) categorised as having High Human Development (Barcham 2007:3).

Kavaliku (2005:25–26) has discussed how in the 1990s the World Bank became concerned about what it called 'The Pacific Paradox' — the fact that Pacific Island countries had low rates of economic growth compared to other small island developing states in the Caribbean and Indian oceans facing similar constraints — islands that did not have the advantages available in Oceania of high levels of basic subsistence, climate, aid flows and remittances. World Bank experts made suggestions about how to improve this 'paradox', which included recognising 'the blend of customary practices and modern systems [that] has both inhibited development and helped provide some stability and social safety nets' (Kavaliku 2005:26). Here culture is viewed as both an inhibiting and conservative social force. As the growth rate in Oceania has not improved since that time, Kavaliku believes there is no Pacific Paradox. 'The paradox is solely in the eyes of the beholder who is blinkered against culture and sustainable development (Kavaliku 2005:26). However, an important lesson can be learnt from the 'Pacific Paradox': 'it shows that culture is an important aspect of development and whatever we do. If we do not take culture into account and understand the interplay between it and development, we cannot move as surely as we should (Kavaliku 2005:26–27).

Keesing (1995) and Connell (1991) have both discussed the reasons why island states in Oceania have found it difficult to achieve economic growth and instead remain in a position of dependency. Citing a litany of development failures in Oceania, Keesing makes a strong case for more culturally appropriate development. Connell (1991:278) outlines the many constraints that hinder the development of industries such as agriculture, fishing and tourism in Oceania to explain why 'development may have occurred, but it has not been achieved'. He also discusses issues facing MIRAB states; small island states dependent on the powerful shaping forces of Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy (Connell 1991). The main MIRAB states are the Cook Islands, American Samoa, Western Samoa, Tonga, Kiribati, Tokelau, Niue, Tuvalu and the Federated States of Micronesia (Connell 1991). Hooper provides a good summary of how MIRAB states arose and why remittances, which are informed by cultural values, are not viewed as good development practice:

> … in some parts of the Pacific … economic goals have been effectively integrated with local society by using the kinship and family loyalties which had long been a central feature of "traditional culture." Emigration from Tonga, Samoa and other "MIRAB" (Bertram and Watters 1985) countries grew rapidly in importance, and, as it did so, not only did the volume of remittances sent back to sustain and improve the material situation of the home societies increase, but they also allowed the elaboration of 'culture,' feeding into the complex displays and ceremonial exchanges at the heart of traditional economics and status. This has involved a double irony. First, although the whole process has relied on essentially 'cultural' linkages, it has also been an exercise in pure textbook economic rationality, as people have simply deployed their labour resources to places where they can get the best return. Second, overseas remittances have come to be of great importance in the macroeconomic sense, greatly exceeding in some states the earnings from visible exports, and providing about half GDP.

3 In 2006 the United Nations Committee for Development Policy called for Papua New Guinea's ranking to be downgraded to that of Least-Developed Country, but an evaluation by the International Monetary Fund in 2008 provided support to maintain PNG's status as a Medium-Developed Country.

> Yet in spite of both the economic rationality of the process and the significant amounts of overseas exchange involved, remittances are nevertheless looked on as a suspect
>
> mechanism of development. The reason for this is not purely economic. As a "global project" (usually, but not necessarily, involving aid, soft loans or foreign commercial investment) development operates within the context of nation states. It is thus inescapably a "top down" process, driven and evaluated by macroeconomic principles — in whose light remittances are seen as entailing both high reservation wages (the wages at which people are willing to take up employment) and reductions in agricultural exports (Hooper 2005:9).

Two points are being laboured here:

- culture is integral to development.
- culture can be both an enabling and a constraining force in development.

According to the Terms of Reference for this study;

> The role of culture and the importance of cultural vitality, increasingly recognised in development policy worldwide, have remained understated in the Pacific. Most Pacific Island countries are lacking cultural policies; their national mechanisms for the promotion of culture are under resourced; heritage protection and promotion remain low priorities, and cultural knowledge and assets are insufficiently promoted in formal education and governance systems.

There are several reasons why insufficient priority has been accorded to culture in development within Oceania. The one this report seeks to address is that there is no existing methodology for measuring the contribution and central role of culture to economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security, the four pillars of the Pacific Plan.

In her discussion of the Pacific Plan, Huffer (2006) writes that it has 'little to say about culture' and notes that it addresses culture essentially as a 'technical issue'. She advocates treating culture as the foundation upon which the four pillars of the Plan should stand. Although Huffer's focus on furthering regionalism through cultural identity within Oceania is quite different from our goal of developing a methodology to value culture in Oceania, her point that culture should be central to the Pacific Plan is well made. **This methodology takes the same position and situates culture as both the object of investigation and the process by which methods and indicators are developed, used and evaluated.**

1.5 Conclusions about culture and development in Oceania

This section has shown that Oceanian cultures both shape and are shaped by understandings and practices of development in the region. It has also highlighted the following points, which are used as principles underpinning this methodology:

- All human beings have culture; it is something we learn and teach that guides our actions, customs and behaviours, and provides a source of creativity and innovation that manifests in various ways.
- Culture can sometimes be hard to 'see'.
- Oceania is rich in cultural diversity.
- Oceanian cultures are innovative, creative and hybridised.
- Culture is not static but changes over time and in different locations.

- Common Oceanian values can be recognised and used as a starting point to identify fundamental aspects of cultural identity around which indicators for valuing culture can be built.

- Oceanian cultural practices can be both enabling and constraining forces in development.
- Culture is central to the methodology as both the object of investigation and the process by which methods and indicators are developed, used and evaluated.

2. Culture as an economic and social asset in development policy

This section discusses how culture has come to be viewed as a vehicle for promoting economic and social development. It begins with brief descriptions of two key terms: cultural industries and creative industries. This is followed with a discussion of the ways in which culture has been incorporated into development thinking and policy.

2.1 Cultural and creative industries

The 'creative economy' is a concept that links the creative impulse associated with culture to entrepreneurship, innovation, productivity and economic growth (UNCTAD 2008:3). According to UNCTAD, cultural and creative industries are at the heart of the creative economy.

The term 'culture industry' appeared in the 1950s as 'a radical critique of mass entertainment by members of the Frankfurt school led by Adorno and Max Horkheimer' (UNCTAD 2008:11). From the 1980s **cultural industries** was increasingly used to refer to 'those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (Fleming, 1999)' (Horvat et al. 2003:180). In UNESCO, cultural industries encompass a wide variety of economic activities. Any activity from traditional handmade crafts through to cutting edge digital media is included. 'What cultural industries have in common is that they all use creativity, skill and intellectual property to produce products and services with social and cultural meaning' (UNESCO 2007:x).

Cultural industries are very similar to **creative industries**. This concept emerged in the 1990s and widened the scope of the cultural industries to include other aspects of life beyond the arts and non-economic as well as economic activities. According to UNCTAD the creative industries:

- are the cycles of creation, production and distribution of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as primary inputs
- constitute a set of knowledge-based activities, focused on but not limited to arts, potentially generating revenues from trade and intellectual property rights
- comprise tangible products and intangible intellectual or artistic services with creative content, economic value and market objectives
- are at the cross-road among the artisan, services and industrial sectors, and
- constitute a new dynamic sector in world trade (UNCTAD 2008:4).

Box 2: Supporting modern creative industries

The arts are an important part of the national identity of any country and provide an important space for creative expression. However, where culture is discussed in national policy frameworks or through national or provincial departments of culture, some are concerned that it is only discussed in terms of 'traditional' culture with a focus purely on preserving culture for future generations. While this is an important goal, others, particularly those involved in the modern creative arts, feel somewhat sidelined by current practices. An example of this can be found in the Solomon Islands.

The Solomon Islands have an outstanding collection of locally produced artworks that, for much of this decade, have been locked away in the storage vaults of the national museum.

The works used to hang in the country's national art gallery, which the Solomon Islands government sold to a foreign hotel developer in 2005 despite widespread public opposition. Since then the works have been in storage. However, as much as half of the collection may have been lost to water damage or infestation by white rot, circumstances caused by inadequate resources. Not having a national gallery as a focal point has also made it difficult for local visual artists to have an appropriate space in which to work and show their wares. This has meant that artists are reduced to displaying their work wherever they can — including going door-to-door in an effort to sell their products. The role of the creative arts need to be considered in any cultural framework or policy within the Pacific as a dynamic creative arts industry is a vital part of a living culture.

Regardless of which term is used, a common theme is clear: cultural activities are creative, and this creativity can be harnessed for economic growth.

2.2 Culture as an economic and social asset

As noted in Section 2.4, a litany of development failures caused institutions and governments to reconceptualise development and take culture seriously as a factor in its achievement. According to Marsh and Gould (2003:5):

> In the early 1980s, with closer examination of development failures, came a dawning of recognition that economic and social development without culture was "growth without a soul" (UNESCO 1995, p.1). Without reference to culture, development has: "contributed to the destruction of many societies and community structures. It has brought with it the imposition of the cultural norms of the development institutions and their agents, as though these had some universal validity" (World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD), 2001 p.4). This was accepted at an international level in 1982 when the UNESCO Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies stated that: "Balanced development can only be ensured by making cultural factors an integral part of the strategies designed to achieve it, consequently, these strategies should always be devised in the light of the historical, social and cultural context of each society" (UNESCO 1982).

Following the 1982 World Conference in Mexico City, the World Decade for Culture and Development (1988–1997) further raised the profile of the role of culture in economic and social development. This section focuses on two related schools of thought that have emerged since the 1980s:

- Neoliberalism, a view that focuses on culture's role in fostering economic growth and that is usually discussed first in literature exploring the links between culture and development; and
- a 'holistic' view that emphasises culture's role in achieving sustainable development and incorporates issues of cultural identity, social cohesion, and stability as well as economic growth.

2.2.1 A neoliberal view

With the rise of neoliberalism, culture, including indigenous traditional knowledge, has come to be viewed as an economic and social asset. Drawing on the creative resources of its human capital, nation states are focusing on what distinguishes them from each other in order to derive economic purchase in a global marketplace — that is, their cultural distinctiveness. Social cohesion and wellbeing are asserted as positive by-products of a community that is engaged in meaningful employment, and thus the creative industries are vaunted as the means to 'generating economic growth, job creation and export earnings while at the same time promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development' (International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies 2008).

The perceived success of this economic model in the developed world has influenced its adoption in the developing world; however, there are implications for developing countries, including those in Oceania, for economic growth, governance, security and sustainable development.

Neoliberalism emerged as a powerful political philosophy during the 1980s. This school of thought promotes individualism, deregulation of economies and labour markets, and small government. A neoliberal government therefore privileges the marketplace; 'neo-liberalism idealises free markets and the market-friendly State and privileges the "private sector" or corporate interests at the expense of public interests and welfare (Slatter 2006). Consequently, the economic business model becomes the standard for all government spheres so that privatisation of state services was encouraged. Previously 'untouchable' public services were privatised according to this new logic; energy, power, water, prisons. Culture, too, was eventually subsumed by this thinking[4], so that, 'By the beginning of the twenty-first century' Skilling (2005:20) writes of the New Zealand context, 'art has come to be valued for its ability to contribute to a dynamic economy — through the generation of employment and foreign exchange, and to a cohesive society through the strengthening of national identity', No longer viewed as a financial and administrative drain on limited government resources, culture has emerged as the essential element of a successful economy.

A key factor in the promotion of culture to the 'mainstay of government policy' (Craik 2005:11) is its potential for cross-sectoral economic development or 'ripple effect'; culture positively influences many other parts of the economy, most obviously tourism. To some extent, culture takes on a marketing and advertising role for the national economy, as (for example) indigenous craftwork, music or performance draws global audiences and encourages ethnotourism. Further, the innovative impulse at the heart of culture becomes the new capital of the creative economy; traditional manufacturing industries are replaced by human capital and consequently governments endeavour to encourage and foster creative entrepreneurs. The Singapore government identifies the significance of creativity when announcing its intention to reinvent its economy through the creative industries in 2005:

> As we transit into an innovation-fuelled economy, the driving force in the next phase of our development will be the imaginative and creative capacity of our people. The new architects of the global economic landscape are those who apply their imagination, creativity and knowledge to generate new ideas and create new value. Multi-dimensional creativity — artistic and literary creativity, design innovation, business entrepreneurship and technological innovation — will be the new currency of success (MICA 2009).

Measuring culture's role in achieving economic growth is difficult, not least due to the fact that the 'cultural industries are not yet recognized or defined as a sector in international standards for statistical data collection and analysis' (UNESCO 2007:xv). But enthusiastic reports and compelling quantitative figures aver to its economic significance:[5]

- internationally, UNCTAD (2008:2) credits the creative industries with being 'among the most dynamic sectors in world trade. Exports of creative goods and services reached US $445.2 billion in 2005, with an annual growth of 8.7 per cent from 2000 to 2005'
- at a national level, 8 per cent of GDP is attributed to the cultural industries in the USA (Quartesan 2008), 5 per cent in the UK (Marsh and Gould 2003:5) and 3.2 per cent in Finland (Statistics Finland 2009)

4 In the 1970s, arts and culture were typically supported by government grants and subsidies in order to deflect fears of cultural homogenisation. Funding cuts across Pacific Island governments from the 1980s onwards saw this funding decline.

5 See Table 1: Research and Mapping Studies from the Asia–Pacific Region 2000–2006, in UNESCO, Institute for Statistics, *Statistics on Cultural Industries Report 2007* for a list of reports on individual national cultural industries, p. 7.

- at a regional level, Louisiana in the USA records that culture contributes US $202 million directly to the state economy (Mt Auburn Associates 2005).

Given the enthusiastic take- up and promotion of the cultural industries in the developed world, it is unsurprising that culture has also been identified in development thinking as fundamental to successful aid outcomes. UNCTAD (2008:3) writes in its *Creative Economy Report 2008* that:

> In the contemporary world, a new development paradigm is emerging that links the economy and culture, embracing economic, cultural, technological and social aspects of development at both the macro and micro levels. Central to the new paradigm is the fact that creativity, knowledge and access to information are increasingly recognized as powerful engines driving economic growth and promoting development in a globalising world.

2.2.2 A 'holistic' view

The second view positions culture as an asset to economic and social development can be best described as 'holistic'. This view highlights the role culture plays in all aspects of life and asserts that strategies for development work best when cultural expressions (including traditional knowledge) and human development are on a par with economic growth. Rather than being positioned as by-products of economic growth strategies, social cohesion and wellbeing are pursued in their own right. However measuring culture's role in achieving social cohesion and wellbeing is perhaps even more difficult than assessing its contribution to economic growth for the very reason this report has been commissioned: lack of measures to value the contribution and central role of culture in development.

Nevertheless many organisations do take a 'holistic' view of culture in economic and social development. Ralph Regenvanu, Director of the Vanuatu National Cultural Council, has shown how the traditional economy in Vanuatu, which he argues is the country's main economy, is a holistic concept that also includes governance, values and language (Regenvanu 2007). The Commonwealth Foundation's 2008 report, *Putting Culture First*, illustrates how cultural policy 'is about more than simply developing policies to support the growth of the creative economy, or state intervention geared towards maximising the potential of niche markets for cultural products' (Nowottny 2008:27). The 2000 Cotonou Agreement between the European Union and the ACP States seeks to make culture an integral part of cooperation (d'Almeida 2009:2). Article 27 of the Cotonou Agreement (available at http://www.acp.int/en/conventions/cotonou/accord1.htm) states that cooperation in the area of culture shall aim at:

a. integrating the cultural dimension at all levels of development cooperation;
b. recognising, preserving and promoting cultural values and identities to enable inter-cultural dialogue;
c. recognising, preserving and promoting the value of cultural heritage; supporting the development of capacity in this sector; and
d. developing cultural industries and enhancing market access opportunities for cultural goods and services.

Under the new development paradigm culture is repositioned from problem to asset; once viewed as a hindrance to 'progress', culture is now claimed to be fundamental to sustainable development. In the current climate of global economic recession, culture has the potential to contribute to economic growth through employment linked to services (d'Almeida 2009:2). This may mean that promoting cultural values and identities can have the potential to improve social cohesion and wellbeing in a time of crisis.

2.3 Incorporating culture into development

Radcliffe and Laurie (2006) identify three ways in which culture is incorporated into development: culture as institution, product, and resource.

Culture as institution aims to work with local social networks and indigenous forms of organisation. By invoking familiar organisational structures, it is envisaged that stakeholders will be encouraged to participate in, take ownership of and lead development projects. Local cultural values are thought to be brought to the project, deepening commitment and therefore positive outcomes.

Multilateral donor organisations such as the ADB and the World Bank endorse the inclusion of the developing nation's culture into aid projects. The World Bank asserts that culture is the means by which aid succeeds, while the ADB claims in its *Pacific Strategy 2005–2009*, 'that significant constraints to growth and poverty reduction in the Pacific lie in the area of policy and institutions, especially weaknesses of economic and social institutions in many PDMCs (ADB 2004:4). To resolve this issue, the ADB proposes that more effective development strategies need to be put in place that focus on improving the functionality of the relevant institutions:

> These should be processes that broaden community ownership and participation and enhance the accountability of government, by strengthening the demand for appropriate services and reforms' processes that involve women and youth more effectively. Strengthening education, both in general and about governance in particular, seems to be important, as is capacity building for communities, civil society, and governments (ADB 2004:8).

Without the appropriate institutions and capable human resources an effective creative economy will not transpire.

Radcliffe and Laurie (2006:242) write that **culture as product** treats culture 'as a set of material objects and distinctive behaviours. When this interpretation of culture is inserted into development thinking it promotes the orientation of culturally distinctive products and services onto the market.' Traditional cultural goods and services become commodities, giving cultural producers an income and a sustainable means to lift themselves out of poverty. This is the 'creative economy' that UNESCO supports, where states engaged in the global market vie for advantage by leveraging off their cultural distinctiveness. The key to a successful creative economy, then, is to develop the strengths and assets that are unique to the state, rather than competing in areas where there is little or no advantage.

One of the problems with the culture as product approach is that its emphasis on material culture suggests that 'traditional' forms of culture are more appropriate for the market than innovative, modern or hybrid styles (Radcliffe and Laurie 2006:242). This can have the effect of rendering handicrafts made with plastic or synthetic fabrics as somehow less authentic than pottery or textiles made with traditional materials. A balance needs to be struck between preserving traditional culture and allowing for the creativity and innovation inherent in culture.

Radcliffe and Laurie suggest that viewing culture as creativity is a useful framework for incorporating it into development policy. This mode is only beginning to be explored in development policy and practice but is a useful perspective for Oceania. Essentially, it views **culture as a creative, flexible resource**: 'Defining culture as a flexible resource offers a way of drawing on social structures and meanings to offer innovative solutions — often in combination with existing social organization — to development problems' (Radcliffe and Laurie 2006:244).

Culture as resource:

- incorporates the idea of culture as institution
- increases the scope of culture as product to include intangible property as well as material products and modern as well as traditional forms, and
- recognises that culture is not static but is a source of creativity and innovation.

Culture as resource is thought to be an effective economic orientation for developing countries seeking a means to engage in the global economy but lacking natural resources. This is an area of potential for Pacific Island states with limited resources. Even developed countries with few natural resources are looking to culture for economic salvation — of Singapore, for example, one commentator observes that 'the cultivation of the creative economy is even considered necessary for the island-state's economic survival' (Seng 2006:1) on the basis that the country has no natural resources and thus is reliant on the information and technology services it provides to a global economy.

As discussed in Section 1.4, Oceanian cultures are innovative, creative, and actively involved in change. **This methodology recognises the creativity and potential for change that exists within Oceanian cultures and views culture as a creative, flexible resource that can be harnessed for development.**

2.4 Conclusions: culture an 'untapped resource' for development

UNESCO regards culture as a 'vast untapped' resource for development in the Asia-Pacific region. Pillar 6 of UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Strategic Pillars states:

> Cultural industries are increasingly seen as a tool for economic development, poverty reduction, and the assurance of cultural diversity. In addition, the cultural industries are closely linked to participation in the post-industrial economy and the knowledge-based society. Accordingly, there is a new focus on the potential of mainstreaming cultural industries into national development plans as a means of achieving more sustainable development (UNESCO 2002).

Consequently, the development of cultural and creative industries within the Asia-Pacific region is favoured as it fits well within the new development ethic; these industries are sustainable, translate into both economic success and social unity through meaningful cultural production, operate best under democratic and inclusive governance and require leadership and participation by the stakeholder.

3. National, regional and international engagement with the cultural sector

Our goal in this section is to discuss existing strategies that engage with or impact upon the cultural and creative sectors nationally and internationally. This discussion centres on the four Pacific Plan pillars of economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security.

3.1 Economic growth

Leisure increasingly consumes people's time[6] and expendable income,[7] and so governments are looking for ways to tap into the vast economic potential that this pattern of behaviour offers. The cultural and creative industries provide the answer — and the numbers supporting this economic programme can be significant — the creative industries alone contribute approximately 6 per cent of GDP in Europe (Quartesan 2008).

For the ripple effect of the creative economy to work, there needs to be communication and strategising across the relevant industries. The United Kingdom's Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) is one example of the type of institutional realignment required to ensure that any activity in one sphere is fully leveraged off other potential avenues. The DCMS incorporates a diverse range of activities, including art galleries, sports, broadcasting, heritage, libraries and tourism, and the revised structure encourages examining opportunities across these sectors and determining a national strategy.[8] By 'clustering' these sectors together, the benefits of one cultural industry can filter through to other areas.

Different nation states emphasise and focus on different aspects of the cultural and creative industries according to perceived cultural difference or commercial advantage. In New Zealand, the incentive for a creative economy occurred through recognition of the potential commercial value of the local film industry (spearheaded by Peter Jackson's Hollywood-backed *Lord of the Rings* trilogy) with spinoffs for tourism. The OECD observes this connection between culture and tourism, stating 'cultural tourism is one of the largest and fastest-growing global tourism markets. Culture and creative industries are increasingly being used to promote destinations and enhance their competitiveness and attractiveness' (OECD 2009).

Korea's Temple Stay Programme is another endeavour that uses local culture to generate tourism. In 2002 the Chogye Order opened up some of its temples to visitors, including overnight stays. The venture has proven successful, with 6000 foreigners and more than 30,000 Koreans enjoying a monastic experience steeped in ancient culture (OECD 2009). Tourism is therefore a significant part of the 'culture as product' dynamic; indeed, the World Tourism Organization (2009) records that in 2008 there were 924 million arrivals globally, up 2 per cent from 2007. The increasing value of tourism to the economy across the globe is indicated in Brazil where tourism receipts were US$3,861 million in 2005, but rose by 42 per cent (or US$1,617 million) to US$5,478 million in 2008 (Euromonitor International 2009).

6 For example, New Zealanders now watch three hours and eight minutes of television a day, up 8.6 per cent from 2007 (New Zealand Television Broadcasters' Council 2009).

7 The British public spent 14 per cent of their total household income on leisure activities and services in 2004–2005 (This is money 2005).

8 In the first instance, a scoping report is required to determine what the cultural sector in all its diversity is currently achieving and to offer a plan for enhancing the sector's capability. Australia and New Zealand have followed the United Kingdom's example by conducting scoping reports of their own national cultural industries.

The economic value of indigenous culture has also been recognised in development projects. Radcliffe and Laurie (2006:242) point out the appeal of indigenous culture under globalisation, claiming 'culturally distinctive ethnotourism and craft products appeal to the Western search for authentic lifestyles'. The 2008 annual report on the Pacific Plan observes that governments in the region are slowly recognising the potential of tourism. A regional cruise strategy is being developed and promoted, alongside enhanced regional branding (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat 2008).

Across the globe, culture and cultural events of all types, for example, art exhibitions, festivals, cultural heritage, sporting contests, museums, draw tourists and media coverage and provide opportunities for the sale of related merchandise as well as connecting to other cultural experiences in the region that translate into economic growth for the hosting town, region or state. Carnivals are one such event, ranging from the Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras in Sydney (described as 'three weeks packed full of culture, entertainment and social events' (Mardi Gras 2008)) to Bull Running in Pamplona, Spain (a week- long fiesta) to the extravagant four-day Rio de Janeiro carnival. The twelve-day Festival of Pacific Arts is now a well-established cultural exhibition, held in a different Oceania location every four years.[9] Besides being an 'important instrument in the preservation and revitalisation of expertise underlying many cultural expressions', the festival has also fulfilled a preservation role in that 'knowledge and skills have been rediscovered, revitalised and in some cases, updated and innovated' (Griffiths n.d.:3).

In contrast to date-specific festivals, museums, art galleries and traditional performances offer a year-round cultural experience for tourists and purchasers of cultural property. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2008), 51 per cent of all foreign visitors went to at least one cultural attraction. The majority (62 per cent) visited a heritage building, site or monument during their stay, 57 per cent chose to visit a museum or art gallery and 24 per cent enjoyed an Aboriginal art/craft exhibition or cultural display. So in Australia culture in its various forms is a significant drawcard for tourism and economic activity.

The objectives of the economic growth pillar of the Pacific Plan are as follows:

1. increased sustainable trade (including services), and investment
2. improved efficiency and effectiveness of infrastructure development and associated service delivery
3. increased private sector participation in, and contribution to, development (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat 2007:3).

With its emphasis on trade, services and investment, the Pacific Plan's objectives for economic growth align with what Radcliffe and Laurie describe as 'culture as product' (2006).

There are many examples of development projects and policies within Oceania that emphasise a culturally distinctive product or service. Radcliffe and Laurie (2006:241) point out that development and state officials alike recognise the 'attractive niche represented by indigenous lifestyles and products'. Tourism is one of the primary ways in which culture is promoted to achieve economic growth. Within Oceania, island states such as Fiji, Vanuatu, the Cook Islands, Samoa and Papua New Guinea regularly package and market their unique cultures and cultural products (such as music, dance, arts, handicrafts, customs and traditional activities) to audiences outside the region.

9 The SPC Human Development Programme and UNESCO's Intangible Heritage cultural sector, has recently commissioned an evaluation of the Festival of Pacific Arts to measure its cultural, economic and social impacts on host and participating countries and territories over the past three festivals (hosted by New Caledonia, Palau and American Samoa). The study will evaluate particularly the contribution of the festival to safeguarding and promoting intangible cultural heritage.

Cultural products and services are primary economic resources for Oceanian peoples in a global capitalist market. Tourists are attracted to Oceania to experience its geographic location and the local cultures and customs of the indigenous inhabitants. Promoting culture as a product can have tangible and intangible outcomes that reach beyond the pillar of economic growth. This is an important point. For example, Sissons (1999:103–104) discusses how cultural identity became an essential resource for tourism-led economic development in the Cook Islands. Traditional leaders were active in encouraging pride in local culture independently and in support of government policy and the tourist industry. Promoting cultural identity has also led traditional leaders to call for more political power (Sissons 1999:114, 116–117).

Another outcome of promoting culture as product are social, political and economic debates over cultural representation and the control over images and intellectual property (including traditional knowledge) in Oceania. This is discussed further in Section 3.2 below.

Viewing culture solely as an economic product places it at the service of the economy and can obscure the impacts it has on non-economic realms. Huffer (2006) argues for a shift in thinking to put the economy at the service of culture instead: 'the point here is not to instrumentalise culture but to consider it a key component in the development of economic policy. In other words the region should seriously consider how to adapt economic practices to cultural context rather than the reverse'. An emphasis on how Oceanian cultural knowledge can contribute to economic growth will help a range of stakeholders to identify the tangible and intangible impacts of culture (both positive and negative) on economic development and other Pacific Plan pillars.

An example of a culture-centred approach to economic development can be found in Papua New Guinea's Morobe Province. There the Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA) runs a Small Enterprise Development Programme whereby women are encouraged to form small savings groups. Group members can borrow money from this collective fund to start their own businesses and improve their income- generating opportunities. Conscious of local customs and values (which include many of the values listed above, especially obligation, reciprocity and kinship) ADRA has tailored the training provided to the women accordingly. For example, women are encouraged to set aside some money each week to fulfil obligations towards *wantoks* in a '*wantok* tin' separate from their savings tin (Gibson, forthcoming). The term *wantok* is Tok Pisin for 'tribe' or 'clan' and derives from 'one-talk', indicating people related through kinship, geographical location, language group, or friendship. *Wantoks* have strong social obligations and responsibilities towards one another in terms of sharing resources and material goods. One Papua New Guinean scholar has described this arrangement (known as *wantokism*) as 'mutual support and co-operation with mutually acceptable rules of social and economic behaviour' (Warakai 1989:45, cited in Hess 2001:14). One of the negative aspects of *wantokism* is that relatives can arrive and require economic assistance without any forewarning. Having a separate '*wantok* tin' means the women can fulfil their obligations to both their *wantoks* and savings group members.

Moulding development practices to suit local cultures is an important component of achieving sustainable development, the focus of the next section.

3.2 Sustainable development

The objectives of the sustainable development pillar of the Pacific Plan are as follows:

4. Reduced poverty
5. Improved natural resource and environmental management
6. Improved health
7. Improved education and training

8. Improved gender equality
9. Enhanced involvement of youth
10. Increased levels of participation and achievement in sports
11. Recognised and protected cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat 2007:3).

The concept of sustainable development is a multifaceted one. It was defined by the Brundtland Commission in the following way: 'development that needs the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Brundtland Commission 1987, cited in Redclift 2002:275). The objectives listed above indicate the areas constituted as 'needs' in Oceania, although each of those needs vary from country to country. Island states that rank highly on the Human Development Index[10] for Pacific Island countries, such as the Cook Islands, Palau, Niue, Samoa and Tonga, have significant differences in life expectancy, adult literacy rates and health indicators than the lowest ranking states (the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Kiribati and Nauru) (Barcham 2007:4). Accordingly, context -specific strategies for sustainable development should be developed, strategies embedded in culture.

UNCTAD argues that culture has significant potential to contribute to poverty eradication, gender equality, strategies for the social inclusion of youth, and sustainable development strategies: 'The manifestations of a people's culture — the customs, rituals, artefacts, music and so on — permeate the daily lives of men, women and children and constitute a significant element in providing for their happiness and well-being' (UNCTAD 2008:33–34). At the second meeting of the ACP Ministers of Culture, the Santo Domingo Resolution noted 'the important role of culture in sustainable development, in particular for the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals' (PAHD Department 2006:2). It follows that strategies using culture as a vehicle for development and empowerment can provide productive opportunities in terms of employment and income-generation, participation in cultural activities, and feelings of social inclusion for men, women and youth. Such strategies can also foster strong cultural identities, an important factor in the face of rapid social change and globalisation. One of the challenges, however, is where to position culture institutionally.

Box 3: Locating culture institutionally within Tonga

In Tonga, culture comes under the mandate of the Ministry of Education, Women's Affairs and Culture. Tongan cultural values and traditional activities are taught in schools and formally assessed with appropriate criteria. A range of educational institutions, from the Sia'atoutai Theological College to the 'Atenisi Institute and the School of Tourism in 'Unuaki-'o-Tonga Royal University of Technology, teach traditional cultural values and performing arts (poetry, choreography, music).

In practice, however, culture is a concept that cuts across multiple sectors. For example, the Ministry for Labour, Commerce and Industry is developing a draft strategy for the protection of cultural knowledge and heritage. The Ministry of Training, Employment, Youth and Sports is starting a scheme to create alternative training pathways for young people, one of which involves performing arts and sports. A government-owned radio station, A3Z, explicitly incorporates Tongan cultural values into its charter and policy. The Tonga Traditions Committee operates out of the Palace Office and is responsible for identifying and interpreting Tongan cultural heritage and traditions, and provides information on various cultural issues for overseas researchers and locals studying Tongan culture. The Chamber of Commerce set up a National Arts and Handicrafts Association.

10 The human development index (HDI) is a composite index used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to measure the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life; access to knowledge; and a decent standard of living.

The presence of culture across a range of institutions is one of the reasons a cultural framework, rather than a discrete cultural policy, is best suited to an Oceanian context (see Recommendation 1). A cultural framework is a tool used to assess and evaluate existing and proposed policies and strategies of different stakeholders (from government departments to non-governmental organisations) as to their likely and/or achieved impact on each of the four pillars of the Pacific Plan (adapted from Hawkes 2001:32).

Inappropriate applications of cultural values and approaches to communities have been proven time and again to produce unsustainable and often socially and environmentally detrimental results.[11] Sustainable development relies on localised knowledge systems and unique relationships with the environment (Ingold 2000, Milton 1996). Culture is an essential component of sustainable development. In Oceania, traditional knowledge (TK), whether it relates to indigenous engagement with the natural environment or customary expressions of culture, is a valuable resource for economic growth and poverty reduction; for natural resource and environmental management; and it underpins sustainable development, good governance and security.

Traditional knowledge is an important component of any work on culture and development in the Pacific as it continues to play an important part in underpinning Pacific Islanders' interaction with one another and the physical world. Unfortunately, traditional knowledge has been appropriated and exploited by global corporations for profit without permission and without compensation. Hutchings (2007:23) labels this biopiracy: 'intellectual and cultural piracy in which the cultural and intellectual heritage of communities and the countries are freely taken without recognition or permission, are used for claiming intellectual property rights (IPR) such as patents, trademarks and plant variety rights'. Perhaps the most well documented case of biopiracy in Oceania occurred as part of the Human Genome Diversity Project (HGDP), a project that began in 1992 with the goal of collecting biological samples from different population groups around the world in order to build a database of human genetic diversity. On 14 March 1995 a cell line from a man from Papua New Guinea's Hagahai tribe was patented by the US government. This caused international outrage and controversy as the blood samples were not drawn for the HGDP, informed consent had not been given, and the man in question had lost the commercial right to his own biological material (Cunningham 2005). Human DNA is not the only thing being patented from Oceania. Mead (2007:40–42) writes that 'everything you can think of, and possibly more, is being patented' and provides a 'snapshot' of recent patent activity that ranges from human genes (placenta, urine, breast milk) to traditional crops used by Oceanian peoples (including cassava, coconut, kava and taro) and marine resources (such as sea cucumber and seaweed).

In terms of traditional knowledge a substantial amount of work in the region to date has been completed in Australia and New Zealand, as well as in the Pacific Islands. Australia has led the field with a report, commissioned in the late 1990s, that looked at how traditional knowledge within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities could be protected and maintained (Janke 1999, see also Janke 2003). Despite this early lead, however, no new legislation that protects indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge has yet been passed in Australia (Janke 2009). In New Zealand, the Ministry of Economic Development has released *Te Mana Taumaru Mātauranga: Intellectual Property Guide for Māori Organisations and Communities* (Ministry of Economic Development 2007) - to provide a tool kit for Māori organisations wanting to maintain the integrity of their traditional knowledge.

Work is currently underway in seven Pacific Islands Countries with more to follow to incorporate the protection of traditional knowledge in Pacific countries' legislative frameworks, and in some cases, to develop policies for the protection, preservation and promotion of traditional knowledge.

11 See, for example, Heher (2003), Klein (2002), Bauld (2005), Scheyvens and Purdie (1999), all of which report a high attrition rate in community-based ecotourism. These results may be explained in part through a limited, partial appreciation of local epistemologies and ontologies and a low level of incorporation of cultural values into development processes.

This initiative was spurred by recognition by the Forum Trade Ministers Meeting in 1999 that the region's traditional and cultural resources were being improperly exploited without due compensation to TK owners. This realisation led to the development of a Pacific Regional Framework for the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Culture bv SPC and partners, which was endorsed by Pacific Ministers of Culture at their meeting in 2002 and by the Forum Trade Ministers in 2006. The framework establishes a sui generis Model Law to protect TK and IPR specifically for Oceania. Similarly, a Model Law on the Protection of Traditional Biological Knowledge, Innovations and Practices was developed by the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program and endorsed by the Pacific ACP Trade Ministers in 2008.

This initiative fits in with objective 11 of the Pacific Plan to recognise and protect cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge.
The issue at stake in these discussions about linking sustainable development to culture is thus one of culture providing a context within which individuals and groups understand both their 'place in the world' as well as the types of goals they see as being associated with development. In doing this culture provides both a resource to be used by individuals and groups in achieving sustainable development as well as a framework and structure within which these same individuals and groups define what it is that they see as being their goals of sustainable development — with this varying with different groups across the region. An important aspect of this in the Pacific is the issue of traditional knowledge. Traditional knowledge still plays a major part in structuring peoples lives in the Pacific, and as such is very much a lived experience for many Pacific Islanders. Unfortunately, the legal protection afforded to Pacific peoples in terms of their traditional knowledge is still rather slight. However, governments and other agencies are working in the region to protect this valuable resource with assistance from international agencies such as WIPO.

3.3 Good governance

Broadly construed, 'governance' refers to 'the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)' (UNESCAP 2009). As processes of decision-making and implementation, governance is something that a variety of different actors employ, from local to provincial, national, regional and international levels. Different actors have different processes — for example, a country's military is likely to have a more rigid government structure than a grassroots women's organisation operating in a rural village.

Other actors, such as media institutions, church leaders, multinational corporations, international donors and lending agencies also influence decision-making processes at national, regional and international levels.

According to UNESCAP, 'good governance' has the following characteristics:

> It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society (UNESCAP 2009).

Good governance thus operates at both a range of levels – from the international through to the local — and across a range of structures and process – from governments, to churches, to villages, to clans and to interest groups such as those involved in environmental conservation for example.

Box 4: Integrating culture into regional environmental conservation decision making

An innovative approach to incorporating cultural aspects of environmental management into environmental conservation at a regional level through to the local level is occurring in the Northern Pacific through the Micronesian Challenge, a regional initiative that could provide a model for other parts of Oceania. Created in 2006, the Micronesian Challenge brings together the three independent countries of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands, as well as the United States territories of Guam and Northern Mariana Islands, with the goal of actively conserving 30 per cent of their respective near shore coastal waters and 20 per cent of their respective forest lands by 2020.

The genesis of the challenge can be traced back to the call by then-President of Palau, Tommy E. Remengesau, Jr., to his colleagues in the other Micronesian jurisdictions to take up the Micronesia Challenge. The challenge has brought together a range of pre-existing conservation networks operating in the region and provided a high-level framework within which their work can be coordinated and extended. One of most novel aspects of the framework is that it links groups from the village level up to the international level.

This facilitates a coordinated planning and policy creation process that ensures not only local buy-in but also incorporates traditional conservation practices as a core part of conservation in the northern Pacific.

Micronesia Challenge Network	High level government representation
Micronesians in Island Conservation Network	Heads of NGOs and government agencies
Pacific Islands Marine Protected Area Community (PIMPAC) Network	Agency resource management practitioners
Locally Managed Marine Area (LMMA) Network	Community members

The key point of learning to be taken from this example, with regards to culture, is the way in which a structure has been created which allows cultural values and processes of environmental conservation to be incorporated within a broader governance framework operating across a range of governmental structures (from the international through to the local). This structure then has a concrete impact on how environmental conservation policies are both created and put into practice.

In Oceania, the good governance literature has focused on corruption in recent years as one point of concern. Huffer (2005:118) writes that the governance agenda came to Oceania in the 1990s as a 'polite' way of dealing with corruption. Donors and international agencies working in Oceania have taken up the governance agenda, says Huffer, because of concerns 'about the region's lack of sustained economic development (particularly, its lack of consistent growth); its rising political instability; the increasingly visible mismanagement of public funds in many countries; and an upsurge in the so-called ideology of traditionalism' (2005:118).

'Corruption' is generally understood to mean 'the misuse of entrusted power for private gain' (Barcham 2007). However, as Peter Larmour and Manuhuia Barcham found when they were commissioned by Transparency International to survey National Integrity Systems in 12 Pacific Island states, understandings and practices of 'corruption' vary greatly within Oceania. For example, none of the 12 country reports found an exact translation for the word 'corruption' in local languages:

> In Kiribati for example there were several words with proximate meanings but people used the phrase *te corruption*. In Tonga the closest word was *angakovi*, referring to unkindness. In Marshall Islands the opposite *was kien jimwe inmoi* which translated as uprightness (Larmour 2006:9).

Like the concept of culture, understandings of 'corruption' are context-specific. Nevertheless people are able to agree that corruption occurs within Oceania (as it does everywhere) and that it tends to be found in the following sectors: police, customs and ports; forestry, fisheries and mineral and petroleum extraction; health, education, and retirement funds; land and titles administration and access to public office; tendering, offshore banking, and trade in the tokens of sovereignty (passports, internet domain names) (Barcham 2007:8–9).

Different regions within Oceania experience different forms of corruption — island states in Polynesia and Micronesia, for instance, do not have the same types of corruption that accompany large-scale logging and mineral and petroleum mining in Melanesian countries (Barcham 2007:vi). However, economic and natural resources are clear areas of shared concern in the region. This is reflected in the objective of the good governance pillar of the Pacific Plan:

> 12. Improved transparency, accountability, equity and efficiency in the management and use of resources in the Pacific (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat 2007:3).

One useful way to explore how culture is linked to governance in the Pacific, is by looking at the way it has been used to explain corruption in Oceania (Larmour 2006). In discussions of culture and corruption, the most commonly listed problems include gift-giving (including gifting money to churches), bribery and nepotism (Larmour 2006, Barcham 2007). From a Western perspective, cultural traditions are considered an obstacle to good governance and corruption is a key issue in overseas aid programmes.

Organisations such as AusAID, NZAID and the European Union operate bilateral anti-corruption activities in Oceania as part of good governance programmes (Barcham 2007:vii). The following five international instruments help provide a framework for anti-corruption efforts by Pacific Island countries: the UN Convention Against Corruption. the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and its Protocols, the ADB/OECD Anti-Corruption Initiative for Asia-Pacific, the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention, the OECD's Financial Action Task Force and the Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering with which the task force is closely affiliated.

An important new area of work on corruption and good governance is one that takes culture seriously and recognises the potential of harnessing traditional cultural practices to achieve transparency, accountability, equity and efficiency in decision-making processes. Discussing terrorism and failed states in Oceania, Greener-Barcham and Barcham (2006:74). note that there have been increasing calls for 'a fusing of local cultural values and traditional governance systems with these state structures or parallel to these state structures to create more robust governance mechanisms'.

One of the key findings in Barcham's (2007:vii) study on corruption in Pacific Island countries was that traditional societies in Oceania have traditional accountability structures from which much could be usefully taken in constructing effective anti-corruption programmes in the region:

> This "taking culture seriously" approach should not be seen as merely a return to cultural relativist excuses for corrupt activities. Rather it should be seen as an opportunity to utilise the "best of both worlds" in anti-corruption activity and in doing so help academics and policy-makers understand why some programmes of reform succeed where others fail. In distinguishing how these traditional cultural practices lead to corruption, we need to acknowledge that it is not the practice of say gift-giving itself that is inherently corrupt but rather that the structures of the modern state have provided a source of previously unimaginable power and wealth and so provided opportunities for some elites to exploit these opportunities in pursuit of their own interests.

> The point to note is that in defining how and when traditional cultural practices such as gift -giving become corrupt there are a number of issues at play, including: intent, scale and the public or private nature of the "gift". Traditional cultural value systems in the Pacific will not just go away, thus work is required to explore how traditional and modern systems can be used synergistically to provide robust anti-corruption tools and frameworks.

Radcliffe and Laurie (2006:244–245) argue that viewing culture as a creative, flexible resource (as discussed in Section 2.3 above) provides a way of drawing on traditional social structures to offer new and appropriate solutions to development problems: 'culture can be the basis for innovative forms of social organization and meanings that can be adapted over time as they represent a dynamic template for action'. This is in line with the findings from Barcham's 2007 study and suggests that traditional and modern systems (values and governance) can be used synergistically to create culturally appropriate strategies for development in Oceania.

This section has shown how culture impacts on governance in the region. Culture provides a valuable resource through which Pacific peoples use to organise themselves and to engage with introduced governance systems such as the state.

Often, the impact of culture on governance in the region is phrased in terms of its negative impact on 'good governance'. However, as the discussion on corruption above has shown the impact of culture on governance need not necessarily be negative but what is required is a more nuanced [sensitive?] approach to how the issue of culture impacts on governance systems in the Pacific.

3.4 Security

The objective of the security pillar of the Pacific Plan is as follows:

> 13. Improved political and social conditions for stability and safety (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat 2007:3).

Despite the various ways in which the concept 'human security' has been deployed, it is agreed that its central focus is on individual rather than national interests. [12] Human security, in its broadest sense, is concerned with every individual having adequate food and shelter, being secure from danger (whether from conflict or natural disasters arising from environmental degradation or climate change), and about equity. The argument is that individuals will be able to conduct their lives in a productive manner if they are free from the insecurity that physical violence, environmental degradation, poor health and malnutrition give rise to.

The different types of human security (e.g. food, environment, conflict) do not operate in isolation — without food individuals cannot maintain good health and thereby have the energy and compunction to vote or insist upon good governance from their leaders, just as individuals cannot be expected to contribute to a growing economy without freedom from violence. However, it can be helpful to approach human security as distinct sectors in order to address issues at a micro level. Human security, then, is a complex issue, and each instance needs to be considered in context.

In 1996 the World Food Summit determined that: 'food security exists when all people, at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food for a healthy and active life' (cited in International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2007). Unfortunately many people in the world do not enjoy food security for a variety of reasons.

12 According to the Human Security Centre (2005): 'All proponents of human security agree that its primary goal is the protection of individuals. But consensus breaks down over what threats individuals should be protected from' See Tadjbakhsh (2007) for a discussion of the concept.

In Africa a range of issues contribute to food insecurity, including climate change, HIV/Aids, environmental degradation, conflict, national debt and poor governance leading to insufficient public services such as health and education (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2007). Individuals are unable to pursue their traditional practices as a result of ongoing crises, thereby reducing their ability to produce or access a constant, nutritious food supply.

In a recent study into food security in four African nations (Mozambique, Nigeria, Uganda and Ghana) it was found that between 25 per cent and 33 per cent of all children in these nations suffered from malnutrition, resulting in stunted physical growth and cognitive development (Benson 2007:xii). And yet 'under-nutrition tends to be treated in national policy processes as a business-as-usual issue' (Benson 2007:x). Viewing malnutrition as 'the normal order of things' (Benson 2007:xiii), these governments have not recognised or prioritised food security as essential to ensuring successful development outcomes for the nation as a whole (Benson 2007:xi).

Box 5: Food security through local food production

Across Oceania, the introduction of a market economy and new non -indigenous foodstuffs has had a negative overall effect on the health status of Pacific Island peoples. The region thus has some of the highest rates of non-communicable diseases in the world — particularly diseases such as diabetes, obesity and heart disease. The key issue is that these diseases are easily preventable and merely require dietary modification and regular physical exercise.

Recognition of this fact led a number of concerned individuals in the state of Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia to found the Island Food Community of Pohnpei (IFCP) in 2004. The IFCP's mission is to:

> promote the production, consumption, local marketing, and if feasible, export of locally grown island foods in order to regain the dignity of relying on home food production, attain a greater degree of food security for the state, rescue cultural values, and improved health of the people. Pohnpeian community participation and empowerment is the cornerstone of our work.

Working with local communities and government agencies such as the Department of Agriculture, IFCP has rolled out an extensive program of public awareness raising and knowledge gathering about the methods of traditional food production in Pohnpei. The work of IFCP has helped communities to move away from their heavy dependence on imported, processed foodstuffs such as white rice and bread, and towards the increased production and consumption of local crops such as yams, taro and bananas. In doing this IFCP has also helped raise awareness of the importance of these food stuffs to local cultural traditions and vice versa. Examples of this include the ongoing importance of the presentation of traditional food stuffs to local leaders at specific points in the year where status and prestige was, and continues to be, linked to an individual's ability to produce yams, *sakau* (kava) and pigs for presentation to their leaders. Also IFCP research has demonstrated the role that traditional planting ceremonies played in maintaining the diversity of local crop species in Pohnpei, such as the propagation of early, mid, and late-season breadfruit, which helped ensure a sustained source of nutrition during the year.

The long-term utility of the IFCP's approach has paid dividends in recent months. The rise in the price of basic foodstuffs as a result of the turbulence in the global economy placed a great deal of pressure on Pohnpeian families, who now are no longer able to afford the quantities of imported foodstuffs that they were accustomed to buying and consuming. The IFCP's work has ensured that these price rises have not hit Pohnpei families as hard as they were five years ago, although much is yet to be done to ensure that production and consumption of local foodstuffs continues to increase.

As a result of the IFCP's success, similar NGOs have been created in the states of Chuuk and Kosrae. The IFCP has also been working with the Kastom Garden Association (KGA) in the Solomon Islands to transfer some of the techniques that the IFCP has used in Pohnpei to raise awareness of the importance of traditional foodstuffs.

Food security is also an issue in Oceania, although of a different kind. Few people die of malnutrition in Oceania, but as diets and lifestyles change, rates of obesity, diabetes, heart disease and micronutrient deficiencies increase (Barnett 2007:32).

Traditional food production strategies have provided local communities with a diverse and culturally specific food supply, whether it is through fishing, hunting, or gardening. But as urbanisation has increased across the region,[13] subsistence hunting and farming have been replaced by a cash economy, and consequently cultural knowledge has been lost. Urbanisation also tends to result in individuals undertaking less physical activity, traditionally associated with food acquisition practices, leading to increasing rates of obesity in some parts of Oceania. However, in areas where the population remains predominantly rural, such as Papua New Guinea, obesity is not a significant issue.

Climate change and the introduction of low quality, cheap imported food products have compounded the problem of food security in Oceania. Sharma (2006:4) records that 'the main difference between the rural and urban dietary patterns is that in the rural areas fresh food products, including fish, are consumed while in urban areas more tinned products, rice and bread are used'. The cost of high quality food is such that many families have to select cheaper, less nutritious options through necessity not choice.

Projections of climate warming indicate that food production across Pacific nations is likely to be negatively influenced by rising temperatures and greater fluctuations in weather conditions (the wet season will be wetter, the dry drier). It will be harder to sustain food availability across the seasons (meaning greater reliance upon food imports), while rising sea levels threaten the very existence of some islands in Oceania (Tuvalu is the major example).

Notably, development projects and engagement with the global economy have also undermined the region's ability to maintain food security. Agricultural specialisation makes the producer susceptible to catastrophic losses. A weather event may wipe out an entire crop, whereas under the diversity typical of traditional practices at least some crops are likely to succeed. Barnett (2007:33) writes that 'attempted shifts towards modern agricultural economies and more affluent industrial societies have failed to deliver the resilient agricultural and food systems developed countries enjoy. If anything, they have weakened traditional agricultural systems'.

Food security in Oceania is especially vulnerable due to island nations being small (and therefore unable to achieve economies of scale typical of developed nations), remote from import markets (meaning high importation costs — transportation) and susceptible to extreme weather events (Sharma 2006:3).

Culture thus impacts on security in a number of ways in the Pacific Islands. The new concept of human security provides a useful lens to explore how this is so. Issues such as a lack of sustainable or appropriate food sources impact negatively on the security of individuals.

However, traditional cultural food production strategies also provide a culturally appropriate and effective way in which food security threats can be mitigated. In this respect this section has provided examples of how culture and cultural practices implicitly and explicitly link up to issues of security in the Pacific.

3.5 Conclusions

This section discusses existing strategies that engage with culture in relation to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan (economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security). It has been shown that culture is a key input that needs to be taken seriously and Oceanian cultural knowledge should be placed at the centre of strategies for effective development in Oceania. This section has also highlighted the following points that have been taken into account in developing this methodology:

- promoting culture as a vehicle for economic growth has tangible and intangible outcomes that reach beyond the pillar of economic growth.

14 Between 1990 and 2003 the urban population increased by 4.2 per cent in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, and by 2 to 3 per cent in Fiji and Papua New Guinea (Sharma 2006:2).

- culture is also creatively used to resist economic growth and development.
- a sustainable society depends on a sustainable culture.
- understandings of ‘corruption’ are context-specific and local practices such as gift-giving need to be analysed in context.
- traditional Oceanian accountability structures could provide a useful framework for constructing effective governance programmes in the region.
- traditional and modern systems can be used synergistically to create culturally appropriate strategies for development.
- biopiracy, food security and environmental security are areas of particular concern in Oceania.

4. Methodology and preliminary indicators for measuring the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan

The main purpose of this report was to develop an accessible methodology and propose preliminary indicators for measuring the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan (economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security). The aim is to assist communities, countries and regional and international organisations understand how to evaluate the value and role of culture in different parts of the region, and to better measure and harness the benefits of culture in order to strengthen development policy in Oceania.

Specifically, our objectives were to:

1. Develop a methodology to propose ways to measure the actual and potential economic and social contribution and impact of cultural producers (understood as users and producers of traditional and contemporary knowledge and skills); exchanges of traditional goods, products, services and cultural ceremonies; intangible, tangible and natural heritage; cultural exports; cultural events; and cultural traditional knowledge and expressions.
2. Propose preliminary indicators for measuring the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan.

This section contains three parts. The first part describes the methodology, or the strategy lying behind the way we have designed the framework for valuing culture. The second part proposes preliminary indicators for measuring the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan. The third part provides a suggested toolkit of methods that could be used to gather data for the proposed indicators.

4.1 Description of the methodology

In developing the conceptual framework for our methodology, we began by reviewing approaches taken by others researchers working on measurements and policies for culture and development. In 2003 Maria-Rosario Jackson et al. developed a policy brief providing a framework for measuring art and culture in communities in the United States. Hawkes (2001) has also discussed how the concept of culture can be applied to public policy. Much of what follows draws from these two key sources.

4.1.1 Initial guiding questions

The following four questions guide the conceptual framework of this methodology. These questions were developed from background research (especially Jackson et al. 2003) and fieldwork:

- How is culture defined, presented and valued in relation to the economy, sustainable development, governance, and security in the community/village/district/nation/region?
- What should be measured and why?
- What data are already available for this purpose?
- What kinds of information need to be collected?

These questions, and the research we carried out, led us to develop **four guiding principles** (adapted from Jackson et al. 2003). These principles are useful in identifying the multiple facets of culture.

4.1.2 Guiding principles of the methodology

1. **Oceanian cultures are innovative, creative, and change over time and in different contexts**
   Oceania is a region rich in cultural diversity, both between and within island nations. Understandings of culture, traditional knowledge, and custom at the village level might vary among different groups (such as women and youth) in ways that are not adequately represented at a national level. Culture in Oceania is also creative, adaptive and highly mobile as people move within, between and outside of Oceania. Some Oceanian cultures have a strong presence in other countries, including New Zealand, Australia and the United States. This principle allows a range of different actors, from village to district, national, regional and international levels, to cast a wide net in capturing all the ways that culture and traditional knowledge is conceptualised by people from different contexts.
2. **Culture is an enabling and a constraining factor in development**
   People can use culture as a vehicle for development but they can also use culture very creatively to resist development. Not everyone has equal access to participation in cultural activities — there are degrees of participation shaped by gender, age, socio-economic status, religion, and other factors. This principle recognises the potential of culture to both facilitate and limit people's participation in cultural activities and their ability to produce cultural goods and services, and the way that culture can be used to promote or resist development.
3. **Cultural activities contribute to a range of different outcomes, both tangible and intangible**
   Some outcomes are easier to measure than others. For example, compare the dollar amount of direct revenue from cultural tourism, a tangible figure that can be determined quantitatively, with the intangible sense of wellbeing, cultural identity and belonging a woman might gain from joining a handicraft collective, which needs to be established through more time-consuming qualitative measures. It is also difficult to measure the cause and effect of cultural activities, especially of things that do not happen — for instance, there is no way to prove that participating in a canoe-building workshop and engaging with his peers caused a young man not to join a street gang or commit suicide. Outcomes can also affect more than one of the four pillars at once. For example, in order for a community development project (such as a communal garden or traditional birth attendants) to be successful, healthy decision-making processes and strong traditional leadership needs to be in place. This would contribute to the pillars of sustainable development and good governance. This principle allows a range of economic and non-economic, tangible and intangible outcomes to be recognised.
4. **Cultural activities, producers and events draw on a range of resources**
   Cultural activities and events can affect a wide range of different stakeholders, each of whom contribute different resources. Members of a women's collective who produce handicrafts to sell are often supported by their husbands and families who help with household duties and offer other kinds of intangible support. Members of a Tongan community in New Zealand might send remittances home that are used to support local cultural events or a youth group. Cultural and sporting events such as the Pacific Arts Festival or national rugby teams receive government funding and resources not available to smaller, locally based events, cultural groups, cultural producers and sports teams (such as a village netball team). This principle recognises that cultural activities, producers and events draw on a wide range of inputs and resources, both economic and non-economic.

As mentioned above, these guiding principles are useful in identifying the multiple facets of culture. We have followed Jackson et al.'s (2003) method of supplementing these guiding principles with parameters for describing cultural activities. This kind of description is necessary for developing indicators to measure the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan.

4.1.3 Parameters of the methodology

We combined the guiding principles presented in the previous section with the findings from our fieldwork (a technique fruitfully used by Jackson et al. (2003)). From that, we developed four parameters for our framework. These parameters are useful for measurement and indicator development.

1. **Presence**
   Culture is used in several different ways in development policy and practice. As Marsh and Gould (2003:15) have noted, culture can be used as context (where the local culture is taken into account during project design and management), as content (where local cultural practices, objects or traditions are engaged in the development process), and as method (using cultural practices as tools, as processes, or both). This parameter helps to identify all the forms that cultural activities take and the varied ways that cultural producers and development practices use culture according to their needs.
2. **Participation**
   People use, produce and participate in a wide range of cultural activities, and they do so in numerous ways. People producing tapa in Tonga to send to relatives living in the United States for cultural ceremonies, for example, shows how cultural activities can connect people across vast distances. We need to recognise that limitations can also be placed on the ways in which people participate for cultural reasons. Our research shows that people from a range of social and economic background participate in cultural activities and events, are producers of traditional and contemporary knowledge and skills, and exchange traditional goods, products, services and cultural ceremonies in different ways according to their roles within society (e.g. as youth, women, government officials, church leaders, chiefs, and so on).
3. **Impacts**
   The ways in which cultural activities and cultural producers contribute to a range of social, economic, political, physical, environmental and spiritual outcomes are not always well documented or understood. As discussed in Section 1 (above), culture is not always easy to 'see' and the impacts culture has on development practices can be overlooked. Our fieldwork in the Solomon Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia and Tonga showed that culture is often central to many existing processes, however this is not always articulated nor is data relating to cultural impacts collected or evaluated. One of the difficulties is that culture is used as a means to achieve other goals, such as more effective education curricula or raising community awareness about domestic violence or HIV/AIDS. This parameter acknowledges that culture underpins many development processes and practices but this report focuses on the contribution of culture to economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security (the four pillars of the Pacific Plan).
4. **Support**
   Cultural activities (including the activities of cultural producers, exchanges of traditional goods, knowledge, products, services and ceremonies), natural heritage education and protection, cultural exports and cultural events are made possible by the combined efforts of a range of different stakeholders. This parameter recognises the different resources available and required (e.g. financial, in kind, organisational, human, spiritual) to value culture and bring about desirable outcomes across the four pillars of the Pacific Plan.

4.1.4 Framework for measuring the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan

The guiding principles and parameters of the methodology discussed in the above sections can be visually represented in the following framework (adapted from Jackson et al. 2003):

Figure 1: Framework for measuring the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan

Guiding Principles		Parameters
1. Oceanian cultures are innovative, creative, and change over time and in different contexts	↔	Presence
2. Culture is an enabling and constraining factor in development	↔	Participation
3. Cultural activities contribute to a range of tangible and intangible outcomes	↔	Impacts
4. Cultural activities, producers and events draw on a range of resources	↔	Support

We used this framework in conjunction with the four initial guiding questions listed in Section 4.1.1 to develop preliminary quantitative and qualitative indicators (below). These indicators are best viewed as a guide; users of this methodology are encouraged to develop their own indicators to suit their needs.

4.2 Preliminary indicators for measuring the contribution of culture to the four Pacific Plan pillars

Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, a development economist known for her work with the UNDP and founder of the *Journal for Human Development*, has stressed that indicators are a tool of policy dialogue and are not the same as statistical data. She suggests that while indicators require description and opportunities for comparison (measurement against something else), they must be designed for an evaluative rather than a descriptive purpose. 'They are intended to track progress or setback against some goal…they should be policy relevant, giving clear messages about issues of current concern and issues that can be influenced by policy response' (Fukuda-Parr 2000).

In his review of the literature on cultural indicators, Madden (2005:237) notes that most commentators suggest that indicators 'should be firmly related to or embedded in a policy framework or strategy from which they gain meaning and currency, and they should be integrated and share a plausible common currency with other policy domains'. These preliminary indicators are linked to the objectives of each pillar of the Pacific Plan.

Culture is something we learn and teach that guides our actions, customs and behaviours, and provides a source of creativity and innovation that manifests in various ways. It is a challenge to develop indicators to evaluate how this complex concept contributes to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan. The preliminary indicators we propose are designed to be useful in assisting a range of stakeholders to 'see' the ways in which culture and cultural values are already present in activities as well as opportunities for further engagement.

They are informed by common Oceanian values and are organised around the four parameters of our framework (presence, participation, impacts, support). In particular, they aim to identify the ways in which culture contributes to development as both process and outcome.

We envisage that these indicators will be used as a starting point for a range of stakeholders to adapt and develop their own indicators to suit their needs. Innes and Booher (2000:9–11) propose that users must be involved in the design of indicators, that the meaning of indicators must be understood and shared among those to whom they are relevant, and that indicators must stand up to expert critique (cited in Madden 2005:230). Section 4.3 (below) contains a suggested indicator development plan for stakeholders.

4.2.1 Preliminary indicators for economic growth

Indicators for this pillar of the Pacific Plan evaluate the extent to which culture, including the cultural industries, contributes to sustainable trade and investment; improved efficiency and effectiveness of infrastructure development and associated service delivery; and increased private sector participation in, and contribution to, development.

Preliminary indicators for *presence* include:

- cultural values embedded in planning policies related to economic growth
- number of government and civil society organisations (including church groups) utilising culture as a vehicle to engage with any aspect of economic growth (e.g. microfinance)
- the extent and diversity of businesses, organisations, government departments and people utilising cultural industries and/or exchanges for economic growth, including indigenous entrepreneurs (who the stakeholders are and how they relate to one another)
- number of *kastom* banks or cultural exchange/trading networks
- exports and imports of creative and cultural goods and services (including jewellery, fashion, furniture, music, performance arts, visual arts) as a percentage of GDP
- indigenous/local television and radio programming exports (including cable, satellite and internet)
- domestic consumption and exchange (including household spending) of creative and cultural goods and services, arts, live performances, and sporting events in economic and non-economic terms
- income revenue from cultural and creative industries and cultural tourism (including public organisations, such as state-owned museums, and private sector businesses, such as the Tongan National Cultural Centre) as a percentage of GDP
- remittances as a percentage of GDP
- employment in cultural industries and traditional knowledge production (advertising, applied design, architecture, broadcasting, film and video, music production, performing arts, publishing, visual arts – from UNCTAD, 2008:25) as a percentage of total employment
- growth in employment in cultural industries over time
- Legislation and regulations (e.g. IPR legislation, copyright enforcement mechanisms, trade practice legislation, international conventions relating to cultural diversity and cultural rights)

Preliminary indicators for *participation* include:

- workers employed in cultural industries, activities and practices disaggregated by age, gender, level of education, region
- demographic information on producers and sellers of cultural goods (handicrafts, artwork, music)
- average frequency of cultural activities (how often people experience or participate in cultural activities)
- number of indigenous entrepreneurs participating in exchanges with other countries within Oceania and the wider ACP region (disaggregated by age, gender, education, region)
- access and barriers to cultural experiences and events for tourists and locals (including cost, time, transport, childcare arrangements)

Preliminary indicators for *impacts* include:

- perceptions of opportunities for employment in cultural and creative industries, activities and practices disaggregated by age, gender, level of education, region
- public dialogue and awareness relating to the value of culture for economic growth
- cultural values embedded in economic decision-making at all levels
- the value added by cultural and creative industries, activities and exchanges in dollars as a percentage of GDP
- median incomes of people working in cultural industries, as a percentage of median for all employed people
- unpaid labour (such as household work and volunteering) recognised as contributing to economic growth and development, measured by hours and estimated at minimum wage rates
- number of female recipients of micro-credit loans who have gone on to start small cultural businesses
- media coverage of cultural activities as a vehicle for economic growth
- audience enjoyment rating of cultural events (could include audience reaction gauged at event, or surveys administered after events to capture willingness to pay and other contingency valuation measures)
- tourist enjoyment rating of services provided and cultural experiences
- time spent on cultural industries, activities and practices (formal and informal economy; e.g. travel time) measured by hours and estimated at minimum wage rates
- number of past and current research projects assessing the role of culture in economic growth

Preliminary indicators for *support* include:

- private and community, foreign, domestic investment in the cultural sector
- percentage of government funding available to projects or groups using culture as a vehicle for economic growth
- number of international and regional organisations offering funding to projects or groups using culture as a vehicle for economic growth
- funding available for local media (radio, television, film) production
- diversity and type of projects funded
- the existence of policy settings, measures and instruments to enable/evaluate the above

4.2.2 Preliminary indicators for sustainable development

Indicators for this pillar of the Pacific Plan evaluate the extent to which culture contributes to: reduced poverty, improved natural resource and environmental management, improved health, improved education and training, improved gender equality, enhanced involvement of youth, increased levels of participation and achievement in sports, and recognised and protected cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge.

Preliminary indicators for *presence* include:

- cultural values embedded in planning policies related to any aspect of sustainable development (e.g. urban planning, health, education)
- number of people engaged in remittance transactions with relatives abroad
- number of informal or community networks or support groups (such as community crèche) that enable people to engage in income-generating activities
- number of government and civil society organisations (including church groups) utilising culture as a vehicle to engage with any aspect of sustainable development
- number of development projects using culture as a means to address any aspect of the sustainable development pillar (e.g. gender equality, health, youth, sport)
- number of community members recognised as cultural experts and/or traditional knowledge practitioners (e.g. healers, birth attendants and other practitioners of traditional medicine; farmers, carpenters, weavers, canoe builders, dancers, orators, and so on)

- number of teachers/artists/cultural experts employed to teach indigenous music, dance, performance and languages
- number of educational institutions and community groups offering instruction in traditional dance, music, performance, art, language, handicrafts
- number of vocational training institutions for cultural industries, including service industries
- number of cultural organisations for women and for youth (e.g. presence of a women's cultural umbrella organisation, youth cultural umbrella organisation)
- number and range of sporting activities, including traditional cultural sports, offered within schools and in communities
- number of sites registered or listed as places with heritage value
- number of museums, libraries, art galleries, tourist centres, cultural centres and other places that protect and promote cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge
- number of speakers of vernacular languages, disaggregated by age, gender, region, education level
- number of indigenous/local owned recording, research and publishing companies
- number of recordings of cultural activities (oral traditions, art, music, film, dance, poetry, other performances) on film and audiotape that have been digitally preserved
- legislation and regulations (e.g. policies on gender equality, land rights legislation, cultural heritage policies, marine resource management legislation, conservation laws, broadcasting laws)
- first-run hours of local content, as a proportion of the total broadcast schedule (radio and television)
- consumer ratings of local television and radio content

Preliminary indicators for *participation* include:

- the percentage of people taking part in religious activities, cultural activities, and sporting activities (both formal and informal networks and support groups), and the frequency of participation, disaggregated by age, gender, region, and level of education
- demographic information on people engaged in remittance and cultural exchange transactions with relatives abroad, disaggregated by age, gender, education, region
- number of individuals and civil society organisations applying for funding to operate cultural activities or projects aimed at sustainable development
- number of domestic and international visitors to national parks and reserves, heritage sites, museums, art galleries, tourist centres, cultural centres and other places that protect and promote cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge disaggregated by age, gender, region
- number of students enrolled in educational institutions and community groups offering courses in indigenous music, dance, performance and languages, disaggregated by gender and region
- number of students enrolled in vocational training institutions for cultural industries, including service industries, disaggregated by age, gender, region
- number and average frequency of sporting events, disaggregated by region and sport
- access to formal and traditional health practitioners
- access to recordings of cultural activities (e.g. through television or radio)
- access to sporting events, education and training programmes, national parks and reserves, heritage sites, museums, art galleries, tourist centres, cultural centres and other places that protect and promote cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge
- barriers to participation in cultural activities aimed at sustainable development

Preliminary indicators for *impacts* include:

- number of students graduating from courses involving indigenous music, dance, performance and languages
- number of students going on to gain employment in the cultural industries sector
- assessment criteria used in education curricula that incorporate culture, cultural values and cultural activities
-

- improved feelings of health and wellbeing, of empowerment, cultural identity, national identity and belonging
- community perceptions of the impacts, role and success of cultural activities aimed at any aspect of the sustainable development pillar
- policies recognising and protecting cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge developed (by regional, national, provincial and local governments, civil society organisations)
- media coverage of activities using culture as a means for sustainable development
- time spent on cultural, religious, household and sporting activities recognised as contributing to sustainable development, measured by hours and estimated at minimum wage rates
- audience enjoyment rating of heritage sites, museums, art galleries, tourist centres, cultural centres, sporting events and other places and activities that protect and promote cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge and use culture as a means to sustainable development

Preliminary indicators for *support* include:

- percentage of government funding available to projects or groups using culture as a vehicle for sustainable development
- number of regional and international organisations offering funding to projects or groups using culture as a means to address any aspect of the sustainable development pillar
- diversity and type of projects funded
- government policy and attitudes towards any or all aspects of the sustainable development pillar (e.g. remittances, health, education)
- number of regional and international organisations offering funding to develop policy recognising and protecting cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge
- the existence of policy settings, measures and instruments to enable/evaluate the above

4.2.3 Preliminary indicators for good governance

Indicators for this pillar of the Pacific Plan evaluate the extent to which culture contributes to improved transparency, accountability, equity and efficiency in the management and use of resources in Oceania.

Preliminary indicators for *presence* include:

- cultural values inform local, national and regional systems of government
- cultural values inform local, national and regional voting/representational systems
- number of community law centres
- number of village courts
- number of traditional leaders, disaggregated by age, gender, education, region
- business models are informed by cultural values
- number of women in parliament, local government, and traditional leadership roles
- number of individuals and civil society organisations working for peace through traditional structures
- community/indigenous/local investment in natural resource extraction

Preliminary indicators for *participation* include:

- number of people with the power to administer land and titles disaggregated by age, gender, region, education level, and socio-economic status
- number of people seeking traditional dispute resolution processes through village courts, disaggregated by age, gender, region, education level and socio-economic status
- number of people utilising community law centres, disaggregated by age, gender, region, education level, socio-economic status and reason for visit
- number of people receiving land and titles disaggregated by age, gender, region, education level, and socio-economic status
- access to public office, disaggregated by age, gender, region, education level, and socio-economic status

- number of traditional leaders, disaggregated by age, gender, region, education level, and socio-economic status
- barriers and access to participation in traditional forms of governance

Preliminary indicators for *impacts* include:
- increased control of corruption through cultural measures
- increased community-driven policing role
- improved culturally mandated female and youth representation at local, national and regional levels of government
- improved culturally driven accountability, equity and efficiency in management processes
- improved media coverage of good governance practices as understood in cultural contexts by local communities
- reports from overseas aid agencies on practices of good governance include cultural measures of good governance
- number of past and current research projects assessing the relationship between culture and good governance, especially the way traditional and modern systems can be used synergistically to create culturally appropriate strategies for development

Preliminary indicators for *support* include:
- percentage of government funding available for incorporating culture into policies about and practices of good governance
- number of international organisations offering funding to develop policies and practices incorporating cultural values into good governance
- the existence of policy settings, measures and instruments to enable and evaluate the above

4.2.4 Preliminary indicators for security

Indicators for this pillar of the Pacific Plan evaluate the extent to which culture contributes to improved political and social conditions for stability and safety.

Preliminary indicators for *presence* include:
- number of community development programmes that encourage shared participation in cultural events and foster social inclusion (e.g. community arts programmes, women's groups, community music centres for youth)
- government is a signatory to culturally-oriented international legislation addressing issues of security
- cultural values inform local, national and regional strategies for disaster management
- cultural values inform educational strategies around food, exercise and health
- cultural values inform local, national and regional strategies for resource management
- number of people with access to traditional methods of growing/gathering food (e.g. gardens, fishing)

Preliminary indicators for *participation* include:
- number of people actively participating in community development programmes, disaggregated by age, gender, region, education level, and socio-economic status
- barriers to participation in activities or meetings using culture to promote stability and security (e.g. restrictions due to gender, age)

Preliminary indicators for *impacts* include:
- raised awareness of human security issues
- public perceptions of the value of culture to food, resource and environmental security
- media coverage of cultural strategies for addressing environmental, resource and food security

Preliminary indicators for *support* include:

- percentage of government funding available for community programmes that encourage shared participation in cultural events and foster social inclusion

- number of international organisations offering funding for community programmes that encourage shared participation in cultural events and foster social inclusion
- the existence of policy settings, measures and instruments to enable/evaluate the above.

4.3 Suggested toolkit of methods

This section provides a suggested toolkit of methods that could be used to gather data for the preliminary indicators and other indicators developed by stakeholders to suit their needs. We are conscious that funding and resources available for data collection are limited in Oceania, and much information needed for the preliminary indicators can be drawn from existing sources (such as national surveys, censuses, and published research). However some new data will need to be collected. As pointed out by UNCTAD, no information base exists for identifying indicators and creating policy around cultural and creative industries (UNCTAD 2008:81) . Although methods for collecting new data will require specific resources, such data would be a valuable addition to cultural indicators and to policy development. The following ideas for ways to collect data are fluid and responsive to change, just as culture is.

As discussed in Section 1 (above), culture is central to this methodology as the object of investigation and the process by which methods and indicators are developed, employed and evaluated. We also believe culture should be central to the methods used to gather data. To that end, we recommend using culturally appropriate methodologies. There are a range of Oceanic research paradigms and methodologies available that use what Anae called 'cultural reference points'.[14] These are research paradigms with embedded cultural knowledge, values and metaphors that utilise culturally appropriate approaches such as *talanoa*. Some examples include:

- Fa'afaletui research methodology (Tamasese et al. 2005)
- Fale (Koya et al. 2007)
- Fonofale model (Pulotu-Endemann 1995)
- Kakala research framework (1992, modified in 2005 by Taufe'ulungaki and Johansson-Fua — see Thaman 2006)
- Kaupapa Māori (see G. H. Smith 1997, L. T. Smith 1999 and Pihama 2001)
- Na'auao/Hawaiian epistemology (Meyer 2001)
- Te vaka atafaga model (Kupa 2009)
- Teu le va research paradigm (Anae 2007)
- Tivaevae model (Maua-Hodges 2000)
- Vanua Research Framework (Nabobo-Baba 2006:136–137)

14 Melanie Anae gave this presentation at the Pacific Research Symposium as part of a three-day conference hosted by the Building Research Capability in the Social Sciences (BRCSS) Network. The conference was held from 10–12 June 2009 in Wellington, New Zealand.

With this in mind, we suggest the following methods to supplement and complement existing sources of data:

4.3.1 Assessing cultural values and cultural value

The potential benefits of culture stem from recognising the intrinsic value of culture in the first instance. All human beings have culture; it is something we learn and teach that guides our actions, customs and behaviours, and provides a source of creativity and innovation that manifests in various ways. Assessing the cultural values of an organisation, and the cultural value of its activities, is a useful starting point for recognising the intrinsic value of culture.

The concept of contingent valuation (or the willingness to pay), although not without its critics, might provide a useful way of measuring the value of culture. The case study below provides an example of how to assess the cultural values expressed in, and the cultural value of, an organisation.

Box 6: Cultural values and cultural value in *Old Tonga*

Many of the people we spoke with in Tonga mentioned the four Golden Pillars upon which Tongan society is built. According to the official website of the Tongan Government,[15] the following core customary values are embedded in the socialisation process of all Tongans:

- *Faka'apa'apa* (respect)
- *Feveitokai'aki* (reciprocity, cooperation, consensus, maintenance of good relationships; part of this pillar includes *fetokoni'aki*, or sharing and the fulfilment of mutual obligations)
- *Mamahi'i me'a* (commitment, loyalty)
- *Lototoo* (humility, generosity)

Sitiveni Fehoko, Master Carver and renowned canoe builder, embodies these cultural values in *Old Tonga*, a replica of a traditional Tongan village he built near Fanga'uta Lagoon at Popua on Tongatapu. *Old Tonga* features different types of traditional Tongan buildings, bone and wood carvings, a canoe house and canoes. Mr Fehoko built the village over an 18-month period by collecting traditional materials from the bush and using traditional methods, such as *fale lelava*, a technique of lashing or binding together timber with rope instead of using nails.

A half hour conversation with Mr Fehoko helped us understand how he embodies Tongan **cultural values**. His *mamahi'i me'a* to tradition and cultural heritage is evident in the way he speaks about *Old Tonga* and in the fact that he runs the operation without any external support or funding. The pillars of *feveitokai'aki* and *lototoo* come through in understanding his reasons for making *Old Tonga* free to visit: 'I do it because I need Tonga to see the real thing.' He encourages youth groups, women's groups, church groups, and schools to visit *Old Tonga* to see and learn Tongan traditions, such as weaving, fishing, carving, and canoeing. Above all, the pillar of *faka'apa'apa* underpins *Old Tonga* : respect for tradition and customs, respect for culture, respect for those who have gone before, respect for the land, and respect for the people of Tonga.

In assessing the **cultural value** of an organisation like *Old Tonga*, Holden (2004:35) suggests looking at seven aspects: use value (in economic terms), non-use value (non-monetary terms), historical value, social value, symbolic value, aesthetic value, and spiritual value.

Use value: *Old Tonga* attracts tourists whose donations and purchases support the business and local economy. Local people also use the facilities to learn how to carve, weave, fish and canoe. A women's group operates out of *Old Tonga* to make tapa and handicrafts. Mr Fehoko employs youth who have dropped out of school and would otherwise be unemployed. The village is used as a vehicle to educate all visitors about Tonga's history.

[15] Tonga Government website is www.pmo.gov.to https://www.pmo.gov.to/guide-to-gov-mainmenu-26/tonga-a-the-world-mainmenu-72/the-united-nations-mainmenu-126.html

Non-use value: 'I don't do this for tourists, I do it for locals,' said Mr Fehoko. *Old Tonga* is primarily for the enjoyment of locals, and although it is free, its contingent valuation could be assessed in monetary terms by how much people might be willing to pay for their enjoyment. Other non-monetary values include people in the community who might not have visited *Old Tonga* being proud of its existence. It is an important resource for children who grow up in urban environments or outside of Tonga.

Historical value: *Old Tonga* promotes cultural heritage and preservation by displaying how *fale* and canoes were constructed in the past, and by displaying the different types of *fale* that Tongan ancestors used.

Social value: *Old Tonga* is free to visit and is accessible to tourists, community members, families, schools and women's groups. It provides space for locals to meet, learn, and share knowledge and traditions.

Aesthetic value: 'This is my last piece of artwork,' Mr Fehoko told us. *Old Tonga's* aesthetic value was appreciated by liaison officer Ms Itatonga Vaka'uta, who expressed delight in viewing the different styles of *fale*, many of which she had not seen since she was a child. Many tourists find the carvings and canoes beautiful and pleasing to look at.

Spiritual value: A small memorial to kava introduces the story of the origin of kava. Kava represents the feelings of humility, respect and love that are at the core of Tongan society. Kava ceremonies are an integral part of Tongan life.

4.3.2 Cultural mapping

Cultural mapping is a useful tool for analysis and strategic planning. Cultural mapping 'means ensuring that cultural considerations are present in all processes of planning and development' (Mercer 2002:9). Cultural mapping can help organisations 'see' how culture is already present in their activities. It can also help identify any obstacles to culture and cultural values posed by development processes and outcomes.

UNESCO recognises cultural mapping as a crucial tool and technique in preserving the world's intangible and tangible cultural assets, and provides the following definition on its website:

> Cultural mapping involves a community identifying and documenting local cultural resources. Through this research cultural elements are recorded — the tangibles like galleries, craft industries, distinctive landmarks, local events and industries, as well as the intangibles like memories, personal histories, attitudes and values. After researching the elements that make a community unique, cultural mapping involves initiating a range of community activities or projects, to record, conserve and use these elements…the most fundamental goal of cultural mapping is to help communities recognize, celebrate, and support cultural diversity for economic, social and regional development.
>
> (Keynote speech, Clark et al. 1995. Cultural Mapping Symposium and Workshop, Australia).[16]

4.3.3 Surveys and questionnaires

There are two opinions as to the value of surveys and questionnaires in gathering data on culture and cultural values. Those who have used surveys find that it is best to design questions that ask the participant to rank answers on a scale of one to five. However, others argue that surveys and questionnaires are of little value in measuring culture. Hawkes (2001:23,24), for example, believes that:

16 Clark et al. 1995. Cultural Mapping Symposium and Workshop, Australia http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/our-projects/protection-of-endangered-and-minority-cultures/cultural-mapping/

> to distribute a questionnaire to householders asking them to tick pre-designed boxes is worse than useless … Actively involving communities in arts practice (as against product consumption) is the essential starting point to the exercise of generating community -owned expressions of what matters to them. Sitting around making lists is the accountants' way — lists of things that can be measured! How inhibiting is that?

4.3.4 Joint research projects

The final method we suggest is for government departments, civil society organisations and village councils to establish joint research projects with local or overseas researchers. The Lapaha Town Council on Tongatapu, for example, has forged two research relationships with different Australian universities. The Lapaha Council, which was created in July 2007, has been described as an example of 'bottom up governance' which links traditional leadership with community mobilisation (Maclellan 2009:34).

Lapaha village is the site of the ancient capital of Tonga, and during a meeting with Lord Kalaniuvalu and other members of Lapaha village it was described as 'the first school of culture'. Lord Kalaniuvalu described how his council approached the Australian National University and Simon Fraser University, Canada, inviting researchers to conduct research into aspects of their history and heritage that the community had identified as important.

Such research can be mutually beneficial in a range of different ways. From the local community perspective, people have the opportunity to design research projects to serve their interests and needs, form relationships with international researchers, and be involved in the process of knowledge production. In turn, non-indigenous researchers who are interested in working collaboratively with indigenous populations, have the opportunity to engage in a meaningful and participatory way with local communities, to exchange knowledge and learn about indigenous epistemologies and methodologies, and to produce a body of knowledge of immediate use-value to local communities as well as for the wider public and academic community.

4.3.5 Suggested indicator development plan for stakeholders

In developing their own indicators, stakeholders could utilise any of the research paradigms listed above to undertake the following steps:

1. Carry out an assessment to establish the cultural values of an entity (e.g. community, NGO, local government department) and the cultural value of its activities. Information could be gathered using surveys or questionnaires, or other culturally appropriate methods such as *talanoa*. This will provide baseline data on the value of culture to the entity and its members/affiliates.
2. Carry out a cultural mapping of the entity to identify and document local cultural resources that are already being used, or that have the potential to be used, in its activities (see Recommendation 2). This will help the entity 'see' how culture is already present in its policies and activities, or where it could be incorporated.
3. Develop a policy, activity, programme or proposal based on the data collected.
4. Evaluate the policy, activity, programme or proposal using a cultural framework (see Recommendation 1).
5. Using the Framework for Measuring the Contribution of Culture to the Pacific Plan (see Section 4.1.4), develop indicators to achieve the outcomes and objectives as defined by the policy, activity, programme or proposal.

5. Initial workplan to support developing a framework to identify key components of the regional cultural strategy 2010–2020

Based on the guiding principles in the methodology for valuing the contribution of culture to the four pillars of the Pacific Plan, we have identified four key components for a regional cultural strategy. This is followed by an initial workplan that takes these key components as a starting point in developing a cultural framework to satisfy the major needs and requirements of stakeholders over a ten year period from 2010.

5.1 Key components and recommendations

Guiding Principle 1
Oceanian cultures are innovative, creative, and change over time and in different contexts

Oceania's cultural diversity is one of its strengths. However, this diversity poses a challenge to creating a regional cultural strategy. No single policy will suffice as an optimal tool to promote and strengthen cultural identities and values when there are such marked cultural differences in the region. Each Pacific Island state will have different understandings of custom, of what constitutes traditional knowledge, who a cultural producer is, and so on. Cultural and structural differences between countries can also affect methodologies for collecting cultural data and statistics, as Madden (2004:6) points out. An added challenge is that a significant proportion of people who identify as belonging to an Oceanian culture do not live in the region.

Wiedemann (2008:251) argues that in developing countries, 'effective policies must be customised on a country-by-country basis, taking into account the state of each country's creative sectors, its resources, and its other policy priorities. On the same page, Wiedemann also suggests that the following conditions are required for successful creative and cultural industries: freedom of speech and information; intellectual property rights protection; media pluralism; and economic and social status of artists.

Instead of developing a regional cultural policy, the most effective strategy for Oceania is to develop a cultural framework.

Recommendation 1: Develop a cultural framework

A cultural framework provides a standard method of assessing the potential of all policies, activities, programmes and proposals to maintain and strengthen Oceanian cultural identity (Objective 11.1 of the Pacific Plan) . Similar to cultural impact assessments, a cultural framework is a high-level, flexible tool used to assess and evaluate existing and proposed policies, activities, programmes and proposals as to their likely and/or achieved impact (negative or positive) on the four pillars of the Pacific Plan (this idea is adapted from Hawkes 2001:32). Different stakeholders, from village councils and civil society organisations to local, provincial, and national governments to international agencies can use a cultural framework in a wide range of different contexts.

- The ideas presented here are adapted from Hawkes's (2001) description of a cultural framework and the International Network for Cultural Diversity's Framework for Cultural Impact Assessment.[17] A cultural framework should:
- Adopt an understanding of culture as something we **learn and teach** that **guides our actions, customs and behaviours**, and provides a **source of creativity and innovation** that manifests in various ways. It should also be able to assess and evaluate cultural and creative industries, traditional knowledge and practices, and cultural producers as well as cultural goods, services and activities within and outside of Oceania.
- Explicitly recognise and value culture as a creative, flexible resource (Radcliffe and Laurie 2006:244). Oceanic cultures have a long history of cultural change, adaptation, and the capacity to incorporate new ideas into traditions and customs in unique and innovative ways, although this is not always viewed as 'creativity'.
- Be descriptive and adaptable to a range of different contexts (including differences in data sets, understandings of custom and tradition, and stakeholder resources). Oceanic cultures are diverse and this Framework needs to have the flexibility for stakeholders to define and prioritise their own relevant cultural values.
- Ask the following questions as a starting point (from Hawkes 2001:32):
    i. What has been the quality of community input into the development of the actual and proposed policies/activities under review?
    ii. To what extent do these policies/activities reflect the values, identities, and ways of life of the people they will affect?
    iii. Do these policies/activities improve the capacity of communities to act and interact?
    iv. Do these policies/activities promote dialogue about culture, cultural values and development?
- Evaluate the likely and/or achieved negative and positive cultural impacts of the policies/activities on economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security (e.g. go beyond viewing culture solely in terms of economic growth or issues of intellectual property and copyright).
- Analyse impact equity.
- Analyse research undertaken by or emanating from citizens directly involved in or associated with the policies/activities being reviewed (this might include surveys, questionnaires, and other methods suggested in the toolkit in Section 4.3 above).
- Adopt a holistic approach, asking each stakeholder to assess its activities in relation to its surrounding physical, social and economic environment.
- Incorporate long-term measurement, monitoring and evaluation procedures.

17 Sagnia, Burama K. 2004. International Network for Cultural Diversity, Framework for Cultural Impact Assessment. http://www.incd.net/docs/ciaframework.htm.

Guiding Principle 2
Culture is an enabling and a constraining factor in development

As discussed in Section 1, one of the challenges of incorporating culture into development is that culture can both facilitate and inhibit the conditions for development. Also, the way that people use, produce and participate in a wide range of cultural activities is shaped by cultural values.

Cultural maps (described in Section 4.3 above) are often used as the basis for cultural planning and policy formulation, and undertaking this activity across Oceania will provide valuable qualitative and quantitative information about the links between culture, cultural values, and the four pillars of the Pacific Plan (economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security).

Recommendation 2: Conduct cultural mapping in each country

> Cultural mapping of existing cultural values, activities, structures, resources and products should be undertaken in each Pacific Island state. This will help identify strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and obstacles posed by culture to development objectives, and by development processes to cultural values. From here, countries will be able to identify and plan specific policies according to their interests and resources.

The Commonwealth Foundation report *Putting Culture First* identified cultural mapping as an area for much needed further investment (Nowottny 2008:20).

Guiding Principle 3
Cultural activities contribute to a range of different outcomes, both tangible and intangible

In formulating a cultural framework around the four pillars of the Pacific Plan, priorities and objectives need to be carefully considered and designed. While there are cross-cutting issues across all four pillars, each pillar has its own priorities and outcomes, and some priorities may even compete with one another. An example includes the commodification of cultural art forms for economic growth, which might involve changing the nature and form of traditional activities (such as dances). This comes into conflict with those who wish to preserve and protect cultural traditions, a feature of the sustainable development pillar.

Another challenge is that most indicators for culture and development relate to material achievements. It is difficult and more time-consuming to evaluate other, non- economic and intangible dimensions of culture. A related problem is that data relating to the impacts of culture on development (and vice versa) is not currently collected or evaluated in a systematic manner.

Recommendation 3: Establish a virtual regional cultural ‘think tank’

> Establish and resource a virtual regional cultural ‘think tank’ to source information, conduct research and make publicly available findings on how culture interacts with the four pillars of the Pacific Plan. This ‘think tank’ might consist of cultural experts from local, regional and international pools and include cultural users and producers to indigenous and foreign consultants and academics.

The research undertaken will be useful in assisting governments, development partners, and other stakeholders to understand the challenges involved with protecting, preserving and promoting cultural diversity in Oceania and address priorities in a careful, considered manner. This 'think tank' could also be charged with creating a new information base for identifying indicators and creating policy around culture and development, providing support for cultural mapping, and contributing to an initial cultural framework draft document for Oceania.

Guiding Principle 4
Cultural activities, producers and events draw on various resources

This final guiding principle recognises that inputs and support for cultural producers and activities comes from a variety of sources, not all of which are acknowledged or valued. In order to fully harness the benefits that culture can bring to development policy and practice, it needs to be supported in a sustainable manner. It is important to identify the kinds of intangible, non-economic inputs into cultural activities (such as the time people donate to church organisations) so they can be valued and supported in development processes. Taking such inputs for granted is not sustainable, and in fact is likely to cause failure rather than success and people's workloads and burdens are increased without relief or recognition. Another challenge is that there is very little government funding for cultural policies, national mechanisms for promoting culture are under resourced, and external donors/development partners fund aspects of the Pacific Plan (economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security) according to their own agendas.

Recommendation 4: Prioritise resources for valuing culture in development

Prioritise national and regional resources for valuing culture in development. This might involve setting aside a percentage of national budgets for protecting cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge in an autonomous manner. Resources could also be provided to help establish a new information base for Oceanian cultural statistics. This might also encourage the different institutional bodies dealing with culture and cultural issues to communicate and work collaboratively. Development partners could also be asked to dedicate specific resources in order for entities to protect, preserve and promote Oceania's cultural diversity — the regional 'think tank' could be funded in this manner, for example. Culture is one of Oceania's biggest resources and should be supported accordingly.

5.2 Initial workplan

The following steps are recommended for developing a regional cultural strategy for Oceania:

1. Establish a virtual regional cultural 'think tank' (see Recommendation 3).
2. Carry out cultural mapping in each Pacific Island country (see Recommendation 2).
3. Develop a cultural framework for use by a range of stakeholders in different contexts (see Recommendation 1). Engage with stakeholders from three different Pacific Island countries in culturally appropriate ways (see the suggested toolkit of methods in Section 5.3) to test, review and refine the cultural framework.
4. Choose and develop appropriate methods to gather and analyse information for a new information base (see Recommendations 3 and 4 and the suggested toolkit of methods in Section 5.3).

5. This information base will be used for identifying indicators to build on the list of preliminary indicators provided, and for creating policy around culture and development.
6. Launch the cultural framework at a regional meeting (such as an annual Pacific Islands Forum meeting, a Pacific Island Leaders' Meeting or a meeting of the ACP Ministers of Culture) and discuss priorities and challenges involved with protecting, preserving and promoting Oceania's cultural diversity.

7. Cultural 'think tank' to monitor and evaluate the uptake and usefulness of the cultural framework in achieving its goal of maintaining and strengthening Oceanian cultural identity.
8. Report on and discuss the effectiveness of the cultural framework in achieving its goal of maintaining and strengthening Oceanian cultural identity, and its usefulness in assessing the impacts of policies/activities on economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security, at a regional meeting (such as an annual Pacific Islands Forum meeting, a Pacific Island Leaders' Meeting or a meeting of the ACP Ministers of Culture).

A suggested timetable for these initial steps is provided below:

Figure 2: Suggested Timetable for Initial Workplan, 2010–2020

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Step 1: Establish a virtual regional cultural 'think tank'. **Step 2:** Carry out cultural mapping in each Pacific Island country. Analyse and report findings.	**Step 2:** Continue cultural mapping in each Pacific Island country. Analyse and report findings.	**Step 3:** Develop a cultural framework for use by a range of stakeholders in different contexts. Engage with stakeholders from three different Pacific Island countries to test, review and refine the cultural framework.	**Step 4:** Choose and develop appropriate methods to gather and analyse information for a new information base. This information base will be used for identifying indicators and creating policy around culture and development	**Step 5:** Launch the cultural framework at a regional meeting (such as an annual Pacific Islands Forum meeting, a Pacific Island Leaders' Meeting or a meeting of the ACP Ministers of Culture) and discuss priorities and challenges involved with protecting, preserving and promoting Oceania's cultural diversity.	**Step 6:** Monitor and evaluate the uptake and usefulness of the cultural framework in achieving its goal of maintaining and strengthening Oceanian cultural identity.					**Step 7:** Report on and discuss the effectiveness of the cultural framework in achieving its goal of maintaining and strengthening Oceanian cultural identity, and its usefulness in assessing the impacts of policies/ activities on the four Pacific Plan pillars, at a key regional meeting.

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Appendix 1: Methodology

To start the project, a literature review was carried out according to the scope of work outlined in the Terms of Reference to ascertain key areas of investigation. The review also identified other organisations and projects currently working on methodologies and indicators for valuing culture in development. From the literature review we developed both an initial draft of the methodology for valuing culture and our strategy for three seven-day field visits to selected Pacific Island countries.

The purpose of the field visits was to consult with a representative sample of stakeholders on the value of culture to ensure that a range of views were considered, assessed, documented and analysed. Our strategy for the field visits was to focus on specific case studies or aspects of the interaction between culture and development in each place. We modified and used Fleming's (1999) Best Practice Model for Local Cultural Industry to identify the range of sectors contributing to local cultural industries:

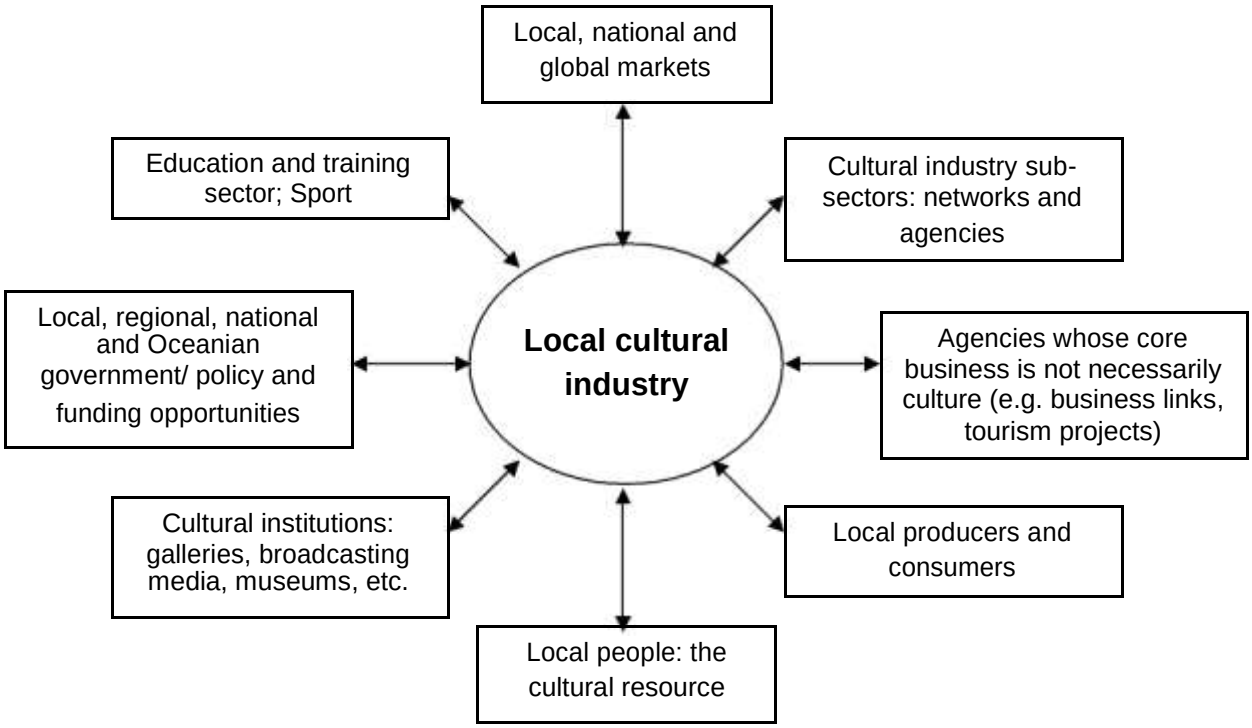

Figure 3: Fleming's Best-Practice Model for Local Cultural Industry (from Horvat et al. 2003:182)

Looking broadly across these sectors, five areas of investigation were pursued:

- how culture is currently used in development at the village, district and national level;
- what kinds of policies exist relating to traditional knowledge and intellectual property;
- how development projects that involve culture are supported;
- how the impacts of development projects involving cultural activities are currently evaluated and by whom; and
- what kinds of handicrafts and other cultural products are made and how they are sold or exchanged.

Prior to each visit we communicated with key contacts in each country about the purpose of our visit and our research objectives. Our contacts facilitated the visits for us, providing assistance in the form of liaison officers and by arranging meetings and interviews with people we had identified as key stakeholders. As a result of interviews and discussions with stakeholders, different foci were developed in each place. In Solomon Islands the focus was on creative arts and cultural policy frameworks. In the Federated States of Micronesia the focus was on food security and environmental issues. In Tonga the focus was on education, performance arts and cultural heritage.

Based on our previous experience in researching the concept of culture, we decided to hold semi-structured interviews rather than developing a list of set questions to ask each participant. The interviews took the form of conversations about culture and development as it related to the interviewee's area of expertise, with more questions emerging naturally out of the discussion. The kinds of questions we used to frame each conversation centred around the four parameters we devised in the initial draft methodology, being:

1. presence (questions were framed around the way in which culture appeared in the interviewee's field, for example as content in an educational curriculum, as the focus of policy on heritage, or as activities on display for tourists in cultural shows).
2. participation (questions were framed around who participated in activities relating to culture, such as policy writers, teachers, students, producers of traditional goods and handicrafts, dancers, as well as who was excluded from participating due to cultural or social reasons).
3. impacts (questions were framed around the impacts the interviewee's activities had on participants and other stakeholders).
4. support (questions were framed around the kind of resources available for the interviewee's activities, and what kind of resources the interviewee would have liked).

We also participated in and observed a range of cultural activities, including visiting tourist destinations, speaking with tourists, attending dinners and cultural shows, participating in cultural ceremonies, observing men and women producing cultural goods (such as *tapa* cloth and wooden items), visiting markets and handicraft/souvenir stores, watching musical performances, and visiting museums. After completing our field visits we analysed our data, identified relevant case studies and continued to develop the methodology and indicators for valuing culture in Oceania.

One of the limitations in our methodology was the presence of liaison officers during interviews. While it was very helpful to have local assistance during each field visit, in one instance the liaison officer was also a government employee, which might have had an impact on the interviewee's responses. A related limitation is that all interviews were conducted in English, sometimes with the help of an interpreter. Research officers also acknowledge their status as 'outsiders' talking to local indigenous people about their cultures and values.

In summary, data for this report was gathered by:

- reviewing academic literature, policy documents, and other published material
- internet searches
- reviewing existing methodologies and frameworks relating to culture and development
- semi-structured interviews
- participant-observation

- webpage consultation
- Short field visit reports for each country and a full list of persons consulted are provided in Appendix

Appendix 2: Field visit reports and lists of persons consulted

Field Visit 1: Solomon Islands

Research officer: Dr Manuhuia Barcham
Point of contact: Mr Robert Au

Interviewee	Issues discussed
Mr Robert Au, Director of Culture Division Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Purpose of visit, objectives to be achieved, issues relating to culture and development, role of Ministry of Culture and Tourism [?]
Mr Lawrence Foanaota, Chief Curator of National Museum	Role of material culture in the Solomon Islands, language and culture, churches and culture, cultural policies and frameworks
Mr Brian Afia, Curator National Gallery	Creative Arts in the Solomon Islands, the national art collection, issues of funding and the creative arts
Mr Selwyn Palmer, Visual Artist	Opportunities as creative artists in the Solomon Islands, role of cultural festivals
Mr John Do'o, Visual Artist	Opportunities as creative artists in the Solomon Islands, role of cultural festivals
Mr Henry Pika, Permanent Secretary Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Policy and legal frameworks for culture in Solomon Islands, culture and tourism, regional approaches to culture, constraints on Solomon Islands agencies on taking issue of culture more seriously
Mr John Suspuri, Traditional Chief	Role of indigenous culture and development, support by government of cultural practices, documentation of cultural practices
Mr Nikamatu'a Newman, Traditional Chief	Role of indigenous culture and development, support by government of cultural practices, documentation of cultural practices
Mr Mark Maesimae, Traditional Chief	Role of indigenous culture and development, support by government of cultural practices, documentation of cultural practices
Mr Henry Isa Former Director of Culture Division Ministry of Culture and Tourism [?]	Environment and culture
Mrs Jennifer Wati, Chief Executive Solomon Islands Development Trust	Gender and culture, environment and culture, culture and economic development
Mrs Joesephine Teakini, Chief Executive Vos Blong Meri	Gender and culture, environment and culture, culture and economic development

Field Visit 2: Federated States of Micronesia

Research officer: Dr Manuhuia Barcham
Point of contact: Ms Aliti Vunisea

Interviewee	Issues discussed
Dr Rufino Mauricio Director Office of National Archives, Culture and Historic Preservation	Purpose of visit. objectives to be achieved, issues relating to culture and development, role of UNESCO in FSM, policy and legal frameworks concerning cultural issues in FSM
Mr Resty Shotaro Office of National Archives, Culture and Historic Preservation	Policy and legal frameworks concerning cultural issues in FSM
Mr Simpson Abraham Department of Environment and Sustainable Development	Environment and culture, land tenure, traditional leadership
Mr James Movick Advisor Offshore Fisheries Development Program	Culture and economic development, traditional leadership
Mr Tony Bermanis Pohnpei State Government Senior Citizen Coordinator	Culture and economic development, role of elders
Mrs Rose Tonre Pohnpei State Government Women's Interest Coordinator	Gender and culture
Mr Valentine Martin Deputy-Assistant Secretary Coastal Management	Policy and legal frameworks for cultural protection, environment and culture
Mr Okean Ehmes United Nations Population Fund	Environment and culture, gender and culture
Ms Alissa Takesy, Department of Resources and Development	Environment and culture; Micronesian Challenge
Mr Augustine Kohler Acting Director Department of Land and Natural Resources	Environment and culture, traditional leadership
Mr Ricky Carl The Nature Conservancy	Environment and culture, policy and legal frameworks for cultural protection
Mr Adelino Lorens Pohnpei State Government Chief of Agriculture	Environment and culture, food security
Mrs Mae Adams The Nature Conservancy	Environment and culture, Micronesian Challenge
Mr Patterson Shed Executive Director Conservation Society of Pohnpei	Environment and culture, Micronesian Challenge
Mr Esteban Santiago Community member, Madolenihmw	Environment and culture, culture and traditional foodstuffs

Interviewee	Issues discussed
Mr Ioanis Silbanuz Community member, Madolenihmw	Environment and culture, culture and traditional foodstuffs
Mr Oscar Pelep, Soumas en Kousapw Wapar	Traditional culture, culture and traditional foodstuffs
Mrs Mary Mudong Community member, Wapar	Culture and small business development
Mrs Lois Englberger Island Food Community of Pohnpei	Environment and culture, culture and traditional foodstuffs

Field Visit 3: Tonga, 19–25 April 2009

Research officer: Ms Lorena Gibson
Point of contact: Dr Viliami Fukofuka, Director of Education
Liaison officer: Ms Ikatonga Vaka'uta
Driver: Mr 'Isoa Kanongata'a

Interviewee	Issues discussed
Dr Viliami Fukofuka, Director of Education	Purpose of visit, objectives to be achieved, issues relating to culture and development, outline of culture's position within the Ministry of Education, Women's Affairs and Culture; CEDAW
Dr Ana Taufe'ulungaki, Tonga Education Support Programme	Golden Pillars of Tongan society; education reform and cultural values; culture, land and identity; talanoa
Penisimani Latu, Deputy Registrar, Ministry of Labour, Commerce and Industry	Draft policy for protection of cultural knowledge and heritage; preservation of culture
Hon. Dr Tevita H Palefau, Minister for Education, Women's Affairs and Culture	The location of culture within the Tongan government; culture and education
Lord and Mrs Fusitu'a	Culture and language; cultural differences within Tonga (e.g. Niua dialect, weaving), remittances
Rev. 'Ahio, Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga	Culture and Christianity, four golden pillars of Tongan society, the place of culture in church rituals, e.g. kava ceremonies
Principal, Rev. Dr Tevita Tonga Mohenoa Puloka, Sia'atoutai Theological College	Music and culture, poetry, dance, Christianity
Siosiane Bloomfield	Traditional medicine and healing, Tongan legends, status of women, illness and health
Fakahau Valu	Rugby and culture in Tonga, sports and cultural values, four golden pillars of Tongan society, Christian values in sport, impact of professionalisation and money on rugby
Sione Moala-Mafi, Deputy Director of Tourism and Head of Marketing, Tonga Visitors Bureau	The role of the Tonga Visitors Bureau, culture and heritage, tourism, promoting culture through events to tourists and locals
Sitiveni Fehoko, Master Carver and creator of Old Tonga	Culture and art, carving, heritage, tourism, youth, Canoe Festival, Tongan National Arts and

Interviewee	Issues discussed
	Handicrafts Association
Nanise Fifita, Acting General Manager of Radio & Television Tonga, and Katalina Tohi, Manager of Television Tonga	Media, marketing and culture, preserving archives of cultural material, language of broadcast, cultural content in programming
Monalisa Palu, Creative and Performing Arts Association (CAPAA), and Ebonie Fifita, On The Spot	Culture and arts, youth, female participation in arts, arts festivals, funding
Sisi'uno Helu, Director of Performing Arts, 'Atenisi Institute	Preserving cultural traditions; performance arts; education and culture, cultural policy, culture, identity and youth
Tuna Fielakepa, Fueva Kavaliku, 'Uheina Kalaniuvalu, and Hauoli Vi, Langafonua 'a Fafine Tonga	Culture and development, handicrafts and materials, cultural values, gender issues and roles, hardship and poverty, drivers of change, clothing, churches, obstacles to development
Sr Senolia Vakatā, National Director of CARITAS Tonga	CARITAS projects, culture and tradition; community development; traditional dress
Ofa Fukofuka, Director, Tonga Rugby Football Union	Rugby and education, sport and cultural values, netball and hockey for girls, social and economic contribution of rugby
Polotu Fakafanua-Paunga, Deputy Director and Head of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Education, Women's Affairs and Culture	Gender and development policy, gender issues, gender and culture
Dr Taniela Fusimalohi, Chief Executive Officer and Director, Ministry of Training, Employment, Youth and Sports	Culture and education, youth training and alternative pathways for young people, Tongan culture of performance, agriculture, markets, Tongan cultural values
Tufui Faletau, Deputy Secretary for Finance and National Planning (Policy and Planning), Ministry of Finance and Planning	Tonga's Strategic Plan 8, culture and heritage, resources and policy development
'Etuate Lavulavu, Director, Tonga National Culture Centre	Culture and education, performance arts, plans for the Tonga National Culture Centre, heritage, preservation and tradition; dance competitions
Lord Kalaniuvalu and guests	Kava and kava ceremonies, Tongan cultural values, cultural change over time, dance and social status, Tongan history and legends, education and culture, current research with Australian academics