

Living with Sacred Lands:
Negotiating Sustainable Heritage Management and Livelihoods
in the Marquesas Islands

By

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To *te enata* and *te enana*, past, present and future

and

to Astrid Tepootutahuata,
who was born at the same time as this manuscript

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To mua ana oa, ha'ameitai nei au te tau enata paotu o te Fenua Enata no ta otou toko, ta otou 'ite i una o to otou fenua, no to otou vai'e'i, to otou apu'u mai ia'u. Koakoa nui ia'u te hana atu me otou no eia ha'a tihe atu nei haka'ua au to'u koutau ia otou paotu vai'e'i. Ko'utaunui paotu.

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PREFACE

This project was inspired by a variety of different experiences, from work in French Polynesia to Cape Cod, Hawaii and Washington, DC. What has become a long-term commitment to the Marquesas evolved over time, through a series of annual visits that seemed at first to materialize by sheer luck. Early invitations to teach and lecture in the islands gradually became habit, and I soon found myself with over a decade of experience and a deep connection to these incredible islands. Meanwhile, the course of my life continued through two academic degrees and several professions. The mingling threads of my time in the Marquesas, my work as an archaeologist and museum curatorial assistant, and the four years I spent as a landscape historian for the National Park Service combined to furnish me with the knowledge, skills and understanding to imagine and pursue this doctoral project.

The idea first began to form at a time when I was traveling back and forth between my job researching and writing about American heritage landscapes and working to assess and promote Marquesan interest in archaeological heritage. Despite the need to keep them distinct from each other in a professional sense, these two lives and worlds cross-pollinated and eventually led to my curiosity about Marquesan connections to the land and their material past as they are contextualized in ancestral landscapes. It was a topic that, thankfully, has both grown and managed to keep my interest keenly engaged ever since.

My 2013 research encapsulates several paths that I have taken, and references future routes I hope to travel. It blends the challenges and practical realities of heritage management, land use and sustainability with what I could capture of the fluid lives, beliefs and hopes of a group of indigenous islanders. To the greatest extent possible, I have tried to give it a breath of the islands: their lush, humid valleys; their economic tensions; their struggles for governance; and the vibrant energy of my Marquesan family, hosts and friends. In their island homes or on Facebook I look forward to sharing these findings with islanders, and hope that it will make some small difference in the future development and vitality of the Marquesas.

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates how perceptions of the past influence one indigenous group's interactions with, and uses of, the land. It looks at the confluence of what we generally know as "environment" with history and how this nexus guides both cultural and environmental sustainability in the Marquesas Islands. Despite terrible historic losses of Marquesan life and knowledge due to colonialism, warfare, depopulation and disease, certain local understandings and expertise have survived through personal transmission across generations. Over time these emplaced practices on the land have allowed islanders to resist and respond to the extension of territorial power through colonial administration, religion and the market. Islanders' ambivalent, spiritual and embodied connections to the ancestral landscapes where they work each day are one example of this power dynamic and its effects. Sacred meanings in the land play a crucial role in how Marquesans view their past and their heritage, yet they remain unrecognized by such established institutions as the government, the Catholic Church, local cultural organizations and ongoing initiatives for heritage and sustainable development. By failing to acknowledge the spiritual importance and power of ancestral places, processes of indigenous heritage recognition ironically become a vehicle for the perpetuation of colonial patterns of authority that threaten both the Marquesan world-view and local historic resources. The resulting tensions illustrate enduring creativity in the way that islanders view and act upon their heritage. They also suggest alternative strategies for approaching the preservation of historic resources in indigenous and post-colonial communities around the globe.

Cette thèse examine comment les perceptions du passé influencent les interactions d'un groupe autochtone avec le pays et l'usage de ressources. Il étudie la rencontre de ce qu'on reconnaît comme "l'environnement" avec l'histoire et la façon dont laquelle ce lien guide la durabilité de la culture et l'environnement des îles Marquises. Malgré les pertes graves de la vie et des connaissances marquisiens à cause de la colonialisme, la guerre, le dépeuplement et la maladie, certaines vues et compétences locales ont survécu grâce à la transmission personnelle à travers les générations. Au fil du temps ces pratiques situées sur le terrain ont permis les insulaires à résister et à répondre à la puissance territoriale répandu par l'administration coloniale, la religion et le marché. La nature de cette relation de pouvoir et ses effets se manifeste dans les connexions ambivalentes, spirituelles et affectives entre les insulaires et les paysages ancestrales où ils travaillent tous les jours. Les significations sacrées dans le pays jouent un rôle essentiel dans la façon dont les marquisiens voient leur passé et leur patrimoine, mais ils ne sont jamais reconnues par des institutions établies comme le gouvernement, l'Eglise Catholique, les organisations culturelles locales et les projets en cours pour le patrimoine et le développement durable. En leur refus de reconnaître la puissance et l'importance spirituelle des lieux ancestraux, les processus de reconnaissance du patrimoine autochtone deviennent ironiquement un vecteur pour la perpétuation de modèles de l'autorité coloniale qui menacent à la fois la vision du monde marquisien et des ressources historiques locales. Les tensions qui en résultent illustrent la créativité durable des insulaires de voir et agir sur leur patrimoine. Surtout ils suggèrent, également, d'autres stratégies pour aborder la préservation des ressources historiques dans les communautés autochtones et post-coloniales dans le monde entier.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: The Sacred and the Sustainable

In the dappled sunlight and shade of the Marquesan forest, a monumental stone structure lies beneath a blanket of ferns, moss and fallen leaves. Different visitors to this place recognize diverse meanings: a foreign archaeologist sees an ancient ceremonial site; a local politician sees a potential tourist attraction; an artist sees the power and industry of his ancestors; the landowner, perhaps, sees instead something dark and mysterious, a possible danger. In this kaleidoscope of interpretations, whose opinion should matter most?

The enduring interaction of past and present guide these views as well as their comparative power in determining local actions and the future of Marquesan heritage. Here, contentious land ownership, mixed approaches to land use, heritage goals and economic aspirations meet and tangle like the forest weeds, contributing to complex and enduring tensions in how people live and move in local landscapes.¹ This thesis investigates how perceptions of the past influence one indigenous group's interactions with, and uses of, the land. It looks at the confluence of what we generally know as "environment" with history and how this nexus directs both cultural and environmental sustainability in the Marquesas Islands.

Despite terrible historic losses of Marquesan life and knowledge due to colonialism, warfare, depopulation and disease, certain local understandings and traditional expertise have survived through personal transmission across generations. Over time these practices in the home and on the land have allowed islanders to resist and respond to the extension of territorial

¹ Following the lead of human geographers, anthropologists, archaeologists and preservationists, I use the term "landscape" not in its classic sense of an abstract image, but rather as lands that are dynamic and changing, based upon a "scape" that includes views, structures and people as well as vegetation (see Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Huggett and Perkins 2004; Longstreth 2008; Stewart and Strathern 2003; Tilley 1994:24-5; Ucko and Layton 1999).

power through colonial administration, religion and the market. Unlike some other, more obvious instances of indigenous resistance, their opposition is peaceful yet strong, manifest in moments of “misunderstanding,” confusion or refusal to comply with foreign guidance on how to manage resources, money and the land. Islanders’ ambivalent, spiritual and embodied connections to the ancestral landscapes where they work each day are one example of this subtle resistance and its effects. Sacred meanings in the land influence how Marquesans view their past and their heritage, yet they remain unrecognized by such established institutions as the government, the Catholic Church and local cultural organizations. A project to add the Marquesas to the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) currently follows suit. By failing to acknowledge the spiritual importance and power of ancestral places, this bid for recognition of indigenous heritage ironically perpetuates colonial patterns of authority, threatening a distinctive Marquesan world-view that continues to guide local use of island resources.

The resulting negotiations of meaning in island landscapes reveal conflicts between locals and non-locals but also among Marquesans, breaking down assumed divisions between people and values (Li 2014). This friction reflects contrasting approaches to heritage as a political and economic tool versus an ancestral or spiritual resource. By recognizing the sacred power of Marquesan lands, heritage advocates could help to alleviate these inner tensions and, in doing so, improve the future success and sustainability of heritage and other related development projects in the islands. Rather than automatically pursuing the preservation of static ruins, a more culturally appropriate approach to heritage management would accept local practices of respect that incorporate a range of treatment strategies, from maintenance to abandonment, in historic Marquesan places viewed as working cultural landscapes. For other indigenous and post-colonial communities facing similar power struggles and ontological conflicts in the

treatment of their heritage and lands, this practical application of the politics of difference holds great promise.

The Story of Tohua Taupoto

Marquesans' recognition of *mana*, or spiritual power, in local landscapes influences their land use decisions and appreciation of resources that are both "natural" and "cultural," sacred and pragmatic. Despite satellite television, cell phones and internet, islanders have maintained a unique relationship with the land that reflects their cultural singularity and relative isolation from Western goods and influences.² Ninety-four percent of residents were born in French Polynesia and rarely leave their island homes, which are located almost a thousand miles from the nearest city. Due to limited development of the land, vast areas of the Marquesas remain uninhabited and relatively untouched, preserving many of the historic³ structures and landscapes built by the ancestors.

Today, islanders regularly celebrate Marquesan dance, language and art at the Marquesan Arts Festival organized by the cultural association Motu Haka⁴ every two years. The original inspiration for this manuscript came from my involvement, in 2005, in the restoration of an ancient stone dance grounds (*tohua ko'ina*) used in one of these events. Located close to the village of Vaitahu, Tahuata, Tohua Taupoto is a broad platform of smooth stones flanked by

² Isolation is a highly subjective term, as Epeli Hau'ofa illustrates beautifully (1994). I use it here to reflect the islands' physical distance from the nearest major city (almost 1,000 miles of mostly open ocean) and the limited local presence of material goods due to, among other things, high purchase and transport costs. However, this does not preclude the circulation of Marquesans, information and goods. Above all, my use of this term applies only to one scale of interaction among many others that firmly destabilize classic perceptions of Oceania as "the hole in the doughnut" (Hau'ofa 1994:158).

³ Here and throughout the manuscript, I use the term historic to refer to resources of 100 years old or more, and not in the sense used by archaeologists of the Pacific, who use "historic" to refer to the period of history following European contact.

⁴ Or *Motu Haka o te Henua Enana*, founded to promote Marquesan arts and culture.

houses, terraces and viewing areas that hosted massive dance performances as recently as the nineteenth century. Supported by municipal and territorial funding and carried out with the help of archaeologists, local residents and French Polynesian military recruits, the restoration and subsequent festival were a great success. Proud of their accomplishment and the newly recognized site, Tahuata's residents continued to recall the event with fondness seven years later.

Some villagers hoped that the large and conveniently-located site, once restored, might become a center for community events like other similar *tohua ko'ina* in Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. Yet the owners of the Vaitahu site saw the open space in a different light. The following year, they reclaimed it for the purpose of cultivation, populating the sunny terraces with groves of limes and *noni*, a medicinal fruit harvested commercially in the Marquesas since the early 2000s. Their decision, and the factors behind it, speak to ongoing local struggles to reconcile discordant economic, political and social goals for both land and heritage.

The current literature, discussion and action surrounding conservation and preservation draws heavily upon the need to integrate and respect indigenous peoples while pursuing the sustainable management of historic places, species and environments. Initiatives to promote natural and cultural heritage share a fundamental commitment to the preservation of existing resources (see Harmon 2007), yet the varying perspectives on Marquesan heritage destabilize this approach by suggesting that conserving historic resources may in some cases be culturally inappropriate. Thus, the currently popular participatory models of conservation and preservation may fail to achieve either resource sustainability or the incorporation of community needs and interests.

For example, traditional Marquesan harvesting practices promote the preservation of ancient sites in most but not all cases. Occasionally, land users must choose whether to protect

the physical substance of a site through keeping it clear of damaging activity and vegetation, or maintain their respect for the ancestors by abandoning the site. This relationship of respect, rather than a focus on material sustainability, thus motivates behavior on the land. Islanders' actions are guided by embodied experiences of historic landscapes that collapse time, prompting them to actively live their complex colonial and religious history through ongoing interactions with their ancestors. Yet the spiritual basis for this relationship and the resulting practices remains unrecognized. Compounded by related tensions over land rights, use and development, the silencing of local views has led to the neglect of several heritage sites, including Tohua Taupoto.

Ambivalent, uncomfortable local experiences of historic places also contrast sharply with the typical heritage rhetoric of pride, valorization and sustainability. Indeed, the vision of celebratory preservation follows an international model that generally resonates more with foreigners than islanders, illustrating a global colonialism enacted through dominant flows of knowledge and territorial control (see Escobar 2008). The underlying tension thus casts doubt over local and international ambitions to build a future on the sustainable development of the islands and their heritage. Most importantly, current development initiatives may be overlooking a more sustainable strategy for heritage management based upon the very practices and local understandings they obscure.

The theoretical implications of Marquesan heritage and its recognition draw upon themes of territoriality, power, place, phenomenology and resistance. On the one hand, the unique ways in which Marquesans perceive, interpret and interact with their historic landscapes challenge the classic Western distinctions between nature and culture. This contrast and other similar hints of duality between “local” and “non-local” adhere to an established tradition of analysis used by

James C. Scott (1998) to articulate the split between powerful institutions and the populations and spaces they control. A similar division has recently been argued on the basis of the politics of recognition, where indigenous peoples are pitted against the “liberal settler-state” or “master-other” (Coulthard 2013). Looking specifically at the Pacific Islands, Epeli Hau’ofa explores the separation of national or international politics and administration from the “ordinary people, peasants and proletarians” who theoretically live under, but act independently of, the influence of the former (1994:148). He goes on to argue that Oceania’s focus on “bounded national economies at the macrolevel” has damaged Pacific Islanders’ values, views, and prospects for economic development and autonomy (ibid., 159).

Scott (1998) reaches a similar conclusion about how modern states inevitably interfere with and even damage local land use strategies by imposing abstract, generalized meaning over complex local resource value, a process Paige West (2005) calls “translation.” The bid for world heritage status illustrates many of the same themes observed by Hau’ofa, Scott and West, namely an imbalance of power and belittling of local perspectives that results in unintended and potentially damaging consequences (see also West 2006).

Likewise recognizing the analytical value of looking at the various divisions between local and non-local actors, I use the term “local” to reflect dominant perspectives on the land, heritage and other topics among the people who identify themselves as Marquesans or “islanders.” Michel Foucault’s theory of territorialization uses the same binary, arguing that states exercise their control over local populations through an extension of power permitted by legal, educational and market systems (Foucault 2007). Scott, likewise, explores the state’s use of knowledge to legitimize and implement its authority over land (Scott 1998:13). My analysis parallels these earlier studies, investigating the territorializing influence of land reform, religion,

the market and the past in the Marquesas as well as the ways that Marquesans challenge these processes. In particular, a close look at the spread of a similar control over heritage resources complicates existing theories about power and locality by illustrating a more diffuse process exercised by local, national and international actors alike.

In these various and ongoing processes of territorialization, islanders are strategic about their use of Western perspectives and the meaning of heritage places. Reflecting what Marshall Sahlins (1999) has called “anthropological enlightenment,” dynamic and interactive Marquesan approaches to power illustrate indigenous tenacity and creative cultural drive. As Sahlins argues, indigenous groups continue to demonstrate the fallacy of constructing an opposition between “tradition vs. change, custom vs. rationality” (ibid., xi), and anthropologists therefore have a responsibility to cast off the long-standing, popular assumption that “traditional” beliefs and practices must inevitably dissolve under the pressures of progressive development. As he comments wryly, “the Eskimo are still there—and still Eskimo” (ibid., vii). The trick, then, is to recognize how Marquesans innovatively navigate the landscapes and structures of power that surround them, and in doing so enact what it is to be and grow as Marquesans.

As my research indicates, relationships and decisions about value hinge as much on myriad flexible, contingent factors as on an individual’s cultural or geographic affiliation. Thus, my use of the terms “local” and “islander” refers more to common representations than absolute definitions, recognizing that such generalized terms are useful only to a point. As others have done, I use them even as I challenge them through an analysis of agency and resistance (see Escobar 2008).

As the following pages demonstrate, the “islanders” or Marquesans living in the Marquesas do not agree with each other about their past, their heritage and its value. This

reflects the diversity of individuals as well as the various entangled and personal processes that drive decisions about the land. The most important distinction is therefore between the varied heritage views expressed by artists, administrators, farmers, fishermen, teachers, hunters and house wives, and the relatively uniform perspective being strategically promoted by those working with the UNESCO WHL or Palimma initiatives.⁵ In order to achieve their goal of gaining a place on the WHL, this group of advocates is bound to a single, comparatively static understanding of heritage that aligns with that of UNESCO. Above all, however, approaches to heritage remain strategic, as much for the general Marquesan population as for the Marquesans actively working to promote heritage. The challenge thus lies in negotiating both implicit and explicit Western interpretations of nature and culture and the idea of an inactive, inanimate past.

This process draws heavily upon the reality of Marquesans' daily interactions with the land. Shared interpretations of the sacred power (*mana*) in ancestral landscapes illustrate how indigenous place-making can both trouble and confirm the connection between people, land and ancestors. In particular, historic losses and lasting colonial wounds work to isolate Marquesans from their ancestral landscapes in a kind of territorialization executed more by a ghostly past than the state or the church. Meanwhile, more deliberate extensions of territorial power unfold through other channels including the commercial market and the government administration of land tenure. In each case, islanders negotiate the economic, political and historical influences affecting resources by drawing upon their own established, alternative relationships to land and value. Poised to advance Marquesan heritage as well as political and economic interests, UNESCO and other heritage-related development projects could provoke similar processes of colonial territorialization and tacit resistance if they continue to downplay the role of *mana* and

⁵ Palimma, or *Patrimoine lié à la mer aux Marquises*, or *Te Ha'a Tumu o te Tai Moana*, is an organization dedicated to protecting the Marquesas' marine and other coastal heritage. See further discussion in Chapter 6.

the sacred in local understandings of historic landscapes.

I interpret “heritage” generally as a resource associated with the past that retains shared meaning and value today. As others have pointed out, the identification of heritage is a process dependent upon relationships of power, authorized knowledge and the commodification of things (Harrison 2010; Smith 2006; Graham 2002; Lyon and Wells 2012; Appadurai 1986). Thus, interpretations of heritage and its value vary across contexts (see Chapter 6) along with ideas about its treatment (see Chapter 7). The pursuit of heritage preservation, in the classic sense of safeguarding a thing to be passed on to future generations (Silberman 2009:8; Anderson 1983:183), relates closely to the term “sustainable,” referring to something that retains meaning and is maintained over time. Indeed, although sustainability typically relates to natural resources, the implication of sustained value and meaning applies directly to the goals of heritage management (Barthel-Bouchier 2013:56).

Sustainable development is another term that has become increasingly relevant to heritage recognition and management (Labadi and Gould 2015), as those goals are viewed as potential contributors to a type of economic growth that meets both long-term environmental and economic needs (Barclay and Kinch 2013:110; Redclift 1993). Thus, Marquesan plans for sustainable development rely heavily upon the commoditization of their heritage, despite the implications this may hold for the future of sacred, ancestral meanings and values embedded in cultural landscapes. “Cultural landscapes” capture a more holistic understanding of heritage by incorporating not only structures but other historic features such as vegetation, walls, roads, views and traditions. “Sacred” refers to spiritual significance, as in a Marquesan place or thing with *mana*.⁶ If this power is particularly strong and also negative, the associated object or

⁶ See Thorley and Gunn (2008) for further discussion of the English word, “sacred,” and its association with not only spiritual power but uncertainty and the “natural” world (22-4).

location may also be identified as *tapu*, or off limits.⁷

As the spiritual might of the sacred meets the scientific ambitions of the sustainable, tension radiates through Marquesan land and the bodies upon it. The hope of abandoning a painful colonial past for a fresh new future clashes jarringly with the reality of a present characterized by everyday, embodied experiences of *mana* on the land. In their embodiment, or physical sensation, of power, discomfort or fright in historic landscapes, Marquesans enact this tension between the sacred and the sustainable.

Thus, addressing heritage management and use in the Marquesas involves tackling questions about an entangled past, present and future, as well as looking broadly at how islanders interpret the value of their land. I investigated the relationship between people, their past and the land through seeking out the various kinds of historic knowledge still transmitted orally or through certain emplaced behaviors on the land. Above all, an internal tension emerged in how Marquesans approach the famous questions immortalized by Gauguin's Tahitian painting: "Where are we from? Who are we? Where are we going?" Even as islanders make strategic use of their unique history and world view in their response, they are conflicted by an equal commitment to the dominant economic and political pressures in their islands.

Each of the chapters that follow explores a different aspect of this tension and its relationship to processes of territorialization and Marquesan land, livelihoods and heritage. An introduction to Marquesan landscapes (Chapter 2) provides the basis for a closer look at territoriality exercised through administrative (Chapter 3), religious (Chapter 4) and economic

⁷ In Marquesan *tapu* means sacred, or forbidden, as well as potentially dangerous (Handy 1923:257), in a deeply spiritual sense (see Hubert 1994:10). It is also commonly used to indicate land that is private, as in "no trespassing." Land owners also post signs with statements like "*tapu* to animals," meaning cows, horses and pigs should not be released or left to graze there. Historically, the lives of islanders were structured around a system of *tapu* that dictated everything from eating, sexual relations and dancing to work, warfare and ownership. See Nicholas Thomas for further discussion of the Marquesan use of this term, which is present throughout much of the Pacific and brought into English as "taboo" (Thomas 1990:61-73).

(Chapter 5) means. These processes collide in the development of heritage in the islands (Chapter 6), which represents both an opportunity for agency and the risk of further territorialization as ongoing sustainability efforts take shape (Chapter 7).

Above all, the various processes of territorialization reveal more struggle and friction (Tsing 2004) than domination. I examine the potential for alternative approaches to preservation, in much the same way that Arturo Escobar (2001) explores a “political ecology framework that links identity, territory and culture to alternative strategies for conservation and sustainable use” of resources (159). Since there is no clear divide between nature and culture in the Marquesas, this strategy can apply equally to cultural heritage preservation. Based in unique connections to the land and to each other, Marquesan resistance to international views on heritage preservation persists in their interpretation and use of ancestral landscapes. A successful plan for sustainable heritage management will therefore rely upon islanders’ shared understandings of, and existing practices on, the land and may benefit from a perspective based upon working landscapes rather than particular resources.

The Foundations: Marquesan History and Politics

The relatively small, francophone Marquesas are little known to most English speakers. Over the past 200 years they have served as a remote, exotic and inspirational haven to a variety of European and American artists and writers including Paul Gauguin, Jacques Brel, Jack London and Herman Melville. Today, tour books continue to sell them as French Polynesia’s “wild” (*sauvage*) and untouched archipelago (Kahn 2011:115, 120). A brief summary of the Marquesas’ geography, history and governmental structure provides some context for the lives of today’s residents.

The Marquesas consist of 12 volcanic islands located southeast of Hawaii, between seven and 11 degrees below the equator (Figure 1). With a population of some 9,200 (ISPF 2012), the six inhabited islands are divided into two groups, north and south, which are separated by more than 60 miles of open ocean and two distinct Marquesan dialects. Characterized by precipitous mountains and rocky black coastlines, the islands have a maximum elevation of 3,445 feet and a near total lack of fringing coral reefs. Throughout much of the archipelago, tumbling green slopes awash with wild basil, pandanus, shrubs and tall grasses give way to cliffs that plunge directly into the depths of a brilliant, turquoise, crashing sea (Figure 2). Moderated by a light ocean breeze and cool currents, local temperatures fluctuate between about 70 and 85 degrees Fahrenheit, year round. The typical forecast is partly cloudy and annual rainfall averages less than 60 inches per year, varying widely according to island and one's orientation to the prevailing wind and mountains (Rolett 1998:19-23; Thomas 1990:2).

Archaeological findings indicate that indigenous peoples arrived in the islands sometime before 1000 AD (Thomas 1990; Rolett 1998:43; Allen and McAlister 2010; Molle 2011:33-5). The exact date of colonization remains contentious due to the disagreement of different archaeological evidence and a general reliance on C-14 dating techniques, which are vulnerable to corruption. The Spanish made contact with islanders in one isolated incident in 1595, but Europeans did not return to the Marquesas until the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1774 (Thomas 1990:2-3). A period of sustained contact with traders, voyagers, whalers and missionaries followed as American and European nations played out their political bids for



Figure 1. The Marquesas Islands are located just south of the equator, almost a thousand miles northeast of the capital in Papeete, Tahiti. All maps and diagrams created by the author.

power in the Pacific (Farrell 1972:36). The French Admiral Dupetit-Thouars took possession of the Marquesas for France in 1842, nearly half way through a century marked by a series of dramatic changes.

First, the Marquesan population fell precipitously, a disaster due largely to disease and a combination of other factors. A treacherous barrage of foreign illnesses including introduced influenza, tuberculosis, smallpox, dysentery, elephantiasis, leprosy, syphilis and other venereal diseases as well as widespread alcoholism, depression and opium addiction triggered mortality rates similar to what was experienced by Native Americans during colonization (Bailleul

2001:103; Denning 1980:240; Wilson 1998). Several severe droughts in the first few years of the nineteenth century caused widespread famine that led to more losses, exacerbated inter-tribal violence and in some cases caused whole tribes to abandon the Marquesas for the hope of a new life elsewhere (Denning 1980:239-40; Thomas 1990:169-72). Numbering somewhere between 50,000 and 90,000 in 1798, by the time they were annexed to France in 1842 the Marquesan population had been reduced to around 20,700; by 1856 it was 11,900, and it hit an ultimate low of less than two thousand in the 1920s (Denning 1980:239; Denning 2007:10; Bailleul 2001:83; Thomas 1990:4).

Second, the year 1842 marked the beginning of a more permanent and established foreign presence in the islands, which until that point had been limited to castaways, beach combers and a few unhappy missionaries (Ferdon 1993). Although they remained active for less than six years, French military forts were established on two of the islands (Bailleul 2001:83; Radiguet 2001[1861]:230).⁸ Third, the creation of these administrative settlements both supported and facilitated the missionary activity that later came to characterize the colonization of the Marquesas (Saura 2008:55). Although the initial presence of the French military helped to destabilize indigenous political structures (Thomas 1990:161), the true work of colonization was carried out through the social, biological and material influence of missionaries and traders.

Following the initial Protestant effort to convert islanders in the final years of the eighteenth century, the earliest Catholic missionaries arrived to stay in 1838. Four years later, they played a key role as translators during the islands' annexation to France, and by 1848 the

⁸ The colonial history of the Marquesas was heavily influenced by the establishment of Tahiti as a French protectorate mere months after the Marquesas' annexation in 1842. The Marquesas were also more expensive and difficult to rule than originally anticipated (Thomas 1990:160). In the end the superior size, political position and friendliness of Tahiti meant that, as historian Michel Bailleul remarks, the new Marquesan colony was "forgotten, if not abandoned" almost as soon as it was created (Bailleul 2001:92).



Figure 2. The harbor and village of Hanavave, Fatu Hiva, looking northwest.

Marquesas had their own Catholic bishop (Bailleul 2001:89, 96). Meanwhile, foreign ships passing through the islands brought myriad unfamiliar diseases in addition to a steady flow of alcohol, opium and firearms (Denning 1980:239-40; Bailleul 2001:106). As local rules and authority began to break down, Marquesans surrendered to these influences in unprecedented numbers. They also converted to Christianity. With the islands' population dropping fast, Catholic missionaries tightened their grip on the remaining survivors.

An 1863 decree by the French colonial government restructured administration of the Marquesas by naming a new “Director of indigenous affairs” and establishing a long list of laws pertaining to Marquesan religious and social life. Tattoo, public nudity, war and traditional funerary rites were outlawed, along with certain types of dress, singing and drumming. Sacred

Marquesan places were declared sacrilegious (Dening 1980:231; Bailleul 2001:105). In the years that followed, many of these sites were deliberately vandalized in order to demonstrate the end of the old ways, while others fell victim to theft (Linton 1925:86, 181; Gustave Teikikautaitemoanaiku Tekohuotetua, October 24, 2013: 5, 0.25). Numerous village churches were built directly on top of ancient ceremonial structures (e.g., Hapatoni, Haakuti, Taiohae; Linton 1925:179). To help implement the 1863 regulations the government bought a boat for the bishop's exclusive use, providing the Catholic leadership with more freedom to travel between the islands than the French administrative head (the *sous-commissaire*) had ever enjoyed (Bailleul 2001:103-5).

Marquesans have struggled against these laws ever since. Their geographic and political isolation from France and Tahiti have prevented the kind of large-scale alienation from land and lifeways experienced by many other colonized peoples. Indeed, active settlement by French or other foreign nationals, like the direct enforcement of French laws, has been minimal (Bailleul 2001:104, 115; Coppenrath 2003:123). Still, the regulations of 1863, combined with depopulation, had a devastating impact whose effects continue to be felt today. Since the late 1970s, a cultural revitalization movement has responded with an active resistance to both French and Tahitian influences. In an ironic twist the French Catholic church, and specifically Bishop Hervé Le Cléac'h, played a pivotal role in launching this development as well as the closely affiliated Marquesan Arts Festivals and a Marquesan-French lexicon (Le Cléac'h 1997). Led by the local cultural organizations *Motu Haka* and the Marquesan Academy, the movement has featured the reclamation of such practices as Marquesan dance, singing, carving, tattooing, and language.

Due to historic losses of life and knowledge, Marquesan cultural revitalization has greatly

benefitted from the historic accounts of foreign visitors and, more recently, anthropological research in the islands. Among others, the published writings of William Pascoe Crook (c. 1799), David Porter (c. 1814), Max Radiguet (c. 1861), Edward Robarts (c. 1824) and Karl von den Steinen (c. 1898), among others, have provided important documentation of the historic culture, along with René-Ildefonse Dordillon's Marquesan-French dictionary (Crook 2007; Dordillon 1931; Porter 1822; Radiguet 2001; Robarts 1974; von den Steinen 1925).

The first ethnographic and archaeological surveys of the islands were conducted in the 1890s (Tautain 1898) and 1920s (Clayssen 1922; Handy 1923; Linton 1925). Since the initial formal excavations began in the 1950s, a steady stream of archaeologists have studied the islands including Suggs (1961), Sinoto (1966), Kellum-Ottino (1971), Kirch (1973), Vigneron (1984), Ottino (1985), Edwards et al. (n.d.), Rolett (1998), Conte (2002), Allen (2004), Millerstrom (2006) and Molle (2011). Although not trained archaeologists, Chavaillon and Olivier's archaeological survey of Hiva Oa also made an important contribution to the existing literature (Chavaillon and Olivier 2007). Due in part to their role in debates about the early human settlement of East Polynesia, the Marquesas have received more attention from archaeologists than any other archipelago in French Polynesia (Tamara Maric, January 24, 2013). To date, excavations have taken place on every inhabited Marquesan Island except Fatu Hiva.

Over the years, archaeologists and other adventurers have visited all of the islands to survey, explore and in many cases depart with local artifacts. In fact, due to the legislative structure of archaeological permitting and the lack of suitable storage in the Marquesas, almost all objects discovered during these excavations have been removed and are now stored in Tahiti. Only since the late 1980s have some artifacts been kept for storage and display on the island of Tahuata and, more recently, Ua Huka and Nuku Hiva.

Just one of the five archipelagos of French Polynesia, the Marquesas' inhabitants account for only about three and a half percent of the territorial population, according to the most recent government census (ISPF 2012). As the remote residents of an overseas land (*pays d'outre mer*, or POM) of France, Marquesans are governed through a complex network of overlapping authorities. Each circle in the diagram below represents a different level of government (Figure 3).

Most Marquesans socially and politically position themselves with reference to their village, whose inhabitants number anywhere from around 100 or less (e.g. Hanatetena, Hokatu,

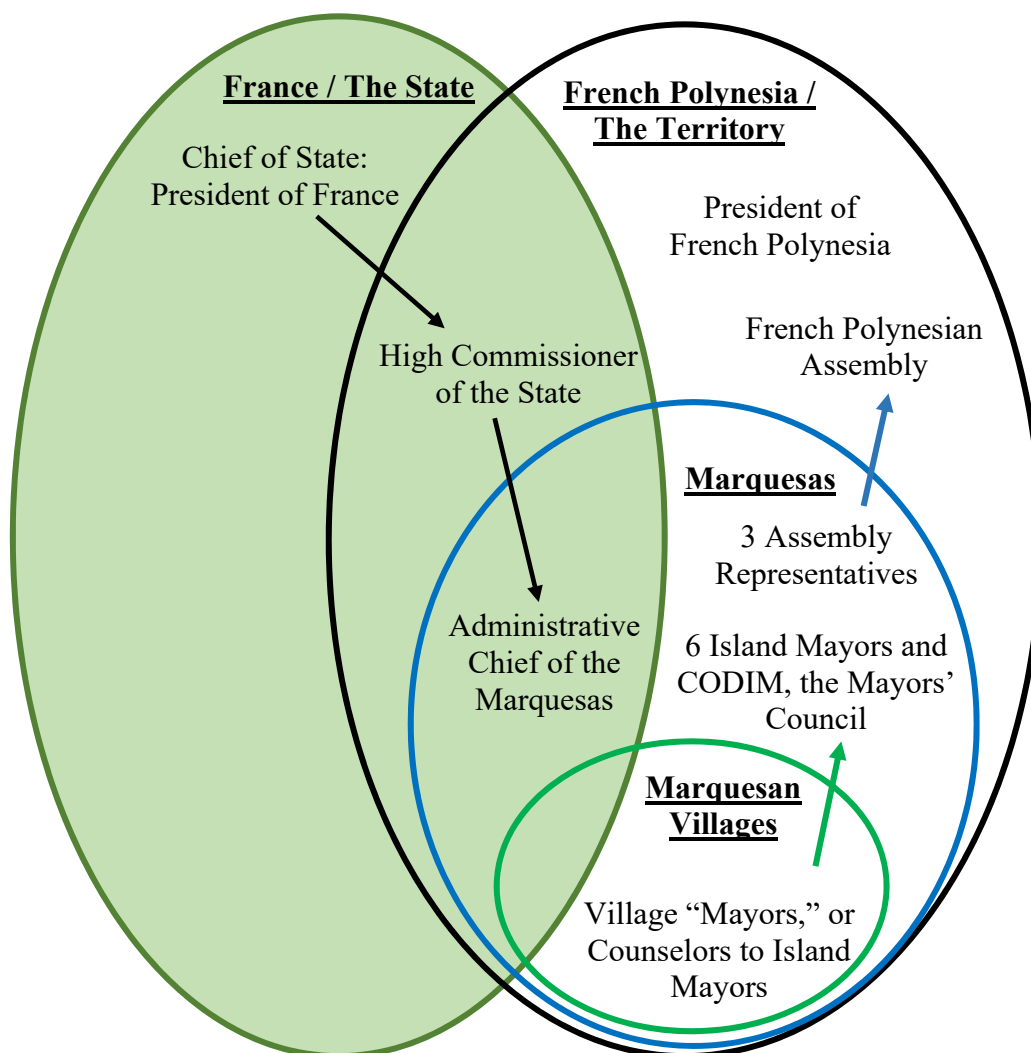


Figure 3. Diagram illustrating the administrative structure of government in the Marquesas and French Polynesia. The direction of the arrows indicate whether officials are elected (upward) or appointed (downward).

Hohoi) to over 1,500 (Atuona, Taiohae and Hakahau) (Figure 4). In some villages, these divisions also correlate with historic tribal distinctions between valleys, clans or lineages within villages. Surviving remnants of pre-colonial politics can be seen in certain entrenched rivalries between families, some of whom still claim status based upon their historic tribes (e.g., on Fatu Hiva, the Taioa and Anainoa *ati*, or clans). One of the few remaining hints of the traditional political system, these tribal or familial relationships often influence the islands' contemporary French colonial politics.

Under this system, every village in the Marquesas has a “mayor” whose official title is actually counselor to the mayor (*conseiller maire*) of the island on which his or her village is located. The office of each island mayor serves as the local administrative seat and is generally located in the largest village on each island. As administrative headquarters of the Marquesas, the village of Taiohae, Nuku Hiva is home to not only the mayor's office but two other administrative complexes that represent the additional tiers of Marquesan government: the State and the Territory. The “State” refers to France, while “Territory” refers to French Polynesia. The representative of the State in the Marquesas is the Administrative Chief of the Marquesas (*Chef de la subdivision administrative des Iles Marquises*). The occupant of this post lives in *la Residence*, a white mansion with sprawling grounds on the bay of Taiohae, and makes periodic visits to each of the other islands.

Marquesan representation in the territorial government consists of three elected seats out of the 57 in the Territorial Assembly, which votes on territorial legislation. Technically autonomous, French Polynesia has both an elected president (currently, Edouard Fritch) and a chief of state, who is the President of France (currently, François Hollande). France is represented in French Polynesia by the High Commissioner of the State (*Haut-Commissaire de*

la République en Polynésie française), who is appointed by the President of France.

The comparative size of the Marquesan voice in this system, and the mayors' geographic distance from each other and from government activities in Papeete, makes the political experience and involvement of most Marquesan villagers mild, at best. Roughly two-thirds of French Polynesia's population lives in Tahiti, and their needs are consistently prioritized both politically and economically by the Territory. Like other "outer" island groups beyond Tahiti's central core,⁹ the Marquesas are not a priority for a government preoccupied with corruption, instability, rising Tahitian crime rates and deeply conflicting opinions regarding independence from France (Gonschor 2014). The creation of the CODIM, or Community of Marquesan Municipalities (*Communauté des communes des Iles Marquises*), by the six island mayors under territorial statute in 2010 has helped to address this issue by establishing the first consolidated political and economic body for the advancement of Marquesan interests. Still, a villager from one of the more remote valleys like Hanatetena or Hakatao must drive for anywhere from one to four or more hours on unpaved roads, or travel for at least an hour by boat, to reach even their local, respective administrative centers of Vaitahu and Hakahau.

Flights run daily to and from Tahiti, a one-way trip of three and a half hours, as well as the roughly 45 minutes between the north and south islands. Still, since Hiva Oa is the only south island with an airport, travel to Tahuata or Fatu Hiva entails striking out across the open Pacific in a small to medium-sized motor boat or, if your timing is right, on one of the regional freighters. In good weather the average trip to Vaitahu takes about 45 minutes, while the voyage to Omoa is three or more hours. Both flights and nautical travel depend heavily upon the conditions of sea, wind, visibility and rain.

⁹ The other outer islands of French Polynesia are the Leeward Society (excluding Tahiti and Moorea, or what are known as the Windward Society Islands), Tuamotu, Gambier and Austral Islands.

Transport by car can be similarly unpredictable, since unpaved roads are common and prone to flooding or washouts from heavy rain. The long, treacherous unpaved road to Hanatetena winds around a third of the island of Tahuata and is frequently impassible due to mud and rain. In the case of Hakahetau, villagers regularly drive a bumpy, unpaved road for a half hour or more to reach the local “hub” of Hakahau, with its post office, several stores, one or two restaurants and a few bed and breakfasts. Most other villages throughout the islands face similar or more arduous travel to reach comparable resources.

With the exception of the three largest settlements of Atuona, Taiohae and Hakahau, most villages have one or two small stores and remain almost entirely residential. Local stores stock everything from beer, cookies, rice and frozen chicken to sunglasses, table cloths, shampoo and batteries. Most smaller villages are served by part-time post offices and a single auxiliary nurse who handles medical emergencies and evacuations. The six islands have only a few hotels, 14 family-run inns (*pension de famille*), and no public transport system (CODIM 2013:48). The only hotels are in Taoihae and Atuona, and restaurants are almost non-existent outside of the three largest villages. Taiohae also has the only fully functional hospital in the islands, though serious cases are usually sent to Tahiti due to the relative limitations and small capacity of the local facility.

Despite their health care and transportation challenges, islanders have little trouble keeping up with various global trends. Most homes have indoor plumbing, a washing machine and at least one satellite television. Teenagers use cell phones and, increasingly, smart phones to play games and listen to the latest Tahitian remixes of French and African techno and reggae, even if they have no money to buy calling credit. More and more families are investing in a car or pickup truck to drive around town and into the mountains. In the past few years internet has

become available in most villages, and Facebook is hugely popular.

In comparison to people in many other remote areas of the globe, Marquesans enjoy a comfortable standard of living, but it comes at a certain cost. They have access to social support through the territorial government, including subsidized health care, employment programs, business development incentives and child rearing assistance. Most families have come to count upon this system in one form or another. The resulting dependency affirms the political and economic connection between “outer” islands like the Marquesas and the territorial capital in Tahiti. It also perpetuates a certain level of reliance on France, since the Territory’s social and economic policies receive support from State subsidies (Gonschor 2014:204; Trémon 2006:277). Indeed, many Marquesans oppose French Polynesian independence for this reason. From their perspective, transitioning to a post-colonial nation will only mean the disappearance of French financial backing, combined with a more aggressive adoption of policies that advance Tahitian interests and imperialism (Saura 2011:8). Indeed, a crucial conceptual and political split between the capital and its five archipelagos has become clear over the past decade, as the country swings back and forth between governments favoring independence or autonomy under French governance (Gonschor 2014; Trémon 2006:260). Even after the French legislature’s recent restructuring of the electoral system, however, greater representation of “outer” islanders remains unlikely (Gonschor 2014:199).

Over the years the Marquesas’ small population and minimal political involvement, along with the associated fluctuations in support for building projects such as infrastructure, have effectively limited local development and environmental degradation. Yet, Marquesans dream of better opportunities and, in particular, improving their access to amenities like medical care and reliable drinking water. In particular, the CODIM recognizes the islands’ relative economic

and political inferiority and was formed to pursue the economic development of the Marquesas through tourism, sustainable resource management and improved transportation. As a key aspect of developing tourism, the Marquesas' UNESCO World Heritage nomination is thus one of CODIM's cultural responsibilities (Government of French Polynesia 2013a).

These initiatives promise what appears to be a brighter future, yet they also approach the Marquesan past without fully acknowledging its lingering and sometimes sinister power for local residents (see Koh 2015). Having repeatedly witnessed the voluntary destruction, damage or abandonment of historic sites and resources, many current heritage advocates seem discouraged. My findings suggest that acknowledging local values and meanings could expand the opportunities and potential achievement of both heritage protection and cultural revitalization. Above all, a better understanding of Marquesan relationships to the past and ancestral landscapes can inform more appropriate heritage goals that respect the fluidity between past and present, people and their environments.

Positionality and Geographic Aspects of Research

I officially conducted my thesis fieldwork from January to December, 2013. I qualify this statement because I have been visiting and working in the Marquesas since 2001, or most of my adult life, and returned to the islands for an additional two months in July and August, 2014. This experience, and my connection to a single village in particular, deeply influenced my doctoral fieldwork.

When I arrived in the islands to conduct my doctoral research in early 2013, I returned to what I consider my second home: Vaitahu, a village of some 350 residents located on Tahuata,

the smallest inhabited island of the Marquesas. My Vaitahu host family adopted¹⁰ me more than a decade ago, and since then I have been referred to by them and others in the village as a “big sister” or “American daughter.” Over the years I have matured with villagers, weathered romantic attachments, babysat for friends, partied away weekends, and attended weddings and funerals. I continue to tear up each time the boat turns the corner on the way out of Vaitahu bay, heading for the airport on Hiva Oa.

I first came to Tahuata as a college sophomore enrolled in an archaeological field school. As a joint major in social anthropology and archaeology, I hoped my experience in the Marquesas would broaden my horizons in both disciplines. I was struck by the islands’ beauty and their people’s warm enthusiasm and cultural richness. That summer I became friends with Marie-Christine Timau and her father Manuhi, both of whom were excavating with us, and before leaving I asked if I could come back and live with them the following summer. I returned to stay with the Timaus and conduct my undergraduate thesis research, an ethnographic project carried out over several months in 2002 (see Donaldson 2004). Ten more trips to the Marquesas followed, as I took up working as teaching assistant and then assistant director for the archaeological field school I had previously attended, assistant curator of Tahuata’s community museum, and guest lecturer on the *Aranui*, a combined cruise ship and freighter that visits the islands each month. During this time I also researched and wrote a Marquesan-English-French phrasebook. In 2013 I found myself once again making the trip south, this time for my doctoral project and a full year of continuous research.

In Vaitahu I am both a foreign researcher and a member of the community, as Manuhi’s adopted American daughter. Due to my longstanding position as a subordinate to the field

¹⁰ In the way of many other Pacific Island traditions, the adoption (*tafai*) of children from outside the nuclear family is a common practice in the Marquesas.

school director and archaeologist Barry Rolett, I have been able to situate myself more as a student than an expert. My youth, non-French nationality and gender also help me to function less as a superior “expert” and more as a village inhabitant. During my doctoral fieldwork, my transition from archaeologist to social anthropologist took place gradually. Telling people I was there without Dr. Rolett and would be staying a whole year, rather than the usual six weeks, became a starting point for explaining my project. Dr. Rolett has been conducting excavations on Tahuata for over 30 years. My project, unlike his, did not involve workers or excavations and so was immediately easy to differentiate. I also had some basis to build upon, having previously conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Vaitahu for my undergraduate thesis.

Already aware of the potential biases and other factors relating to my social and archaeological history in Vaitahu, I designed my project to cover the other five islands, as well. Including all six islands offered me greater objectivity in my research but also permitted me to study the Marquesas as a group, allowing me to make some more generalized and practical conclusions about the Marquesan treatment and interpretation of heritage and the land.

I spent 60 percent of my time in Vaitahu, a comfortable space where I know most residents by name. I was at ease visiting people on my own there, although Marie-Christine accompanied me on roughly a quarter of my outings. I spent the remaining 40 percent of my time as a traveling researcher, in a kind of transitory space that was less comfortable and therefore more ethnographic, in the classic sense. This included several months on the other Marquesas Islands and a month in Papeete, Tahiti, the French Polynesian capital and the country’s only city.

I began my fieldwork with the month in Papeete, where I lived in a small hotel. Aside from a few days, this was the only time during my research that I spent living by myself. For the

rest of my year in the Marquesas I stayed with families, many of whom were linked in some way to my friends and family in Vaitahu. I lived with 14 families throughout the six inhabited islands, in 15 different villages (see Figure 4). In the fifteenth village of Hakahau, Ua Pou, I was alone for the first time, staying in a small government apartment arranged by the mayor. Even in the few villages where hotels or other tourist lodgings were available, I chose to live with families for the benefit of my social connections and research. Due to my locally-based networking strategy, my host families represented a range of “average” Marquesans: I didn’t live exclusively with people who work at the mayor’s office or who had previous experience with hosting foreigners. Instead, they were mostly friends of friends whose livelihoods on the land and sea reflect that of most Marquesans.

Staying with islanders allowed me to observe the rhythms of home life and family discussions, make friends, and participate in unpredictable and informal conversations on many topics, including but not limited to my project. It also provided me with more opportunities to participate in everyday activities like food preparation, attending mass, watching children, learning and chores. In some cases, my hosts were willing and available to take me around to visit people they thought might be relevant to my project. Their involvement as guides, references and occasional translators helped facilitate discussions with a variety of people despite my schedule, which sometimes had me hopping between villages almost weekly.

The traveling portion of my fieldwork was very different from the time I spent in Vaitahu. I prioritized living in a variety of villages and islands because each island has its own distinct character, approach to living and style of ancestral landscapes. Each village differs geographically and demographically, and its size and level of isolation from larger villages or islands influences its general character and feel. The smallest among them, with under 100



Figure 4. Map showing the Marquesas' six inhabited islands and the villages where I conducted fieldwork. Village names in italics are valleys I visited, often repeatedly, but did not live.

inhabitants, were quiet and incredibly welcoming and friendly. In these villages, horses were often as common as cars. Language and accents also changed. Although the north and south groups each have their own Marquesan dialect, individual islands also use their own expressions,

accents and words. Larger villages like Taiohae and Atuona have higher racial diversity, with small populations of Asian and French expatriates, while many smaller villages are almost entirely Marquesan. In addition, some islands or villages have common or distinctive physical traits. Thus despite their commonalities, islanders' identity depends heavily upon their specific village and island of origin. As one Marquesan school teacher noted: "The advantage of the [Marquesan Arts] Festival is that you have all of the islands gathered in the same place, and you can see the differences. There are differences, in terms of language, even in people's faces. When I see someone I can tell you, 'Ah, they come from that island,'" just by looking and listening (Ani Peterano, September 26, 2013: 1, 33.40). Each new village therefore allowed me to build upon my previous knowledge of Tahuata and solidify my grasp and understanding of Marquesans as a whole.

I also wanted to explore how different levels of tourist traffic in various villages influence local understandings and treatment of historic sites. The isolated island of Fatu Hiva, for example, is accessible only by boat but receives a fair number of tourists from yachts drawn by the famously beautiful Bay of Virgins, in Hanavave. I spent time in certain villages like Puamau, Taaoa and Hatiheu because of their restored historic sites, each of which draws hundreds of tourists per year. Other valleys like Vaipae, Hanatetena or Hohoi receive far fewer visitors despite their cultural richness. In some cases, lower numbers of visitors can result simply from the quality of the available anchorage: both of the latter villages have notoriously rough bays. Some villages like Omoa and Hakahetau are less isolated from tourism than they are from other islands, since they are on the regular route of the two freighters that service the

islands, the *Aranui* and the *Taporo*.¹¹

Due to the relative remoteness of most villages and some of the islands, I found it necessary to do quite a bit of traveling in order to visit at least two villages per island. I also spent only a few weeks on each of the other islands due to their number. Being “abroad” in the other valleys and islands proved to be much more emotionally and physically challenging than living in Vaitahu. I missed the support, comfort and reassurance of my adoptive family. Determined to seize opportunities and make the most of my limited time, I felt as if I was constantly on my toes. In a single day I might conduct four or five interviews, hike into the woods with someone, and attend dinner at the home of a new friend. Thus I tended to conduct more interview-based research, and less casual participant observation, while I was traveling than when I was in Vaitahu. I also got into the woods, or the agricultural and unused spaces outside of villages, less often when I was traveling beyond Vaitahu.

In contrast, in Vaitahu I had more time and flexibility to follow the informal patterns of the house, attend social events or tag along for various family activities. I went fishing and foraging, learned how to make traditional foods, observed the preparation of art and shells for sale, crafted a Marquesan broom and taught English lessons in the village. I also regularly visited a Vaitahu elder for tutoring in Marquesan, making this a crucial time to develop my skills in an endangered language that is not formally taught outside the elementary school classroom.

One of my main goals was to go into the woods outside of villages as frequently as possible, with as many different people as possible, in order to better understand how Marquesans view, value and use their heritage and their land. Although stories about the land

¹¹ These two names, *Aranui* and *Taporo*, refer to a succession of ships called by the same name. Thus, in 2013 the freighters in service were *Aranui III* and *Taporo IX*, but by 2015 the *Aranui III* had been replaced by the *Aranui V*. For the purposes of this manuscript, and to avoid confusion, I refer to them simply as *Aranui* and *Taporo*.

were equally important to my topic, visiting the forest with islanders allowed me to observe and ask specific questions about places. As a young woman, I was strongly discouraged from going into the woods either alone or in the company of men I had recently met, for safety reasons. Thus my research was somewhat hindered outside of Vaitahu, since activities involving regular forest use are typically conducted by men. I ultimately navigated this challenge by going into the woods with men I knew well and trusted, male-female couples, or women. Thanks to my extended stay, local experience and network of friends, I was able to achieve the greatest success with this goal in Vaitahu. In most of the other valleys where I lived I was not able to spend more than a day or two in the forest.

As a result, the primary “site” of my research was Vaitahu, a place where I feel at home and was able to conduct research with relative ease, while the time I spent traveling and living in the other five Marquesas Islands and Tahiti allowed me to explore the common threads linking different places. The resulting observations provide a more comprehensive understanding of Marquesan perspectives on land, livelihoods and heritage, and could therefore ultimately prove useful to local mayors or UNESCO, as they work to develop Marquesan heritage.

Identity of the Researcher: Archaeologist, Legend-Seeker, Anthropologist

My rich personal history working and living in the Marquesas before my fieldwork had a marked effect on my doctoral research. This experience began with archaeology, a discipline which has its own historic legacy in the islands. Although my training includes both archaeology and social anthropology, most Marquesans are more familiar with archaeology due to the near continuous presence of archaeologists in the islands since the 1960s. In particular, the Marquesas’ archaeological popularity has been spurred by suggestions that it was the first

Polynesian settlement site in East Polynesia (Suggs 1961; Emory 1979; Sinoto 1983). Since my relationship with the Marquesas has always related to archaeology, many Vaitahu villagers still see me as an archaeologist. Even in my travels outside of Vaitahu, a similar reputation often preceded me (e.g., Michel Hikutini, October 11, 2013: 2, 1.26.20). This label comes with certain expectations about my relationship with islanders as well as ideas about my opinions on heritage. Thus, before we even spoke many islanders expected me to value historic sites.

In order to clarify my position but also cast some doubt on this assumption, I found myself repeatedly differentiating my work as a social anthropologist from that of archaeologists. While most islanders know what an archaeologist does, they typically have a much more vague understanding of the methods of social anthropology. A number of social anthropologists have visited the islands over the years, such as Willowdean and E.S. Craighill Handy in the 1920s, Henri Lavondès in the 1960s, and, since the 1980s, John Kirkpatrick and Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger, among others (Handy 1922; Handy 1923; Kirkpatrick 1983; Lavondès 1983; Ottino-Garanger and Ottino-Garanger 1998). Since the 1990s related studies have also emerged, including the explorations of Kathleen Riley and Gabriele Cablitz in linguistic anthropology, some treatment of Marquesan tattooing by Makiko Kuwahara, and ethnographic investigations of Marquesan music and art by Jane Moulin and Carol Ivory, respectively (Cablitz 2006; Ivory 1999; Kuwahara 2005; Moulin 1994; Riley 2007). The Marquesan anthropologist Edgar Tetahiotupa wrote his doctoral thesis on the islands, and continues to apply his work on local language and culture (Tetahiotupa 1999). Historical studies of the islands have also been conducted by Siméon Delmas (1927), Louis Rollin (1974), Greg Dening (1980), Nicholas Thomas (1990), Edwin Ferdon (1993) and Michel Bailleul (2001).

Meanwhile, the Marquesan cultural group *Motu Haka* has conducted research on local

legends. Government projects in association with the Polynesian Center for Human Sciences, or *Te Anavaharau (Centre Polynésien des Sciences Humaines)* and the Department of Heritage and Culture (*Service de la culture et du patrimoine*) have brought social scientists to the islands to collect legends and other oral histories. Above all, however, the sustained and recent presence of a series of archaeologists including Pierre Ottino, Barry Rolett, Eric Conte and Guillaume Molle helped to generate certain expectations about my work.

When I introduced myself as a social anthropologist, most people did not have a clear understanding of what that meant (to be fair, few Americans have a solid grasp of the profession, either). Instead of being strictly “scientific” and “material” like archaeology, my work followed the more vague format of participant observation and interviews. Due to the similarity of the two words and the association between them, I was often mistaken for an archaeologist in valleys and islands where I had not previously spent time. The misunderstanding tended to be reinforced, rather than challenged, by my stated interest in historic resources. Even after I had explained the difference between the disciplines, some islanders who clearly understood still introduced me to others as either an “archaeologist” or someone who was “looking for legends,” in order to minimize explanation.

This ambiguity and the occasional confusion concerning my work served as both a boon and a barrier to my research. In some cases it provided me with a better understanding of how islanders tend to perceive archaeology and heritage management. Still, I am not convinced that I always got the most complete answers to my questions. I do not believe participants lied to me, but I did occasionally get the impression that some individuals were presenting me with a more positive view of the heritage situation than what actually exists. Almost everyone I met understood my interest in historic resources, and might therefore have feared judgment if they

confessed to having, for example, burned a fire on top of an ancient stone structure, or *paepae*.¹² Burning on top of sites risks not only materially damaging or cracking the stones, but also offending the ancestors or spirits in the landscape. Yet, regardless of any bias I may have caused, islanders' approach to this issue appeared to be clear: the vast majority interpret the active destruction or damage of *paepae* as undesirable or bad. My strategy for understanding the reasons behind this stance, in addition to minimizing the influence of bias, was to ask participants why they felt this way.

Some residents refused to speak with me due to their beliefs about foreigners or archaeologists. I had several people, most of them elderly, who expressed serious reservations about sharing information with me. In one such instance, several of my friends approached a grandmother in Hanatetena at different times to see if she would speak with me, but she repeatedly refused, arguing that I “just wanted to get rich” and had come to the Marquesas to “steal.” This perspective is entirely justified, given the Marquesas' recent history of foreign theft and disrespect. Indeed, other Pacific Island communities such as Native Hawaiians share their distrust for the same reasons (Kawelu 2014:52). Particularly damaging were people who introduced themselves as archaeologists in the Marquesas and, up to about 30 years ago, proceeded to excavate or survey and export the objects they found. Countless artifacts have been stolen from the Marquesas throughout the past century, and theft remains a threat.

In the few cases where someone refused, I made a note of the response and the apparent reasons for it before moving on to speak with others. These thankfully infrequent moments of discomfort served as an important reminder of the local legacies preceding my research. Though it occasionally took some convincing, the islanders who ultimately agreed to talk with me did so

¹² In the north islands and particularly Ua Pou, the same structures are known as *upe*.

because they were ready to share their knowledge of land use and historic resources in their village. My ability to access this knowledge was vastly improved by my previous experience in the islands as well as my age, citizenship, and gender. As a young American woman working alone, I stood outside of the French colonial dynamic and the male-dominated academic sphere of foreigners working in the Marquesas. Due to these factors and my position as a single female, I was also vulnerable and generally non-threatening.

Among other characteristics, my race played a relatively minimal role. Although the expatriate population of the Marquesas is very small (around 5% of the total population),¹³ islanders generally welcome all nationalities. In addition to the historic precedent of receiving voyagers, the integration of foreigners into the local population has become common practice over the past 150 years. Common Marquesan last names such as Fournier, Barsinas, Ah-Scha, Gilmore and Bonno constantly remind villagers of this mixed genealogical heritage. Highly aware of their racial complexity, most can pinpoint exactly which of their ancestors were foreigners. Some project participants had blonde hair and skin almost as pale as mine, yet they barely speak French and have Marquesan roots that go back generations. This layered, historic mixing has in some ways facilitated local acceptance of diverse outsiders.

As with any new encounter, my demonstrated respect and interest in Marquesan traditions also helped me to approach people. My French fluency surprised and delighted people, but more valuable still was my knowledge of Marquesan. Marquesan has roughly 20,000 speakers worldwide and is exceptionally difficult for foreigners to learn due to a lack of written and instructional materials. Learning it requires an extensive investment of time with Marquesans willing to humor and work with you. Most non-Marquesans, including expatriates

¹³ Includes only those born outside of French Polynesia, as documented by the 2012 national census (ISPF 2012).

who have been living in the islands for decades, do not speak the indigenous language. Thus, being conversational in Marquesan expressed both my depth of interest and my experience in the islands in a concise, powerful way. Almost instantly, it allowed me to begin my relationships with islanders on a more familiar level. It also gave me greater access to the population over 60, many of whom do not speak any French, and significantly improved my ability to conduct participant observation, since Marquesans often communicate in Marquesan when addressing each other.

In the end, although my fieldwork took me in new directions and revealed unexpected findings, I attribute its relatively “neat” progression to my previous knowledge of the islands. Notwithstanding my ability to avoid unpleasant situations, I felt plenty of doubt about my direction, as any ethnographer must. These misgivings materialized mostly in the form of doubts about whether I was going into the woods enough, speaking to as many people as I should, and asking the right kinds of questions. Ultimately, I am reassured by the fact that many of my wandering conversations with islanders led in the same directions and touched on the same themes. For example, *mana* was not something I set out to discover, yet quite early on it became clear that local historic landscapes have a special relationship with both Marquesan bodies and emotions.

In interviews and other interactions, I tended to share my Marquesan skills and other specialized local knowledge about everyday life much more readily than my previous expertise in Marquesan historic resources, preservation or archaeology. My goal was first to hear their understandings, and only then share my own, if they were interested. Indeed, to discover local perspectives on heritage and the past it was imperative that I avoid imposing my personal views, or at least withhold my ideas until the participant had a chance to voice his or her own thoughts.

I have previously offered advice or guidance in the interpretation and treatment of historic resources in my work as a landscape historian and archaeologist. This experience improved my awareness of crossing into this territory as well as the particular points at which individuals' understandings tended to deviate from more "Western" perspectives.

A typical discussion of heritage between an archaeologist and a Marquesan, by contrast, is generally more lopsided as the archaeologist ("expert") offers his opinion or, more directly, instructs the local resident how to better manage or preserve the historic resource in question. In certain cases, islanders actively seek this kind of expertise as a rare and valuable resource (e.g., Pierre Ottino and Etienne Tehoamoana, June 17, 2013). Whether it is solicited or not, such professional advice carries considerable influence and power (see Chapter 6). In the interest of avoiding this dynamic, I consequently avoided the role of either archaeologist or heritage advocate. For example, my interest in heritage and UNESCO occasionally led to confusion over my particular association with the ongoing UNESCO WHL nomination. Although I know most of the local and regional representatives of this project and have observed the community initiatives of the local UNESCO affiliate, Palimma, I explained that I am not formally associated with UNESCO. Still, despite my discussion of this relationship (or lack thereof) with participants, the natural confusion of my work with UNESCO probably occurred more frequently than I was aware.

Thus, I am relieved to have almost never occupied the position of visiting "professional" in the course of my Marquesas research. In Vaitahu I have always been Dr. Rolett's subordinate, and elsewhere I was a student. As a woman, I have also stood apart from the great majority of past and present male archaeologists working in the islands. Due in part to this precedent, I was often able to avoid sharing my full knowledge or feelings about people's ideas and treatment of

historic resources during my fieldwork.

I rarely concluded an interview without sharing some heritage opinions, however, since as a visiting scholar Marquesans expected me to know more about certain things. One of the few times I consciously indulged this expectation was during discussions of “heritage” and UNESCO. In most of my interviews I asked participants what heritage means to them and what they think the UNESCO WHL nomination is meant to accomplish. In many cases, they responded by saying they didn’t know what one, or both, of these things meant. Sometimes they asked me to explain. This led to my description of the UNESCO project and UNESCO’s interpretation of heritage (see Chapter 6). Although I chatted about these topics and others casually with the Timaus, I avoided offering my own personal understanding of heritage as much as possible. In cases where I did share my views I offered them as tentative opinions, rather than authoritative statements, in an effort to invite critique, discussion and ultimately a better understanding of participants’ perspectives. Perhaps the most productive moments were those in which I was able to debate questions of heritage with islanders happy to share their opinions.

Thus, my past experience had rippling and sometimes invisible effects on my fieldwork research. Most of this influence is positive, including my ability to speak Marquesan, my long connection to Vaitahu and the Timaus, diverse friendships, and my accumulated knowledge and understanding of island life. Thanks to this background, I was able to avoid being cast as a simple tourist or foreign visitor *du jour*, and was instead more likely to be mistaken for a Tahitian. By comparison, the negative aspects of my previous experience are comparatively small and spring mostly from the tensions of colonialism, race and the uncomfortable relationship between professional or academic “experts” and islanders.

Research Methodology

Throughout my fieldwork I conducted participant observation, informal interviews and visits to harvesting areas and historic landscapes. I made a concerted effort to speak with people of different ages, and sometimes participated in multi-generational discussions within families or friends. I recorded as many interviews (over 400) and forest outings as I could, and took notes on unrecorded interactions, observations and discussions. Most recorded interviews were between 45 minutes and two hours. Some were longer, while others revisited certain individuals of particular interest such as elders, my village hosts or those who seemed to have a lot to say. A number of the more interesting recordings are group interviews involving couples, peers or assembled family members who discuss amongst themselves in Marquesan or French. Unless otherwise noted, all quotes from project participants have been translated from the original French or Marquesan by the author, with occasional Marquesan help from Marie-Christine Timau.

Thanks to my local connections, I was able to meet and talk to people relatively easily. In Vaitahu I visited those I already knew, which was a large portion of the village, and Marie-Christine helped bring me around to people's homes. With the Timaus and my other host families, I brainstormed who might be interesting participants for my project. I explained that I was interested in speaking with people of all ages who go into the woods frequently, such as copra harvesters,¹⁴ farmers, hunters and artists. My hosts and other friends referred me to these people and always a few others, often village elders or knowledge keepers familiar with local legends and traditions. While chatting with these initial contacts other names emerged, and the participants I met often became the people who introduced me to others. Thus, my pool of

¹⁴ Copra, or dried coconut meat, is the top cash crop in the islands, exported to Tahiti for the manufacture of coconut oil. The men and women who harvest copra are called *coprahculteurs*.

project participants quickly grew.

I refer to my recordings of participants as informal interviews, but they could be better described as recorded conversations shaped roughly around heritage, livelihoods and land. These discussions were unstructured and shaped almost as much by participants as by me. In some cases people pressed me for more direction than I would otherwise have offered, asking me for more questions. We often wandered into topics like politics, food or grandchildren for long stretches of time. The only vague structure I offered was by trying, but not always succeeding, to fit in at least a few “core” questions each time. I kept these only as a jumble in my head, and sometimes I forgot them or chose not to ask all of them. They included questions such as: Do you know of any *paepae* on your land? Are there stories about them? Were you ever told not to go somewhere in the forest? Do you pay attention to *paepae* when you burn piles of coconut husks or leaves? What does “heritage” mean to you? Have you heard of UNESCO? Since I didn’t keep a list of them these questions did not form any real structure, but they do comprise at least a part of most recorded discussions with islanders. I was subsequently able to quantify this information and compare it with what I personally observed of islanders’ land use practices and behavior in the forest.

Although interviews were generally casual, certain aspects of them became more formal due to scheduling restraints, particularly when I was not in Vaitahu. My relatively brief stays in most villages meant that scheduling was a necessary part of being able to meet people. However, when I sat down with someone at a scheduled interview I frequently felt greater pressure to be formal. I would often arrive at someone’s house, introduce myself, and we would begin almost immediately by filling out my consent form (Appendix C). Since I had come for the relatively formal purpose of asking them questions, it often took some time for the mood to

relax and the conversation to flow naturally. I disliked this pattern, but found it repeatedly reinforced by my schedule and the unspoken expectations about my work. I was introduced, and I introduced myself, as a researcher, and the consent form and digital voice recorder served as confirmations of this identity.

By the time I turned on my recorder, I could feel the expectation hanging in the air around us. In some ways it seemed backwards, and perhaps “informality” was already out of reach, but my questions began with the aim of relaxing and breaking down the impression of formality. I often started with a few relatively easy questions: How old are you? Did you grow up here? Did you go to school? Where and for how long? Have you ever chopped copra? These helped to loosen the atmosphere and allow us to begin getting to know each other, as I responded to their answers and typically followed up with related questions or my own personal experiences. In general, my fundamental rule was to let the conversation flow in the directions that participants seemed to prefer.

People often told me about their lives, reminiscing about the “old days” when they lived without cars, running water, matches or baguettes. I followed the trail of their knowledge, or the topics with which they seemed to be most at ease. Gradually we became more comfortable with each other, and our discussion usually broadened into a more flexible chat. In most cases I was still expected to drive the conversation, but I did my best to keep it open to whatever topic they wished. I paid close attention to pauses, allowing room for the discussion to change course on the initiative of the participant. In many cases I pursued tangents with people, asking questions and engaging in subjects that led away from my primary research focus. For interviews with people I already knew, the flow between direct questions, chat and local gossip tended to be more fluid, as our comfort and familiarity with each other guided the discussion.

Whereas most villagers in Vaitahu know me more as a student and a member of the community, islanders elsewhere tended to categorize me more linearly as a researcher associated with archaeology, or something similar. Many of my relationships with people while traveling between islands were therefore structured around my status as a foreign scholar. Still, the themes and ideas shared with me in Vaitahu were largely consistent with what I found in other villages throughout the islands, and seem to hold true for the Marquesas generally. Given my varying reputation in different places, this pattern of responses also implies that my position and archaeology background introduced minimal bias to my research.

In particular, my participant observation and visits to the forest allowed me to more easily assume a subordinate position and engage with islanders casually. In most cases where I took part in work or accompanied islanders, they were clearly the “experts” and I, the student. When we encountered historic landscapes I would wait or ask for my companion’s thoughts on the place, and never state my own opinion unless it was requested. In Vaitahu and elsewhere, visiting historic sites either with or without islanders allowed me to assess their maintenance or decay in different valleys, and sometimes by different families.

I also used participant observation to fill in certain details and other information that was not readily accessible through interviews. For instance, it helped to clarify participants’ actual understanding of what defines a *paepae* versus how they tend to interact with them in person. Vast stores of knowledge emerged as I helped Marquesans collect seeds, harvest fruit, clear land, and chop coconuts. As we bush-whacked our way up narrow foot paths through tall weeds, my companions taught me about land ownership, medicinal plants and historic sites. Learning to husk hundreds of coconuts gave me a new understanding of how copra harvesters work in the landscape. For example, if you pay close attention to where coconuts roll naturally you can

minimize the time you subsequently spend consolidating them into piles for chopping and burning. Likewise, in scanning the ground to collect seeds I realized how easy it is to forget where you are, and whether or not you are walking on a half-buried ancient platform of stones. These experiences helped to supplement my other observations and the hundreds of interviews I conducted with Marquesans.

A Note on Research Limitations

Notwithstanding my extensive experience and year of fieldwork in the islands, my research was limited by the amount of time I was able to spend in the villages I visited outside of Vaitahu. Although I succeeded in visiting the woods in each valley, I was not always able to accompany land users. I did not visit as many historic landscapes with islanders as I had hoped, in part because I had to respect the time and work obligations of my hosts and friends. I only spent a handful of days in some villages, and as a result I found myself having to choose between time in the woods and time speaking with people in their homes. Whereas time in the forest allowed me to observe people's behavior and actions around ruins in the moment, discussions with residents in yards or kitchens offered an opportunity to more deeply explore their ideas and perceptions of ancestral places. In the end, since visiting homes was a more reliable way to gather information, I often opted to chat with people in the village rather than try to seek out someone I could trust to take me into the forest.

My large volume of interviews also meant that conversations with people, though informal, could be fairly formulaic. Although this research strategy provided useful data for quantitative analysis, it also meant that I spent less time simply hanging out with people in villages other than Vaitahu. That said, the time I devoted to this kind of casual observation in

Vaitahu allows me to fill in some of what might otherwise be gaps in understanding about Marquesan life, in general.

Notes on Project Participants and Primary Contacts

According to the wishes of my project participants, I do not use pseudonyms for most of the people with whom I spoke. Footnotes identify those cases in which I do use a pseudonym, either at the participant's request or to protect a person's identity in cases that could be politically or socially sensitive. The stated age of individuals refers to their age at the time of my primary fieldwork in 2013. All participants provided informed consent (see Appendix C) and only a few refused to be recorded. In general, my sample of participants resulted from a combination of snowball, randomized and targeted sampling. In most villages I would ask my host in addition to a village leader such as the mayor or a cultural elder if they could refer me to people who used the land frequently such as farmers, artists and hunters. Of the 372 Marquesan participants for whom I had analyzed data at the time of writing this manuscript, some 20 percent had direct links, 27 percent had indirect links, and 53 percent had no obvious link to heritage development.¹⁵

In all, I interviewed a total of 381 Marquesans whose average age was 48 years old in 2013.¹⁶ I did not interview¹⁷ anyone under the age of 18, and 53 percent of the participants were

¹⁵ Those with direct links to heritage development included experts, representatives or advocates of the Palimma and UNESCO projects, cultural elders consulted for cultural events, anyone who has worked on projects with archaeologists, members of Motu Haka, the Marquesan Academy or Association Manu, dance instructors, someone who maintains a heritage site, village or island mayors, or those on village tourism boards. People with indirect links to heritage development included artists, teachers, festival dancers, someone who works in some aspect of the tourism industry, someone who works for the municipal or territorial government, the primary owners of heritage sites identified by UNESCO, the spouses of artists or those who have worked with archaeologists, and the spouses of French expats.

¹⁶ I recorded interviews with 401 people, including 381 Marquesans. However at the time of writing I had only transcribed and compiled data for interviews with 372 Marquesans and 20 non-Marquesans (a total of 392 people).

¹⁷ This refers to obtaining a consent form, asking my core questions, taking notes or recording.

women. More than half of all participants were Tahuata residents, and villagers from Vaitahu accounted for roughly a quarter of the Marquesan total. I also spoke with 20 people living in Tahiti or elsewhere who are not Marquesan but who work on some aspect of Marquesan heritage or its management, including professors, archaeologists and administrators. My recorded interviews are mostly from discussions with individuals or pairs of individuals, although a few were with groups of three or more. I never interviewed more than five people at once. A full list of project participants, their islands and villages of residence appears in Appendix B.

In Vaitahu, I relied upon Marie-Christine to advocate for and represent me in the village and, to a lesser extent, within her own family. She also helped with some translations of recorded Marquesan in 2013 and 2014. As Manuhi's oldest daughter and a favorite granddaughter, Marie-Christine holds a certain authority and privilege. In the village she is generally viewed as honest and accountable, and acts as manager of the creditors for her father's fish sales. The Timaus also benefit from their close relationship with Tahuata's former mayor, Tehaumate Tetahiotupa. Mr. Tetahiotupa relies upon Manuhi and his family whenever he needs work done around his home or on his land, and they house-sit for him when he travels.

Due in part to my tendency to swing between foreign researcher and local, I regard most of my primary contacts as both friends and key informants. In many cases, these people were also my hosts (see Figure 5). The occupations listed for each reflect what I either know or observed to be their principal occupation (see Chapter 5 for further discussion of Marquesan livelihoods).

Primary Marquesan Contacts			
Name	Village	Age	Role and relationship to my research
Tehaumate Tetahiotupa	Vaitahu	68	Village elder, former mayor of Tahuata; general reference for legends, local history and other information; dedicated five months to improving my Marquesan.
Manuhi Timau	Vaitahu	53	Fisherman, copra harvester, artist, worker in field school excavations; my adoptive father and escort on multiple visits to the forest and historic sites.
Marie-Christine Timau	Vaitahu	31	Copra harvester, artist; Manuhi's daughter, my best friend in the Marquesas, Marquesan translator and escort on multiple visits to the forest and historic sites.
Marie Rose Vaimaa	Hanatetena	46	Copra harvester, farmer; my host in Hanatetena and escort on multiple visits to the forest and historic sites.
Jeanne Pahuavevau	Hanatetena	32	Copra harvester; my escort on multiple visits to the forest and historic sites.
Nella Tamatai	Motopu	29	Teacher, church youth coordinator; close friend and my host in Motopu.
Liliane Teikipupuni	Hapatonu	65	Village elder, member of Marquesan Academy; my host in Hapatonu.
Paloma Gilmore	Omoa	50	Artist, copra harvester; my host in Omoa.
Manuel Gilmore	Omoa	71	Village elder, former head of Catholic prayer.
Maria Teikiotiu	Atuona	51	Secretary, healer; Manuhi's sister and my host in Atuona.
Joseph Napuauhi	Puamau	~45	Copra harvester, farmer; my escort to an historic site.
Antonina Fournier	Hane	37	Postal worker, municipal counselor, copra harvester, artist; my host in Hane.
Frédéric Ohotoua	Hane	42	Artist, sales coordinator for Hane copra harvest; my escort to several historic sites.
Florence Barsinas	Vaipae	59	Artist; my host in Vaipae and my escort to several historic sites.
Tina Kautai	Hakahetau	38	House wife; my host in Hakahetau.
Melia Tamarii	Hatiheu	25	Artist; my host in Hatiheu.
Figure 5. Chart summarizing the position and role of my primary contacts in different villages throughout my fieldwork.			

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CHAPTER 2

Marquesan Landscapes

Since most historic sites are located in forest settings, local understandings and treatment of these places tend to rely heavily on how land users interact with and experience the woods, more broadly. As Bruno Latour has argued, what “modern,” Western humanity treats as “nature” and “culture,” or non-human and human, in fact represent dynamic natures-cultures that blend elements of these classic categories (Latour 1992:104). The same challenge to the nature-culture binary has been mounted by countless others, from Strathern’s (1980) rejection of either category to the stretching of what it is to be “human” by Viveiros de Castro (2004) and Kohn (2013), to Descola’s (2013) suggestion of supplanting nature and culture with underlying schemas based on identification and relationships. On a less theoretical level, anthropologists like Hviding (1996), Rose (2001), Nadasdy (2007) and Kahn (2011) describe various peoples from around the world that actively resist the division of nature and culture.

Instead of focusing on this nature-culture debate, my analysis takes up the various anthropological roots on the question and plants them within places and environments in pursuit of what has been called the “dwelling” perspective (Heidegger 1971; Gray 2003:232), where “the world continually comes into being around the inhabitant” (Ingold 2000:153) and landscapes become active mediums as well as outcomes of individual agency (Tilley 1994:23). From this standpoint the environment, objects and individual actors feed each other’s existence through movement and action (see Olsen 2010), even to the extent that the boundaries between them are contingent and responsive to the flow of life and materials across them (Ingold 2010:11). The result is the fundamental essence of place-making, or the phenomenological creation of a sense of place in which individuals and environments engage with and know each

other (Basso 1996:83; Tilley 1994:26).

In the Marquesas, experiences of place on the land illustrate this kind of entanglement or fluidity (Ingold 2010:3) between individuals and environments, a relationship that is facilitated by a fundamental blending of “nature” and “culture” in the Marquesan and, more broadly, Polynesian world view (Hilmi et al. 2016:175; Hviding 2003:266; Kahn 2011:68; Saura 2008:202; Trask 1993:5). Thus, to the extent that speaking of “nature” and “culture” as separate entities can be useful for Western readers, this chapter addresses the “culture” in Marquesan landscapes, which are both natural and cultural.¹ Dissonant or forced interpretations of these two categories pose a challenge to heritage management, as they have to nature conservation efforts in indigenous communities around the world (Brockwell et al. 2013; Meadows and Ramutsindela 2004; Orlove 2002; West 2006). More specifically, international initiatives shaped by the “modern” Western interpretation of nature as separate from culture often clash with more fluid local views of people and their surroundings (see Latour 1992; Strathern 1980). As recently suggested by a range of authors in *The Social Lives of Forests*, the “ecological matrix” is a useful lens through which to view the world’s diverse forests, whose histories and old growth are rejuvenated “through working landscapes, daily life, and livelihoods in the creation of a society of nature” (Hecht et al. 2013:1) (see Chapter 7 for further discussion of working landscapes). Seen from this perspective, the ebb and flow of settlement, development and use is both inevitable and cyclical (see also Hviding 2015; Mawyer 2015).

Similar understandings of nature as culture shape Marquesan land and its use, responding to spiritual relationships to place that are based upon families or sometimes historic tribes. This

¹ My use of these terms relies upon the classic definitions, where “culture” is something external and generated by humans from an existing world of “nature” that provides the basis for cultural use, interpretation and development (see Geertz 1973; Strathern 1980).

chapter introduces the forest landscapes of the Marquesas and explores local perceptions of space and place, as well as their connection to the past as it is represented materially and immaterially on the land. It also provides a foundation for the subsequent three chapters on the administrative, spiritual and economic elements of territorial power and resistance that emerge through local relationships to historic places.

Woods

In the fall of 2014 my best friend from the Marquesas, Marie-Christine Timau (also known as Marie), came to visit me in Burlington, Vermont. It was the first time she had ever left French Polynesia, and the layers of cultural adjustment were thick and varied: she took off her shoes to wiggle her toes in the ornate rugs of the Vermont State House; she and her husband appropriated two “abandoned” platters of lunch meat, cookies and cheese at one of Burlington’s public beaches; she exclaimed in wonder at dogs of all sizes and shapes that she’d thought only existed as stuffed animals; and she discovered a love of fresh vegetables. Her particular response to the woods, however, is what I would like to examine here.

“Woods,” or “forest” are areas of currently uncultivated plant growth. They are not the exclusive domains of either nature or culture, since most of these areas in both New England and the Marquesas were previously inhabited or used for agriculture. Thus, their current composition is not “native” in the conservative sense, but includes a mix of native and many other species introduced over the past few centuries, including “invasives.” This view accepts the inevitable integration of both human and ecological processes in the shaping of the land and its ecosystems (Cronon 1983:12; Hecht et al. 2013; Robbins 2004).

For Pacific Island environments in particular, defining introduced species involves

sorting through several distinct layers of biological change and diversity: pre- and post-human, and post-European contact. The changes that occurred before and after colonization by early Polynesians are just as dramatic as those that followed the arrival of Europeans.² Marie's visit to New England decisively illustrated this point.

On a stroll through some conservation land the day after her arrival in Boston, Marie's eyes lit up with excitement when she spotted a green, leafy plant with red berries bordering the path. "Ooh, what's this?" she asked, touching it.

"I don't know."

"Can you eat it?"

"No! No, no." I hastily replied. "It's probably poisonous." A fleeting look of confusion and disappointment crossed her face and I considered, in retrospect, the full import of her question. We spent the next ten minutes discussing some of the fundamental differences between Marquesan and American plants. Eager to avoid any mishaps, I emphasized that she should not eat *any* kind of fruit from the New England woods without asking me first; a point that, until that moment, I had forgotten learning as a child. Marie replied: "Then what's that fruit for?" I groped for an answer. "Birds or deer, probably. Definitely not humans." Upon looking it up later I learned that this answer was fairly close to the truth: what we'd seen was winterberry (*Ilex verticillata*), whose berries are mildly poisonous to humans and their pets but are a huge favorite among wild birds (Audubon Greenwich 2016).

Marie's confusion arose from the clash between the environment of New England and that of her home, where almost every fruit has been introduced or planted by humans, for

² My broader use of the term "colonial" and "colonization" throughout this manuscript follows the popular interpretation of these terms, referring specifically to French colonialism and the "colonial" period of contact with Europeans rather than Polynesian colonization.

humans, at one point or another. Due to the distance between islands in the vast Eastern Pacific, birds are the only naturally occurring fauna, responsible for introducing a few of the pre-human contact flora that otherwise arrived by wind or water. Many of these endemic species are recognized as some of the most unique in the world, having evolved for centuries in relatively bounded island worlds. With their remarkably high endemism rate of 55 percent, the Marquesas have been identified as one of the world's biodiversity "hot spots" (Meyer 2006:4).

Notwithstanding this biological diversity, nearly all edible fruiting plants were brought to the islands by humans for the purpose of consumption. The Marquesas have almost every variety of mainstream tropical fruit, from avocados and passion fruit to guavas, grapefruit and pineapples. Most of these species were introduced by Europeans over the past 200 years, during the second great wave of human-induced Marquesan environmental change. The first wave of settlement occurred when the islands were colonized by humans about 800 to 1000 years ago. Early Polynesian settlers brought various types of bananas (*Musa* sp.), breadfruit (*Artocarpus altitis*), taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) and tuber crops in addition to pigs, dogs, chickens and rats (Rolett 1998:6,12). Some archaeologists call this their "transported landscape," a kind of suitcase of environmental supports that voyagers brought with them to each new island, beginning with their ancestors' earliest migrations from Southeast Asia (Kirch 2000:109; Rolett 1998:9). This transported landscape helped generations of settlers to survive in new places as they continued traveling east on seasonal winds to Fiji, Samoa, and finally the Marquesas, Tahiti and the Tuamotus.

The forest of the Marquesas can therefore be seen as deeply cultural. What your eyes may perceive as a wild tangle of riotous green growth is, indirectly, a human creation or simply a "historic landscape" (Rolett 1998:32-3; Sheail 2007). In the United States, Native American

displacement and depopulation together with over a century of creating and cultivating the woodlands of National Parks, National Forest and conservation lands has led to the same reality, or what we refer to as American wilderness (see Spence 2000).³ Marie's reaction to the woods of New England illustrates how this human element of the forest influences the everyday life of Marquesans in a particular way. Thanks to their "cultural" roots, the Marquesan valley forests both cradle and nurture the islands' human population, as they have for centuries.

The Marquesas' particular geography further influences the role of the forest today. Each inhabited island has one or more precipitously steep, central mountain range measuring some 3,000 to 4,000 feet high. Like the tentacles of an octopus,⁴ branches of these mountains reach down to the crashing sea in a pattern of interconnected ridges that culminate in cliffs and rocky ledges. Between these mountainous limbs lie countless valleys of various sizes and shapes. Some are dry with no reliable source of water, while others follow the course of a rushing river. Some meet the sea in idyllic white or black sand beaches with swaying coconut palms, others in steep precipices or narrow shelves and giant volcanic boulders whose nooks and crannies crawl with crabs, cowrie and chitons.⁵

The presence of reliable fresh water usually corresponds with that of a past or present village. Today most of these settlements sit on the coast, radiating inland from sheltered bays where fishing boats bob at their moorings (Figure 6). When the Marquesan population reached

³ Similar processes of depopulation and regeneration have taken place across the globe (see Hecht et al. 2013; Hviding 2015).

⁴ In one legend of Tahuata, the island itself is described as a giant octopus.

⁵ A chiton is a large, edible variety of limpet-like shellfish with hinges in its shell.

what was probably its peak of some 90,000 people around the time of early European contact (Bailleul 2001:20; Ferdon 1993:7), the settlement pattern was quite different. In those days, the easiest way to raid an enemy was from the sea, while some of the best and richest soils could be found near the moist, sheltered heart of valleys (Ferdon 1993:87-9; Rolett 1998:36). As a result, the Marquesan settlements of this era stood at a distance from the bay, often in terrace formations along rivers that sustained human, animal and plant life (Ferdon 1993:21). Most of the visible forest *paepae* now encountered by Marquesans probably date to this period, in the late eighteenth century, or later.

Today these inland valley areas are often overrun by coconut palms (*Cocos nucifera*) due to the twentieth century boom of coconuts as a cash crop (see Figure 6). Still, some uninhabited valleys still support a more historic mix of coconuts and diverse vegetation including mango



Figure 6. A view of the village of Motopu, Tahuata illustrates the typical position of today's Marquesan villages, as well as the changes in vegetation between mountains and valleys. The island of Hiva Oa is visible in the distance.

(*Mangifera indica*), breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus fagifer*), Indian almond (*Terminalia catappa*), pandanus (*Pandanus tectorius*), candlenut (*Aleurites moluccana*) and banyan (*Ficus prolixa*) trees as well as various shrubs and tubers. Several kinds of tropical hardwood are also typical of these areas including rosewood (*Thespesia populnea*), *tou* (*Cordia subcordata*), *temanu* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) and, at higher elevations, ironwood (*Casuarina equisetifolia*). Like the deserted stone ruins sheltered by their leaves, these varied types of vegetation hint at the hundreds of people who once lived here.

Island Space and Place

The historic and contemporary patterns of use etched upon the land by this vegetation play an important role in how Marquesans relate to the land, and more particularly space, today. As linguistic anthropologist Gabriele Cablitz (2008) has observed, Marquesan landscape terms are closely tied to memory and experience. Common landscape terms like “inside” and “outside,”⁶ referring to the village bay and the open ocean, respectively, represent important spatial concepts that “serve as a model for structuring the environment” (ibid., 224). Across many Oceanic languages such locational nouns facilitate the jump from space to place (Hill 1996), or from abstract to concrete, familiar locations (Casey 1996; Lefebvre 1991). This dynamic, emplaced quality of speech and spatial interpretation relates closely to the kind of slippage (see Tsing 2005) allowed by interpretations of landscape, which hovers between an abstract, imaginary image and its contemporary rebirth as a field of experience and interaction. Although this usage deviates somewhat from historic interpretations of “landscape,” it also reflects its reinterpretation by archaeologists, human geographers and historic resource managers

⁶ In Marquesan, *‘oto* and *vaho*.

since the 1990s (Huggett and Perkins 2004; Longstreth 2008; Stewart and Strathern 2003; Ucko and Layton 1999). As archaeologist Christopher Tilley (1994) explains, landscape thus refers to “the physical and visual form of the earth as an environment and as a setting in which [human] locales occur and in dialectical relation to which meanings are created, reproduced and transformed” (25). Pushed still further into a dwelling relationship of reciprocity, life flows and fluid boundaries between people and their surroundings, this perspective reflects Marquesan perceptions and place-making processes.

The Marquesan ancestors are, in some ways, strange to them as they are to other Pacific Islanders who have been separated either temporally or spatially from ancestral lands or spirits (see Hviding 2015:60; Mawyer 2015). Still, whereas formerly inhabited forest areas of the Gambier Islands are now being “rediscovered” and actively resettled after a period of relative abandonment due in part to nuclear fallout (Mawyer 2015), most of the Marquesan forest has been continuously used in various ways over time. Marquesan house construction and settlement remains concentrated in village centers, at least for the moment, while much of the inland forest areas continue to be free of homes. Meanwhile, the many uninhabited valleys of the Marquesas that lost their permanent populations are still regularly used for coconut and fruit harvesting.

Marquesan space, or what islanders refer to as the “bush” (*brousse*) and what I also call the woods or forest, can be broadly divided into two categories. First, plantations are areas that have been, or are currently, under some type of cultivation. These are plots of land with generally unmarked boundaries within which someone has planted fruit, tubers, coconuts or vegetables at some point. Some have lain fallow for decades, while others are neat and well cleared.

Such plantations are known as *faaapu*, a Tahitian word for garden or plantation, or

simply as gardens (Decker 1970; Rolett 1998:35). Most *faaapu* are located in the forest and coexist with historic resources, with the exception of a few commercial gardens on the large islands that focus on intensive cultivation of flat land. These gardens produce fresh vegetables for sale to the local population, and sit on entirely cleared land similar to a typical Western farm. Second, sections of land less amenable to cultivation such as dry desert areas, more remote forest land or steep mountain sides, are also known as bush. These generally serve as places to pasture livestock, hunt or collect decorative seeds. Their ownership is known but may be less conspicuous, since the owners do not actively plant on the land.

Private plots of land in the bush may or may not be regularly maintained. If someone in living memory has used them as *faaapu* then they remain likely spaces for potential cultivation, since they could at any time be rehabilitated as working, productive land. The transition between use and non-use depends upon the configuration of ownership at any one time. Most land is either owned by the Territory or by private individuals or families, but use rights may vary within families or according to lease arrangements with the government (Benoit Kautai, September 11, 2013: 3). Thus, even areas of forest that appear entirely unused in fact have specific boundaries, owners, and users that are affirmed primarily through use and social interactions over time.

In general, islanders are keenly aware of who owns what land, and where it is. When they give directions they often begin with statements like, “You know old Naho’s land?” In Marquesan, “old Naho’s land” actually translates literally as “the home of old Naho” (*‘io te ko’o’ua Naho*), illustrating the strong, possessive link between villagers and their land (*fenua*)⁷ (see also Cablitz 2006; Cablitz 2008). The speaker might then describe the place you are seeking

⁷ The Marquesan word for land is *fenua* in the south islands, or *henua* in the north islands.

using geographic features such as roads, rivers, large trees such as mango or jambul (*Syzygium cumini*), and municipal constructions like water tanks. A similar spatial reliance on shared, localized social knowledge that depends upon context occurs elsewhere in the Pacific, from Tonga and the Marshall Islands to Mangareva (Bennardo 2014; Genz 2011; Mawyer 2014).

Knowledge of local landmarks is also crucial for recognizing boundaries, since fences remain relatively rare. Landowners generally build a fence only when they feel it is necessary to contain or otherwise prevent livestock from pillaging neighboring crops. The common occurrence of free roaming goats and cows is evidence of both the scarcity and inefficacy of local fences. For example, cars driving through the highlands of Nuku Hiva regularly share the road with loitering horses or cows. Still, in certain villages where land disputes have become acute, barbed wire fencing sporadically marks land ownership boundaries. For example, in the village of Hanatetena wire fences enclose a number of homes and their surrounding land. Likewise, the owner of a commercial grapefruit plantation in Hohoi has enclosed it with a fence to discourage theft or damage from people and roving wild or domesticated animals. Wandering, hungry goats, pigs and cows are eager to eat the foliage of most small plants and pose a legitimate concern for farmers. Fencing still remains fairly uncommon, however, demonstrating the same kind of historic, negotiated approach to land rights as observed in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific (France 1969:171; McMurdo and Gardner 2010:135). Boundaries thus tend to be marked by particular features, topography or vegetation whose meaning is passed down through generations.

Independent of use rights or ownership, certain types of vegetation also carry specific meanings. Marquesans often avoid un-maintained land with dense vegetation, especially if it is “dark,” in the back of the valley (*uta*) or in nearby, uninhabited valleys (*hiva*). Such “unclean”

land can have a host of negative meanings including potential danger or illness; a connotation also observed among the Gimi of Papua New Guinea (West 2006:83). Thus Marquesans generally prefer to “keep the land clean” by regularly clearing plantations of dead leaves, weeds and other debris, both to encourage healthy plants and allow greater human comfort and ease of movement (e.g., Gilbert Kautai, October 16, 2013: 1, 29.10).

The resulting association between land that is “clean,” productive and non-threatening informs local understandings of landscapes. For instance, land that is cared for reciprocates by nurturing its users (e.g., Marie Josephine Scallamera, June 24, 2013: 3). This type of land is also more broadly respected as a family’s working *faaapu*. The ground is routinely kept free of brambles, shrubs and small trees either through human labor or grazing livestock. Located largely in the mountains and the backs of valleys, these areas are the same places once worked and inhabited by the Marquesan ancestors. Today they stand apart from the villages, frequented by hunters, foragers and farmers who come inland for specific purposes and rarely linger.

Landowners often use plots of un-cleared or otherwise overgrown land to raise semi-feral livestock including cows, pigs, horses and goats. For example, animals are frequently set free on shared family lands located in uninhabited valleys (e.g., Pierre Tahiatohuipoko, October 13, 2013: 1, 33.40). However, as disagreements over land ownership and use within families have become more common in recent years, this practice has begun to decline. In its place, many villagers now keep pig and goat pens on small tracts of land near their homes. Goat pens, in particular, have become popular. Feed for their occupants includes cleared brush and other fresh foliage, as well as a newly imported type of animal feed made from a coconut meat byproduct (*toito*).

The ultimate cleared and maintained outdoor space is the Marquesan yard. Islanders use

the land immediately surrounding their homes as an extension of the indoors and a place for cultivation (Figure 7). For example, at my home in Vaitahu activities like butchering animals, cleaning fish, shucking shellfish, playing bingo, napping and socializing all regularly occur in the yard. Though few Marquesans have Western-style vegetable gardens, their sustained commitment to their yards entails a certain intensity.

Yards typically planted with flowers, flowering shrubs, herbs and a variety of fruit trees provide easy access to everyday needs. Plants used for fragrance, cooking or remedies are particularly useful, including Tahitian gardenia (*tiare* or *Gardenia taitensis*), lime (*Citrus aurantiifolia*), basil (*Ocimum basilicum*), yellow ginger (*Curcuma longa*) and a tendrilous green flower called *va'ova'o* (*Premna serratifolia*). In Fatu Hiva, where traditional bark cloth (*tapa*) is commonly made, some villagers plant paper mulberry trees (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) beside their homes. Others plant their yards with vegetation for shade or decoration. Above all, islanders keep these spaces meticulously clean by regularly collecting fallen leaves, raking, weed-whacking and harvesting fruits, flowers, roots and leaves. Unlike bush spaces, these areas are also frequently marked by boundaries such as stone walls, retaining walls or wire fences (Figure 8).

Planting in the yard has certain limitations that reflect its distinction from the forest. Marquesans do not plant coconut trees next to their homes, nor do they generally plant decorative seeds. As elderly artist Eugénie Teikiteetini explained, “next to the house you plant bananas and mangos, not [seeds]” (September 12, 2013: 1, 19.30). A friend pointed out that the roots of the seed vines would “rip things apart,” an unwelcome disorder in an otherwise orderly space (Hortense Fii,⁸ September 12, 2013). Most vines and other non-flowering shrubs are

⁸ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity.



Figure 7. A yard in Vaitahu planted with flowers, mango and lime trees.

viewed as weeds (*teita*).⁹ “There are a lot of *teita* [and seeds] in the mountains and the Desert Lands,” said Eugénine, referring to the places she collects seeds on Nuku Hiva (September 12, 2013: 1, 19.30), and so there is really no need to plant seeds in the yard.

As these comments indicate, islanders tend to associate the bush with a certain unruliness. This chaotic character results not only from the physical condition of the environment and the types of vegetation present, but its cultural, historic and spiritual dimensions. Indeed, to many Marquesans the forest is wild, dark and potentially dangerous.¹⁰

⁹ In the north islands, *‘eita*.

¹⁰ A similar relationship between darkness, danger and the forest has been described among contemporary Maya (Brown and Emery 2008:303).



Figure 8. The boundary between two yards is marked by stones, potted plants and a metal fence (center) in Omoa, Fatu Hiva.

Although the Marquesas offer extraordinary hiking opportunities and stellar views, villagers don't generally hike for its own sake unless they are guiding a tourist or other foreigner. Instead, they tend to visit the woods for a specific purpose such as hunting, collecting seeds, chopping copra, picking limes, collecting noni (*Morinda citrifolia*), or clearing and cultivating land. Villagers rarely return from the bush empty-handed. Almost every time I went into the woods with someone we would pause to fill up a flour sack, t-shirt, spare plastic bag or our arms with ripe fruit along the road: wild guavas (*Psidium guajava*), avocados, oranges, papayas or a local variety of lychee called *kava* (*Pometia pinnata*). Women almost never go into the forest alone, and only hunters and shrimp fishermen visit the woods at night due to the risk of physical harm as well as associations between spirits and darkness (e.g., Jeanne Vahieuia Tamarii, October 19, 2013: 2, 25.30; Emilienne Timau,¹¹ December 4, 2013: 5, 7.05; Georgina Pahuatini, October 22, 2013: 6, 15.30). More generally, the interpretation of the bush as a source of food rather than a

¹¹ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

place to live is relatively recent, emerging gradually around fifty years ago when the last few families moved out of the woods and into the growing coastal villages.¹²

Marquesan approaches to land and space suggest a kind of spectrum based upon two ideal types: “purposeful,” cleared land and “unclean,” wild land (Figure 9). The development of this scale has been influenced by the historic relocation of villagers, the effects of depopulation and established patterns of land use as well as foreign, French colonial and Catholic views of the forest as dark, dangerous and unknown (Kathleen Riley, September 18, 2013:1, 1.03.20). It also reflects an aspect of the Marquesan world view. For example, it does not draw upon a relationship to “nature” or “culture” as separate entities. Though some islanders do refer to the right end of the spectrum as “nature” (*la nature*), for them this term includes ancestral ruins in addition to trees, weeds and birds. As noted, plots of “wild” bush or plantation land in the forest are also commonly referred to as someone’s home, using the French *chez* and Marquesan *‘io*, even though families no longer actually live there.

Most spaces and places fall somewhere along this spectrum rather than at either end, recalling Alexander Mawyer’s treatment of the domestication of spaces in the Gambier Islands

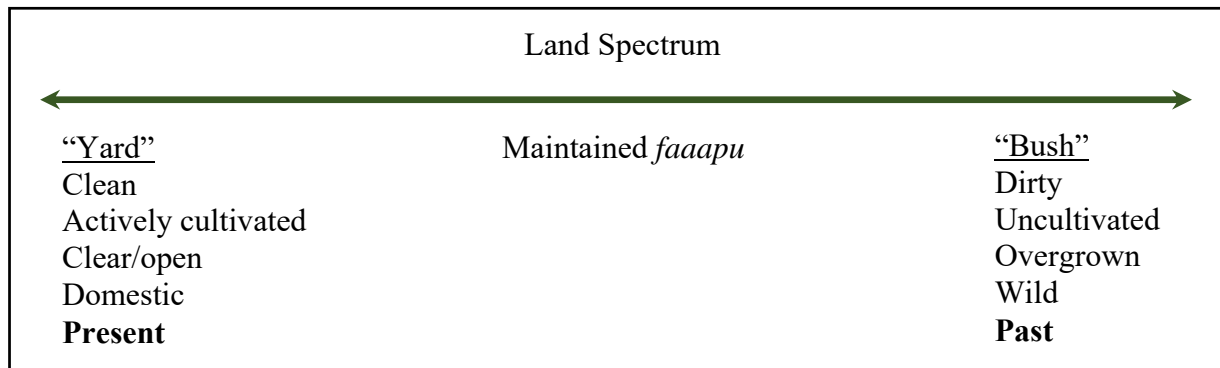


Figure 9. Spectrum of Marquesan land types. The terms used here were assigned by the author. Marquesans use some, but not all, of them to describe land.

¹² Following the population’s lowest point in the 1920s, the surviving villages were increasingly concentrated near the coast, where churches and eventually schools slowly drew families away from the forested interior where they once lived.

as “a process, not a static state” that “reflects the reality of biological and human cycles in time” (Mawyer 2015:36). His subsequent discussion of Mangarevan tribal (*ati*) and wild or “other” (*vao*) lands also draws upon time in a similar way to Marquesan spaces. On Mangareva, the distance between these different types of land are temporal, spatial and social, meaning that wild spaces mark “a metaphorical line between the culture of one’s own people and the dangerous other, whether human or natural or divine” (ibid., 37). As a result of their history and especially the ruins and historic vegetation they contain, the Marquesan bush is similarly associated with the past. Yet, Marquesans also recognize ancestral places on family lands as the remnants of their own predecessors. For many Marquesan hunters and harvesters, other people’s land is moreover familiar, rather than foreign, due to continued patterns of use and the leasing of coconut plantations.

The general perception of overgrown spaces as unruly or domestic also tends to influence how places and features within them are viewed. For example, ancient ruins in the *faaapu* tend to be at least marginally maintained, while those on fallow or infrequently used land are typically more dilapidated or overgrown. In some cases, land is left fallow due to the presence of spirits (*kuhane*)¹³ associated with a ruin. These places are generally avoided as *tapu*, or forbidden, spaces and may or may not include obvious historic features built of stone, or *paepae*. Thus, wild or unruly characteristics may equally evoke what a Western viewer would see as external “nature” and more intimate “culture.” Most Marquesans may not use these terms, but their interpretation of space illustrates how the two concepts form a kind of blended continuum in their perception of the world.

The story of an old *tou* tree (*Cordia subcordata*) on Tahuata exemplifies this view and its

¹³ In the north islands, *uhane*.

durability over time. The *tou*'s life story could be said to have three stages, each of which demonstrates the Marquesan nature-culture continuum. According to Motopu legend, a warrior from Hiva Oa was decapitated and his head was placed in a large *tou* that in later years stood across from the village church. The tree grew upon a *paepae*, and local children used to gather and play there, climbing in its branches and sometimes throwing rocks at the bees nesting inside. At the time, no one told them the story of the skull buried in a hole in the tree. Both tree and *paepae* are now gone, but the wood from that *tou* was subsequently used to make a large wooden statue of the Virgin Mary that stands above the door of Vaitahu's Catholic church. As two Motopu residents now fondly note, "there are always bees on the Virgin in Vaitahu!" (Paki Raihauti and Vaepeue Barsinas, December 4, 2013: 5, 31.00). Those who grew up playing on that *tou* look at the Virgin today and simultaneously see a religious and cultural icon and an old tree equally meaningful for its role in local legend, the island ecosystem and their own childhood memories.

Tapu places also illustrate the Marquesan blending of "nature" and "culture." The concept of *tapu* is characterized by a double meaning, both sacred and cursed, that spans the Pacific and signifies specific and forbidden spaces, things and actions (Tyler 1892:238). Historically, Marquesan *tapu* places were often identified by priests and included places and structures used for special ceremonies or burials (Ferdon 1993:28; Handy 1923:115; Crook 2007:68; Radiguet 2001[1861]:47). In the early 1920s, American archaeologist Ralph Linton (1925) found himself prevented from the detailed study of certain *paepae* due to the persistence of *tapu* places (164, 180).

In reading the Marquesan landscape of today, certain patterns appear in the types of places identified as *tapu* due to the presence of spirits. These sites are typically marked by the

presence of *paepae* or old banyans, which are regarded as sacred trees. As one farmer noted, “places with banyans, they are often the sacred places,” particularly if *paepae* are present (Marie Rose Moiatāi Vaimaa, June 11, 2013: 1, 42.35). To be clear, a *paepae*, also known as an *upe* in some of the north islands, is an ancient platform paved with stones, or what was once the floor of a house or other structure (Figures 10 and 11). Archaeologists have confirmed the correlation between banyans and *me'ae*,¹⁴ which are a type of *paepae* once used for sacred, ceremonial or priestly purposes (Rolett 2010; Linton 1925:34; Molle 2011:246). Observations of the “sacred



Figure 10. A *paepae* as seen from above, with two small terraces (the higher one at right) and an associated banyan tree (center), in the valley of Hanamiai, Tahuata.

¹⁴ Historically, observers made the distinction between ancestral sites known as *taha tupapa'u*, or spirit places, and *me'ae* but I did not observe this distinction being made. According to Handy (1923), both were associated with burial and the spirits and the rituals relating to them were essentially the same (120). Today, islanders refer to the Catholic cemetery as the *taha tupapa'u*.

groves” surrounding *me'ae* also mention *temanū*, fan palms and ironwood. Some of these trees were large enough to pre-date the associated stone structures, solidifying the importance of integrating structure with environment (Linton 1925:34; Handy 1923:119-20).

In some cases, entire valleys are viewed as ancestral landscapes or spirit places. For example, in Hohoi, Hanavave, Vaitahu and Hanatetena villagers speak of “the other side” (*l'autre côté* in French, or *hiva* in Marquesan), referring to a neighboring valley with a high density of *paepae* and no permanent inhabitants. Uninhabited valleys on “the other side” are often used for chopping copra, keeping livestock or hunting. As less visited places, they tend to be relatively overgrown and potentially “dark,” recalling imagery similar to the somber, foreboding forests of the Brothers Grimm and other European fairy tales. Some even harbor



Figure 11. Frédéric Ohotoua on a paepae in Hane, Ua Huka.

ghostly, man-eating and malevolent witches known as *vehine hae*¹⁵ (see Handy 1923:257). Still, in most cases they are home to less malicious spirits and potential danger or mysterious illness, rather than Grimm-esque monsters, wolves or dwarves.

Thus, darkness or lack of sunlight is not only characteristic of places overgrown with vegetation, but it can also be a marker of spirits or *tapu* status. This association between darkness and *kuhane* relates to both contemporary and historic understandings of the night as a threatening time when evil spirits roamed (Handy 1923:72, 256-7). Local nurse Yveline Tohuhutohetia Hikutini described looking for a place to build on her husband's family land in Hakahetau. They decided to construct their home in an area feared by many, where no one wanted to go because "they were afraid of the *tupapa'u* [dead]! ...There were *upe* [or *paepae*] and big tall grass and tons of hibiscus trees [*Hibiscus tiliaceus*], it was all dark! I mean, it was all shadows. No one wanted to go chop copra there. No one went there!" (October 14, 2013: 5, 18.50).

Another indication of the continued association between the dark and danger can be seen in some islanders' attitude towards children at night time. Marquesan parents often avoid putting their babies next to open windows at night, and may take steps to protect infants from the dark (Florence Taata¹⁶ and Marie-Christine Timau, April 2, 2013: 1, 43.20; Namauefitu Touaitahuata, March 27, 2013: 2, 47.00; Manu Rohi, April 13, 2013: 1, 24.15). This connection between darkness, fear and spirits has been observed elsewhere in the Pacific, as well (Feinberg 1996:101; Howard 1996:129).

Likewise, Marquesan beliefs about spirits in the landscape and *tapu* places parallel those of other groups from the Pacific, Australia and Papua New Guinea (Bell 2015:133-4; Glaskin

¹⁵ Literally, "evil woman" (see Handy 1923:249).

¹⁶ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

2012:303; Kenny 2004:278; Liston and Miko 2011:187; Peterson et al. 2015:79; Tacon 1994:125; West 2006:83). In contrast to many other documented examples, however, most Marquesans do not have a clearly articulated relationship with the spirit world. Some Christian Pacific Islanders divide supernatural beings into categories depending on their power and influence (Feinberg 1996:100), or conduct special ceremonies to communicate with or mollify dangerous spirits (Akin 1996:153; Hollan 1996:218; Howard 1996:129). Marquesans define ancestral beings vaguely as “spirits” (*kuhane* or *‘uhane*) or “the dead” (*tupapa’u*), whose particular identities are unknown. Although they tend to treat these spirits with respect, they do so without the guidance of any magical knowledge or widely established rituals.

Thus, Marquesans recognize spirits as ancestral representations that linger in places where their ancestors lived and convened. Provided they have been identified, traditionally sacred places like *me’ae* may be *tapu* today, while house platforms (*paepae fa’e*) or dance grounds (*tohua ko’ina*) are generally viewed as innocuous.¹⁷ A house platform is a place where the ancestors lived, but not a spot where their spirits linger. In contrast, the places where ancestors conducted ceremonies or were killed or buried may be viewed as powerful and potentially threatening spirit domains.

This understanding has long influenced the way people use and interact with *me’ae*. Certain sites with bones in them were *tapu* in the early 1920s (Linton 1925:176), while Linton noted the general and continued observance of “a strict prohibition against cutting or using anything growing within the *me’ae* precincts” (ibid., 34). Thanks to the transmission of local

¹⁷ A *me’ae* is a platform or complex of platforms that can vary in size, height and design and once served a religious, ceremonial or mortuary purpose. Handy refers to them as “tribal sacred places” and distinguishes between *me’ae*, or the ceremonial and burial sites of priests, and *taha tupapa’u*, where the ceremonies and burial of ordinary people occurred (Handy 1923:115). Consistent with this classification, Marquesans today refer to Christian cemeteries as *taha tupapa’u*. A *paepae fa’e* is a small, rectangular platform that was formerly the foundation of a house and sometimes referred to by archaeologists as *paepae hiāmoe*, or sleeping platforms.

knowledge relating to the ongoing use of family land over time, some of these places are still similarly respected, today (e.g., Flavian Pavaouau, August 22, 2013: 2).

However, the majority of islanders have relatively little knowledge of the different types of *paepae* or how to distinguish them. Having never been taught at school or instructed by their parents or relatives, some are not even familiar with terms like *me'ae* and *tohua koina*. Islanders commonly use *paepae* or *upe* as blanket terms to refer to not just platforms but stone walls and enclosures of all kinds. As a result, current decisions about how to interact with these structures and the associated vegetation are rarely as simple as they once appear to have been. A particular challenge noted by both islanders and archaeologists is the structural similarity of *me'ae* and *paepae fa'e* ruins (Linton 1925:6; Rolett 2010:94; Molle 2011:240-1). Linton (1925) speculates that this similarity may be due to the fact that, as the place where the skulls and bones of some tribal members were deposited, the mortuary *me'ae* were a kind of “dwelling of the family or tribal ancestors,” and so were modeled after the ordinary homes of the living (35). Meanwhile, the boundaries of sacred spaces, in general, were ambiguous since most *me'ae* are not enclosed by any visible marker. Historically, the limits of sacred areas were instead “well known to the tribe and were marked at the time of ceremonies by poles with tapa streamers” (ibid., 33-4). In the absence of the oral histories that once contained such boundary information, today’s *me'ae* can therefore be difficult to distinguish from residential sites based upon their appearance (Rolett 2010).

Due to the general lack of knowledge about different types of sites, Marquesans tend to rely upon other signs to indicate the potential presence of spirits. For example, for most islanders any place with human bones, whether a *paepae*, cave, or banyan tree, may harbor spirits and therefore demands respect (e.g., Matapua Priscilla Kohuemoetini, October 10, 2013:

10, 26.55; Sandrine Rootuehine, November 26, 2013: 3, 4.25). The presence of bones can also represent a particular claim to ownership of land, both here and elsewhere in the Pacific (Halvaksz 2003:159).

As recently as the early twentieth century, the remains of ancestors were used to indicate Marquesan rights to access and use land. In one legend, the god Ono claims ownership of the island of Mohotani after proving that his ancestor's skull is buried beneath that of the previous owner. These skulls were located in an ancestral pit of a tribal *me'ae*. Interpreted as the bones of the tribal chief's ancestors, they served as evidence that he owned the land where the *me'ae* stood (Handy 1923:58-9).¹⁸ As Thomas points out, the Ono legend about the skulls is the only such historic mention of material goods justifying rights to land (Thomas 1990:137).

Yet, Marquesan relationships with the land today have important links to the material legacies of plants and stone structures. In the context of contemporary land ownership, *tapu* places marked by *paepae* are inhabited by ancestral spirits that can be either friendly or hostile, depending on whether your family owns the land where they reside. Due to the transmission of land through family lineages, the owners of land generally assume that whatever spirits are present are their familial ancestors, who typically do not bother their own descendants (e.g., Benjamin Teikitutoua, October 19, 2013: 1, 11.15; Patricié Tepea, September 20, 2013: 3, 27.15). Thus, family members on these lands may go on top of *tapu paepae* to clean or collect coconuts, fruit or plants without incident.¹⁹ Still, in order to avoid misunderstandings many

¹⁸ Traditionally viewed as the center of human power, the skull had unusual importance and was often handled in a manner distinct from the rest of the body (Handy 1923:114). This veneration and the special treatment of skulls also helps to explain why they so often feature in contemporary Marquesan encounters with human remains (e.g., Christine Poemioi Vaimaa, November 26, 2013: 3, 0.25).

¹⁹ The significance of climbing on top, rather than just being in the general vicinity of, *paepae* relates to the particular spatiality of the traditional Marquesan system of *tapu*. Similar to the historic practices of other Pacific Islanders, this system dictated that certain individuals were strictly forbidden from physically positioning themselves over *tapu* things and people by sitting or stepping over or on top of them (Handy 1923:258, 261-2).

islanders speak with the spirits when they visit these places (e.g., Tea Mohuioho, October 17, 2013: 2, 30.40; Isidore Aratini Kohumoetini, October 10, 2013: 1, 40.25; Jimmy Tehei Timau, November 25, 2013: 4, 11.25).

If you go onto a *paepae* on land that you do not own, the spirits may be unfriendly and are liable to cause some sort of harm. If they are not careful, visitors can be misled, haunted or be rendered ill by the spirits in that place (e.g., Marie-Christine Timau with Namauefitu Touaitahuata, May 6, 2013: 1, 47.00; Dieudonné Teiefitu, May 2, 2013: 1, 39.15). Spirits can call or beckon a person off the main trail with a whistle or the call of a baby, a friend, or a pig, then lead them to the edge of a precipice or even to their death (e.g., Joseph Atohei Hikutini Fournier, October 1, 2013: 3, 1.54.20). They can also cause mysterious illness that cannot be diagnosed by a Western doctor, drive a person crazy or bring bad luck to one's family such as a troublesome child, financial problems, chronic illness or lost property (e.g., Remy Mahea Santos, June 20, 2013: 1, 21.05; Rosina Kautai Kaiha, October 14, 2013: 1, 39.10; Félix Barsinas, May 28, 2013: 2, 23.35).

These ominous risks produce fear that lies on the land, in some ways resembling other durable inscriptions of violence and terror on landscapes through memories, myths and silences (see Ballard 2002; Taussig 1987). As explored by Gastón Gordillo's (2004) study of place among the Toba of Argentina's Gran Chaco region, lasting memories of colonial oppression generate "new values and patterns of behavior" that mark certain places in the form of spirits, even after the original experiences of pain on the land have faded (8). Similar to the Marquesan case, the actions of these "devils" and their treatment of the living depend closely upon their location (*ibid.*). The spirits that inhabit plantations and other spaces of colonial labor draw more heavily upon past missionary influences, refusing to communicate with indigenous laborers and

giving rise to “terror, disease, and death” (ibid., 9). By contrast, the “bush devils” in the forest have a close, reciprocal relationships with Toba foragers that nourishes them both physically and spiritually (ibid.). Thus, Gordillo’s “devils” speak to the Toba’s unique history even as their power is perpetuated by ongoing group and individual relationships with the land.

In the Marquesas, *kuhane* in the bush can either threaten or support islanders, depending on the location as well as the individual. According to their own knowledge and beliefs, Marquesans interact differently with the spirits and the places they inhabit (see Chapter 4). In general, however, the principle of respect regulates most Marquesan relationships with land and historic sites that may harbor spirits. Behaving with respect may include not going into or playing in a *tapu* place, not spitting or moving stones or other objects, and not urinating or defecating. The most common way to incur punishment from the spirits is by going to the bathroom in a sacred place, either on purpose or otherwise. For example, one woman in Vaitahu urinated next to a banyan tree that contained skulls without realizing it. She became mysteriously ill, and only later learned about the skulls from a healer who helped to cure her using traditional remedies (Vivienne Timau,²⁰ March 12, 2013; Rachel Barsinas, April 29, 2013: 1, 4.00).

The illnesses resulting from disrespect of a sacred or *tapu* site are ambiguous “sickness” or, in some cases, madness. Indeed, similar repercussions from the spirits on the land can occur in areas of Papua New Guinea (Brookfield and Brown 1963:42; West 2006:83), South America (Brown and Emery 2008:311; Viveiros de Castro 2004:468) and elsewhere in the Pacific (Hollan 1996:216). Although Western doctors are apparently unable to identify any problem, when the

²⁰ Pseudonym used in order to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

ailing person is taken to see a traditional Marquesan healer (*tau'a*),²¹ he or she invariably knows the source of illness almost immediately. This pattern has likewise been observed in other Pacific Islands (Mageo 1996:42).

In the Marquesan cases described to me, the healer asks the sick person if they have been on or near any sacred sites, or if they have removed a *tiki*²² or other ancient object from its place. In the former case traditional remedies are prescribed (e.g., Roberto Maraetaata, August 19, 2013: 3, 1.09.00; Manuhi Timau, May 13, 2013), while for the latter the person is instructed to return the object to its place of origin as soon as possible. Once an object is restored to its place, the person is cured (e.g., Timeri Tuieinui and Flavian Pavaouau, August 22, 2013: 2, 38.05; Christine Tuieinui Gilmore, August 22, 2013: 5, 37.00).

These layers of meaning in the landscape illustrate how islanders create place out of space through active relationships with both spiritual and material elements of the land. They also structure Marquesans' everyday interactions with the woods. Yet of what, exactly, do these woods consist? The description of a visit to the bush helps to illustrate the feel of Marquesan forest landscapes, as well as their negotiated relationship to "nature" and "culture."

A Walk in Hanavave, Fatu Hiva

I was returning to Omoa in a few days, and I was determined to get into "the bush" of Hanavave before I left. The only problem was, no one was available to take me. I wanted to visit two *paepae*, in particular, that had been described to me by one of the village cultural leaders. They were located to one side of the village, in a kind of pocket valley locals call

²¹ This is the traditional term for priest, indicating the relationship between today's traditional healers and the ancestors' spiritual priests.

²² *Tiki* are images of the Marquesan ancestors, some of which were deified (Linton 1925:85). Surviving historic examples are carved in stone or wood.

“inside” (*i 'oto*). I was determined to go, I just had to figure out how. That night I mentioned the idea to my host mother, Justine, as we sat around the kitchen table drinking coffee. The television in the next room flashed light and sound through the wide doorway as her youngest son and two granddaughters skittered noisily from couch, to floor, to kitchen, and back again. I asked Justine if she thought I could go visit *i 'oto* alone. She quickly said no, and suggested I go with her daughter, Tehei, instead. “Tehei can take you!” she smiled. Tehei had some developmental disabilities but had already been very helpful in my visits around the village, and so I let the topic drop, content that my plan appeared viable enough.

Early the next morning we set out with a full retinue. Justine, who worked as the village mayor, had already left for her office and shortly afterwards her daughter-in-law stopped by to drop off her daughter, Vaiani, before going to work as a secretary at the same office. Since Tehei was responsible for looking after her little brother as well as Vaiani, it was either everyone or no one; so I proposed we all go for a walk. The *paepae* I wanted to see were supposed to be close to the village, I reasoned, and this might be my only chance. Luckily, my suggestion was well received, and one of Tehei’s older brothers decided to join us as well.

From a local perspective, having some sort of escort was vital due to my position as a single, white, foreign woman. My hosts throughout the islands were strongly opposed to letting me venture anywhere solo, afraid that I would get lost, at best, or at worst, be exposed to abuse by the many lone men who work in the forest. Young Marquesan women almost never go into the forest alone, due to this risk of personal harm in a space that typically lacks witnesses (e.g., Tora Huukena, September 10, 2013: 2, 4.10).

We had taken other strolls together, this posse and I, and so we set off easily, the children half walking, half running as they chattered away in Marquesan. Crossing the village, we passed

a few neighbors who briefly stopped raking their yard or chatting on the front stoop to call out the classic Marquesan greeting: “*Pehea 'oe?*” (“Where are you going?”) At the final house before the forest the road turned to dirt, and tall trees laden with vines loomed up on either side. We dipped down into a gully to pass through the cool currents of a shallow river, then continued up a steep climb along the road.

Typical of other forest routes in the Marquesas, the lane leading into the deep side-valley of *i 'oto* began as two well-established, if uneven, tire-spaced tracks leading into the forest. As we advanced, the sun warming the tops of our heads weakened as it filtered through the overhanging leaves. The village sounds of barking dogs, reggae music and the distant crash of the rocky beach receded. In its place were the gentle murmurs of the forest: the intermittent calls of the *kuku*²³ and the Marquesan warbler; the rustle of leaves in the wind; the triumphant crow of a wild rooster. When the chatter of my escort ebbed I was struck by the silence, a general lack of sound broken evenly by the crunch of my feet against the tiny stones of the road.

The smells, too, changed as we ventured deeper into the bush. In the village the scent of food cooking, burning trash and coconut oil often hover, but in the woods the prevailing aroma is earthy: rich, red dirt, mud and leaves both green and decaying. A recent rain brought out the forest smells that day. The road was slightly muddy, and I was thankful for the packed stones that prevented us all from engaging in any hapless “Marquesan skiing” on the steep road.

As we advanced through the forest the sun fell onto the ground and leaves in splashes of light, making sunglasses impractical and photographs difficult. I snapped a photo anyway, catching a lone horse tied to a tree on the slope above the river. His owner could have been at work in town or maybe foraging somewhere close by for manioc, fruit, wood or wild ginger on

²³ A bright green fruit dove.

his family land. Shortly after leaving the village road we also passed several coconut plantations of various ages, representatives of the Marquesas' leading cash crop (Figure 12).

The first commercial coconut groves (*cocoteraie*) in the Marquesas were planted in the late nineteenth century, part of the advance of foreign entrepreneurs into the islands (see Coppenrath 2003:127). In the years that followed, Marquesans continued to plant new swaths of coconuts as dried coconut meat, or copra, became the leading local export. To a certain extent, these early plantations have regenerated themselves and continue to dominate the local landscape even though some are no longer actively exploited. Older *cocoteraie* are easy to spot with their tall, gangly shape, small bunches of nuts and occasionally moss-covered trunks. These



Figure 12. Looking back down the copra road: in an old coconut plantation, a large pile of carefully stacked, face-down coconut husks have been left to rot into a rich soil.

plantations are the most likely to lie fallow or abandoned, with thickening weeds and young trees obscuring the ground. Younger, active *cocoteraie* are characterized by slightly shorter and more productive trees with sturdier trunks that grow on either cleared or fairly recently cleared land. “Cleared” land means a farmer or copra harvester has walked each square foot of it with a motorized weed-whacker, collecting dead fronds and buzzing through weeds, brush and saplings to reveal the ground and hidden coconuts beneath (Figure 13). Some islanders achieve a similar effect by releasing or, more often, tying up their cows or horses to graze in a specific area.

Once the land is cleared or “clean,” the copra harvester will collect the coconuts, remove the meat and, usually, burn the husks and leaves in a pile. They may also choose to leave these piles of husks and debris due to inappropriate weather conditions for burning, such as rain or



Figure 13. A well-maintained plantation of young bananas and limes (foreground) and coconuts (background) in Vaitahu.

drought. Others use the piles as barriers to corral future coconuts as they fall, or just leave them alone to gradually decompose back into soil (see Figure 12) (e.g., Vaiani Otomimi, October 25, 2013: 4, 18.40; Jeanne Marie Teikitumenava Barsinas, November 19, 2013: 4, 1.01.20).

Islanders clear plantation land to maintain it but also to make it easier to find and collect fallen coconuts. Recently cleared land is often characterized by close-cropped young vegetation already struggling to fill in the space including several types of weeds, ferns, shrubs and small trees.

Overgrown plantations of coconuts, bananas, limes or noni²⁴ take on a jungle-like look when they are not cleared every month or two (Figure 14). Still, the ground cover and trapped moisture provided by some undergrowth is actually desirable for certain types of crops, like *fe'i* bananas (*Musa troglodytarum*), that prefer a more humid environment. Plantations of any kind are not entirely exclusive and the occasional mango, breadfruit, guava, almond or banyan tree is fairly common in coconut, banana, lime and noni plantations. In general, islanders appear hesitant to chop down productive, useful trees when they plant a cash crop, demonstrating a certain resistance to monoculture and the dominant Western interpretation of beneficial species (e.g., Scott 1998:13). In some cases, plots currently planted with coconuts and other fruits were formerly plantations of smaller fruit trees (Rolett 1998:35). In others, families plant avocado, *kava*, papaya, manioc, lime, orange or grapefruit trees²⁵ along the road side or edge of plantations in order to allow easier access to the open swaths of sunshine.

Although the land we walked through is privately owned by individuals or families of islanders, absentee owners or the territorial government, minimal evidence of the boundaries

²⁴ *Morinda citrifolia*, a white medicinal fruit harvested in the Marquesas since the early 2000s.

²⁵ All of these plants were introduced, either by early Polynesian settlers or, subsequently, Europeans and Americans.



Figure 14. In Vaitahu, Manuhi Timau leads me through a working but overgrown coconut plantation. The pile of husks is fresh, indicating that the person using this land chose not to clear it before harvesting coconuts.

between different parcels was evident. Land plots generally follow the island topography, stretching from mountain side to river bed in lateral strips along the rivers or ocean and in larger, longer parcels in the mountains. Similar to Hawaii's *ahupua'a* system and other examples of vertically-oriented ecozones of exploitation (Mueller-Dombois 2007; Murra 1968), plots were traditionally structured so as to provide a range of resources to land users who might only have access to one parcel. Thus, each river or seaside plot climbs the slope above the water, incorporating the various types of climate and soil afforded by different elevations (Figure 15; Government of French Polynesia 2013b).



Figure 15. A map (left) and aerial photograph (right) of the village of Hakahetau, Ua Pou, illustrates the topographic pattern of land parcel divisions in the Marquesas. Most medium to large parcels, such as those over the mountains, are owned either by the state or extended families. The undivided land along the coast is also state-owned, known as the king's fifty paces (see Chapter 3). Sources: Service de domaine de Polynésie française and Google Earth.

The tops of ridges and valley riverbeds also usually mark the boundaries between parcels.

Less frequently, the edges of a plot are marked by a tall, oblong stone placed in the ground, an alignment of stones, or an “X” carved into the trunk of a coconut tree (e.g., Patrice Gerard Touaitahuata, October 3, 2013: 2, 20.15; Simeon Teatiu, October 2, 2013: 2, 46.35), depending on the common practice on a certain island or even village. The most common method for distinguishing the boundary of lands appears to be large trees, rocks or other landmarks whose meaning is passed down within families. Thus, a Marquesan describing the edge of his land might say something like, “you know the big breadfruit tree? From there you go up to the water tank, and then continue by the river.” Despite the growing number of maps and surveyors at work in the islands, this knowledge continues to dictate most interactions with the land.

Of course, few of these markers are evident to the casual or foreign observer. The most telling sign of changes in land ownership over the course of our walk were the shifts in vegetation type, such as the transition from an overgrown coconut plantation to one that was well-maintained, or from an organized grove of bananas into a stretch of overgrown forest.

Historic structures can also be divided between landowners, although the physical landscape may betray no sign of it. In other cases, the distinction between owners can be startlingly clear. For example, much of the ceremonial site of Iipona, on Hiva Oa, has been restored and it frequently receives tourists. Unbeknownst to many visitors, however, the monumental site continues just beyond the edge of the currently cleared platforms. The thick growth of weeds, trees and other vegetation covering the higher terraces distinguish the property of a different landowner.

My walk with Tehei and her family brought me past several overgrown *paepae* that stood just off the road, another common sight in the Marquesan woods. A hike into any valley with a source of fresh water, and even some without, reveals stone ruins of some kind: walls, roads, enclosures, platforms, half-buried alignments, giant breadfruit storage pits (*ua ma*) and smaller stone-lined pits. These features are as much a part of the Marquesan forest as the trees, birds and rivers. The *paepae* I was looking for were probably among the ones that we passed, but I cannot be entirely sure since the person who told me about them was not with us.

As I spotted different structures throughout our climb, I stepped off the road and into the weeds to take a closer look. What from a distance often appeared to be a mound of stones or an old wall would often turn out to be one or more platforms in various states of decay. As my legs swished past a blanket of mixed greenery wet with dew, the mossy stones gradually revealed their various patterns of construction: a disturbed pavement with jagged edges askew; the partially fallen wall of an enclosure; platforms several feet high with collapsed corners; or a series of terraces built into the slope of the land.

I tiptoed carefully around each site as my companions waited on the road, either wary or indifferent. Walking on or around *paepae* is a delicate task: stones can be slippery with moss, obscured by fallen leaves or move unexpectedly beneath you. Mostly obscured by tufts of ferns,

young mango trees, tania (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*)²⁶ and some full-grown trees, the alignments and squared corners of the structures in *i 'oto* became clear only when I was almost on top of them (Figure 16).

Beyond the first few *cocoteraie* the road grew steeper and more grassy, and we entered a series of thickly planted, well-maintained banana plantations. Typical of the bush, this area had no contemporary homes and few signs of people aside from the orderly rows of fruit trees, the occasional *paepae* ruin and, now and then, a skeletal copra shack built of wood and corrugated iron. For generations, villagers have used this forest to grow food. The plantations hugged the road on either side, making it easier for harvesters to collect their produce by horse or truck.



Figure 16. A partially collapsed *paepae* in Hanavave is riddled with young mango saplings and one full grown tree (at left).

²⁶ Edible tuber with large green leaves similar to taro, known locally as *tarua*.

Up ahead, in the far reaches of the valley beyond the last banana groves, broad expanses of uncultivated vegetation clung to the steep slopes. Typically dominated by the prickly arms and roots of pandanus trees, these areas can be good for finding seeds if they are not too steep. Mostly women harvesters periodically bushwhack through thick growth of this kind to pluck, scratch and dig for seeds they later pierce and string together to make jewelry.

At one point, after an hour or so, Tehei decided to turn around with the children. We were all out of breath and the kids were getting tired. Promising to soon follow behind, I continued on for a short distance with her brother. For another 15 minutes we kept climbing, sticking to the rough road that had now become a pair of washed-out stream beds leading straight up through the alternating forest and banana groves. Breaks in the tree canopy revealed glimpses of the sun-bathed mountain ridges at the back of the valley, a far cry from the damp shade around us (Figure 17). The mountains hovered ever near, maintaining their distance even as we crept ever closer on the steep trail. As we came into another overgrown banana plantation I glanced down at my watch. It was time to turn around. Up ahead the rutted trail rounded a sharp corner and disappeared, calling me onward; but it was time to go home.

Most of my other visits to the forest engaged more actively with the landscape than our walk that day in Hanavave, involving long hikes trailing an islander with a backpack and a machete through dense undergrowth. Marquesans are notorious for their “short cuts,” typically harrowing little trails that cut straight up the sides of cliffs or down into rushing river beds. Above all, across islands and villages the feel of the bush remained strikingly similar barring small differences in climate and vegetation, and ruins were ubiquitous throughout. As land users move through these landscapes they generate and perpetuate places based on transmitted stories but also personal experiences and the physical spaces shaped by historic land use. Largely

unseen, the patterns of ownership entrenched on the islands spring from tangled, tense indigenous and colonial pasts that continue to shape the land and its features in crucial ways.

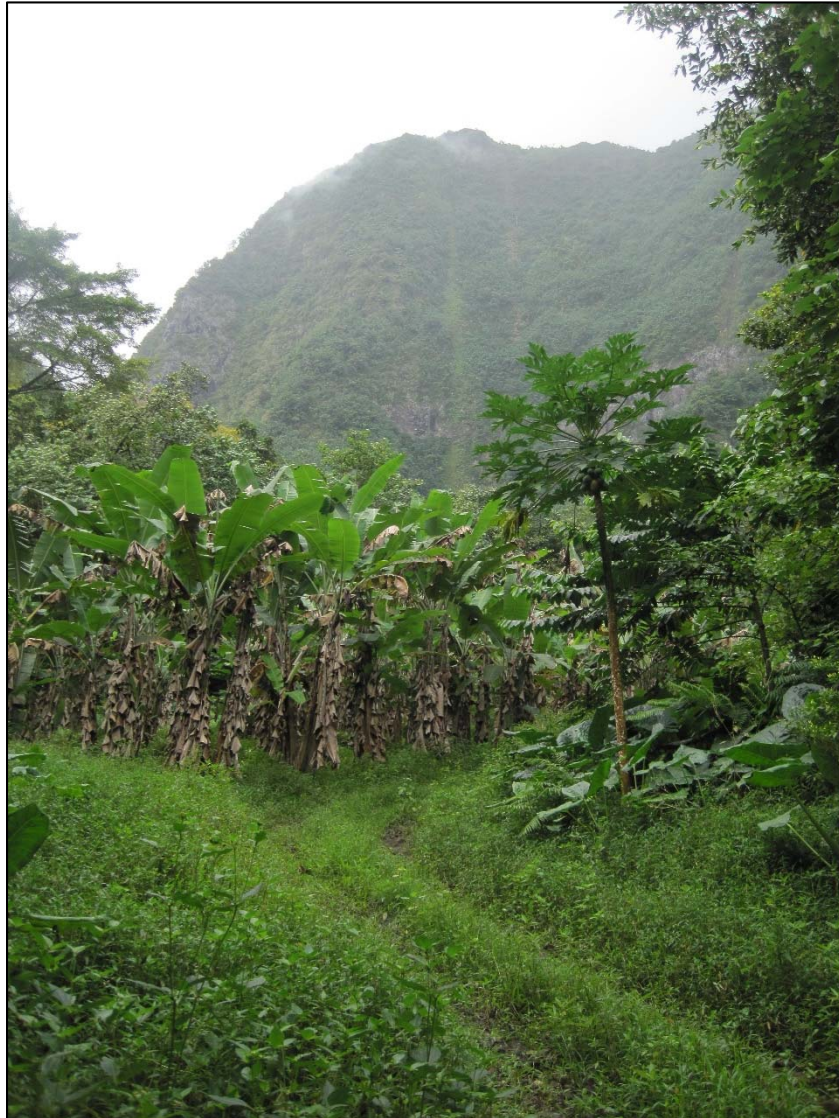


Figure 17. One of the working banana plantations along our way, with a papaya tree across the grassy road.

CHAPTER 3

Contested Lands and the Tenure of Ancestral Places

Marquesan interpretations and use of the forest depend upon existing and historic relationships to each other as well as the land. Ownership, in particular, affects how the various resources in a landscape are used. Thus, the extension of French perspectives and control over Marquesan lands has important implications for the treatment of heritage and ancestral lands. The implementation of state land reform represents this kind of territorialization, even as it also advances an implicit understanding of the land as privately held for individual profit, a perspective that conflicts with local spiritual and relational links to the island landscape. The current discussion looks at the ongoing influence of land administration in the Marquesas with a specific focus on how, in spite of land reform, historic and family relationships to land resist the imposition of power by continuing to guide decisions about tenure and use.

The tenure of Marquesan land today contains a sustained internal dissonance that emerges from the conflict between the customary approach to land holdings and the French colonial regulations that officially dictate local land rights and ownership. Deploying strategies of control through territory, or what Michel Foucault (2007) calls territoriality, is a common tool of governance and resource management. Traditionally associated with the making of states and state power, territorialization is the separation of space into defined territories for the purposes of controlling both resources and inhabitants (Igoe and Brockington 2007:437; Vandergeest and Peluso 1995). This process involves the extension of both state administration and the market over land.

In the Marquesas, French land reform and the resulting government land records, created

between 1903 and 1904,¹ illustrate both territorialization and the pervasive, haunting physical influence of colonialism (see also di Giminiani 2015; Stoler 2013). Since the earliest effects of depopulation began, power has been etched into the Marquesan land in the following layers:

- 1) The pre-colonial system of lineage-based land tenure presumably maintains order and resources when the islands' population is at its peak, and continues to prevail even as depopulation spreads;
- 2) Beginning with the 1902 governmental land decree, the French state makes its first attempt to territorialize the Marquesas through a land reform promoting individualized ownership;
- 3) Throughout most of the twentieth century, land tenure becomes characterized by *indivision*, a hybrid of the above two systems that is responsive to individual agency but unavoidably shaped by the internal relations between extended family as well as the 1902-4 land claims and subsequent cadastral surveys; and
- 4) As of several decades ago, an increasing push to again transform local lands into private, individualized property in the style of modern land tenure leads to the current state of tension over lands, spurred as much or more by the neoliberal market² as by legal pressures.

These points highlight the territorializing processes of depopulation and land reform. Yet the connection between law, territory and power is simultaneously destabilized by a mix of customary and creative Marquesan approaches to land.³ As John Galaty has observed in the

¹ Known as the *tomite* of 1904.

² I interpret the neoliberal market, and neoliberalism more generally, as a system that uses the free market and competition as the basis for a society's self-regulation (see Harvey 2005; Büscher and Dressler 2007:597).

³ Similar complexities have been encountered throughout French Polynesia, as documented by Tamatoa Bambridge and Philippe Neuffer (see Bambridge 2009; Bambridge and Neuffer 2002).

context of land reform among pastoralists in Africa, the convergence of territoriality with movement generates “multi-levelled institutional interactions between local, state and global influences” in a kind of “indigenisation of modernity” (Galaty 2013:474). Exploring the myriad challenges involved in negotiating land reform and customary tenure practices reveals the fundamental role of relationality in linking Marquesan families to land as well as heritage.

Land Tenure: Then and Now, and the Then in the Now

Long before my thesis fieldwork began, I was alerted to the latent tension surrounding Marquesan land tenure by the occasional, casual reference to disputes between families. However, I did not realize the full importance of the issue until shortly after my arrival in Vaitahu in February, 2013. Having just spent a month investigating local land ownership and other topics in Tahiti, I came to the Marquesas armed with a small collection of documents from the government land office, or DAF (*Direction des affaires foncières*). Among these papers were some notes I had taken in January on the DAF’s collection of land reports (*procès-verbaux*), which were filed as part of the first cadastral survey of the islands. These surveys were conducted between 1925 and 1974, primarily in response to two State decrees that called for the cadastral mapping of French Polynesia in 1927 and again in 1952 (Coppentrath 2003:138-9). Since the general public is not allowed to print or make copies of the recorded survey reports, I viewed them on a computer screen and took hand-written notes.

Back in Vaitahu a few weeks later, I quickly discovered a particular interest in these notes, in addition to a more recent cadastral map showing part of Vaitahu valley and a short

document from the DAF cadastral survey director explaining the “king’s fifty paces.”⁴ To my surprise, I found that these documents and the information they contain were rare acquisitions in the islands, worthy of being hoarded and carefully scrutinized in the privacy of one’s home.

Thus, a few weeks after arriving in the Marquesas I paid a visit to the Tahuata mayor’s office, where I asked the secretary if I could use the photocopy machine. In my hand was the field notebook I had used to hastily record my notes from the DAF’s land reports on Tahuata land ownership. My Marquesan family had been begging me to make a copy for them, and despite my discomfort with the idea, I had finally agreed. My anxiety stemmed mostly from the fact that these were my notes, and not the actual documents, and I was certain they contained some flaws. I did not want my family held responsible for my mistakes, but we at last resolved this issue by agreeing that they would not make any claims based on the notes, alone.

Since their discovery, my notes and the Vaitahu cadastral map had caused a huge hubbub in our home, with uncles stopping by to see and discuss the documents, several heated conversations over breakfast, and multiple consultations (and re-consultations) of the map on the kitchen table or spread out across the living room floor. As Manuhi and his wife fastidiously perused these papers, it became clear that questions of land ownership in the islands are latent but also heated and complex. I had assumed that since the government shares land information openly with the public in Tahiti, Marquesans would be widely aware of anything pertaining to their own property and perhaps already possess the documents relevant to their land. This, I now realized, was a naïve assumption. Due in part to the distance, expense and hassle of obtaining this information from the DAF in Tahiti, most islanders had never acquired it. When I visited

⁴ A French colonial decree stating that all coastal land within fifty meters of the high tide mark (known as the fifty paces zone, or *zone des cinquante pas géométriques*) belongs to the State (Mallet n.d.; Coppenrath 2003:138). Although this rule remains valid in the Marquesas and has minimized coastal construction, it is rarely enforced.

the DAF in January, 2013 I paid 12,500 xpf (\$119 US) for copies of two cadastral maps showing the location and ownership of several parcels in Vaitahu. In a more sinister strain, I was informed that if I had requested the same document as a Marquesan, rather than an American, I would have been required to produce proof of ownership for the land parcels in question. The reasons for this procedure lie largely in the politics and history of land tenure in the Marquesas.

The structure of Marquesan land holdings has changed relatively little in the last century. Before the French took possession of the islands in 1842, Marquesans had a relatively privatized system of land tenure. Unlike many other Polynesian chiefdoms, Marquesan chiefs did not actually own whole valleys. Instead, they personally held certain lands that they controlled directly, while exercising their political power to manipulate the allocation of food and resources harvested from the rest. The chief's influence over his own land as well as that of others can partially be explained by the fact that "the tribe was like the family of the chief," its members related to him by "birth, adoption, marriage or friendly alliance" (Handy 1923:57). As a result, chiefs related to tribal lands in the same way the head of a family would to his family land (ibid.).

Lands not directly held by the chief belonged to individual landowners, or heads of other families who in turn regulated their exploitation by different members of their own family (Thomas 1990:50; Coppenrath 2003:120-22). Based on lineage, this customary system of private land holdings responded both to the demands of the chief and familial relationships of power, breaking down the classic binary between communal and individual ownership (see Terrill 2016). Thus the concept of "public" or open-access land has never existed in the Marquesas, despite the fact that most lands and resources are and were allocated communally, through family connections. Given the islands' limited terrestrial resources and historically large

population, this arrangement was likely well-suited to sustaining the local environment and preventing the classic “tragedy of the commons” scenario in a manner similar to other institutionalized strategies for governing shared property (see Hardin 1968; Ostrom 1990).

The tenure of Marquesan land has long depended upon local politics and the shared use of land and resources within families and tribes. Land disputes before French colonization were regulated through the exchange of goods or, in some cases, violence (Crook 2007:115). Land holdings were crucial to social rank, and their acquisition seems to have occurred mainly through a system of family inheritance that was not necessarily linear. As explained by Thomas (1990), instead of birth order or genealogy “what was crucial [to both land ownership and associated social rank] was the tactical play of bilateral associations” (50). Thus, the historic precedent for land tenure is broad-based land distribution dependent upon both kin and other types of social, political and economic ties. Although one study of Austronesian societies demonstrates how different approaches to land tenure throughout Oceania tend strongly towards a distribution based on kin groups (Kushnick et al. 2014), the Marquesas illustrate how kin-based systems can instead depend more upon individual strategies and networks beyond extended families.

Handy also observed in the 1920s that within Marquesan tribes, individual households could acquire land by living or planting on it (Handy 1923:57). This rule still holds true for large tracts of private land that remain under the shared ownership of vast extended families (Ravault 1982:32; Bambridge and Neuffer 2002:313). Throughout French Polynesia, the right to use these lands thus depends as much on established residency and long-term use as on inheritance. According to these customary rules, land holders have the right to build houses, plant food or cash crops, and participate in the profits of previously planted crops on their land (Ravault 1982:49-50). However, in the past private Marquesan holders still did not view themselves as

“owners” of land that technically belonged to the tribe or extended family (Handy 1923:58).

In particular, the continued maintenance of large, communally managed parcels of family land has allowed certain pre-European patterns of land tenure to survive. Indeed, ongoing Marquesan approaches to rights strategically navigate classic Western arguments about the creation of property either through the investment of one’s labor (Locke 1823[1690]), or the use of social networks and connections like inheritance (Hume 1896[1739]). According to Marquesan custom, whole tribes or villages used to gather to build homes, breadfruit pits and other shared structures together, even though these resources would then be held by different individuals over time (e.g., Venance Rura Ah-Scha, October 7, 2013: 5, 9.50; Justine Matahoata,⁵ November 27, 2013: 2, 32.25). By drawing upon social connections as well as inherited resources, this system illustrates an historic blending of the property theories of Hume and Locke (see also Bambridge and Neuffer 2002). Likewise, in the current and relatively unpredictable context of contemporary land tenure, many islanders are likely to engage in both approaches simultaneously in order to assert their rights to land.

The continuity of land tenure has been further facilitated by the relatively relaxed French colonial land policies in the Marquesas. Immediately following the Marquesas’ annexation to France, the French actively confiscated certain tracts of land for military forts, administrative buildings and other State purposes (Coppentrath 2003:138). Yet, a much broader and more significant shift in the structure of land tenure was already underway as a result of depopulation. Whole valleys died out and villagers gradually moved their homes down to the coast as inter-tribal violence ebbed and Catholic churches appeared by the seaside. When chiefs and land holders died, they were replaced at the head of their tribe or family by relatives of their choosing,

⁵ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

according to custom, or other influential tribal or family members. In the absence of such recognized authorities the siblings, descendants or other relations occupying the land might assume rights to it by customary default (ibid., 127).

Some of these land holders chose to engage in commercial exchanges for their land. As early as the 1850s, Europeans started buying land directly from chiefs as well as local occupants who exchanged it for money, firearms, alcohol and other goods (ibid.). One of the largest among these transfers involved 4000 hectares (some 9,800 acres) sold for cash to the Irish entrepreneur William Stewart in the 1860s. Including property in 15 valleys from Taipivai to Taiohae, these lands extended Stewart's existing cotton plantations in Tahiti. Following the collapse of Stewart's Tahiti Cotton and Coffee Plantation in 1873, however, he subsequently gave it all back to local residents, at two hectares per person, and the French government (ibid., 127-8). Starting in 1874, an enormous amount of land on Hiva Oa was similarly acquired by the American John Hart, who imported Chinese immigrant laborers to tend his plantations of coconuts and cotton at an industrial scale. In the valley of Tahauku, traveling writer Robert Louis Stevenson observed a railway, bath houses and coconut sheds of Hart's large coconut plantation, later sold to the Commercial Society of Oceania (*Société Commerciale de l'Océanie*) (ibid.; Stevenson 2009[1896]:163).

French policemen (*gendarmes*) also began buying land and settling in the Marquesas following colonization, while some of the most desirable, centrally-located parcels in the Marquesas were acquired by the Catholic church (Coppentrath 2003:128-9). By the early twentieth century the church had established parishes in almost every inhabited valley and claimed ownership of 66 land parcels or groups of parcels throughout the islands. Many of these lands were located on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa where the church also maintained schools, but

others were personally acquired by land-hungry priests and bishops in the name of the church (ibid., 136-8).

Still, the Marquesas were spared the kind of large-scale dispossession of land witnessed in places like Hawaii or the United States, where droves of foreigners seized upon the opportunity to buy newly privatized local lands (see Merry 2000:95; Stauffer 2004). Even today, strict laws and residency requirements strongly discourage foreigners from buying land in French Polynesia, a rule that dates back to a 1934 decree requiring the authorization of any property transfers between individuals in order to protect “native” property (Ravault 1982:37).

In addition, the colonial annexation of the islands was not accompanied by heavy seizures of land during conquest. A more physical expression of colonial power did not actually occur until the early twentieth century, when the French government finally launched land reforms to challenge the surviving customary land tenure system (Coppénrath 2003:130; Bambridge and Neuffer 2002:310). This territorialization represents the second great restructuring of Marquesan land tenure, undertaken by the colonial government as a calculated effort to make the Marquesas more “legible” and therefore governable (see Scott 1998). Subsequent to a government land commission report, a 1902 decree required the registration of private property throughout the islands according to the new French Civil Code. The timing of this law, which was issued at the very moment when the islands were nearing their all-time population low, is what led to the current situation of ownership where most of the land belongs to a few select Marquesan families, the descendants of French expatriots, the church and the territorial government.

The 1902 decree allowed landowners a year to claim title, after which point all vacant⁶ or unclaimed lands were declared the property of the French government (Government of France

⁶ Lands “not actually occupied”, or “*pas occupés d’une manière effective*,” as judged by the French state.

1902a: Art. 1 and Art. 6; Government of France 1902b). Since claims were made by registering owners of buildings (*immeubles*), the new law effectively meant that any piece of land without a structure on it was likely to become State property. Subsequent to the decree, islanders were forbidden to possess any building without government authorization, and any transfer of ownership occurring without official title was invalid (Government of France 1902a: Art. 16). Registration took place from 1902 to 1904 and was carried out by a committee of three government officials who circulated throughout the islands. They accomplished their task with varying degrees of success and accuracy, in many cases privileging the interests of colonists or those closely connected to them (Bailleul 2001:153). The ugly ramifications of this process remain manifest even today.

Lasting complications arose from the fact that State lands claimed through the 1902 decree were almost never physically enforced, since the government ultimately found little use for them. The two military garrisons initially established in Taiohae and Vaitahu lasted only five and six years after colonization, respectively, due to local rebellion and resistance to French control (Coppensrath 2003:123). As a result, regardless of the claims made subsequent to the 1902 decree, many Marquesans who did not register ownership were never actively dispossessed of land. The consequent legal pluralism allowed the islanders occupying such lands to continue living on and using it as they had for generations, without any legal ownership status. In the recent push to register individual titles to land, most of these unofficial residents of state land have either filed a legal claim for ownership based on their long-term residency or bought the property from the territorial government.

Thus, similar to other indigenous groups, Marquesans have responded to the changes wrought by depopulation and state land reform in creative and contingent ways, by evading the

introduced restrictions on local tenure and largely negotiating access and use quietly, on their own terms (see Bambridge 2013; Bambridge and Neuffer 2002; Galaty 2013:501; Scott 1998:24). Despite its transition through several reforms, Marquesan land tenure therefore retains elements of continuity with what most likely existed before European contact. Above all, the customary reliance on relationships and responsibility to each other and the land has allowed islanders to resist colonial hegemony as well as maintain a strong link to their ancestral lands, from which they draw material and spiritual sustenance.

Still, the lasting effects of the 1902 decree and its imposition of the French Civil Code continue to threaten this relationship. Numerous large tracts of land belonging to the State (*terre de l'état*) or the Territory (*terre du pays*) remain, consisting of lands ceded to or seized by the French government either following the 1842 annexation or as unclaimed property following the 1902 decree (Coppentrath 2003:138). On the island of Nuku Hiva, examples of state land include about 24,000 acres known as Ataha, on the island's west side, and some 11,200 acres of the vast central plateau, Toovii (ibid.). Known cumulatively as government land (*terre domaniale*), most of the parcels that once belonged to the State have now been transferred to the territorial government (DAF 2013). Although the public has access to these lands and Marquesans regularly hunt and forage on them, their resources technically belong to the Territory and can be leased on an individual basis. The mayor of Nuku Hiva estimated that as much as 65 percent of the island is owned by the government (Benoit Kautai, September 11, 2013: 3, 27.00). Many farmers rent a few acres to cultivate or graze livestock, yet "half of [Taiohae] is on government land...[and] all those lands belonged to our ancestors, but a lot of families cannot prove that. [All they can do is say,] 'Ah, normally that belongs to us,'" and nothing more because they lack the written documents to back their claim (ibid).

Thus, the only truly public lands in the Marquesas are the coastal areas included in the “king’s fifty paces” and shared equally by everyone (Heato Teikiehuupoko, October 19, 2013: 6, 8.40). Meanwhile, much of the remaining, privately owned land belongs to either absentee landowners or extended families. These lands are known as family land (*terre familiale* or *fenua toto*).⁷ Based on the early documentation of these parcels, the name registered in 1904 is often still listed as the “owner” of the land (Tehaumate Tetahiotupa, May 14, 2013: 6, 1.07.35). Thus, today’s family land is subject to use by myriad aunts, uncles and cousins, all of whom claim the original owner as either their biological or adoptive grandparent, great-grandparent or other direct ancestor. This situation is referred to as *indivision*, a French word for land that is undivided. It is a status that can reflect either defiance or powerlessness in the face of land reform territorialization.

Living Indivision

Lands under *indivision*, or shared family holdings, are often problematic and illustrate the challenges encountered by ongoing land reform efforts. For example, their communal, kin related aspects represent a certain continuity with the customary land tenure system. Marquesans often refer to these family lands, or *fenua toto*, as land in *indivision*, undivided and held in common by the members of the extended family. Despite its negative connotation and colonial implication of progress towards individual privatization and division, I have also decided to use *indivision* in an effort to reflect the Marquesan view as well as the context of an incomplete, negotiated process of territorialization. Although *indivision* technically refers to land that has not

⁷ Though similar to the tribal lands of some other Pacific Islands, the Marquesan distinction between family and non-family land does not have the same correlation to domestic and wild as, for example, in the Gambier Islands, where space is split into tribal lands and wild or “other people’s” land (Mawyer 2015:37).

yet been divided, it equally refers to a largely customary system of common property based on lineage (the *fenua toto*). Examining some of the issues posed by *indivision* helps to illustrate the current, underlying tension between territorialization and resistance in the Marquesas.

Similar to indigenous tenure systems elsewhere, customary land rights in the Marquesas lack any state legal articulation. Even among Pacific Islands that have gained their independence, such as the Solomon Islands, gaining recognition for indigenous rights to land is a contentious issue (Monson 2011). In French Polynesia, the lack of legal support for customary claims to land or lineage-based tenure compounds the conflict between customary and state approaches to the land (Bambridge 2009; Bambridge 2013; Bambridge and Neuffer 2002). Situated in a system of law that assumes a “civilizing” Western influence, Marquesans must therefore negotiate what Sally Engle Merry calls the “fractured cultural fields” wrought by colonialism (Merry 2000:28, 84).

Land tenure and use issues relating to *indivision* threaten social, economic and political stability in the islands on a massive scale. Though the process of dividing land comes with its own problems, leaving it in a state of *indivision* under colonial law has applied sustained stress to the Marquesan family bonds that serve as a pivotal foundation of island life (Vannier 2011). Large tracts of family land have the potential to strengthen familial ties and communal values, yet the growing split between islanders living outside the Marquesas and those at home also means that shared lands can be the source of misunderstandings and distrust between relatives who rarely meet. Although islanders are generally skilled at maintaining remote contacts (e.g., Hau’ofa 1994), the distance and infrequent contact inevitably erodes close family bonds as the more than ten thousand Marquesans living in Tahiti are removed from their families, language, customs and the land at home.

Thus, diaspora drives tiny cracks into the fabric of families, fissures that can grow under the stresses of shared land holdings.⁸ On the island of Fatu Hiva, as much as 90 percent of the land is owned by extended families (Roberto Maraetaata, August 29, 2013). Similar to state lands, these parcels include large uninhabited tracts in the mountains as well as smaller village parcels. As interest in dividing the land and converting to entirely individualized private ownership has grown, the complicated and extensive family relationships inherent in *indivision* have led to title concerns. Inconsistent written documentation of land rights, multiple marriages and the frequent existence of unrecognized kin, such as adopted children, who lay claim to land⁹ exacerbates family disputes. Different strategies for determining land rights come into conflict when, for example, an adopted son who has spent decades caring for and cultivating a tract of land entrusted to him by his adoptive parents finds his rights to it challenged by his half-siblings (the biological children of his parents) upon the parents' death. Regardless of what was said or implied by the parents' actions, if the adopted son was never formally recognized as an heir on paper, he will find it extremely difficult to establish legal rights to the land. Thus, even if they live in Tahiti, the biological children will assume ownership and the land will be abandoned until they either find someone to care for it or move back to the Marquesas themselves.

This kind of situation is common and highly damaging to both families and their land. Such parcels often languish unused until disputes can be resolved, a process that can take decades and involve ongoing, exorbitant expenses from legal fees, land research and transportation. No law forbids the division of land between heirs, yet the time and expense required to take action in Papeete, where all government proceedings must take place, acts as a

⁸ Similar processes have likewise been observed in association with diaspora elsewhere in the Pacific (see Small 1997:152).

⁹ The practice of informally adopting (*tafai*) children is a Polynesian tradition that remains common in the Marquesas.

persuasive deterrent to pursuing land partition. Thus, the islands' peripheral status relative to Tahiti has actually aided in the preservation of customary land tenure. Some families simply cannot afford to find and hire a lawyer in Papeete and a surveyor in the Marquesas, then make multiple trips to the capital (some 900 miles away) for court appearances and family consultations. Many others, like the Timaus, are forced to pool resources between siblings and endure years of familial and financial strain as proceedings drag out (Manuhi Timau, March 3, 2013).

The flow of information may soon improve due to a newly established government Geographic Information System (GIS) website Te Fenua, run by the DAF.¹⁰ The site makes summarized cadastral information freely available to a geographically dispersed public. Although specific information such as land ownership and parcel size is accessible only to those who visit the DAF in person, the public can easily consult the website's fairly detailed maps showing the division of lands (e.g., Figure 15). Particularly for those with a general knowledge of GIS and other forms of digital maps, this may help to begin the process of assessing and dividing their family land. The territorial government's recent initiative to create updated cadastral maps for all the islands in French Polynesia has fed the ongoing process of land division. In 2015 the online survey map was nearly completed, with only the island of Nuku Hiva still incomplete.

These developments could potentially mark the beginning of a sea change similar to Karl Polanyi's (2001[1944]) "great transformation," in which the myriad changes wrought by new laws in nineteenth century England facilitated the commodification of land and its separation from people as well as social relationships. Government efforts to assert legitimate knowledge,

¹⁰ See www.tefenua.gov.pf

in contrast to customary expertise, about land similarly illustrates the imposition of specific interpretations of the environment on local spaces, in what geographer Paul Robbins calls “the practice of ecological modernization” (Robbins 2001). Yet, the particular historical trajectory of the Marquesas demonstrates resistance to this process and suggests a reconfiguration of Polanyi’s connection between law, society and the free market. As subsequently argued by E.P. Thompson and many others, agency and resistance are equally fundamental to the courses of history and change (Thompson 1966; Li 2014). For example, James C. Scott (1998) notes how laws and “the pretense of authoritarian high-modernist schemes to discipline virtually everything within their ambit is bound to encounter intractable resistance” (257). Thus, Marquesans may very well become more “legible” to the State and Territory, but as history attests they will also practice “quiet resistance and evasion” (ibid., 24) in their approach to land tenure as much as to heritage, market relations and religion. Unlike many other documented instances of resistance across history, their actions are not necessarily overt or obvious. Rather, Marquesan resilience lives in a continuous flow of practical knowledge and interaction with the land, spirits and each other¹¹ that only occasionally manifests itself in local refusal to “understand” or comply with rules about resource use and preservation.

Meanwhile the knowledge and internet speed necessary to effectively use the new Te Fenua website remains limited in the Marquesas, and local land tenure remains a bitterly contentious issue. Despite what appears to be a relatively low population density of roughly six people per square mile, land is a pressing concern for most Marquesans. This tension not only has deep historical roots, but it relates to economic, political and social factors. Most islanders rely on agriculture for survival as well as economic income and for the great majority, life

¹¹ See also Scott’s (1998) discussion of *métis* (313).

depends on access to land (see Chapter 5). Islanders typically recognize one or two family leaders as the acting “owners” of shared family lands with whom decisions and rights of use are negotiated. Yet an individual’s use of and investment in land have important social and political implications, as well.

Over fresh limeade and Malaysian apples (*Syzygium malaccense*) one morning in Hohoi, Ua Pou, Lani Kautai¹² explained the power of paper as her chubby one-year-old ranged the open expanse of her kitchen floor. Speaking of her family’s land, Lani noted:

Before, we didn’t know if we had land...in [our village]. My father always told me “this is our land, from here to there;” but there was no proof, no wills to say that it was really ours. There were no papers. And especially in [our village], down below [in the valley bottom], it all belongs to other families, there’s none that belongs to our family...and there were other families who built on our family’s land, and it wasn’t until one of my aunt’s sons was working at the DAF...then we got our papers. He came back with a stack of papers, like this! And that land belongs to [that cousin’s] father and mother... Now they know that it’s our land, they must buy it [from us] or trade lands [with us]... But it’s strange, for people who have already built their houses there [because they didn’t know.] (October 2013: 2, 1.48.35)

Lani’s husband Mathieu¹³ commented on a related issue, describing some of the land problems in Hohoi. I asked him if people ever hired surveyors to try to resolve disputes. Laughing, he replied:

Are you kidding? Here [in Hohoi]? Like, say my family hires a surveyor...and [for example] we’re fighting with the neighbors over land, and we both have our own maps. So when the surveyor comes [and makes a map for us], then [the other family] will say, no. It’s not a real map. When he’s measuring, they’ll say it’s not right. And they won’t accept it! So the surveyor goes home. Every time the surveyor comes here, it’s always the same problem... [Because] afterwards people say “the real map is mine!” “No, it’s mine!” or “the river isn’t the border!” “No, if the river turns like this then it must be a straight line, like this!”... And now that the old people have left us, how will we ever solve these problems? (October 2013: 2, 1.31.55)

¹² Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

¹³ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

It is an excellent question. Mathieu's description aptly illustrates the slippage between legal and customary perspectives on the land, as different families purposefully manipulate each system to their advantage. Their initiative also illustrates the entanglement of different forms of expertise, as particular social interactions confront overarching ideologies of "legitimate" knowledge (see Carr 2010; Scott 1998). Indeed, such disputes are common throughout the Marquesas as well as French Polynesia (Vannier 2011). As Mathieu noted, land problems are becoming increasingly acute as families grow and the 1904 documents begin referring to third great-grandparents, rather than great-great-grandparents.

Both the state of *indivision* and the process of dividing land appear to attack the family in different ways. The difference lies chiefly in whether the assault is exercised on an individual level, as occurs in land under *indivision*, or a systemic one, as occurs when land is divided or, in a way, re-privatized in a process of territorialization (Foucault 2007; Scott 1998). The rising pressure to divide land in the Marquesas has prompted increasing numbers of families to locate documents, update the legal documentation of ownership and divide large tracts of family land. Meanwhile, relatives living outside the Marquesas worry about securing their continued rights of use and access even as they respond to a parallel movement to divide land in Tahiti. Over 10,000 Marquesans currently live in Tahiti, or more than the total current population of the Marquesas. Most emigrants have relocated since the 1960s, when French Polynesia opened its nuclear testing site (*Centre d'Expérimentations du Pacifique*, or CEP) in the Tuamotus and built an international airport in Tahiti (Bailleul 2001:171; Cerveau 2001:65). In general, members of this diaspora retain strong ties to their families back home, but since many groups of siblings who own family land in common are split between Tahiti and the Marquesas, absentee landowners are common. Many who have taken jobs and raised their families in Tahiti hope to

one day retire to the Marquesas, but also feel their entitlement to the land fading as their siblings and cousins who stayed behind continue to cultivate and invest in it. As one farmer observed,

“there are always problems with land, for example, if there’s someone in Tahiti, and then you have been living on a piece of land [in the Marquesas] for 20 or more, say, 50 years. The person in Tahiti is also an heir, and so he’ll come and ask, “Where is my part? You took all the land for yourself?” So then you say, “I’m not the one who told you to go to Tahiti! If you want to live in Tahiti, you must not come bother me! If you want some land, go on the other side. Don’t come onto my land where I’m the one who built, and I’m the one who paid for the bulldozer [to terrace it]! That’s how it works here. (Motani Burns,¹⁴ May 2013: 1, 45.30)

Thus, in what is in some ways an ironic contradiction, officially dividing the land could potentially help to preserve family bonds by avoiding problems and ambiguity among those who left and those who stayed. Still, as demonstrated by cases of privatization around the world, this could simply exchange one host of issues for another (Bromley 2008). The ongoing prevalence of land problems in the Marquesas supports this idea.

The flexible use of Marquesan family land appears to have been effective in the past, as disputes were managed based on kin relationships and internal politics. However, over the past few decades more and more families have begun restructuring their land rights by hiring surveyors, obtaining documentation, dividing land among individuals and building fences. Market processes and pursuit of personal income have played a key role in this process, recalling arguments for the implication of market systems in approaches to land and resources (Polanyi 2001[1944]; Bromley 1989:870; see also Chapter 5). As Fatu Hiva farmer Iris Kahiha explained: “I have cousins, aunts, uncles and we have land, but in order to chop [copra] on that land you must wait six months or a year, [until it’s your turn]. So a lot of people have abandoned copra because of that...and you have to find something else [to make money]” (Iris Paro Kahiha,

¹⁴ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

August 21, 2013: 3, 6.05).¹⁵

Some islanders seek the kind of peace found by Yvette Sulpice,¹⁶ a young mother from Ua Huka, who explained how “sometimes there are problems...in families. [The system] doesn’t work any more. That’s why I can’t [work on family land]. My grandfather gave me this land, and it’s good, it’s mine. He made out the papers for me, in my name. That way I don’t have to argue with my uncles or whoever” (September 2013: 1, 51.10). Others disagree, suggesting that when families “divided the land and each person got their little piece, that’s when it got complicated” (Augustin Vaki, May 23, 2013: 1, 2.26.15). Yet despite the associated complications and expense of division, some families still feel a growing pressure to legally divide their land due to increasingly limited access to shared resources as well as opposition to the old practice of freely harvesting seeds or fruit from almost anywhere (e.g., Roberto Maraetaata, August 19, 2013: 3, 32.10).¹⁷

Ownership and Land Use

Amidst the rising tensions, the division of both lands and the responsibility for them impacts local landscapes. Ownership disputes are particularly crucial to the management of historic resources on private land, since their use is determined by the owner. For example, land in *indivision*, since it is claimed by many heirs, cannot be regarded as a worth-while and inalienable long-term investment. Thus islanders avoid planting valuable or labor-intensive crops on pieces of land to which many individuals can lay equal claim, since their diffuse

¹⁵ Pressures to make money have gradually increased since the 1970s due largely to the increase in certain practices such as sending your children to boarding school, owning and maintaining a car or motor boat and consuming foreign commodities like rice, frozen chicken and junk food. See Chapter 5 for further discussion.

¹⁶ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

¹⁷ For further discussion of similar dilemmas elsewhere in the Pacific, see Bambridge 2007 and Bambridge 2009.

ownership frequently means that individuals cannot be guaranteed the profits of their work. Here the perceived alternative of individual, privatized ownership presents a certain false opposition, since it also does not guarantee security (Bromley 2008). In the case of family land, although some farmers may successfully navigate family politics and secure temporary rights to harvest fruit or coconuts from a certain parcel, their claims are vulnerable to attack over time due to shifting social and political relationships with their kin. As a result, Marquesans often plant lands under shared or disputed ownership with fast-growing crops whose value is stable yet suitable for either subsistence or market use, such as bananas or limes (e.g., Cyrille Vaki, June 25, 2013: 2).

For example, when she was no longer able to rely on copra harvests, Iris began planting fruit trees on family land.

The land we planted on was something my husband and his parents and grandparents already had. It's not land that belonged to them, but since they have been taking care of it for about fifty years, they are now taking care of that, and they say now that they are the owners. It went before a judge and [they are working on getting a title.] But we didn't want to wait for that to come through, so we started planting, and on it we have bananas, grapefruits and limes [in addition to his grandparents' coconuts]. (Iris Paro Kahiha, August 21, 2013: 3, 9.10)

A similarly fluid approach applies to using the land of absentee owners. In Vaitahu, Augustin Vaki told me about some family land that has the rare advantage of being documented in wills. As a result, it has not been necessary to divide it using cadastral surveys and judicial proceedings. Yet still it has been contested in court. In a typically complicated entanglement of family relations, the land belonged to a woman who had adopted Augustin's father and given him the parcel for chopping copra. The land actually belonged to her husband, however, and she was his second wife. The children of his first marriage had therefore decided to claim the land, but failed due to the survival of wills for his adoptive grandmother and his father (August 23,

2013: 1, 2.13.55).

According to Augustin, he was instructed by his father to leave certain plots in this parcel for his siblings who now live in Tahiti. He has planted and used these lands, in the meantime, on the understanding that he will surrender all rights to them upon the owners' return to the village (ibid., 1.38.55). This type of use is consistent with historic patterns whereby people could use certain lands to feed themselves even though they were not the owners (Thomas 1990:52), and also with the patron-like relationship which some Marquesans currently maintain with large land-owning families (e.g., Tehautetua Tauhiro, November 27, 2013: 5, 5.15). For example, one can obtain use rights to the unused land of other, often absentee, families by agreeing to pay them a portion of the profits (e.g., Liliane Teikipupuni, November 27, 2013: 3, 4.55; Tapuouoho Puhetini, October 23, 2013: 1, 29.00; see also Chapter 5). In cases of long-term use, Augustin noted how some of today's villagers may go a step further and use the investment of their labor as a land rights claim, saying "don't mess around there, I'm the one who planted it" (Augustin Vaki, May 23, 2013: 1, 1.38.55).

In most villages, if you venture off the main road and into someone else's *faaapu* you are expected to ask the person locally recognized as the landowner for permission before taking anything. Some theft of high-value crops like watermelon or vegetables occurs, but the perpetrators of these crimes often belong to the landowner's own extended family. As a result, they may not interpret their behavior as theft, even if the person who planted the watermelon disagrees. Collecting seeds and medicinal plants appears to be slightly more flexible, and permission is not always required. This is likely due to the fact that these plants regularly grow wild, rather than in active, regularly maintained plantations.

The current approach to use rights on many family lands illustrates the clash of

individual, market-based ambitions with more customary, shared and flexible patterns of land use. As islanders increasingly rely on money to pay for everyday expenses (see Chapter 5), the stakes come to involve questions of personal, rather than socially negotiated, labor and profits. In general the philosophy of “if you planted it, it’s yours” applies, and can even serve as the rule within the nuclear family subgroups within extended families. For example, on either family or individually held lands, most Marquesans would not dare harvest coconuts from a plantation planted by someone outside their immediate family unless they have explicit permission to do so. Likewise, a sense of ownership arises from the ongoing maintenance of a piece of land, as invested time and work become an expression of one’s right to the associated products of the land (e.g., Locke 1823[1690]). One particular scandal demonstrates the importance of this interpretation, and the tensions at play in the management and use of family land.

As the rains began returning in the month of March I helped two women, cousins with a common grandfather, to clear some of their family land on the ridge above one of the villages.¹⁸ The parcel was an old lime plantation separated from the road by a decrepit wire fence. Among the gnarled lime trunks stood a few guava and banana trees, and up the slope was a healthy grove of coconuts. When I joined them the women had already been working there for several weeks, and our job that day was to continue clearing out the brush and dense overgrowth of small shrubs and massive amounts of sweet-smelling wild basil (*Ocimum gratissimum*). We worked by hand and with a weed-whacker. “Watch out for wasps!” came the frequent reminder as I ripped out shoots and used a pair of clippers to sever the thick stems of shrubs, sweat pouring down my back.

The hot sun beat down and smoke drifted back and forth across the slope as one of the

¹⁸ Exact names and locations have been omitted to protect the identity of those involved.

women lit a series of small brush fires. I had some nasty blisters after that day, but I was thrilled to participate. spurts of laughter and conversation ranged over the land as we moved together and apart, sweating our energy into the earth. Around lunch one of the women's husbands appeared with their kids in tow. He prepared a simple lunch over a small fire, and we took a break to eat canned pork and beans with slices of fresh roasted breadfruit. After lunch we returned to work. I was joined by one of the women's young sons, who helped me pull out the occasional weed between animated bouts of conversation.

Over the course of subsequent months I checked in with the two cousins about their progress with the plantation. Everything appeared to be going well, the limes happily fattening in their sunny new space. However, in November I heard a sad story about that land from a friend. One of the women's brothers had recently harvested all of the limes and sold them on the *Aranui*, without the permission of his sister and cousin who had been working and maintaining the land for months. The women were outraged, but had no viable recourse since the actual lime trees had been planted by their grandfather, to whom all three could claim an equal relationship (Tahia Hokuana,¹⁹ November 2013). The women spoke of having helped him lay the plantings as children, but they were likely joined in this activity by other cousins and siblings, as well. Thus, the brother may have participated in the planting, in addition to being an equal land holder and heir to the fruits of his grandfather's labor. It would have been polite and possibly avoided scandal if he had asked the women's permission to harvest, since they had been the ones maintaining the land for months. Yet because the trees themselves were planted by his grandfather, he can technically claim an equal right to their fruit. Thus he took action, as an individual and irrespective of gender, to reap these family profits.

¹⁹ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker's identity.

No legal repercussions resulted from this event, and few have spoken of it since. Yet the breach of trust is sure to linger, as will the impact on the future use of land in that family. What incentive is there to work the land, if you may not benefit from your labor? This situation demonstrates one of the fundamental issues affecting the use and maintenance of land and historic landscapes in the Marquesas today. For parcels where ownership or use rights are ambiguous or particularly conflicted, islanders tend to abandon or only minimally maintain resources of all kinds. This choice does not imply a ceding of land to someone else, but tends to result, instead, in overgrown or disused parcels that other family members also avoid due to the existing social tension.

Thus, although the relatively fluid social and political strategy involved in local land tenure reflects continuity with customary Marquesan management, this flexibility is likely to diminish as the influence of cadastral surveys and land division spreads. In the process, social practices and respect for land, community and resources associated with the tenure of family lands gradually change. The shift from certain established yet fluid patterns in Marquesan land tenure to a more regulated, strict perception of private property will influence the productive, sustainable use of land and heritage in the Marquesas in various ways yet to be seen.

In one respect, greater clarity regarding who has rights to land could improve the use and treatment of both natural resources and heritage. For example, Philippe Teikitohe explained how islanders caring for a piece of land belonging to an absentee owner will treat it differently than if they owned it themselves.

You know, it's better if it's you, the owner of the land [who takes care of it], because you know the value of the land. But if I'm the one taking care of your land, we don't have the same vision. Because it's not my land...and with *paepae*, that's an inheritance that was left on the land. So the owner inherits the land, with the *paepae*. And it's better if it's the owner who takes care of it...Because if it's my land, I am sure that those who lived there were

part of my clan [or tribe]...and so it makes you think, it's my land. And if it's my land, then those who built the *paepae* are my family. And if it's my family, then I must take care of it! (Philippe Teikitohe, October 10, 2013: 3, 28.25)

This argument draws upon perceptions of heritage and a personal relationship between islanders, their ancestors and their land. The social and political value of a particular parcel, as well as the spiritual, cultural or market worth of its contents, are also important factors in choosing how to utilize the land.

Underlying connections between family and property thus play a crucial role in how Marquesans make decisions about land use. Some farmers noted that in cases where they are caring for someone else's land, they may not choose to clear it fully unless required to do so by the owner. In general, those working on land that does not belong to their family tend to invest less, and spend less time on, maintenance. Many islanders also expressed skepticism about the changing attitudes of today's youth (e.g., Justine Matahoata,²⁰ November 26, 2013: 2, 6.55). An elderly woman from Omoa lamented how her brother's sons-in-law "don't respect" the land, even though they are family, because her brother doesn't check on their work (Germaine Hapateiki,²¹ August 2013: 2, 42.40). Land that is not regularly maintained has lower productivity over time, as cultivated plants become shaded and overgrown by other vegetation (see Chapter 5 for discussion of land maintenance).

Historic structures and trees on abandoned land are also threatened with destruction or decay. Worse, assertions of individual ownership can become the direct cause of the active destruction of heritage sites. One particularly severe and well-publicized case of destruction was that of Tohua Pekia, a large *tohua* classified by the French Polynesian government since 1952 as

²⁰ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

²¹ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker's identity.

a protected cultural site (JOPF 1952). In 2005, a local businessman leveled half of the *tohua* with a bulldozer to build his home shortly after acquiring the property (Maric 2009; Mathilde Barsinas,²² June 6, 2013), an indication that this may in part have been an effort to proclaim his authority over it.²³

Similar reasoning has undoubtedly contributed to the degradation of Vaitahu's Tohua Taupoto. The site is located on family lands whose ownership has been contested in recent years, and these tensions were aggravated when it was selected as the site for the Arts Mini-Festival. This situation activated two already strained political relationships, among others, as: 1) the newly elected, comparatively young mayor, Félix Barsinas, partnered with his predecessor in that role, the well-respected elder Tehaumate Tetahiotupa; and 2) Taupoto's ambiguous family-based tenure applied stress to the already tense relationship between two influential elders, Tahimitara Tohuhutohetia and Tehaumate Tetahiotupa, whose families could both claim rights to it. Continuing his long commitment to cultural heritage, Tehaumate became deeply involved in the Taupoto project.

In view of these tensions surrounding local rights to Taupoto, the decision to plant fruit trees can be seen as a solid assertion of ownership rights under the rules of customary tenure. Immediately after the Arts Mini-Festival in 2006, Tahimitara's family even went so far as to build a small, temporary house on the *tohua*. Kathy, one of her daughters, planted the site, together with her husband. As a member of Tahautā's art and tourism committees, Kathy recognizes Taupoto's potential value as a heritage site, yet she also explained the challenges of making a living on limited family lands. The fruit trees she planted at Taupoto are "the future of

²² Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

²³ In this case, the spirits apparently took their revenge: the man who destroyed Pekia subsequently had a succession of misfortunes, went bankrupt, and was diagnosed with cancer (Tamara Maric, January 24, 2013; Jean Pierre Bonno, June 4, 2013: 4).

my children,” she said, while using the site for tourists is not currently a viable option due to Vaitahu’s crumbling dock, the lack of local lodgings and the difficulty of trying to attract visitors in large numbers (Kathy Teiefitu, December 18, 2013: 1, 18.20).

Despite a precedent of having maintained the site through clearing the land since she was a child, Kathy explained: “I haven’t yet had time to clean the *paepae* [at Taupoto]. I don’t have time. It’s too hard, there’s too much work, since I’m all alone and my husband is working. I don’t have time” (ibid., 2.40). Though she was clearly somewhat conflicted about the site’s current condition, she appeared firm in her decision to prioritize the fruit trees at Taupoto. Even if Kathy’s family is not consistently harvesting or maintaining these trees, as appeared to be the case in 2013, they represent a lasting and reliable asset for her children, who in future can cite their parents’ work and plantings in order to assert their own rights to the land. Thus, Kathy’s decision illustrates a certain interest in sustainable resources as well as family heritage. Yet, due to the limited space available to plant, this reasoning works at the expense of the broader Marquesan heritage represented by the *tohua*.

Likewise based upon factors relating to the market and local livelihoods, similar choices about land use have resulted in destruction of historic sites elsewhere in the islands. For example, *paepae* have been destroyed simply as a matter of convenience or necessity. The use of old *paepae* stones for building new structures is a long-standing practice that continued into living memory (Linton 1925:25, 108, 117; Luc Kaiha, October 10, 2013: 9; Pahi Ikihaa, May 10, 2013: 1). Still, this practice more often seems to have occurred on sites without *mana*, since the spirits in sacred places will “protect their *paepae*” (Roberto Maraetaata, August 29, 2013: 4, 41.10; also Debora Kimitete, September 11, 2013: 2, 40.50). Still, the prevalence of *paepae* can make avoiding them difficult (e.g., Irma Ahlo, June 12, 2013: 4, 1.11.45; Jacente Timau,

November 28, 2013: 3, 51.55). Since most people want to build their houses in or near the village centers where parcels of family land are small and densely packed, they can find themselves destroying sites out of necessity and regardless of their potential *mana*.

In the village of Hapatoni, housewife and former copra farmer Justine Matahoata²⁴ explained the construction of her home near the town center. “My grandma told us, “You must never build a house here.” Why? Because there was a *paepae* here [where people with tuberculosis lived, and] we would get that sickness [if we built here]. But we didn’t listen! We built our house here. But there was a *paepae*, there. We took it all out...because to build a house here, it’s hard to find land!” (Justine Matahoata,²⁵ November 26, 2013: 2, 33.45).

Nonetheless, such tales of destruction remain relatively rare, in part due to the concentration of building in villages and the long-term, non-monetary judgements of worth that survive through the shared, lineage-based tenure system. If Taupoto or the Hapatoni village parcel had been sacred sites, their treatment would likely have been different. Thus, the lasting social significance of Kathy’s fruit trees mirrors that of sacred places on other family lands. Above all, these stories illustrate how individual decisions about the use of family land rely upon a variety of social and political factors and, in the process, aid the transmission of historic interpretations of meaning and value among kin.

As a result, greater division of lands among private individual owners poses a threat to the strong social and material bonds within extended families as well as to heritage resources, both natural and cultural, that are located on family lands. This pattern parallels existing studies of natural resource management among indigenous groups undergoing certain processes of modern land reform associated with conservation and the free market (West 2006; see also

²⁴ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

²⁵ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

Polanyi 2001[1944]). The threat of dividing family lands is further supported by Bromley's (2008) arguments about the harmful effects that formalizing property relations has on local communities, as well as the myriad examples of how privatization can lead to dispossession through the sale of land (e.g., Galaty 1999; Harvey 2005; Stauffer 2004). In the Marquesas, the surviving links between islanders and their land rely heavily on the corresponding cultivation of associated spiritual, social and familial ties (Aikau 2012:86), and Marquesans tend to take better care of lands belonging to their extended family. The strengthening and improved definition of respect for the land and familial responsibilities, as opposed to those associated with legal title, could therefore deepen shared feelings of respect for family as well as the land and its resources.

Still, as Polanyi (2001[1944]) noted, perspectives on land depend heavily upon the market as well as the law. One case in Puamau illustrates specifically how the ambiguous value of historic sites in some ways makes them well-suited to the negotiated structure of family lands. A family of absentee landowners has divided their family land throughout the valley except for two areas, both of which contain historic landscapes including *paepae*. In their absence, a local woman takes care of both sites, as her mother did before her (Therese Napuauhi, June 18, 2013). One of these is an important Marquesan heritage destination, Iipona, which remains the most consistently maintained historic landscape in the Marquesas.

Thus, remaining under a more customary, lineage-based system may have benefitted the condition of these sites, while placing the same lands in the hands of a single owner would have allowed that individual to more easily act upon the land in potentially damaging ways, including development or sale. For many other land tenure situations, the continuity between these two systems, in practice, ultimately allows for a certain tactical balance between them. Integral to this process is the persistence of Marquesan social understandings of the land (see also Chapter

4) that illustrate an ongoing resistance to colonialism and a rejection of comprehensive French land reform.

In his discussion of territorialization, Foucault emphasizes how “decrees and laws must be implanted in the territory [so] that no tiny corner of the realm escapes this general network of the sovereign’s orders and laws” (Foucault 2007:14). This political influence is supported by parallel social (or “moral”), epistemological and economic networks that constitute a “grid of sovereignty” that allows the State to exercise its power over a large area (ibid.; see Chapters 4 and 5). Thus, Marquesans are ironically having to utilize colonial legislative and judicial institutions to attempt to reclaim lands originally seized or bought without their consent. This process painfully demonstrates how continued government attempts to control land tenure serve to perpetuate existing and historic processes of territorialization.

Yet the ingenuity and resilience of local communities rejects this kind of oppressive and unilateral authority. Indeed, mechanisms of control based loosely upon “grids of sovereignty,” including resource management and protected area initiatives, have repeatedly encountered complex and fluid relationships between people and their environments that clash with governmental and non-governmental administrative influence (Agrawal 2003:258; Orlove 2002; Walley 2004; West 2006). The negotiation of resource management by a variety of local, state and territorial actors therefore represents a conjuncture of “local histories, commercial interests, conflicting politics, forms of resistance, landscapes and natures” (Cederlöf 2006:79).

In the Marquesas, these factors tangle with relationships to land and kin, prompting resources to be valued as much for their social influence as their monetary worth. Instead of dealing in the classic understanding of resources as static objects to be sold, exchanged, managed or consumed (e.g., Ochola et al. 2010), this interpretation is closer to what Vandana Shiva

describes as its original concept of an animated “re-source” characterized by reciprocity and regeneration (Shiva 1992:206). In a fundamental way, this understanding explains how Marquesans navigate their land and its tenure as well as its *mana*, vegetation and ancestral places. Most decisions about land use and rights draw upon a variety of authorities including customary patterns of tenure, claims to ownership, social and political relationships, financial considerations and the spiritual power of the land. Above all, the level of strategy utilized in local land management indicates that recognizing the essential, relational flow between land, family and heritage, above all, could be crucial to guiding land and resource uses that respect both sustainability and local values.

CHAPTER 4

Spirits and Bodies: Marquesan Engagements with Place and the Past

The relationship between historic landscapes, history and place plays a fundamental role in guiding land use and heritage management in the Marquesas. In particular, interpretations of spiritual power (*mana*) in historic landscapes allow Marquesans in the present to engage actively with both their land and the past. The feelings of power and danger that permeate such places reflect the entanglement of indigenous and colonial histories, as islanders have both accepted and struggled to resist the silencing of their past over time. Like Annette Viel's (2008) construction of the experience of place through feeling, knowledge and awareness, islanders' place-making in the bush relies upon emotions as well as personal experience, painful histories and interactive communications with their environment. Thus, the Marquesan past actively animates the Marquesan present through islanders' engagement with historic places and their ancestral spirits. More importantly, the contingent character of the relationships continuously being formed in the forest means that islanders respond to and use the land in a diverse range of ways that resist standardization or control.

Due in part to the Marquesas' colonial history and a tragic legacy of depopulation, silence and loss, fear has played a prominent role in this process. As a sinister past animates the places of everyday activities, fear effectively carves "through the psychic and material space in which people live" (Stoler 2013:2), dislocating Marquesans from their land. Thus, colonial and religious influence over authoritative knowledge extends territorial control indirectly over local lands through silences (see Foucault 2007). Yet, unlike Foucault's understanding of concentrated state power and physical appropriation of lands, this is a process of alienation and a

ghostly territorialization that cannot be traced to a single present or past source. Quietly, largely out of sight, such territorialization works to divest islanders of their interpretational frameworks for understanding their land, past and heritage as knowledge transmission falters. In an illustration of historian Michel-Rudolph Trouillot's (1995) selective production of history, the "differential exercise of power...makes some narratives possible and silences others" (25), shaping not only the Marquesan past but the ways it continues to be remembered and enacted.

Still, agency also characterizes this surreal and incomplete process, which depends heavily upon the individual knowledge and experience of Marquesans working on, and living with, sacred lands. This chapter explores the particular relational, embodied connections to land that perpetuate both historic patterns of fear and cultural continuity. Like the building of a muscle through exercise, emplaced experiences paradoxically strengthen and test the relationships linking people to each other, their landscapes and their past.

Colonial Legacies

Late on a warm, dry afternoon in 2013 my friend Nella takes me down the road towards the ocean in Motupu, Tahuata. Evening creeps long and slow into this village, which sits in a deep, narrow valley facing north. The sun disappears long before the sky begins fading into night. As we make our way down the cement lane, shadows stretch in the thinning light and dead leaves crackle underfoot. We pass Motupu's small Catholic church on the right, followed by a series of two-bedroom, single-level homes built from particle-board. Each house has a tidy yard of close-cropped grass and fruit trees, bordered intermittently by rows of flowering hibiscus and Tahitian gardenia shrubs. On our left we pass plantations of banana and coconut, and a lone, oil-blackened wooden rack for drying copra.

The sound of the breaking waves intensifies as we approach the beach, and just before the road rounds a corner to run along the bay, we stop. In front of us stands the last house on the right, an older structure built from cement with slatted, opaque glass windows and a rusty tin roof. Unlike many of its state-financed, bulk-produced neighbors, this house took years to build from individual materials bought and shipped with hard-won savings. It is a home of the older generation, those born in the mid-twentieth century or before.

As we enter the yard Nella calls out, “Oo-oo, *mama’u*?” A few seconds pass before a thin, elderly voice answers from inside, “*A mai. A mai, café!*” An old woman dressed in a long flower-print dress comes out onto the porch. “*Ka’oha!*” Hello, we reply. I introduce myself in Marquesan, and Nella explains that she has brought “the American woman” to chat with our host, Petronille, about her life and experiences working in the woods. As many participants in my project, both young and old, have answered, she responds: “But I don’t know anything. Why does she want to talk to me?”

I silently thank heaven for Nella as she patiently explains that I am just interested in talking a few minutes about what Petronille does know, and my questions will not be difficult. After several more minutes of rapid discussion in Marquesan and some uncertainty about *where* we will chat (Petronille, expressing discomfort about the state of her house, says she would prefer if we remained outside), our hostess fetches a plastic chair from the front porch and brings it out into the yard. She then insists that I sit, but I protest: “No, no, that’s for you!” I refuse to sit in a chair while my 71-year old companion stands or sits on the ground. So we hunt down a rickety wooden seat that looks like a retiree from the local school, and at last we sit down to talk.

Petronille tells me about her childhood, how at seven years old she lost both her parents and left Vaitahu to come live in Motopu, on the other side of Tahuata (see Figure 5). She grew

up with an adoptive family in a one-room bamboo house where everyone slept together. She collected wood for fires, fetched water from a central village tank, washed laundry in the river and learned to harvest coconuts and coffee with her adoptive siblings.

Almost without effort, like so many times before, this discussion of her life gradually melts into other ways of talking about places and the past. I ask about her experiences chopping copra and whether she ever encountered *paepae* in the forest. Chuckling slightly, she replies: “When we saw [a *paepae*], we didn’t touch it. We were afraid! ...Since we didn’t know, but apparently if you touched the *paepae*, something would happen to make you unhappy” (Petronille Napei Timau, December 4, 2013: 7, 13.15). Petronille’s understanding of historic places populated by *paepae* characterizes a broader Marquesan perspective, the roots of which grow out of ancestral understandings of *tapu* places but also the islands’ colonial legacy. As similarly witnessed among the Toba of post-colonial Argentina, missionization in particular served exaggerate the negative connotations of forest spirits (Gordillo 2004:138). Historic depopulation and other colonial influences have further contributed to this view of dangerous ancestral landscapes, emphasizing the separation of people from the land and their ancestral ruins.

In the course of less than a hundred years, between 1842 and the 1920s, the estimated population of the Marquesas fell by a staggering 90 percent (Bailleul 2001:83; Thomas 1990:4). Together with the growing presence of Catholic missionaries and an 1863 law banning a variety of cultural activities in the Marquesas, these events resulted in massive losses of knowledge and traditional practices (Denning 1980:231; Bailleul 2001:105). The current Marquesan cultural revitalization movement was in large part an answer to this long period of cultural oppression, emphatically responding by reviving the islands’ language, art and culinary traditions and also

contributing to the restoration of a number of historic *tohua ko'ina* (Figure 18).

Heavily implicated in the Marquesas' original cultural losses, the Catholic Church has also been central to this reclamation of local language, dance and culture, particularly through the work of Bishop Hervé Le Cléac'h. Cultural elder Liliane Teikipupuni described how, upon returning to the Marquesas in 1989 after years in Tahiti, she was awakened to the beauty and value of her own culture by a French priest and an Easter celebration in her village (November 26, 2013: 1, 0.00). Yet the involvement of the Catholic Church has also meant that the spiritual aspects of Marquesan culture do not play a central role in the revitalization effort. Thus, through the historic exercise of Christian authority, information about historic funerary and ceremonial sites has remained either suppressed or silenced, along with key details like who was buried where and the purposes of different types of sacred structures (see Trouillot 1995). The

Marquesan Cultural Revitalization and Heritage Timeline	
1978	In response to the increasing Tahitian political and cultural hegemony, the association of Motu Haka is formed to protect Marquesan cultural heritage, including language.
1980s	Traditional Marquesan styles of carving and tattoo, which had faded but never entirely died out, begin to grow throughout the Marquesas.
	The municipal government of Ua Huka builds a path and cement staircase to facilitate access to <i>me'ae</i> Meaiaute in Hane, which today remains the most heavily visited tourist site on Ua Huka.
	The municipal government chooses to destroy an ancient fishing shrine excavated by Barry Rolett in Hanamiai, Vaitahu.
1981	Mayor Léon Lichtlé establishes a museum for historic objects, archaeological artifacts and shells in Vaipae, Ua Huka.
1987	In Vaitahu, Tahuata, archaeologist Barry Rolett and Tahuata mayor Tehaumate Tetahiotupa establish an archaeological museum.
	The historic site of Hikokua is restored and used for the first Marquesan Arts Festival, held on Nuku Hiva.
1989	The historic site of Piki Vehine, also known as Tohua Temehea, is restored and used for the Marquesan Arts Festival on Nuku Hiva.
1991	The historic site of Upeke, Iipona is restored and a <i>tohua</i> is built in Atuona for use in the Marquesan Arts Festival on Hiva Oa.
1993	Motu Haka becomes a federation, with branches (each of which are associations, themselves) and representatives on each of the Marquesas Islands.
1995	A small museum, or cultural center, is established in Hakahau, Ua Pou to exhibit objects from villagers' private collections. Many of the artifacts mysteriously "disappear" when the building is requisitioned for use as a post office in the 2000s.
	An historic house site in the center of Hakahau is restored for use in the Marquesan Arts Festival on Ua Pou.
1996	French administrator of the Marquesas Dominique Cadilhac and the cultural leader and mayor of Nuku

	Hiva, Lucien Kimitete, succeed in getting the Marquesas added to UNESCO's Tentative World Heritage List.
1997	The Marquesan Academy publishes the first new book of Marquesan-French translations since 1931: <i>Pona tekao tapapa 'ia: Lexique Marquisien-Français</i> , by Catholic Bishop Hervé Le Cléac'h.
1998	Pierre and Marie-Noëlle Ottino work with Liliane Teikipupuni and a team of Marquesan CPIA workers to restore the <i>tohua</i> and <i>me'ae</i> of Eia, in Hapatoni. Government transportation workers also restore the historic "Queen's road" in the village around the same time.
1999	The historic sites of Kamuihei and Koueva are restored and used for the Marquesan Arts Festival on Nuku Hiva..
2001	Between 2001 and 2008, road work in the uninhabited valley of Hanateio destroys several large <i>paepae</i> and buries a large petroglyph.
2003	Marquesan Arts Festival on Hiva Oa. Pascal Erhel begins working on nature paths, paepae restoration in Hakahetau using DIJ (CPIA) labor.
2005	The historic site of Tohua Pekia, which has been classified by the French Polynesian government as a protected cultural site since 1952, is largely destroyed by a private landowner for construction of his home.
2006	While traveling in Paris, territorial government minister Louis Frébault discovers that the Marquesas Islands are already listed on UNESCO's Tentative WHL. A vote is held and legal statutes adopted to implement the UNESCO WH project in the Marquesas. Led by Louis Frébault, the project records memories from people in Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa, followed by the other islands in 2007. Many Marquesans participate and volunteer their time. The project is led primarily by archaeologists, and Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa are the two most actively involved islands. The historic site Taupoto is restored and used during the first Marquesan Arts Mini-Festival, on Tahuata.
2007	The historic sites Mauia and Te Tahuna are restored and used during the Marquesan Arts Festival on Ua Pou. The Collège de Nuku Hiva (a middle school) joins the UNESCO "network" in support of the project.
2008	Progress on the UNESCO project has by now ground to a halt, but a number of Marquesan political candidates use it as a campaign theme in territorial and municipal elections. Hiva Oa's Collège Sainte Anne holds "UNESCO workshops" as part of their curriculum.
2009	Under the new leadership of former Marquesan mayor Joseph Kaiha, the UNESCO project is once again reactivated, with a steering committee comprised of more than 17 members including the territorial president, five ministers, the president of Motu Haka, State and National Assembly representatives, the six Marquesan mayors and several scientific "experts." Under this committee are several sub-committees: six management committees, a drafting committee and two committees of experts, scientific and cultural, comprised of some 15 people each. Motu Haka is identified as responsible for representing the Marquesan population throughout the project. Community meetings are held in the Marquesas to explain the UNESCO WH project, its goals and expected consequences. The new focus is on the nomination's mixed composition, including both natural and cultural heritage. Two historic structures are restored and used during the Marquesan Arts Mini-Festival on Fatu Hiva. In Hatiheu, village mayor Yvonne Katupa leads the creation of a Heritage Salon, with the help of Pierre and Marie-Noëlle Ottino. A new museum project is launched for Hakahau, Ua Pou.
2010	A massive fire set in the forests of Mount Temetiu, on Hiva Oa, threatens biodiversity and scores of historic structures. A misguided local youth uses a machete to remove the ear of one of the giant stone <i>tiki</i> of Upeke, one of the Marquesas most popular historic sites that is also slated for inclusion in the UNESCO WHL nomination. One of Hiva Oa's municipal counselors bulldozes an historic site within the archaeological zone of Upeke, in Taaoa (zone designation given by government urban planning).
2011	The new <i>tohua</i> , Te A'itua, is built in Taipivai based on the design of an historic dance grounds, and is subsequently used in the Marquesan Arts Festival on Nuku Hiva.
2012	Under the leadership of Pascal Erhel and others, the newly revitalized UNESCO WH project holds a

	meeting of experts in the Marquesas, conducts several more community meetings and identifies 45 proposed sites for the nomination. Among the participants are 25 scientists and 25 Marquesan cultural experts (<i>tuhuna</i>).
2013	<p>The new dance grounds of Te Tumu are constructed for the Marquesan Arts Mini-Festival on Ua Huka. Many worry this will be the “last” mini-festival due to lack of government support and associated funding and logistical challenges.</p> <p>With the support of Motu Haka, CODIM and the Agence des aires marines protégées, the middle school students of Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa collaborate on the installation of a temporary exhibit on marine heritage, <i>Les Marquisiens et la Mer</i>, at the mayor’s office in Atuona.</p> <p>Palimma conducts community meetings in every inhabited village of the Marquesas in order to collect information on marine and terrestrial heritage relating to the ocean.</p> <p>In collaboration with UNESCO, Palimma installs a temporary exhibit on French Polynesia’s marine heritage, <i>Polynésie française: Des hommes en communion avec l’océan</i>, at the Vaitahu elementary school.</p> <p>Almost all of the restored or other large sites I visit this year show signs of inconsistent maintenance or, in the more severe cases, degradation, including: Upeke (HO), Mauia (UP), Te Tahuna (UP), Meaiaute (UH), Puahaka (UH), Taupoto (TA), Koueva (NH), Kamuihei (NH), Hikokua (NH) and Paepae Pele (FH).</p> <p>In January, a disturbed Marquesan burns down several structures associated with the cultural revitalization movement, including a reconstructed traditional pirogue, a storehouse for Arts Festival materials and two traditional houses at Te A’itua.</p>
2015	The Marquesan Arts Festival is held on Hiva Oa.
2016	Projected submission date for the Marquesas’ UNESCO WHL nomination, as of 2013. (Projected listing, if accepted: 2017). By 2016 this date had been pushed back to 2019, at the earliest.
Sources: Bailleul 2001; Chester 1998; de Ferrière 2016; Maric 2009; Molle 2011; Olivier 2010; SCP 2010a; SCP n.d.; Tarrats 2009; Bernadette Tohuipoko, ¹ October 15, 2013; Christina Timau, November 26, 2013; Debora Kimitete, September 11, 2013; Félix Fii, April 9, 2013; Frédéric Ohotoua, October 8, 2013; Léon Lichtlé, October 5, 2013; Pascal Erhel, January 29, 2013; Valerie Hopu, ² February 7, 2013.	
<i>Figure 18. Table showing some representative highlights of the advance of the Marquesan cultural renaissance and heritage over time, not including archaeological excavations or surveys (see Chapter 1). Note: although a few examples are cited, this list does not include the majority of unpublicized incidents wherein heritage was destroyed.</i>	

prevailing narrative of Marquesan history that continues to be written, transmitted and taught in place of this knowledge is one permeated by negatives: death and population decline, cannibalism, human sacrifice, warfare and paganism. Among the 372 islanders with whom I spoke about *paepae*, more than 75 percent mentioned some kind of dark association with sites (see Chart 2, Appendix D).

These associations are closely tied to historical events and loss of knowledge as well as the pre-European system of *tapu*. As noted in Chapter 2, the historic Marquesan social and

¹ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

² Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

physical worlds were organized around the spaces and things designated as *tapu*, or forbidden, and potentially dangerous. Radiguet observes a “superstitious terror” of *tapu* (Radiguet 2001[1861]:129), while Handy (1923) describes the “evil consequences” of breaking different types of *tapus*, including “great harm,” curses, leprosy or other illnesses, or even death (59, 72, 261). Linton (1925) also notes that “the historic Marquesans buried those whose spirits were thought to be malevolent” (68) and “bodies were buried through fear of the ghost, because of a desire to protect them from enemies, or because there was no one to give them proper care and attention” (ibid., 67). Thus, islanders have not only structured their worlds around places marked as dangerous for centuries, but the discomfort many Marquesans continue to feel around buried remains can be partially explained through historic associations with ancestral bones.

The influences of Christianity and colonialism have subsequently served to exaggerate these original precedents for the interpretation of dangers on the land (see also Gordillo 2004). Throughout the twentieth century, island narratives about the past were tinted by Catholic critiques of local ways of life that increasingly drove them into silence (see Denning 1980). A Tahuata hunter and fisherman commented how “for us, it’s difficult to talk about that stuff,” meaning the spirits, because “we think it’s not good to talk about it. But it’s also good to know about it” (Kiki Timau, May 17, 2013: 1, 59.30). Unfortunately, however, the Christian “religion has said so many bad things about the religion here [in the Marquesas],” it has become a hidden subject (ibid.; Figure 19).

The perceived threat and unpredictable *mana* of ancestral spirits reinforced this religious deterrence from speaking about the past, in addition to existing relationships of power (see Trouillot 1995). An elderly woman from Ua Pou explained how her father never taught her about the past because in his time, villagers “said not to talk about [legends]...you must not tell

what the elders told you, before. You must not tell it. That's what my father told us. He couldn't tell [stories], because if he told them, then we'd be curious. And he didn't want us to be curious, because before they said those places were *tapu*. It was sacred. And you must not go there, because you would die" (Suzanne Kautai,³ October 11, 2013: 4, 10.40). Thus, what

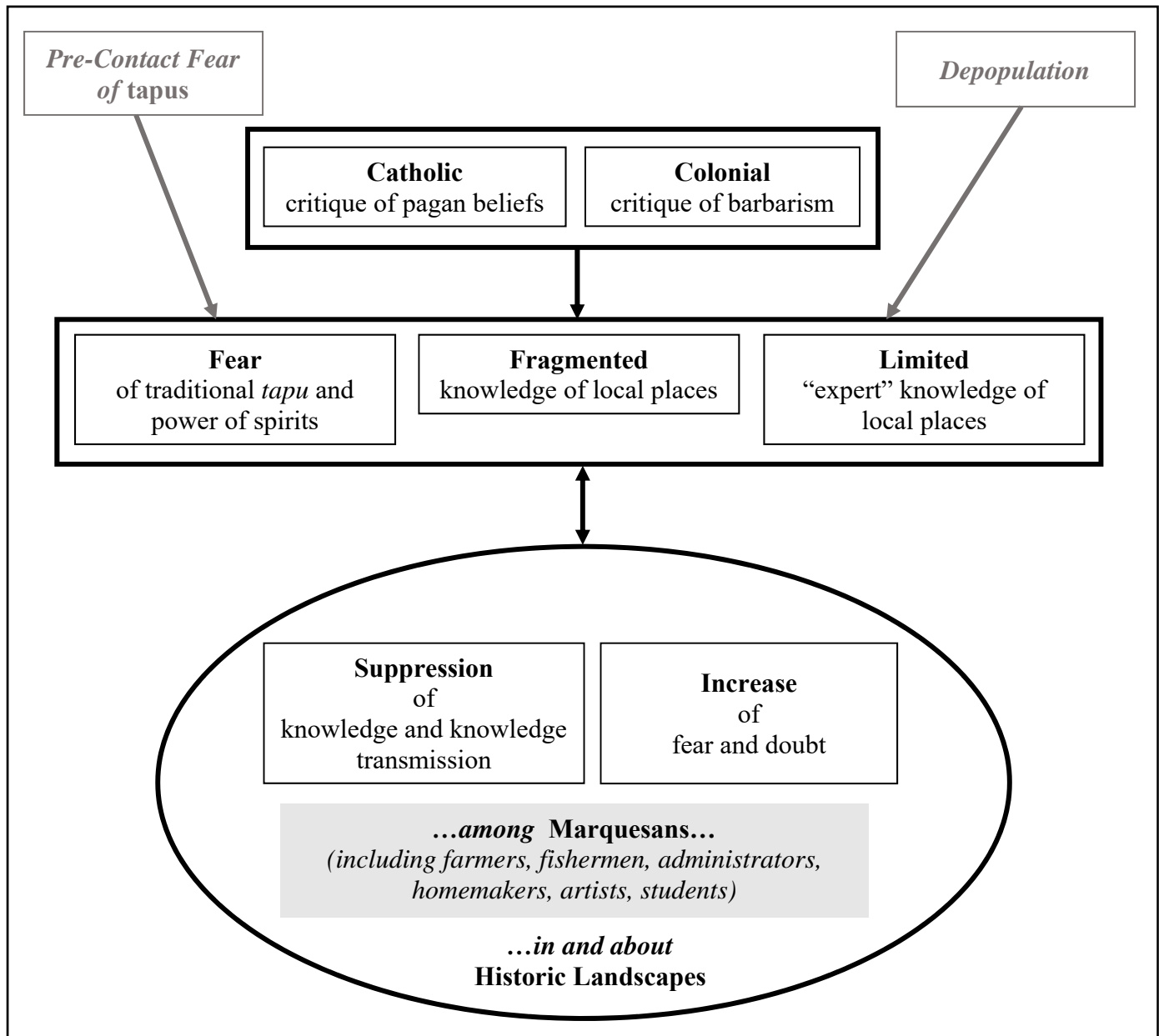


Figure 19. Diagram illustrating how religious and colonial influences are both impacted and reinforced by the circulation and content of local knowledge about historic places. The chart's specific focus on religion and colonialism means that certain other, equally important factors are excluded such as depopulation and the fear associated with tapu landscapes before European contact (shown in gray).

³ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

legends she knew came from her grandfather. She liked hearing them, even though her father told her not to listen because it was sacred knowledge. Still, she has yet to share those stories with her own daughters, who are now adults.

Massive stores of traditional knowledge have disappeared in this way since the late 1800s, an invisible loss paralleling that of indigenous lives (see Denning 1980). In a process also observed in Hawaii, a kind of cognitive and “spiritual distance from the past” has resulted, due to the influence of colonial and Christian perspectives (Ontai 2006:153). The scraps of information that remain tend to be vague, ambiguous and frequently negative, even as they demonstrate the perseverance of Marquesan cultural practices and ontology.

Stories and Spirits

Many of today’s “knowledge keepers” have reassembled narratives about the past from oral transmissions and readings of historic accounts and books, in a kind of bibliographic re-animation of cultural knowledge (Tehaumate Tetahiotupa, March 20, 2013: 2, 38.15). Such information contains positive tales of triumph, strength and intelligence, and legends about warriors measuring up to three meters tall, who harnessed the power of the gods. Marquesans, in general also tend to feel nostalgia for an earlier, simpler time when children listened to their grandparents’ stories and fine, detailed work was completed patiently, without machines. Thus, Petronille stands in awe of the tools made by her ancestors. The smooth finish, symmetry and form of a stone pounder is rendered miraculous by the fact that it was crafted without metal or motor.

Toa Taiaapu, an artist from Vaipae, and his sister Marie Karène explained how this power represents the foundation of Marquesan relationships to ancestors and the land. We were

discussing *paepae* and marveling at the scale of some which stand over 12 feet high and can include river boulders the size of a refrigerator in their pavements. How did people without machines, metal or wheels transport and manipulate those stones from the beach and valley bottoms to distant hillsides and ridges?

They did it with *mana*, said Toa. Speaking of his experience harvesting wood and his work as an artist, he explained: “It’s the spirits! If you work with nature, you know: it’s a gust of wind that comes, or...I don’t know...From the moment you have contact with the earth, you capture that energy, the *pa’io’io*. That power. That’s why when you stay away [from the land] too long, you lose it. You have to come back to your source, to capture it [again].”

“It’s the source. *Te tumu...te pito*,” added Marie Karène.

“The point of departure for everything,” said Toa (Toa Taiaapu and Marie Karène Taiaapu Fournier, October 4, 2013: 4, 39.40).

For Toa and Marie Karène, the land acts on people, changing them just as people change the land. *Te tumu*, meaning the source, is linked to *te pito*, or the umbilical cord, which many Polynesians bury in the earth as an expression of the deep and lasting link between people and their land (Kahn 2011:68). *Pa’io’io*, in a general sense, means the ancestral spirits who reside in both a person and the world.⁴ There is no direct French or English translation of this term, which encapsulates the fluidity between people and place in the past and present. Like the Dreaming spaces and places of Aboriginal Australians, the *pa’io’io* links Marquesans to their ancestors in active, relational ways (see Myers 1986; Povinelli 1995; Jackson 1995).

The *pa’io’io* emerged in myriad contexts and conversations, but many people found it difficult to describe. When you dance or sing a traditional dance and feel the power of the

⁴ Likewise, in legends the *pa’io’io* can represent a god whose powers can be invoked (Kaiser and Elbert 1989:79).

motions, the chant and the place, that is your *pa'io'io* (Nella Tekuaoteani Tamatai, December 20, 2013). When you enter a place inhabited by spirits and you get goose bumps or feel the hair rising on the back of your neck, that is your *pa'io'io* telling you not to stay, reacting to that place and its unfriendly *pa'io'io* (Valérie Aniamioi Barsinas, April 24, 2013: 2, 49.45). When you feel strength in the face of fear or adversity, that is also your *pa'io'io*. Tehaumate Tetahiotupa described the *pa'io'io* as your own sacred power, or “your *mana*. It’s your guardian spirit” (April 26, 2013: 1, 5.00). Maintaining the link to these spirits, and acknowledging their presence, is also a crucial part of gaining their support. As Manuhi Timau explained, “your *pa'io'io* protects you...If you recognize it, it’s always next to you, but if you don’t know it, then it’s not there—and then someone else’s *pa'io'io* will come scare you” (November 25, 2013: 5, 30.25).

Despite the loss of orally transmitted knowledge, the experience of the *pa'io'io* represents a kind of embodied knowledge, a concept Yvonne Daniel (2005) explores through spiritual power in Caribbean dance (269). Although interactions with *mana* and *pa'io'io* are not choreographed like a dance, the process of learning about and feeling these sources of power are a combination of “physical, cognitive, and emotional” experience that imparts knowledge (ibid., 270). In the same way that most Marquesan learning occurs through demonstration and repetition rather than words, embodied knowledge of the ancestral spirits is transmitted more through experience than explanation.

The *pa'io'io* links Marquesans to both ancestors and the land in constantly shifting and diverse everyday interactions, the same way a relationship between two people changes and grows. The way a person’s *pa'io'io* reacts to an ancestral *pa'io'io* inhabiting a place, and whether they are subsequently supported or attacked by the spirits, also relates directly to family lineage and the tribal politics of the past (e.g., Manuhi Timau, November 25, 2013: 5, 15.25; Emelyne

Hikutini, October 11, 2013: 3, 55.10). Far to the west, Nancy Munn's study of dangerous Australian Aboriginal places similarly illustrates how Aboriginal peoples structure their relationships to land according to their interaction with ancestral "owners" of places and "topographic centers where power is *always* manifest" (Munn 2003:99; emphasis in original). Gordillo's (2004) findings from his work with the Toba are strikingly similar, illustrating both spirit ownership of certain places and the associated potential for either harm or support (188, 218).

Many Marquesans like Toa glean ancestral power and strength through contact with "nature," or the forest and its products, as well as ruins. Speaking of his work on the restoration of a ceremonial site in the village of Hohoi, artist Jean Kautai described how when you work to survey, excavate or restore an ancient place, "that's when you see the ancestors, because you really into their work. And when you look at [the *paepae*] next to you, [you think,] they touched and placed that stone there, and now I too am placing it, today. The spirit of the ancestors is in that stone, but also in me" (October 12, 2013: 2, 20.15). This type of interpretation plays a fundamental role in the affective connection between Marquesans and their historic landscapes. The resulting present, practiced embodiment of the past breathes movement and power into Marquesan historic landscapes and communities, blending what Pierre Nora (1989) calls places (*lieux*) and lived environments (*milieux*) of memory (see also Zonabend 1980).

Just as the *pa'io'io*, memories and lived experiences blend both good and bad, positive feelings about the past mix with more negative ones that implicate individual histories and a shared Marquesan memory. For instance, in Petronille's youth "it was difficult. We only worked in order to eat, and we couldn't buy anything nice, or things for the house. We couldn't. We were poor" (Petronille Napei Timau, December 4, 2013: 7, 13.15). Like most islanders her

age, she was forbidden from speaking Marquesan in school. Breaking this rule resulted in harsh punishments such as being rapped on the fingertips, forced to kneel for extended periods or made to pull thorny weeds from the schoolyard with your bare hands (e.g., Jean Pierre Bonno, June 13, 2013; Benoit Kautai, September 11, 2013: 3, 31.35).

Other memories of this era evoke mysterious places and sinister unknowns, such as Petronille's description of not touching the *paepae* and "not knowing." Although a number of legends recount the history of specific places in a positive way, focusing on the activities of gods, tribes and warriors, many of the most consistently transmitted narratives relate the danger, death or violence associated with historic places in the woods. Stories about the ancestors who inhabited those places can further reinforce their ominous meaning. Petronille spoke of how, as a little girl, she visited an old lady covered in tattoos who told her about the ancient times. "Apparently they used to eat people here, before. When they went to get water in the back of the valley, they had to bring a baby to pay for their water! And they would eat the babies. That was before, in ancient times. That was the story about the tribes...but today that's over" (December 4, 2013: 7, 14.25). Although cannibalism was never witnessed first-hand by a foreigner and has never been scientifically proven with archaeological evidence, it figures prominently in many historic accounts of the Marquesas (Thomas 1990:170; Crook 2007; Robarts 1974). More importantly, the idea that their ancestors ate one another lingers prominently in the minds of many islanders.

Some Marquesans treat cannibal stories with a certain nonchalance, even if a close relative happens to be the main subject. Referring to a legend similar to the one from Motopu, a man from Vaitahu laughingly quipped: "You wanted water, you gave them a child! The children

were money” (Einaatoua,⁵ March 27, 2013: 2, 37.00). With a similar tone, others tell tales to tease children or amuse eager, fascinated tourists. The use of humor likely indicates a certain discomfort with cannibalism as much as the desire to render it powerless.

Others confront the topic soberly. One old woman from Hane casually mentioned that her grandfather, who was still alive when she was a child, was a known cannibal (Thérèse Teikihuavanaka, September 30, 2013: 3, 24.00). Elderly men and women from Vaitahu and elsewhere spoke of how, as children, they avoided the home of “the last cannibal” in town. In Omoa, villagers still recall the site of the last cannibal feast (Henri Tuieinui, August 20, 2013).

Although many of them laugh about it, the fact remains that these narrators are talking about *their* ancestors, and a primary element of their known past. Many view island life before European contact as brutal and chaotic, and some express relief that the French brought this period to an end, despite the other damaging effects of colonialism (Marie Louise Barsinas Tetahiotupa, April 19, 2013: 1, 1.26.05; Saura 2008:55). Indeed, in a way the cultural loss accelerated by Catholic missionaries was partly off-set by their role in “civilizing” the islands and stamping out what are now perceived as barbaric customs (Thérèse Napuauhi, June 18, 2013: 1, 26.50). This perspective illustrates conflicting sentiments as well as the ongoing influence of colonial understandings of the past (Hau’ofa 1994:149).

Tahuata mayor Félix Barsinas commented on the many community projects initiated by the Catholic church in recent decades, and speaking of the islands’ history, noted: “I think that the Marquesan population, thanks to contact with Europeans and thanks to faith, have become much more human” (May 28, 2013: 2, 38.00). The very act of remembering can be traumatic, he said. He spoke of listening to an elder speak about the past, and explained:

For them it was difficult to open that door [to the nineteenth century], because it

⁵ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at his request.

was a very difficult period. It was really hard. Once Marquesans had closed that door, they didn't want to open it again because there was too much trauma. Like all the European stories of colonization or, for example, Hitler who killed so many people. In the Marquesas it's the same, it's their history, but they don't want to open up that part of history: of cannibalism—since there may have been a period of cannibalism—or where to get victims from another tribe to kill and offer to the gods, or war between tribes for who knows what reason, [maybe] because they had to kill to increase their territories. That's what Marquesans don't want to hear about, any more. (ibid., 38.00)

Notwithstanding these very painful memories, the resulting silence has been devastating. The elders of Félix's youth, now mostly gone, had a true wealth of stories they did not widely share. Since the majority of Marquesans in their fifties or younger were never told, today they have no choice but to remain silent. Thus, the transmission of legends as well as more specific, emplaced information about *paepae* and places has broken down over the last 150 years.

During this period the population of the Marquesas has undergone significant change, and local knowledge has been challenged in almost every way. Even those who remember being told stories as children now lament not having listened more carefully (e.g. Jean Vahiteuia Tamarii, October 19, 2013: 2, 0.00; Victorine Tetuanui Vaioataha Tata, October 26, 2013: 1, 15.40). As youth, many preferred to play rather than listen to grandma drone on about the ancestors. In addition, the first "cinemas" in the islands appeared around the time of Félix's childhood and consistently began drawing kids away from their usual evening stories with elders. Huiata Kokauani (age 59) vividly remembers the projector screen set up in the parish house of Vaitahu every Sunday night. The entry fee was five francs per kid, and he would collect coconuts to sell to yachters during the week so that he could attend each week's film (May 3, 2013: 1, 30.25).

Despite these distractions, some of today's adults have still managed to retain much of what they learned from their elders. These are today's knowledge keepers. Sometimes they just

have good memories, but in other cases they were chosen by grandparents or parents as worthy of receiving specialized knowledge about the ancestors and the past. Just as the historic transmission of specialized knowledge took place strictly within families, certain elders today do not share their knowledge indiscriminately. Although discouraged in the current environment of cultural loss, this attitude springs from a deep respect for the value and sacred quality (*mana*) of expertise. Reinforced by the idea that information is precious, and not simply given away for free, some continue to believe that knowledge must be earned, and its receiver deemed worthy of receiving (Jean Pierre Bonno, June 4, 2013: 4, 9.15; Nella Tekuaoteani Tamatai, December 4, 2013: 8, 15.10). Although it helps to preserve knowledge in some ways, this reciprocal approach to education has also contributed to the overall loss of information about spirits, spiritual places and rituals that are already under threat from Christianity.

Some surviving stories about the past illustrate certain enduring aspects of traditional Marquesan approaches to space and relationality. Memories of observing customary rules of conduct, in particular, continue to be openly shared in the context of recounting the strict discipline and respect of “the old days.” For example, Delphine Keahi Barsinas (age 64) remembered how as a girl she was not allowed to sit on a trunk of clothing or certain woven mats because they were sacred (May 18, 2013: 1, 1.48.10). This kind of *tapu* once structured the lives of her ancestors, and its recounting continues to play a role in some families (e.g., Louis Cedric Kohueinui, December 3, 2013: 1, 29.10). Still, even those who have retained knowledge about such *tapu* traditions may hesitate to share it. The agency and independence of selecting and transmitting certain types of information thus responds to colonial constraints even as it demonstrates indigenous resistance to the dominant flows of knowledge (Starzmann 2016:3; see also Trouillot 1995).

Ultimately, however, information about the spirits in historic places remains limited and potentially less likely to be shared, since it is largely negative. Some stories associated with the spirits and *tapu* places have been actively muted due to their links with “paganism,” uncertainty and doubt. Catholic teachings reinforce this silence by discounting the spiritual beliefs of an ancestral world outside of Christianity. Thus, when he explained how his grandparents used to take measures to protect themselves from spirits when they traveled across Hiva Oa, Remy Santos added that “today we don’t believe in all that any more” (Remy Mahea Santos, June 20, 2013: 1, 21.05).

For some, the mystery and danger of the past materialize into a fear of ancient places. Félix remarked: “We can reproach our parents for not transmitting that knowledge to us, [like] what is a *paepae*. Instead, it was ghost stories,” and respect for *tapu* involving “bad spirits. It wasn’t about how they were our own ancestors...that you could be proud of, no. You must leave a certain distance, ‘be careful [because] you will wake up the spirits.’ For me, it was that piece [they shared], and I think for most of my generation, we lived that fear” (Félix Barsinas, May 28, 2013: 2, 21.30).

This apprehension combines with a lack of practical knowledge about places and personal histories, creating ambivalence that haunts Marquesan minds and bodies through feelings of doubt and discomfort about the past and ancestral sites. Like Chris Ballard’s (2002) analogy of a circle of mirrors reflecting terror back upon those who are afraid, a tireless cycle of thick historic silences begets a fog of contemporary doubt that, in turn, feeds hesitation and the scattered perpetuation of silence. Islanders constantly struggle to identify what to believe, or what is “true” about their history (e.g., Marianne Fournier, October 1, 2013: 3, 1.31.15; Tehina

Tauhiro,⁶ November 29, 2013: 1, 6.35), a theme also observed among other Christianized Pacific Islanders (Feinberg 1996:107). While some Marquesans, like Remy, no longer believe, others caution that one's belief breeds one's reality (e.g., Rosina Kautai Kaiha, October 14, 2013) or actively use their Christian faith to avoid "awakening" the spirits⁷ and shadows of a barbaric, pagan past (e.g., Flavian Pavaouau, August 22, 2013: 2, 30.20).

Meanwhile, for many, lingering doubts remain. Recalling her grandmother's scary stories of "ancient times," Lucie Ohu Ah-Scha commented: "now we recognize that maybe that existed, but...now, with religion, we believe less. But sometimes it wakes up inside you, what they told us, and since they told us, I realize that maybe some of it was true" (October 7, 2013: 6, 3.35). Thus, in their personal evaluations of stories about ancient places, many islanders find they don't know what to believe (e.g., Brigitte Hinaupoko Kaiha, October 15, 2013: 5, 38.55). The resulting uncertainty enhances the power of surviving dark and violent tales about historic landscapes (see Figure 19).

Indeed, actual information about the everyday lives and work of their ancestors is conspicuously absent from Marquesan stories about the past. Despite decades of archaeological research in the islands, most of today's school curricula do not include instruction on traditional land use or historic sites. Some middle school (*collège*) classes take fieldtrips to sites that have been restored for festival use. Yet most local understandings of ancestral places continue to rely mainly upon the informal transmission of knowledge among and between families or directly from visiting archaeologists (e.g., Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 8.20; Tehautetua Tauhiro, November 27, 2013: 5, 10.05). Archaeological findings and analysis of the islands' history have been poorly popularized and are little known. Instead, most Marquesan

⁶ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

⁷ In Marquesan, *ha'amanamana*.

understandings of the past rely upon historic European accounts and fear-inspiring tales of sacrifice and cannibalism. In the absence of a more constructive narrative about their history, a predominantly Catholic, colonial perspective of an inhuman pre-colonial, human post-colonial past therefore prevails (Saura 2008:56).

As a result, the islands' colonial history and historic depopulation have played a fundamental role in determining the form and preservation of local knowledge about the past. As they navigate these colonial corrosions (Stoler 2013) and the ongoing, lived relationship between stories and places (Price 2004:23), the question of whether their ancestors were truly barbaric or just portrayed as such by colonists becomes irrelevant. Islanders today live and work among landscapes created by people they generally perceive as fearsome. In the bush, local plantations of banana, coconut, manioc and other tropical fruits grow amidst ancient trees, terraces, walls, roads and enclosures: indigenous ruins whose entanglement with colonialism makes them just as corrosive as Stoler's imperial debris, whose "lasting tangibilities" continue to perpetuate unpleasant processes of ruination (Stoler 2013:9). In these landscapes, Marquesans spend their days clearing brush, harvesting fruits, burning piles of debris and collecting, chopping and husking coconuts for copra. Depending on their relationship to the landowners and their personal beliefs about spirits, they may spend considerable time on top of or next to *paepae*, sacred trees or stone *tiki*. Above all, however, their interactions respond to silences and stories as well as embodied experiences of *mana*, danger and emplaced fear.

A Fearful Past: Paepae, Place and Community

Patrice Gilmore's voice drops as he speaks in his shaded, open-air kitchen. We are seated together at a battered wooden table with his wife, Christine. A rusty gas stove stands in

the corner and fruit trees crowd around the kitchen exterior like green, leafy walls. A bunch of bananas hangs from a rope in the rafters. His graying hair in a pony tail and calloused hands on the table in front of him, Patrice is telling me about an historic site in a valley near his home in Hanavave, Fatu Hiva.

[It's called] Teme'ae; it's another place that has...that stuff. When you go up [into the valley] and you are coming back down with your pig or whatever, you must...be careful to put your load on the other shoulder [from Teme'ae]. You must not carry your load there [on the same side as the *paepae*]. If not, they will come to you at night. (*laughs*) And so you see, the stories like that?... People are afraid of all that stuff, so when they go there they always carry their things that way. When they go pig hunting, they always mount it on a piece of wood...and when you get there, you must change shoulders. (August 22, 2013: 5, 27.00)

Like other local legends about *tapu* places in the forest, Patrice's tale is somewhat vague. By "stuff" (*le machin*), he refers to the presence of *mana*, or spiritual power, and active or dangerous spirits at Teme'ae that may "come" to bother you at night, usually by causing trouble or some type of illness.

I ask him if there are any stories about the *paepae* at Teme'ae, which literally means "the sacred site" in Marquesan (*te me'ae*). He says there are some stories, but refers me to another villager since he doesn't know them personally. Then Christine adds:

I don't know where this *paepae* is, but people call it *paepae fanaua*,⁸ [a place where] women miscarry. And according to my mother, [her mother] went on that *paepae*, and she looked around. And then after she went home and that night she...hemorrhaged, and she lost all her blood and she died, just like that. And so she said maybe it was true, what they said. But [my mother] wasn't there when [my grandmother] went on the *paepae*. She said [my grandmother] went there with her husband, and she went on that *paepae* to get something, and that night she bled and bled and that's how she died. (Christine Gilmore, August 22, 2013: 5, 29.50)

⁸ *Fanaua* refers to "the malignant spirits believed to be responsible for the death of pregnant women" (Linton 1925:40; for further discussion, see Handy 1923:253). Linton (1925) also notes that *paepae fanaua* were more generally "sacred to the memory of women who had died in childbirth" and considered places of "great danger for pregnant women" (40).

Since other islanders from Fatu Hiva had already told me about *paepae fanaua*, I had some idea of what Christine meant by “what they said.” However, her reluctance to explain further, like her husband’s reference to “stuff” at Teme’ae, conveys the discomfort many islanders feel about these places and their power. As practicing Catholics, many islanders hesitate to speak about the ancestral spirits. The rest of our conversation, and hundreds of others like it, provided the missing explanation: “What they said” refers to local stories about how to interact with that place, and specifically warnings about going on top of *paepae*.

These tales comprise a little-recognized knowledge base for how to respect ancient sites. For example, cultural elder Leonie Peters Kamia spoke of how her mother had gone near a *paepae fanaua* while pregnant with Leonie. “And she had pain, and she thought maybe she’d have the baby early...and then she was brought to the infirmary here [to Omoa] because she was starting to have contractions. And that night she had a dream. There was a woman with long hair who was on that *paepae*, and she said, ‘Luckily I pitied you and the child you carry’” (August 29, 2013: 1, 31.45). Visiting another *paepae fanaua* in Hanavave recently, Leonie chose to make a kind of peace with her fear.

I looked inside, and I told myself, ‘You are courageous! All you women who had miscarriages here, you are admirable women, and I love you.’ And that’s how I went beside it, and I grabbed onto the *paepae* and looked inside, and I didn’t have anything [happen to me]... It’s enough to respect our elders, our ancestors. You must respect them, their way of life, their way of being, and their way of seeing things. If we are there to make fun of them, they will make us afraid! (ibid.)

The oral, informal quality of transmitted stories like these contributes to a feeling of community by cultivating a collective, dynamic memory of the past (Vansina 1985:21).

Together, memory and landscape features also play a key role in the making of place. Embodied interactions like Leonie’s allow islanders to engage with specific locations and memories of ancient landscapes, carving place out of space (de Certeau 1984:97). Like the rural

Bolivians studied by Stuart Rockefeller, islanders continuously reinvent places, as “complex amalgams of geography, memory, movement, and power” that represent “a constant dynamism” between our bodies, “our intentions and our memories” (Rockefeller 2010: 260-3). The relational quality of such place-making recalls Ingold’s (2006) interpretation of the environment as a “domain of entanglement” (14-17), as ancient features like trees and *paepae* become mediums rather than surfaces. For many Marquesans, the making of place involves an ongoing enactment of this dynamic relationship as a person engages with the landscape in both mental and physical realms (see Myers 1986).

As described by Fatu Hiva’s administrative chief (*secrétaire général*), Roberto Maraetaata: “The *paepae* where you feel things, those are ancient *paepae*. There, [as a Marquesan,] you feel the presence of the spirits and all that. It’s not everyone who feels it; you must have a certain sense about understanding things, and so when you walk on an ancient *paepae*, you can feel that—you feel that the place was really inhabited and there is really a presence, a *mana* that’s there” (August 29, 2013: 4, 33.25). The resulting visceral connection to place can be either constructive or destructive, capable of generating strength and community as well as fear. For example, a landscape’s positive *mana* can offer support, strength or artistic inspiration stemming from the power of one’s ancestors (e.g. Toa Taiaapu and Marie Karène Taiaapu Fournier, October 4, 2013: 4, 38.05; Nella Tamatai, December 4, 2013: 1, 24.15; Edgard Tametona, August 23, 2013: 1, 15.55; Tahueinui Piokoe, December 5, 2013: 8, 1.06.55). Similar to other depictions of indigenous connections to place, these interactions assume a fundamental link between ancestral respect and resource use or nourishment from the land (e.g., Kahn 2011:68; Nadasdy 2007; Rose 2001).

Existing discussions of place-making focus on these positive aspects, including how

senses of place foster community and feelings of familiarity in various and dynamic contexts (Anderson 2011; Appadurai 1995:209; Casey 1996:33; Latour 1992:106; Tilley 1994:26). In his description of the Western Apache, Keith Basso (1996) notes: “Fueled by sentiments of inclusion, belonging, and connectedness to the past, sense of place roots individuals in the social and cultural soils from which they have sprung together, holding them there in the grip of a shared identity, a localized version of selfhood” (85). This rooted quality forms the basis for how land is used and what it represents, creating an ongoing relationship built on both present and past. Heritage vested in the land becomes an essential source of strength and identity for Apache, as country and mind unite (Welch and Riley 2001:5).

Such dynamic yet shared interpretations of, and engagement with, heritage places serve to reinforce a sense of community cultivated by common and enacted ideas of self, belonging and identity (Smith 2006:75). Thus, as “the meanings and memories of past human experiences are...remembered through contemporary interactions with physical places and landscapes...each new experience of place, meanings and memories may subtly, or otherwise, be rewritten or remade. These experiences help to bind groups and communities” (ibid., 77). Thus, memories of ancestors in the historic landscapes of Madagascar have served as important sources of empowerment and resistance to Western influence, including efforts to advance conservation through the creation of protected areas and parks (Harper 2003).

Marquesans with family ties or a positive personal connection to a particular place can affirm ancestral rights or cultural origins in a similar way (e.g., Théodora Tehina Teikitohe, September 14, 2013: 3, 5.10). Here, as in some other Pacific Islands, the presence of bones can represent a particular connection to the historic owners of the land as well as their power, whether threatening or inspirational (see Munn 2003:99; Halvaksz 2003:159). Yet the

Marquesan situation also deviates in important ways from popular conclusions about place and place-making in indigenous communities. First, Marquesan interactions with historic places are more frequently characterized by doubt and discomfort, rather than strength; and second, as previously noted certain *tapu* places were historically off-limits to most Marquesans (Ferdon 1993:49-50). The gradual “rewriting” and reinventing of these landscapes has therefore built upon and perpetuated local associations with fear and danger.

Despite its differences with existing theorizations of place, Marquesan place-making in historic landscapes still helps to reinforce a kind of community. Fear can be just as compelling a connector as feelings of inclusion or belonging, while shared fear creates links between Marquesans and to the past, as villagers transmit and affirm stories about specific places. Indeed, like the inter-subjective social intimacy facilitated by the iconic stories of the Runa in Ecuador, Marquesan recounting of embodied experiences tends to use iconic language that can foster an intimate sense of shared personal experience (Kohn 2005). In a physical sense, the practice of avoiding sites or interacting with them in certain prescribed ways works to unite people by creating common patterns of behavior.

Meanwhile, the more flexible interpretation of time realized by islanders’ embodied relationships to place represents a distinctive, shared form of knowing and engaging with the environment. Similar to that of other Pacific Islanders, Marquesan histories “exist in the present and are remade in the act of their communication” (Ballard 2014:96). This quality collapses time, as historic events endure in “the lived, embodied memory of their relationship” to a space or place (*ibid.*, 106), and intensely sensory histories come alive in the smells, sounds, feelings or omens in the present (Lyon and Barbalet 1994:57; Becker 1994:111; Kawelu 2014:42). The open, social quality of this subjective experience differs starkly from the perceived scientific

objectivity of academic histories (Hau'ofa 1996:205).

As the physical markers of the embodied past, *paepae* help to perpetuate a living Marquesan history. They contribute to a rich social world, spurring connections to both community and place. Thus, despite the abandonment of ancient villages, their ruins remain and “there are moments when you can even feel that the ancestors are there. It’s like a living space, each time. At least we [Marquesans] feel it, we feel something, in any case. It’s a world that’s over but it’s still alive” (Matapua Priscilla Kohuemoetini, October 10, 2013: 10, 25.00).

Similar to other indigenous groups of Oceania, this flexible understanding of time can result in a particular relationship between fear, land and ancestral spirits (Brookfield and Brown 1963:42; Glaskin 2012:302; Liston and Miko 2011:193). It reflects the unique actions of Marquesan history, knowledge transmission and tradition on the construction of historicity, or “the culturally patterned way or ways of experiencing and understanding history” (Ohnuki-Tierney 1990:4). For example, Paige West describes how, when the Gimi of Papua New Guinea hunt, “men in the present become men in the past” as their spirit merges with their ancestors and their prey (West 2006:82). The Gimis’ embodied relationships to the land in everyday practice thus respond to, and engage with, the ancestral spirits inhabiting the forest. Also echoing the *tapu* landscapes of the Marquesas, the Gimi *neki maha*, or “crazy ground[s]” are “dangerous, scary and unclean” places that can cause sickness to those who trespass and their families (ibid., 83). For both Gimi and Marquesans, habitual group reactions to spiritual places reinforce community through shared knowledge and behavior.

Still, in other ways fear is less suited to forming lasting community bonds, and instead has the opposite effect of dislocating people from each other and the land. First, the isolating experience of feeling fear deepens ambivalence about local history and makes it a question of

personal belief, rather than shared knowledge. In addition, despite the community aspects of shared behaviors and the telling of scary stories, the embodied knowing of a sacred place is a personal experience that often occurs when people are alone (e.g., Philippe Teikitohe, October 10, 2013; Emelyne Hikutini, October 11, 2013; Guy Teatiu, October 2, 2013; Vanessa Tepea, September 30, 2013).⁹ As a teenager, Rachel Barsinas remembers taking her younger sister and nephew to collect chestnuts in the small valley of Hanamiaia, to an area thick with *paepae*. “When you go in there, you feel...it’s like there’s someone watching you. It’s weird, you feel strange when you are in that place.” She remembers sending the younger kids up ahead without telling them why. Even though “I was the oldest and they were little...I was the one who was afraid!” (April 29, 2013: 1, 26.20).

Second, the same processes isolate Marquesans from their land, as well. Some Marquesans avoid talking about historic landscapes because they are afraid of repercussions from either the spirits or the Catholic church or, in the case of children, being scolded by their parents (e.g., Grégoire Ihopu, August 28, 2013). Roberto remarked how “when I was young, it was like it was forbidden to talk about [*paepae*], because right away it recalled the paganism of my ancestors. So we couldn’t really speak of it” (Roberto Maraetaata, August 29, 2013: 4, 1.00.40). Instead, he described how his father’s behavior around *paepae*, more than his words, had instructed him about ancient sites (see Connerton 1989).

The tendency to devalue this kind of behavioral knowledge illustrates the influence of Western forms of written information (see Barsh 2000; Kohn 2005). As noted by Benoit Kautai, “in our generation, there was not really any transmission. So we are just trying to transmit what we have left!...But we didn’t really learn it, we just heard this or that from our parents, but there

⁹ As Astrid Anderson (2011) has observed among the Wogeo of Papua New Guinea, sorcery can work in a similar way (18).

wasn't really the kind of transmission that we do now" (Benoit Kautai, September 11, 2013: 3, 31.35). Many other islanders have the same concern. Yet, the richness of behavior and "this and that" carries more meaning than is generally acknowledged, by forming certain shared practices, understandings and community.

Even as it reinforces the sharing and transmission of certain emplaced behaviors, however, fear can decrease the transmission of such oral, place-based knowledge and create a separation between people and land. Getting to know a dangerous place presents unique challenges, and many of today's youth have had difficulty learning about feared landscapes. For example, 32-year-old Jeanne Sana Pahuavevau speculated that a *tapu* place we visited on Tahuata could be a cemetery. She has never gone inside the site, which is bounded by a stone enclosure. A local elder is said to have made offerings of fish to the spirits there. Sana warned me not to enter because the spirits "will catch you!" (May 11, 2013: 3, 10.50).

Whether a feared landscape such as this one can be known intimately or not, most Marquesans certainly appear to know less about them than the places where they freely move and work. Thus, the fear of historic landscapes reinforces silences and negative colonial or pre-colonial notions of places, even as it represents cultural continuity in the way Marquesans relate to their surroundings. Uninformed about whether a place might be an ancestral burial ground or inhabited by spirits, some young people prefer to indiscriminately avoid any *paepae* or alignment of stones that might be a *paepae*, out of both fear and respect (e.g., Maimiti O'Connor, June 13, 2013).

Others may be simply indifferent or not interested in testing the rumors, and so they choose to stay away as much as possible. For instance, when I went into the bush with islanders I would ask permission before exploring or climbing on top of *paepae* to look, but most of my

Marquesan companions seemed to prefer waiting for me nearby rather than following. Thus when I visited the valley of Haoipu with Marie Rose Moiatāi Vaimaa, she remained on the road while I trudged into the woods to look at *paepae*, many of which she had never seen. For regular users of the woods, the overwhelming prevalence of *paepae* make them nearly impossible to avoid entirely. Forest paths used for hunting and harvesting often cut directly through crumbling ancient sites (Figure 20). For the most part, these scattered stone alignments, platforms and enclosures lack any transmitted histories, and were probably once used for everyday activities such as sleeping, eating or raising pigs.

Parents may reinforce patterns of avoidance by instructing their children not to go on top



Figure 20. Marie Rose Moiatāi Vaimaa rests on a stone wall forming part of an historic site traversed by a foot path. At left, the ruins of a stone enclosure are overgrown with coconut and mango trees. Hanatetena, Tahuata.

of *paepae*, out of as much concern for the stability of the ancient structures as the possible presence of spirits (e.g., Catherine Tiaiho,¹⁰ August 21, 2013). Although some of these places may indeed remain *tapu*, others are former homes, festival grounds, harvesting areas or workshops that are now more likely to be feared and abandoned than admired or understood. Interpretation of danger and fear in historic landscapes therefore represents both continuity and colonialism, but above all inhibits intimate knowledge of landscapes in a way that territorializes space in the Marquesas.

Through centuries of depopulation, colonialism and religious conversion, much of the Marquesan past has become silenced, forgotten and ultimately feared. The perception of danger shapes the transmission of what remains, as well as the ways islanders generate place through embodied experiences of the past in the present. Through their everyday use of historic landscapes, Marquesans realize a shared, affective relationship with place that both confirms and challenges colonialism as well as previous understandings of the connection between indigenous landscapes and community.

Feeling Places and the Past: Where Spirits Sleep...and Wake

Not all historic places have *mana*, and not all *tapu* landscapes are obviously associated with ruins or ancient trees. Thus, in the lack of reliable visual cues to meaning, Marquesan place-making occurs through ongoing interactions with historic landscapes and the stories about them. Tales of recent and more distant pasts combine and, together with local news, assign meaning and context to activities and locations within the forest (see Viel 2008). A Marquesan typically distinguishes each of these different types of history by name: stories of the recent past

¹⁰ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

are “old words” (*te’ao kakiu*) or “true words” (*te’ao toitoi*), while stories of the distant past are “legends” (*ha’akakai*). News is “new words” (*te’ao hou*). Each type of story depends upon perceived “breaks” or divisions in time, as Nora (1989) has illustrated in his discussions of memory. True words and news, unlike legends, depend heavily upon personal experiences in the bush, where Marquesans engage with their ancestors on both physical and meta-physical levels.

The ancestral ruins of the Marquesas continue to “speak” through these interactions, collapsing time and facilitating certain forms of cultural and environmental transmission. In this process, knowledge moves through social forms of communication between humans but also humans and their surroundings, including both animals and objects (see Nadasdy 2007; Olsen 2010; Viveiros de Castro 2009:245). Instances of learning occur in current or former *tapu* landscapes like Teme'ae, or places where potentially dangerous spirits linger and “play,”¹¹ as Marquesans say. Most of today’s *tapu* places were once likely the sites of ancient religious rituals or sacrifice. Islanders describe being alerted by certain signs, if you are in a *tapu* place: you get goose bumps; your hair stands on end; you feel a weight on your shoulders or back; your head feels like it is growing large or heavy; or you hear mysterious voices or a strange, phantom rooster call. In a testament to the gradual warping wrought by colonialism, Christianity and depopulation, in the early 1920s many of the same signs indicated the presence of evil spirits (*vehine hae*) (Handy 1923:256). While they might formerly have been ancestral spirits whose communications were interpreted with the help of traditional priests, as missionaries increasingly convinced islanders of their ancestors’ paganism such signs became ever more threatening.

Today, islanders’ embodied experiences become the fabric of stories about place. For example: “You get shivers all over your back when you go through there” (Joseph Kaiha,

¹¹ In Marquesan, these sites are “*mea keu*” or playful, mischievous or actively malignant.

October 17, 2013: 3, 1.03.25); “the dogs were just barking and barking. And he got goose bumps” (Marie Rose Moiatat Vaimaa, June 15, 2013: 1, 0.00); “we were hanging out there and then we heard voices. And we went to see who was talking, but it was our *tupuna* [ancestors]. And I got...goose bumps” (Hélène Kautai Hikutini, October 10, 2013: 7, 17.45); “you feel something, when you go on [that *paepae*]. You feel something heavy weighing on you” (Reva Tevenino, April 23, 2013: 2, 47.45); “you can’t tell me to walk from here down to the dock at night! It’s scary...and then you have a big head like this, and goose bumps” (Lucie Ohu Ah-Scha, October 7, 2013: 6, 3.35); “she saw a big stone [pounder for making *popoi*], and when she went there she said she had a feeling, [like] her head was big” (Solange Timau Mote, May 27, 2013: 1, 12.00).

In some cases, the spirits call, whistle or touch a person (e.g., Isidore Aratini Kohumoetini, October 10, 2013: 1, 47.40). Carver Jean Matio Tamarii remarked how people not belonging to his family have sometimes been “played” on his land in Vaipae. “They have said it’s like someone is touching them, or someone who whistled. A friend of mine...he was working in the back of the valley, and he heard someone whistling to him. And when he looked to see who was whistling at him, there was no one there. He thought afterwards that it might have been because of the *paepae* there” (October 7, 2013: 7, 28.20).

Marquesans also listen for spirits whose voices can be heard in the sounds of animals, the wind or insects. For instance, Paloma Gilmore and Julie Piritua described their guardian spirits (*pa’io’io*) making sounds like a cricket. In this case, the noise comforted them since it signaled the presence of known family members now deceased (Paloma Gilmore, August 18, 2013: 2, 2.04.00). More often, islanders spoke of rooster calls signaling the presence of ancestral spirits and associated dangers or fear. I first heard about the roosters on a particularly

memorable visit to a tiny village in May, 2013.

That weekend I traveled to the valley of Hanatetena, on Tahuata's wave-battered east coast. With less than 100 inhabitants, this village is one of the most isolated in the Marquesas, both difficult and dangerous to reach by land or sea. The agitated bay is hostile to freighters and yachts, and tourism remains a vague hope. I seized the opportunity to visit during a Catholic catechism event, or *fête patronale*, and happily spent two nights sleeping in a room with 40 other people (including 30 children under the age of 12) in exchange for finally seeing Hanatetena. Our days were filled with lessons and quizzes on the 15 mysteries of the rosary, singing, games, snacks and prayers; the evenings with long shower lines, yelling chaperones, pillow fights and, on the final *soirée*, a well-attended performance of dances and skits themed loosely around Catholicism.

After dinner on Friday, I left the parish house with Marie-Christine Timau to visit one of her relatives. The night was pitch black and rainy, and without flashlights we felt our way across a small river and down a dirt road. Our soaked and slippery flip-flops squeaked into the darkness as we walked. Once the light from the church courtyard faded away behind us, we were swallowed by what seemed like infinite, moonless obscurity. My eyes searched in vain for a single house or a light up ahead, but still we continued onwards. The dark forest on either side smelled richly of earth and wet leaves. Finally, after about eight minutes, we crossed another stream and rounded a corner to see a tiny light below, filtered and cut through a matrix of tree leaves. We left the road and gingerly picked our way down the hill, trying our best not to slip in the invisible mud.

A few minutes later we were seated in Pahi's kitchen, bathed in the glow of the bare bulb we had spotted from the road above. The room was alive with sound and movement, Marie-

Christine chatting and helping her cousin make four cakes for the following day's *fête patronale* while the television murmured in the background. As they bustled here and there, I sat next to Pahi on a wooden bench worn almost black with use. Her long white hair framed a round face and wrinkled, sun-browned shoulders. A bright yellow sarong was wrapped around her torso in the classic, casual fashion of Marquesan women at home. She was rather shy, and we chatted for a while before coming around to the topic of historic sites.

Pahi spoke mostly of her fear of *paepae*, and how you will hear “little rooster cries” when you go on top of a “*paepae tapu*.” Her daughter added that Hanateio, a deserted valley nearby where thousands of people once lived, is a “haunted” place where those things still happen (Pahi Ikihaa and Jeanne Sana Pahuavevau, May 11, 2013: 1, 34.10).

On Fatu Hiva, the young hunter Eugène Ehueinana also spoke of how you may hear a rooster crowing in a *tapu* place. When you go to track down that bird, he said, there's never anything there (Eugène Tiivaha Ehueinana, August 28, 2013: 2, 10.50). I heard about this experience first-hand from another hunter, on Ua Pou. While tracking wild roosters, he heard a crow. He could tell from the sound that it was a big bird, so he left his friend in order to hunt it down. But every time he got to where he thought it would be, the rooster was further away again. He continued following in this way until he suddenly heard two big gusts of wind, and when he looked down he was standing at the edge of a cliff. He was terrified and went straight home afterwards. That, he said, is why you should never hunt roosters alone (Hakahau policeman, October 17, 2013).

In these accounts, the rooster alerts the walker to the presence of spirits and the need to respect a place by not disturbing it. In other stories the bird actually embodies the spirits. For example, Manuhi Timau spoke of an uncle who burned a site where there were skulls, a flagrant

act of disrespect to the ancestors. When the uncle returned home that night, he suddenly began crowing like a rooster. He crowed like that all night until the next morning, when he died (Manuhi Timau, March 29, 2013).

Christine Tuieinui Gilmore told another story recounted by a Catholic priest about how he blessed, or essentially exorcised (*ha'ameie*),¹² one *tapu* site on Ua Pou:

One day he asked the people of the village to come [to the *paepae*] and say a prayer, to calm the [spirits]...to *ha'ameie*. And so they went, and he invited all the villagers...so they went there to do the prayer...the *ha'ameie*, and the minute they started doing it, there was a rooster that came out of the *paepae*...Since in the Catholic religion they have the holy water, [that you sprinkle,] and when they did that the rooster disappeared again...They didn't see him any more, he had just disappeared—so they figured he had gone back into the *paepae*, since he came out of it. Then they continued their prayer, and the rooster came back out a second time. And then he disappeared again, he went back in. Then he came out a third time, and after that he didn't go back inside...he left. He flew away, and he went somewhere else. And since that day, that thing [or the *mana*] has disappeared. You can go there without a problem. (August 22, 2013: 5, 21.55)

In this story and others like it, roosters and other signs in nature represent the ancestral spirits residing in the Marquesan forest. Although most Marquesans recognize a difference between “nature” and “culture,” local interpretations of “nature” tellingly include plants, fish and animals as well as ancestral ruins and animals that speak for the spirits (e.g., Pierre Tahiatohuipoko, October 13, 2013; Ken Teva Taaviri, October 4, 2013; Yvonne Katupa, September 13, 2013). This fluid interpretation thus becomes the conduit for interpretations of both fear and power in local landscapes.

The ancestors and their *mana* are an inherent part of the environment in the form of physical features like *paepae*, bones and trees as well as in the sounds and embodied feelings of the forest. Thus, in a fundamental way Marquesans relate to the bush as they relate to each other, reading and responding to signs that originate in *both* nature and culture. For islanders

¹² To *ha'ameie* is to calm or dispel ancestral spirits from a place or object.

there is no split between them; they are, rather, two points on a continuum that supports human, plant and animal life. Although from a Western perspective it appears to be simultaneously natural and cultural, the rooster's crow is more accurately an example of the relational quality of the bush.

In addition to emplaced experience, islanders' spiritual or embodied relationship to particular sites also depends upon the visibility and type of historic features present, as well as the individual's personal beliefs and knowledge of stories associated with that place. Some *paepae* clearly stand out, while some are buried or barely noticeable. Others can be mistaken for a pile of stones (Figure 21). Site "edges" become difficult to define in valleys once so heavily



Figure 21. The corner of a *paepae* platform, partially destroyed by a tree, could be mistaken for a mound of stones. Vaitahu, Tahuata.

populated that they contain a continuous structural landscape of different types of *paepae*, from ceremonial platforms to house foundations, roads and enclosures, stretching from beach to inner valley (Figure 22).

Despite this ambiguity, selective characteristics tend to make certain *paepae* more remarkable and affective to Marquesans than others. These include the height and dimensions of ruins, their topographic location, the size and type of stones, and the presence of *tiki*, petroglyphs, human remains or certain kinds of trees such as banyan or *temanu* (Rolett 2010; Millerstrom 2006:290; Molle 2011:242). For archaeologists, such characteristics help to define the meaning and former uses of a site. Marquesans likewise take them into account, but also rely



Figure 22. In the uninhabited valley of Hanamiai, Tahuata, the ruins of an entire village flank a central river as it climbs toward the mountains. Ancient pavements (foreground) and terraces (beyond) populate what is now a wild mango forest.

heavily on what, if any, stories are associated with that place.

Indeed, islanders' relationships to place appear to depend heavily on knowledge of stories and personal experience. When I visited one ancient funerary site (*me'ae*) in Puamau with Tehei Kavanui¹³ and his family, they led me directly onto the *paepae* to explore. This site is easy to identify as a *me'ae* due to the presence of several exposed human skulls and a giant, historic banyan tree. Grouped near the base of the tree and tinted green with age, the empty eye sockets of ancestors watched as we wandered around the platform. For these reasons, some Marquesans probably view this place as sacred, yet the Kavanuis seemed unconcerned. Picking among the ferns and fallen mango leaves, Tehei and his daughter showed me a small collection of objects including worked shell, a piece of rusted iron, glass bottles and a button.

Having visited it several times in the past, Tehei was comfortable and undeterred by the human remains or the fact that the site is not on his family's land. Still, his level of ease with this type of historic landscape is relatively rare, particularly considering the presence of human remains. Most islanders note that if remains are present on one's family land, it is safe to visit because "these are our family, they're our *tupuna* [ancestors]. You must not be afraid" (Jean Matio Tamarii, October 7, 2013: 7, 50.20). If it feels right, others may even clean or shelter unknown remains out of a general respect for the ancestors. Still others refuse to touch human bones of any kind, or may simply avoid them if they are not located on their family land. Above all, however, individuals gauge their behavior based on their beliefs and the signs they receive from their surroundings.

For example, an artist and copra farmer described approaching a cave containing skulls with great care:

¹³ Pseudonym used to protect the participant's identity.

You must respect [that place] before you go. You must feel inside, first, that you can go. Like you ask and you talk [to them], before going. It's not like you just go do what you want—no, it's sacred...Each time we go up there, we say a little prayer first, before touching or doing anything...we call it *tapatapa*...[and those] are words that when you enter that place, it's really from the bottom of your heart, and it's like you are talking to that person that you've never seen. (Isidore Aratini Kohumoetini, October 10, 2013: 1, 40.25).

Marquesans therefore tend to emphasize respect for the ancestors and the spirits. As illustrated by Chart 2 in Appendix D, 60 percent of all Marquesans interviewed mentioned respecting historic sites due to danger, death or similar meanings (e.g., illness, *tapu* or *mana*, danger, fear or human remains). Regardless of their personal views on *paepae*, some islanders are willing to test their beliefs more than others (e.g. Tora Huukena, September 10, 2013: 3, 1.58.40). Near one extreme, the Napuauhis behaved with respect but were not afraid to enter, touch and examine an ancient and potentially sacred landscape. Some islanders have also gone considerably further by rejecting the possibility of *mana*, and purposely damaging or destroying historic sites in defiance of their ancestral spirits. In contrast, others take spiritual power so seriously that they make a point of entirely avoiding all *paepae*. A few others are largely indifferent to historic landscapes and spirits, alike. As one farmer in Taaoa, Timothé Hikutini, said: “You must not touch *paepae*” or plant on them. Yet, at the same time, for a number of years “we [Marquesans] have not taken care of them any more. We don't care about *paepae*, because for us, the land is to plant and live on, that's it! To live, is all. Since *paepae*, they're old. Them, [the ancestors], they're finished, they're done. It's ours now!” (June 24, 2013: 7, 2.10).

Timothé laughed as he said it, but many islanders would like to believe the land is fully “theirs.” Instead they, like Timothé, feel divided over how to treat *paepae* and continue to monitor their behavior carefully in the forest, in general, and in potentially sacred historic

landscapes, in particular. The persistent gravity of *mana* was starkly illustrated to me through one experience I had in Vaitahu. For several months, the Timaus had been offering to show me a sacred site on their family land. One afternoon while harvesting manioc nearby, Marie's husband took me up to see it. Bush-whacking through tall grass and ferns, we came to a clearing with an overgrown *paepae* on one side. Marie's husband, a Tahitian, told me to wait while he went briefly into the tangle of weeds growing up out of the *paepae*. I could hear him speaking under his breath, and after a minute he came back and told me to come with him. The site consists of several medium-sized terraces (about 20 feet long) with, at one end, a large flat stone sheltering several skulls. While we were looking at the skulls I felt somewhat strange, a little creepy. It was the first time I had ever seen human bones outside of a museum.

Later, I told Marie about the feeling I'd had, and how I almost got the shivers. It was early enough in the year that I did not yet realize the significance of this feeling, but Marie had a strong reaction and as soon as we got home she told her father. They said it could be something, but to wait and see how I slept that night. First thing the next day Marie took me to see her grandmother, who asked how I'd slept and if I had heard any strange noises in the night (I had not, though I did listen very carefully!). She promptly instructed me to go in the ocean and dunk three times, which I did with Marie as escort.¹⁴

The clear concern of my adoptive family, and my own level of doubt about what I actually felt, indicate the strength and importance of embodied experiences in historic landscapes. Islanders' descriptions of how they engage with the physical landscape, in addition to my own observations, also helped to illustrate this point. Most commonly, Marquesans demonstrate respect for ancestral sites by avoiding certain activities such as climbing, planting,

¹⁴ Historic accounts describe sea water being used to end *tapu* status (Crook 2007:144), and today it is still used to remove the *tapu* of objects by neutralizing their *mana*.

burning, disturbing, urinating or defecating on historic features or trees. They also remain perpetually alert to signs from, and interactions with, historic landscapes about which they have little knowledge. As sisters Marcelle and Brigitte Barsinas explained (May 15, 2013: 1, 42.35):

Marcelle: You must tell your children what [kinds of things] are not good to do on a *paepae*, like you must not just go on top without paying [attention]. You must be careful. If not, us, before—we weren't careful... Sometimes when they said there were *paepae*, we would go on top and run, without paying attention to the fact that we were on a *paepae*. ...

Brigitte: When we see stones that are well placed, we say those are *paepae*.

Thus, the development and maintenance of certain patterns of behavior in a place rely largely upon personal experience that builds upon orally transmitted knowledge. Marquesans learn about historic landscapes by moving through the environment and “attending to it” or remaining “ever alert” (Ingold 2000:55) to signs that can perpetuate traditional knowledge and lead to either a greater connection to, or separation from, the land.

The great majority of Marquesan hunters, artists, farmers and foragers are constantly open in this way, ready to learn and respond to human and non-human elements in a process Ingold calls “enskilment” (ibid.). As the enduring records of the generations who have dwelt within and altered them, local landscapes provide the context for the active, relational learning and growth of enskilment (ibid., 189). The resulting reciprocal, emplaced relationship involves spirits as well as memories (Shaw 2002; West 2006). Thus, even as they are shaped by childhood stories and broader historic and colonial processes, Marquesan perceptions of historic landscapes are challenged and modified by personal experiences that are capable of “rewriting” these tales (Smith 2006:77).

Regular use of the forest allows islanders to cultivate enskilment. Speaking of one *paepae* in an uninhabited valley, Fatu Hiva artist Flavian Pavaouau remarked how it is now

overgrown with hibiscus shrubs “and sometimes the stones fall. People here say not to mess around there, [because] it’s *tapu*. But we don’t think about that, and we don’t look. We just go on top.” I asked him if he ever collects wood from on top of *paepae*. He answered, “*Miro* [rosewood (*Thespesia populnea*)] is growing in [that *paepae*], but we don’t cut it down...[because] there are ancestors inside. We’d love to cut [the *miro*] down, there are big pieces like this...But our father said we must not, because of our sleeping ancestors!” (August 22, 2013: 2, 15.25).

A few moments later, Flavian and Timeri Tuieinui were discussing another *paepae* in the back of a side valley of Hanavave. Speaking half in Marquesan, half in French, they described how it is high and square, and “when you look inside, it’s like a hole...it’s deep,” said Timeri. Flavian added, “I think there are some bones, and apparently the ancestors threw dead babies in there. That’s why every time you go there to hunt for shrimp at night, you hear babies crying” (August 22, 2013: 2, 20.35). Thus, stories and personal experiences in the bush reinforce local knowledge as well as fear and shared patterns of interaction with place.

Guided by these various modes of knowledge, some islanders trespass on *tapu* sites without negative consequences. In obvious historic landscapes, most Marquesans tend to practice respect by behaving in certain ways, paying attention to the spirits and speaking with them (e.g. Eugène Tiivaha Ehueinana, August 28, 2013: 2, 1.05; Manuhi Timau, November 25, 2013: 5, 15.25). By listening, observing and remaining open to the responsive and living signs of historic landscapes they cultivate an ongoing relationship to places and solidify the connection between people, past and resources. Although they are not always likely to “explore” the land in the way Ingold describes of enskilment (Ingold 2000:55), islanders build their knowledge of place through an active and ongoing engagement with their environment.

The dynamic quality of this process resists lingering historic legacies as well as associated processes of territorialization. As cultural leader Debora Kimitete observed, for centuries members of the church have said that customary Marquesan beliefs and practices “are pagan rites, [that] our gods are better than yours. And in some ways [Marquesans] believed it...it remained deep inside them, why? Because when the Europeans arrived they saw their people die from all the introduced sicknesses, and they saw their gods turning away from them. So they embraced the new religion, but they kept many beliefs inside that are still there, in the soul of every one of us” (September 11, 2013: 2, 32.40). The survival of these beliefs, and the influence they hold over everyday Marquesan practices on the land, demonstrate a powerful indigenous response to the influences of colonialism, religion and the shadows of their past.

Above all, interactions with the *mana* of ancestral landscapes guide local behavior in ways that both challenge and conform to existing ideas about place and control over land. As various processes of territorialization apply pressure to local tenure, spiritual beliefs and ideas about development (see Chapter 5), islanders like Joseph Napuauhi navigate local landscapes strategically (see also Galaty 2013), drawing upon a variety of memories, stories of the past and active elements of the physical environment. While many believe in or suspect the presence of spirits on the land, their behavior responds equally to a range of knowledge that they mobilize in everyday activities and enskilment. As a result, some act like they do not care or genuinely do not know, while others listen carefully to stories and, bodily, to *mana* even as they continue to question such information.

Regardless of the “compounded layers” (Stoler 2013:2) of silence and mystery wrought by history and colonialism, islanders thus continue to generate their own senses of place. Their shared practices on, and embodied relationships with, the land meanwhile sustain a certain type

of community despite the underlying, malevolent connotations of some places. Marquesan experiences and transmission of the past therefore react to, and in some ways resist, colonialism (see Starzmann 2016:3). Places and community woven from fear combine the bright threads of colonial power with deep strands of connection to the ancestors. In this respect, even sacred historic landscapes that are mysterious or unknown represent a continuity with the past and a connection to community, if not the land.

Thus, the continued use of historic landscapes signifies a crucial dialogue with the ancestors, the sharing of which could help to build community and break historic silences. Unlike many other indigenous peoples, Marquesans' continued use and relative control of much of their land represents a vital resource for their survival as well as their spiritual well-being (Ontai 2006:165). Fundamentally linked to, yet distinct from, the islands' colonial history, this emplaced opening to the past could prove instrumental to effectively managing Marquesan heritage and, more importantly, building a relationship with the ancestors that hinges on lived experiences and shared island knowledge rather than the oppressive influences of empire.

CHAPTER 5

Living from the Land: Marquesan Livelihoods, Heritage and Development

The land and sea have long anchored Marquesan livelihoods, in every respect. Over time, a rich body of transmitted knowledge about these arenas of action has allowed islanders to navigate the complexities and unpredictable changes of both nature and local prospects for development. A fluid, flexible and diversified approach to livelihoods is essential to this process. It also illustrates a creative Marquesan response to the advance of a monetized market system that clashes with existing economic relationships based on exchange, knowledge and diverse local understandings of ancestral landscapes. As demonstrated equally by Marshall Sahlins' (2005) develop-man economics and other recent studies of neo-liberalism's spread (e.g., Ferguson 2006; Igoe and Brockington 2007; West 2010), the advance of the Western market system into local contexts does not ensure the subsequent and comprehensive adoption of capitalist-market relations. Rather, dependence on the world economy spurs the development of original economic relationships forged in the overlap of two or more mobile, equally powerful economic systems (Sahlins 2005).

In the Marquesas the push to develop tourism, in particular, threatens to territorialize local heritage through market processes that remove both islanders and their understandings from some of the Marquesas' most impressive ancestral sites (see Foucault 2007:102). A closer look at this process, however, reveals a more important, underlying and sustained tension between local traditions and the monetization of resources that illustrates Marquesan resistance through their ingenuity and connection to the past. As local and regional leaders plan to develop Marquesan heritage by placing their faith in the prevailing power of monetary over other types of

value, they ignore this tension and its implications for their aspirations of sustainable development.

Bingo, Seeds and the Polyvalent

Shadows slice across the dusty porch of Florence Touaitahuata's home in Vaipae, Ua Huka. Under the glow of a bare light bulb hanging from the ceiling, she picks through a plateful of seeds one by one. She uses a small drill to carefully bore a hole through each one, repurposing the sole of an old flip-flop to protect the drill against the tile table beneath. Her concentration is steady on this difficult task, as the pads of her fingers will pay dearly for just a single slip of the vibrating drill off the smooth surface of the tiny seeds. Familiar with this risk from my own experience, I watch her confident, even movements with awe.

Earlier that day I had seized upon the rare opportunity to use the internet at one of her daughters' homes, across the street. Sitting on the floor with several children, at least one other computer playing cartoon videos and a stereo blaring music, I was struggling to concentrate when we were interrupted by a much louder ruckus outside. One of the neighbor's pigs had escaped, and the owner was tracking it down along the river bank behind the house. The pig's screams rang out over the frantic barking of several dogs, as they barreled together through the tangled undergrowth. Our electronic entertainments forgotten, I watched from the back door with my young companions until the pig finally ran into some rusty lengths of wire fencing that tangled with his legs. As his owner grappled with excited dogs, pig and wire, the boar's high, plaintive squeals continued to resonate in the narrow valley for at least another half hour, but after a few minutes we resumed our seats inside.

Now, hours later, the neighborhood is peaceful and quiet. On the deserted road

immediately in front of Florence's house, a single street lamp gives off a yellow glow. A light breeze makes the flower-print cotton curtains dance in the open windows, and the singing of crickets can be heard at each pause of Florence's whining drill. On the table beside her sit the materials of Marquesan jewelry making: plastic fishing line, a variety of seeds in bowls or large plastic containers, a couple of finished necklaces, a headlamp, scissors and, for the periodic break from work, two packets of cigarette papers (Figure 23). In the middle of it all lies a coconut shell with the top cut off, a kind of catch-all filled with a variety of shells, seeds, line and other odds and ends. It reminds me of what I have seen in other Marquesan homes, like the seed collection of Jeanne Sana Pahuavevau in Hanatetena (Figure 24).

Sana's metal cake tin full of seeds, like Florence's coconut, represents a haphazard microcosm of Marquesan life. Closer scrutiny reveals a number of iconic aspects of the local economy and hints at island perspectives on livelihoods and money. Touched by the glint of the sun, Sana's mass of seeds ripples and dips in waves of black, brown, yellow, white, grey and red.



Figure 23. An evening at the table on the front porch of Florence's house, Vaipae, Ua Huka.



Figure 24. Sana's seed bin, Hanatetena, Tahuata.

Punctuating this topography are a few French Polynesian francs, a marble, a small metal fitting, bits of coconut fiber, some bingo chips, and a necklace from Tahiti made out of tiny shells you can't find in the Marquesas.

Each of these women's seeds were gathered by hand from the Marquesan bush and beaches, and each has its own tale of labor. You scratch the yellow seeds (*pohue*) from the forest floor with dusty, dirt-caked fingers. The tiny, smooth black and red ones (*poniu*) come off the vine in small, bean-shaped packets and can be used to make beautiful patterns on necklaces and bracelets. The large black ones (*koku'u*) fall from the tree encased in sticky husks that are difficult to remove, though if these fruits happen to pass through a cow's digestive system the seeds come out cleanly husked. The flat, shiny red ones (*pipiti'o rouge*) are popped from long, curly black bean-like shells and contain a tiny morsel of sweet, edible meat if you are hungry. To find the oblong brown ones (*onetai*) resembling pale, smooth coffee beans, you scan the



Figure 25. Neohe seed and packet, Ua Huka.

inland side of beaches where you can find them half-buried in the sand. The large grey ones (*neohe*) are from the inside of sun-dried little packets prickly with thorns (Figure 25).¹

When I took the photo of Sana's seeds, some were already pierced in preparation for stringing but most were not. Her drill bit had recently broken, forcing her to put work on hold until she could borrow one from a friend or get a replacement piece. Finding parts or new machines in the Marquesas can be both time-consuming and expensive, since they almost always come from stores or contacts in Tahiti. Since few tourists visit Hanatetena, the primary market for Sana's jewelry is likewise remote: she has a close friend in Bora Bora who normally buys necklaces and bracelets from her to sell to tourists there. As a resident of one of the more isolated valleys in the Marquesas, Sana will probably never have the kind of tourist access she would need to make a living selling her jewelry directly to visitors.

Other objects in Sana's seed bin neatly illustrate this life of relative isolation from the global market. Instead of string or metal jewelry wire, most Marquesans use fishing line or coconut fibers to make their jewelry. Artists in Vaitahu place orders with uncles or brothers who

¹ The scientific names for these seeds, in the order of their mention, are: *pohue* (*Ipomoea violacea*), *poniu* (*Abrus precatorius*), *koku'u* (*Sapindus saponaria*), *pipiti'o rouge* (*Adenanthera pavonina*), *onetai* (*Ipomoea pes-caprae*), *neohe* (*Caesalpinia bonduc*).

are buying their own fishing line and supplies at the store in Hiva Oa or, occasionally, Tahiti. Not only is fishing line the most readily available type of string, but it has the distinct advantage of being both strong and meltable. Knots are secured by singeing the ends with a lighter.

The sundry glass and plastic bingo chips represent another important aspect of the everyday economy of many Marquesan women. Although technically illegal in some villages, bingo is a fixture throughout the Marquesas. For reasons both social and economic, women gather almost daily to spend their afternoons “tempting luck,” as my adoptive mother puts it, sometimes hiding in private homes or behind buildings in order to avoid discovery. In other villages like Vaitahu, weekend bingo tournaments are often organized by local community associations in order to help raise money for common causes like medical travel, village-wide parties or school supplies. These games are large, take place in the village center and usually involve “jackpot” winnings of \$500 US or more. On a less formal, more regular basis women and a few men gather in back yards, at kitchen tables or in the shade of open-sided cement buildings to set out their tattered cards and tempt their luck. Players are largely casual artists and home-makers, and the money they spend comes from a limited family income generated by the labor of various family members who fish, farm, chop copra or work for the government, in addition to social services checks. Each game of bingo lasts about five minutes and costs anywhere from 50 to 200 xpf (or \$0.45 to \$1.80 US), depending on the size of the event. Small family games are the cheapest (Figure 26).

For some men, purchases of beer or wine for parties with friends represent an equivalent frivolity that can consume as much or more of family earnings. Expenses for art, fishing, hunting, household or copra supplies, utilities and food generally take precedence over such leisure pursuits, but few families actually put money away as savings or for regular needs. The



Figure 26. A family game of bingo.

very concept of individual savings presents a problem, since extended families tend to share their resources across generations and branches. Instead, heads of families typically orchestrate the meeting of family needs by holding and distributing money from social security checks and their own personal income. Individuals in the family, in turn, are expected to contribute to the household either through work, paying for utilities or buying food or materials, rather than sharing their money.

Thus, the way Marquesans treat their earnings reflects a broader attitude towards money that parallels their flexible, negotiated style of ownership (see Chapter 3). Islanders commonly

view the open pursuit of money as distasteful, although this by no means results in an absence of such ambitions. Nonetheless, it does reflect a certain cultural and commonly recognized ideal. Historically, Marquesan social structure relied upon a communal style of living practiced through ongoing exchange, family ties and shared respect. This system largely persists today, even as it increasingly reflects the influence of monetization, or the reorientation of local exchange towards money and away from goods and labor.

As one elderly artist remarked, “I prefer the old times. In the old times, we had lots of friends. We were friends, but now, not so much. Money has divided people too much, and we no longer pay attention to friends” (Venance Rura Ah-Scha, October 7, 2013: 5, 9.50). In contrast to the past, fishermen today rarely share their catch with the whole village, and events like the construction of coconut drying racks or harvesting coconuts and breadfruit no longer occur communally. Islanders speak with nostalgia of these kinds of village-wide, non-monetary collaborations and sharing (e.g., Thérèse Napuauhi, June 18, 2013: 1, 29.20; Joseph Kaiha, October 17, 2013: 4, 4.10). When someone built a house back in the day, the entire village would turn out to help (e.g., Edgard Kahu Tametona, August 23, 2013: 1, 34.45; Philippe Teikitohe, October 10, 2013: 3, 0.40). In some villages, such communal projects took place as recently as the 1950s, and they are remembered wistfully. As one Ua Pou farmer remarked: “When I was a kid, I saw how when they would build, everyone would come and work. But now, people run after money. It’s kind of a shame...it’s each person for themselves. But before, no—when you walked by, [people would say] ‘Hey, come and eat!’ Now no one says that! (*laughs*) It’s really too bad that we have lost that culture. That’s what culture is!” (Philippe Teikitohe, October 10, 2013: 3, 0.40).

Still, many aspects of customary relationships persist. Indeed, the nostalgia of local

memories and their associated values implies a broader reluctance to discard exchange networks and interdependence for a more individualist and capitalist approach. Pure capitalism in the Weberian sense, or doing something for the sake of accumulating personal and inalienable wealth (Weber 2005[1930]), is highly disparaged. In some cases, family and friends can regard too much success with jealousy and may even work against someone who has rapidly acquired a large amount of money. Wealthy islanders are expected to share with those in need, particularly if they are family members. In response to these obligations, island mayors or teachers with regular salaries may therefore buy washing machines or other expensive items for cousins, aunts, nephews or other relatives.

The resulting networks of sharing adhere to social relationships as well as traditional patterns of respect. For example, Manuhi Timau and his family care for the land holdings of the former mayor as an affirmation of their mutual respect and close relationship. They profit from these lands, in turn, and so would never ask for money in exchange for their services. Likewise, in the established practice of borrowing among family, neighbors and friends there are certain things you are not allowed to request. As Roberto Maraetaata explained, you might ask for some breadfruit or wood but you must never ask for the poles used for fishing or picking breadfruit, the shell used to skin raw breadfruit, or the piece of wood used to remove the skin of a roasted breadfruit. These items, he noted, are necessary materials for life that demonstrate responsibility, maturity and a vital preparedness. It would be deeply embarrassing to leave such things until the last minute and have to borrow them from someone else (August 19, 2013: 3, 38.55).

The pressure to follow local patterns of exchange and support helps to maintain a certain level of socio-economic stability. Across the Pacific, more broadly, the idea that one's

livelihood strategy involves the entire household and does not necessarily prioritize money reflects the diversity of capitalist forms that arise from different cultural contexts (e.g., Escobar 2008:108; McCormack and Barclay 2013; Sahlins 2005). In their study of capitalism in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, Barclay and Kinch (2013) note three common themes:

(1) production for sale is usually part of a household livelihood strategy involving multiple sources of income – fishing, food gardening, cash cropping, market selling, wage-earning, and so on – and in which production for home consumption/gifting to kin and neighbors and production for markets can be mixed; (2) the time and effort spent on any one cash-earning activity may fluctuate due to better opportunities in another cash-earning activity, or due to noncapitalist social obligations overriding the imperative to earn cash; and (3) imperatives to use cash for noncapitalist purposes may drain cash away from a business and cause its financial failure. (109)

Each of these observations also apply to the Marquesas, representing what is locally known as the lifestyle of the *polyvalent*, or a versatile person who makes do.

This approach to livelihood treats work as a fluid and dynamic pursuit and avoids reliance on any single source of income for a living. A *polyvalent* is someone who does a bit of everything: chops copra, harvests fruit, fishes, plants, creates and sells art, and occasionally works under contract with the town or as a CPIA (*Convention Pour l'Insertion par l'Activité*) employee.² For example, when I asked Jeffrey Naani Faua (age 22) if he chops copra he answered: “Sometimes copra, and if not, hunting, *tapa*, fishing...” (August 28, 2013: 3, 0.00). Life in the islands depends closely on what is necessary and what the land provides. Thus, “people here live a bit from everything: farming, fishing, some of this and that” (Timona Tereino, October 14, 2013: 3, 10.50). The core principle of this system is, above all, inconsistency. A tireless resourcefulness allows islanders to rebound economically in response

² The CPIA program allows local artists, farmers and others who can demonstrate their need for work assistance to hire a temporary worker using government funds. It was implemented in 2005 to replace the similar previous programs known as DIJ and CIG. As of 2014, the CPIA program was replaced by the *contrat d'accès à l'emploi*, or CAE (SEFI 2005).

to fluctuations in the market, the number of visiting tourists, the weather, and the availability of land and materials (CODIM 2013:19). A similar approach to a limited cash economy has been used in Tahiti (Kahn 2011:74) as well as Hawaii, where diversified use of the land and local relationships of exchange serves as an expression of Hawaiian values (Aikau 2012:86).

In the Marquesas as well as Hawaii, this approach to livelihood is encouraged by the scarcity of local, salaried employment. Unemployment is a serious issue throughout French Polynesia, and is recognized as one of the leading challenges faced by Marquesans, specifically (Talvard 2014a; Talvard 2014b). The territorial rate of unemployment almost doubled between 2007 and 2012, rising to 22 percent and disproportionately affecting the young, female and less educated. The rate of unemployment in the Marquesas is the country's highest. As of 2012 it exceeded 30 percent, three times what it was in 2007. While only 6 percent of the country's unemployed hold a vocational degree,³ in the Marquesas this number is an exceptionally high 40 percent, resulting in a large concentration of educated people without regular salaries (Talvard 2014a:1, 9; Talvard 2014b:4).

As youth flock to Tahiti to pursue higher education and the number of Marquesans with specialized skills continues to grow, the proportion of those who can make a living locally, using their unique training, shrinks. Indeed, some actively challenge the value of getting an advanced education that is more likely to harm than to enhance their livelihood opportunities in the Marquesas. Young people find themselves having to choose between personal aspirations, family pressure to pursue education and their own commitment to the land.

Among them is Matapua Priscilla Kohuemoetini (age 23), who currently works on her family's land in Hohoi. She struggled with the decision to return home, but stands by her choice.

³ This degree, the CAP (*Certificat d'Aptitudes Professionnelles*), is roughly equivalent to completing three years of high school.

I disappointed a lot of people...not my parents, but other people like the big wigs at school, like my teachers. Because I was among the good students from Ua Pou...[and] that was not the future they'd seen for me. But I told them, "you have not lived what I did, in Tahiti...it's not easy. But I don't regret anything! I don't regret coming back to Ua Pou, because I know that my future is here, at home. With all the problems you see in Tahiti...people ask me why I don't go back to get my BAC⁴ and so forth, but I say, why? Most people with BACs who come back here, they find themselves doing what I do! They don't have work, and they do the same as I. And so I have no regrets, at all! But them, I don't know how they do it. It's like those years in Tahiti are lost. Wow. At least, that's how I see it. I like my life here, I have everything here. I don't complain. And I make money from my own sweat. (October 10, 2013: 10, 0.00).

The first Marquesan generation with broad access to specialized training and degrees like the BAC is now in their thirties. Confronted with financial obstacles and challenges like those described by Matapua, many have been forced to embrace the *polyvalent* life, rather than choosing it. As noted by Catherine Tiaiho⁵ (age 36): "I went to secretarial school in Tahiti, but I only did one year because I lost my father when I was eleven and then my mother was paying for my studies, and afterwards she couldn't pay for my second year. So I stopped...and then I came back here... At one point I worked as a CPIA,⁶ but if not, I'm a stay at home mom, and I [also] do copra with my husband, and some wood carving" (August 21, 2013: 4, 0.00). Thus, in these cases islanders have a certain regret and a feeling of lost opportunities, regardless of their ability to make a living through other means.

Still the Marquesan *polyvalent* lifestyle, like Sahlins' (2005) develop-man, represents an important strategy for navigating the Western market and its associated capitalist-market relations. This kind of flexibility, which allows Marquesans to use both land-based and other sources of income or support to compensate for inconsistent access to family-owned or other

⁴ *Baccalauréat*, or the French equivalent of a high school diploma.

⁵ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

⁶ "Working as a CPIA" means being hired as a temporary, contract employee for one or two years through the CPIA program.

usable land, can also be seen as a form of resistance to the market-capitalist system. Indeed, it has even been criticized by some as a threat to local development (see CODIM 2012). As economists have noted, the “lack of formal property rights, particularly for land, hampers business activities and economic development” among many independent nations of the Pacific (Browne and Lee 2006:22-3). The same scholars further observed that “communal ownership precludes the economic use of land, binding rural land to subsistence agriculture” (ibid.). Yet, the flaws of applying a single model of development to indigenous groups and French Polynesians, in particular, have already been clearly demonstrated (Ferguson 2006; Ghasarian et al. 2004; Sahlins 2005; West 2006).

The Marquesan blending of community-based and individual approaches to land ownership as well as local economies illustrates a different strategy that instead combines subsistence and economic uses. In neither preventing nor embracing Western development, the *polyvalent* livelihood allows islanders to adapt the market’s territorial extension to their own needs. As noted by one such *polyvalent* individual, this dynamic lifestyle represents a certain freedom, rather than a problem (Cyrille Vaki, June 25, 2013: 2). Indeed, it is a form of quiet resistance that demonstrates yet another subtle assertion of Marquesan pride and independence.

Living from the Land

As discussed in Chapter 3, ownership dictates how Marquesans use the land, from the cultivation of coconuts, fruit and livestock to the collection of decorative seeds and wood for art. Thus, in a strictly economic sense your access to the land, which is a right exercised through family ties, also plays an important role in how much money you can make. If the land belongs to you or your family, you can keep everything you make; but if you are harvesting from

someone else's land, with their permission, then you are obligated to pay the landowner a part of the profits from every harvest. Known as the *hope fenua* or land portion, this use payment normally represents about 20 percent of the total earnings, but varies depending on the valley, the type of work and the relationship between the landowner and the harvester.

Provided he has access to plantation land either through his family or by permission from another landowner, a young and fit Marquesan man can make a modest living almost entirely from harvesting and selling coconuts to the monthly freighters that bring them to Tahiti for conversion into oil. If the land he works is thoroughly planted with coconuts, he can harvest roughly three tons of copra per hectare (about two and a half acres) of land every few months (e.g., Simeon Teatiu, October 2, 2013: 2, 16.25). This translates to between \$500 and \$760 US in earnings per month, or what has been calculated as 5000 xpf (\$46 US) per coconut tree per year (Tora Huukena, September 10, 2013: 4, 17.35).

Some young women, like Tehina Gilmore (age 30), make as much as the men. She has access to family land several times a year, and each time she chops about twenty 52 kg sacks, or more than a ton, of copra with her cousins (August 29, 2013: 2, 12.20). When the total profits of about \$1,500 US are then divided between them, each worker comes away with about \$500 US for three weeks of work. Others working diligently in pairs can harvest a ton or two several times a year, generating anywhere from \$380 to \$750 US for each month they chop copra. Those with enough land and motivation mentioned harvesting as much as two tons per freighter, or every few weeks (e.g. Maimiti O'Connor, September 6, 2013; Norbert Kokauani, December 10, 2013; Joseph Barsinas, July 18, 2014). Since both the *Aranui* and the *Taporo* buy copra each time they visit the Marquesas, islanders who work hard and have access to land can rely on a regular income.

This life is supported by a strong network of obligations and exchange between family and friends. Many single men and women, and some married ones, continue to live with their parents into adulthood. This arrangement allows them to make a sufficient contribution to the family economy by using their individual income to contribute to food, gas, electricity and other shared expenses. Young and old also use earnings to party with friends now and then, an event that feeds local systems of reciprocal exchange. The family-based living situation of some Marquesans reflects the strength and importance of kin as well as the difficulty of acquiring your own land and materials to build your own home. Almost all of my 14 host families had either married or unmarried children living within or in close proximity to their parents' home. This situation has the combined effect of helping to support the central family and parents while providing adult children an escape from the pressure of entirely supporting themselves.

Marquesans also pursue diverse, simultaneous livelihoods in order to negotiate the commercial limitations of their islands and the tension between monetized and exchange practices. In a similar way, Cook Islanders tackle the challenges associated with neoliberal capitalism by using gambling to navigate the financial risk and insecurity of the local economy (Monson 2011:223). This is likewise a crucial ability in the Marquesas since entrepreneurial trade with Tahiti and the intermittent influence of tourists from yachts or cruise ships has not been consistent enough to drive commercial specialization (CODIM 2013:19). Thus, unreliable sales of things like art and fruit feed the flexible *polyvalent* approach to making a living.

For example, artists making *tapa* sell their decorated pieces for anywhere from 200 xpf (\$1.80 US, for bookmarks) to 50,000 xpf (\$456 US, for the largest sheets) (Figure 27). Like other artists, their primary sales come from monthly *Aranui* visits and, for those who can afford it, a twice-yearly art exposition in Tahiti. A small number of highly skilled artists who have



Figure 27. Medium-sized sheets of tapa made from paper mulberry, banyan and breadfruit bark, Omoa, Fatu Hiva.

developed their own client base can make anywhere from \$9,000 to \$18,500 US from the sale of a single piece, working on commission (CODIM 2012:51). However, the majority relies on visiting tourists and creates more than one type of art. Artistic products include hand-made coconut oil (*pani*); jewelry made from seeds, bone, shell or stone; tattoos; carvings of wood, shell, stone or bone; and *tapa*. When the *Aranui* comes, an artist could sell one or several of these products, or nothing at all.

In contrast to art, chopping copra offers a much more reliable source of income since the sale price is subsidized and therefore remains fairly stable. Commercially cultivated in the Marquesas for more than a century, copra is the longest standing local cash crop and the only one that receives consistent government subsidies. This support and the *polyvalent* livelihood has

moreover allowed the Marquesan copra industry to remain relaxed and non-competitive. For example, only a few Marquesan villages use ovens to ensure reliable and efficient copra drying, and Nuku Hiva is the only island with a system for the processing of copra in bulk. The production and subsequent profits of most farmers therefore continues to rely directly on myriad variables such as careful timing based on freighter schedules, sunshine, and attentive covering of the wooden drying racks to protect the meat from moisture.⁷

Other common but less reliable sources of income include: selling art and jewelry; harvesting limes, grapefruit or *noni* (*Morinda citrifolia*), a medicinal fruit; making dried bananas (*piere*); planting and harvesting vegetables for local sale; small-scale local baking operations; selling specific fruits to the Tahiti-based fruit coop, Kai Hotu Rau; selling fish; and raising goats or pigs for sale (Figure 28). A few Marquesans cultivate vanilla, but this practice is much less common here than in Tahiti. The harvest of *noni*, in particular, briefly competed with copra in the early 2000s, but since then it has ebbed significantly. Over the past five years, as the local *noni* industry has declined, honey production has boomed. Small-scale apiaries are increasingly selling their honey in both the Marquesas and Tahiti, and the further development of this industry is a top priority (CODIM 2012:35).

Over all, a full 77 percent of Marquesan agricultural products are either consumed directly or sold locally and informally,⁸ a trend encouraged by the islands' geographic distance from Tahiti's commercial market (ibid., 27). Islanders often sell raised meat to family members or other villagers according to demand or opportunity, but relatively little livestock or fish are sold commercially. Most fruits and other products of the land and sea are likewise harvested and

⁷ Husked coconut meat requires roughly three days of continuous sunshine in order to properly dry out, and chopped coconuts or meat will mold if they are allowed to remain wet.

⁸ "Informal" refers to exchange that is not necessarily monetary and occurs outside of government regulation. See James et al. 2011 for an insightful discussion of the history and evolution of this term (219-27).

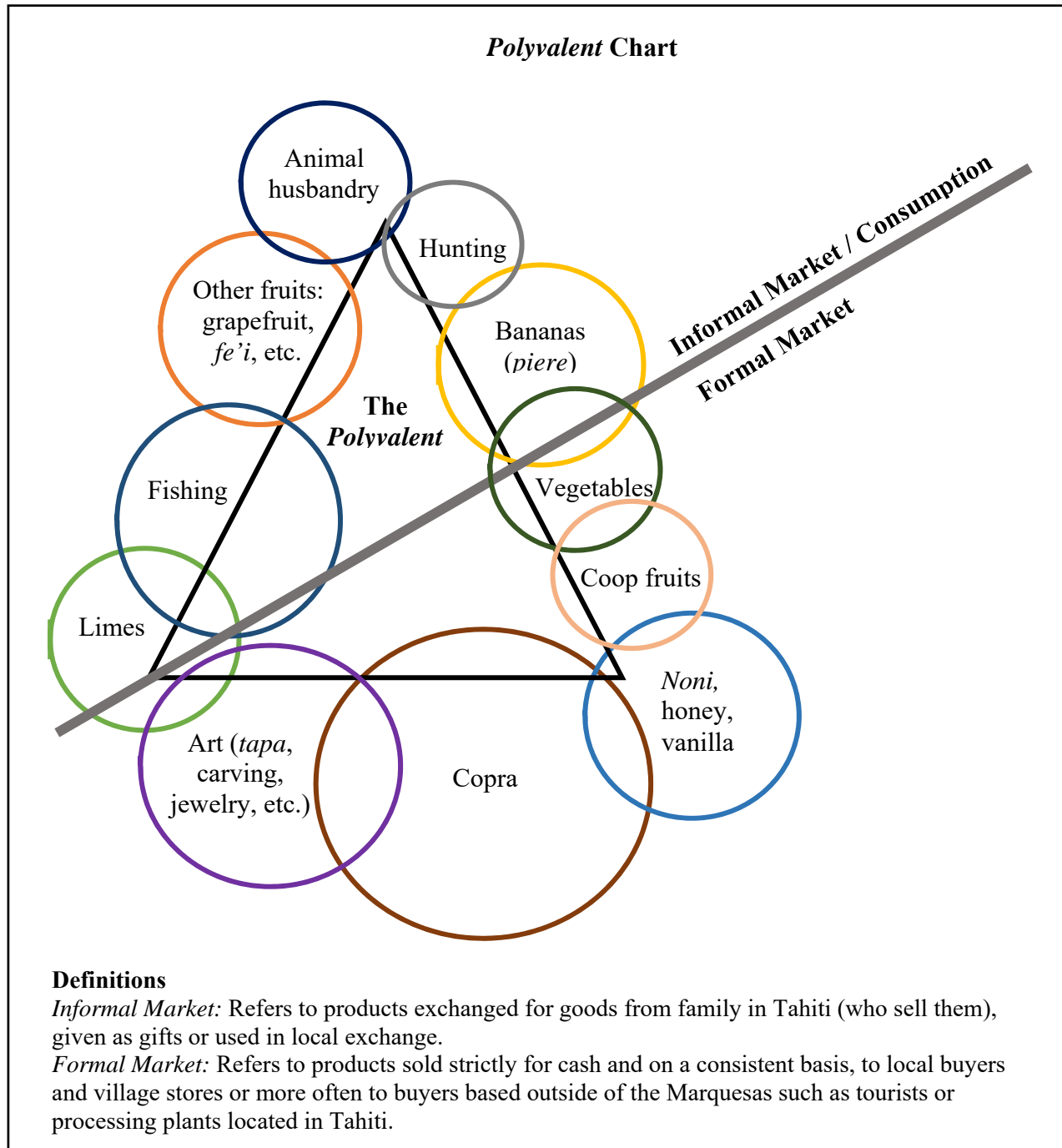


Figure 28. Chart illustrating the Marquesan polyvalent approach to livelihood. Circle size roughly represents volume of associated time, investment and profit from each activity type, as estimated by the author (detailed data of this kind is not yet available). Chart does not include retirement, social assistance and occasional contract or other employment with the town, private business or through CPIA.

consumed locally, outside of the commercial market. This includes fish, *fe'i* bananas (*Musa troglodytarum*) and other fresh bananas, manioc, taro, breadfruit, and most tropical fruits. Very

few fishermen sell portions of their catch to other villagers, and the only established fish market in the islands is located in Taiohae. Likewise, hunted meat remains largely non-commercialized and tends to be consumed within the household or given away as a gift. Thus wild fauna, in general, tends to be consumed within the family while domesticated goats, pigs or cows are occasionally sold. Two notable exceptions to this rule are crabs and lobster, two local specialties that are often consumed at weddings and other large feasts. Lobster has recently sold well on the black market in Tahiti, as well. Lobsters are caught by hand, and diving for them is a dangerous and intense activity that yields relatively high profits. For some young men this represents a large and novel income, in the same way that diving for and selling rare or endangered shells to yachters once appealed to the men in their fathers' generation (e.g., Norbert Kokauani, December 10, 2013: 1, 1.04.20; Xavier Teatiu,⁹ December 8, 2013; Tehei Timau, November 11, 2013).

Large quantities of limes, grapefruits, fish, dried bananas and other local products are also informally marketed in Tahiti through a system of exchange (see also Trémon 2006:277). Islanders living in the Marquesas harvest these items and send them to family in Tahiti, who sell them and use the money to buy food, supplies and other merchandise in Papeete that they then dispatch back to the Marquesas. Thus, one of my adoptive brothers regularly sends fish he catches to his in-laws in Tahiti, and in return he and his family receive periodic cartons of frozen chicken or giant containers of rice, sugar, oil, mayonnaise or mustard. Such items can be bought much more cheaply, and in bulk, in the capital. Although not captured by the official statistics on the local economy, this flow of goods is a crucial part of Marquesan life that parallels similar exchange networks throughout the Pacific (Hau'ofa 1994).

⁹ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at his request.

The livelihood of my adoptive Marquesan father, Manuhi Timau (age 53), represents a model that has long been ubiquitous throughout the islands. Manuhi collects crabs and shellfish regularly with his sons in addition to fishing for deep sea, pelagic and reef fish with hand lines and harpoons. He sells most of what they catch to villagers, but usually stores a small part of it in the family freezer. He also chops copra and harvests fruit from several large tracts of land that either belong to his family or his close friend and the town's former mayor, Tehaumate Tetahiotupa. In the past he has sold carvings and hand-made tools. He has also occasionally worked on village projects under contract with the town government, and continues to work with the visiting archaeologist, Barry Rolett, about once every two years.

By contrast, the economic pursuits of his daughter, Marie-Christine Timau (age 32, also known as Marie), illustrate the typical livelihood a Marquesan young person. Marie has two children under the age of 12 and a Tahitian husband who moved to the Marquesas to live with her and her family in 2003. They live with her parents and a few of her siblings, Marie and her husband sleeping in a small hand-built shack behind the main house. Their daughters sleep in the main house with their grandparents. The whole family eats and spends its days in the main house, which has electricity and a single sink with running water, but no indoor bathroom.

Marie and her husband occasionally chop copra when they are in good health and the land is available. One of Marie's brothers, Tehei, chops copra more regularly by working with cousins and others who have access to additional lands. Marie helps to market and collect payments for the fish her father sells, and takes a personal cut of those sales. She occasionally bakes cakes to sell to neighbors or friends, and she makes jewelry and sells some of the cowrie shells collected by her father and brothers to the cruise ship tourists.¹⁰ On most weekday

¹⁰ The *Aranui* makes monthly visits with several hundred tourists each time, but a few other ships dedicated solely to tourism also occasionally make stops in the Marquesas, including the *Paul Gauguin* and Oceania Cruiselines.

afternoons from early 2013 to 2015, Marie and her husband lent out bicycles and video games to village children for a small fee in her grandmother's yard. He monitored the games and bikes while she played bingo with her grandmother, family and close friends.

Most of the money they earned in these various pursuits was used to pay for their daughters' school expenses, as well as occasional personal indulgences and contributions to household expenses like electricity, cell phone cards and food. Marie also pays an annual fee for membership in the village art association.

Although these various occupations are motivated by a need and a desire for money, they also creatively sustain certain traditional relationships between families and individuals. The Marquesan approach to bingo is one excellent example of the persistence of local economic systems. When I took part in my first games in Vaitahu in 2008, I was mystified. As in many other villages, a typical weekend game happens in the center of town on Sunday afternoons.

Beneath the giant, green metal roof of the open-air town hall (*préhaut*), mostly women and a few men dressed in board shorts or colorful sarongs sit around the edges of the concrete floor, their battered paper bingo cards spread out before them. When the game isn't being called, voices and laughter echo in the partially enclosed space. One side of the platform looks out to the beach and the bay, and the late afternoon sun hits the backs and tired feet of the women sitting there. At the center of the open-sided room is a table covered in a blue, flowery cloth and surrounded by several blue plastic chairs. This is the station from which numbers are called, manned by several women who smoke hand-rolled cigarettes and tend the money container, a repurposed plastic ice cream bucket. A second table nearby is covered with homemade crêpes filled with chocolate, slices of cake, sandwiches wrapped in plastic and a container of penny candies. In the pauses between games, barefoot children beg their mothers for a few francs to

buy one of these alluring treats.

The caller turns a home-made, spherical container of small wooden balls set on a metal frame. Every few seconds she yells out a number, or sometimes a thing that stands for a number, in either Marquesan or French. Many villages have their own bingo “symbols;” examples from Vaitahu include “Christmas” (25), “dog” (67) and “grandma” (65). “*Pao!*”, Marquesan for finished, rings out and the tinkle of chips pouring back into their cloth bags echoes beneath the metal roof. The winner then calls out a series of names and numbers, like “Marie, two hundred!” As the old ice cream bucket comes around to collect money for the next round, only some of the players toss in coins but everyone appears to play.

After a few days of playing I began to understand what was going on, here. Unlike in American bingo, a Marquesan bingo winner shares their prize with their friends and relatives. For example, you might give a couple hundred francs to your sister or the person sitting next to you that day. The distribution of winnings therefore depends on how much you win, with whom you are sitting and the size or number of other players in the game. Thus, the sharing of bingo profits between family and friends reinforces patterns of social obligation, kin relations and reciprocity, a characteristic also observed among bingo gaming elsewhere in the Pacific (Alexeyeff 2011:222).

The informal exchange of labor and resources continues in other contexts as well. For example, in addition to generating income, the growing production of wood carvings, *tapa* and seed jewelry can cultivate local or traditional knowledge about land and resources. Among other types of knowledge, the expertise associated with collecting bark to make *tapa* continues to pass within families and carries with it particular details about the trees, when and where to harvest. Meanwhile, jewelry or *tapa* made for sale often has the same level of importance as the same

products made for local use in dance competitions, festivals and other performances associated with school and church events. Thus, the continued *polyvalent* livelihood has curtailed the commodification of certain products.

However the effects of monetization also vary according to location. In some ways, the three largest villages have become the most commercialized. Roughly 60 percent of the Marquesas' population lives in the primary villages of Taiohae, Atuona and Hakahau (ISPF 2012). These towns each number between 2,200 and 3,000 inhabitants, dwarfing the islands' other 29 villages, whose populations average between 600 and 700 people (Talvard 2014b:2, 4). The three largest villages also have different social and economic landscapes than their smaller neighbors. Whereas most villages have no more than one or two stores, the three biggest towns have four or more. The municipal governments and schools based in these villages also employ many residents with salaried contract or permanent work, while other businesses like restaurants, banks, hotels and family inns (*pensions*) provide employment not available in the smaller villages. In addition, fewer residents of the largest, more thickly settled villages chop copra or work on plantations, since many of them have found alternative work.

My research focused primarily on the areas outside of these three largest villages, mostly because the broader social and economic opportunities they offer have drawn residents away from intensive daily work on the land. The density of their populations means that the majority of local historic resources and productive forest lands lies further away, often in other valleys. This shift has important implications for both Marquesan heritage and the environment. Working on the land and visiting the bush creates crucial opportunities for islanders to engage with historic landscapes, transmit knowledge about their islands and cultivate practices of respect for the land. The Marquesan articulation of money and development through this relationship to

land implicates heritage as well as the latent tensions between conflicting economic strategies and perspectives.

Places, Objects and Money

With the passage of each pair of pale legs over the threshold, coins jangle heavily in the bottom of the old instant coffee tin. “Three hundred francs!” squeaks the shy young girl tending the entrance, pointing to the paper “Entry fee” sign taped to the window. Te Ana Peua (“the open cave”) of Vaitahu, known to locals simply as “the museum,” echoes with shuffling sneakers and the occasional comment in French, English, German or some other language. Two rooms with white tile floors hold a series of glass cases displaying an array of historic stone tools, pearlshell fish hooks, musket balls, ear ornaments and a few stone *tiki*, among other things. Most of the objects were found or excavated at nearby archaeological sites, although some of the nicest pieces were discovered independently and donated by villagers. On this sunny morning in 2012, foreign visitors wander from case to case, reading labels and snapping photos. The reflective ribbing on their backpacks and jackets flashes as they pass in and out of the sunlight streaming through the north-facing windows. At the south window the curly, black-haired heads of two local kids bob as they peer in from the safety of the terrace outside.

Unlike the historic landscapes and sacred lands discussed in Chapter 4, this space is not one with which most Marquesans regularly or actively engage, either socially or otherwise. As an institution and a responsibility of the local government, the Vaitahu community museum cannot relate to islanders in the same way that places in the forest do. It stands outside of local networks of exchange and reciprocity, its contents are no longer used by islanders, and it is an enclosed place associated with archaeology and the municipality.

As a result, most islanders view the museum's admission charges with either indifference or mild disapproval. These funds go directly to the town, yet villagers do not tend to view the earnings as "theirs," or belonging to the community. Instead, they belong to the town. Rumors fly about where the money goes, and whether it actually gets used as intended, to improve the museum. Such stories help to explain why the adult islanders who occasionally work the door don't mind taking a small cut of the entrance fee for themselves. Rather than stealing, they see this as taking a kind of wage, or what the town owes them for work delivered. The secretaries, who may or may not pocket some of the earnings in any case, do likewise. And when it comes time for one of the museum's light bulbs to be replaced, no one pays attention.

How did the villagers of Vaitahu become so alienated from a space intended to aid, educate and represent them? The answer lies in the tension between local and non-local understandings of space and material value. The museum was founded through a partnership between former mayor Tehaumate Tetahiotupa and an American archaeologist, Barry Rolett, who has been working on the island for over thirty years. The venerable goal of sharing the island's pre- and post-European past with its contemporary residents has gradually been realized over more than two decades of dedicated work by both of these men and the current mayor, Felix Barsinas. However, discussions with villagers reveal how few of them have actually visited Te Ana Peua, and how little they know about the objects stored there.

Following the initial excitement, enthusiasm and flow of donations that marked the founding of this, French Polynesia's first community museum, in 1987, interest and commitment have ebbed (Tehaumate Tetahiotupa, May 14, 2013: 3, 22.00). The most common view expressed by today's villagers was a vague, detached impression of awe at the objects their

ancestors created (Pootu Teikivanaka,¹¹ May 6, 2013: 1, 23.50). Others were grateful that the museum provides an opportunity for people to view ancient artifacts, as well as a space for objects with *mana* that would otherwise be inappropriate to keep in one's home (e.g., Fifi Timau and Kiki Timau, May 17, 2013: 1, 55.10; see also Donaldson 2004). Still others voiced concerns that Rolett may have taken objects away to Hawaii (e.g., Keahi Ah-Scha,¹² May 2013: 1, 0.00). All of the artifacts found by Rolett are now stored in Te Ana Peua, yet given islanders' long experience with other foreigners who have, indeed, stolen artifacts, such accusations are understandable.

Most importantly, Te Ana Peua reshapes the use and understanding of ancient objects, creating an educational space but also an attraction for which people pay money. The latter aspect, in particular, helps to explain why many villagers are both disinterested and slightly uncomfortable in the museum. Unlike the nearby open terrace where bingo winnings tinkle and money circulates according to accepted and reciprocal flows, the locked and enclosed spaces of the museum absorb tourists and income in an unfamiliar and even suspicious way. Thus, even as Te Ana Peua shares artifacts for the benefit of the local community, its commercial reinterpretation of local space and ancestral objects creates a crucial separation between people and artifacts (Schorch et al. 2016:61).

A similar shift threatens to influence the way Marquesans approach historic places, as well. In the context of environmental conservation, Paige West explains how, in the Gimi perception of protected areas in Papua New Guinea, conserved natural resources have become valued less for their intrinsic worth than the research money they may potentially generate. Thus, the creation of environmental commodities in order to conserve spaces fundamentally

¹¹ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

¹² Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker's identity.

changes how landscapes are valued locally (West 2006:185,192). Indeed, in their determination to save resources both historic preservation and nature conservation initiatives often generate local value by commodifying spaces or things (see Büscher and Dressler 2007). Likewise, the growing role of money and the commodification of heritage places in the Marquesas is affecting the way islanders value and connect to their historic landscapes.

Marquesan farmer and municipal counselor Hubert Huavanaka¹³ spoke of how happy the UNESCO WHL project makes him, because “they’re the ones who will protect [the *paepae*]...That’s good! If it was us, we wouldn’t protect them...Because [Marquesans] don’t yet have the mentality to preserve, these days...They don’t care. They only think about finding money, of eating and buying things. There’s no [thought of] tomorrow” (May 2013: 1, 1.34.45). Making money from sites by developing them for tourists, selling art and charging an entry fee adheres to this idea. The resulting commodification of historic landscapes assumes the superior importance of money, above all else.

Yet, this kind of total monetization and conversion of meaning appear unlikely, at best (see Sahlins 2005). I spoke with plenty of islanders who do care about historic places: 76 percent of the 271 Marquesans I asked said that *paepae* are important to respect or preserve for reasons other than tourism (see Chart 1, Appendix D). Still, many share Augustin’s concern about the sustainable use of both natural and cultural resources. Some also spoke about their material heritage as if it were something not fully their own, but rather something to be kept for tourists to admire (e.g., Marie-Lyne Barsinas, May 8, 2013: 1, 35.05; Florence Touaitahuata, October 6, 2013: 3, 25.15; Tehina Gilmore, August 29, 2013: 3), in the same way many view Vaitahu’s community museum. Te Ana Peua is only cleaned once every three weeks, for the

¹³ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

Aranui passengers, and a broken light bulb may not be replaced until Rolett returns to visit. Just as the population of Vaitahu has become alienated from the museum, the commercialization of Marquesan heritage could lead to a separation of islanders from their ancestral places (e.g., Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; for further discussion, see Chapter 7).

As observed by Tania Li (2014), capitalism and development can carry enormous potential as well as risk, even when seized at the initiative of local communities. In her long-term study of Indonesia, Li noted how Lauje highlanders chose to privatize their land in order to plant the cash crop, cacao. However, the resulting capitalist relations isolated neighbors from each other and from the land by altering the way people relate to others as well as their resources. In the Marquesas, the commoditization of historic places has assumed a similar, fragmented character as islanders make diverse choices about how to use their land and heritage. However, above all they reject what Escobar (2008) calls “the work and accumulation factors, the order factor, and the individualizing factor” of “dominant modernity” (109). Instead, they are shaping their own particular brand of modernity.

Thus, the Marquesan approach to livelihoods and money conflicts with the classic Western, neoliberal values of individualism and the pursuit of personal wealth (see Weber 2005[1930]). Yet these are the very foundations upon which local development and the UNESCO WHL project hope to build. Existing plans for the Marquesan future depend upon tourism and its financial profits and incentives, which are intended to sustain the local value and management of historic sites. A Sustainable Development Plan for the Marquesas recently published by the state-supported Community of Marquesan Municipalities, or CODIM (*Communauté des communes des Iles Marquises*), illustrates this point.

CODIM was created in 2011 to advance the collective interests of the Marquesas Islands

and their inhabitants through the support of economic, public health and infrastructure initiatives, including tourism (Bureau de la communication Interministérielle 2012). One of CODIM's stated objectives is to promote local ecotourism based upon the islands' "authenticity" and unique cultural resources such as historic sites (CODIM 2012:26). They emphasize the need to "protect and transmit" Marquesan material and immaterial heritage while contributing to the tourist industry (ibid., 49, 57). "Without doubt, the future development of tourism must ensure the preservation of traditional and contemporary expressions of local Marquesan culture that not only connect the islands but guarantee inhabitants' pride and attachment to their island and their way of life, a condition which is indispensable to the archipelago's harmonious and sustainable development"¹⁴ (CODIM 2013:40). This bid for preservation includes not only historic sites on land, but marine protected areas as well (ibid.).

The current UNESCO WHL nomination for the Marquesas shares these goals, arguing for the simultaneous advance of heritage, tourism and sustainable development. It also reflects the broader global trend of structuring heritage management around two overlapping, development-oriented themes: the preservation of historic resources and their use as tourist sites (Di Giovine 2009). CODIM, the territorial government and a collection of experts on the environment, heritage and Marquesan culture are collaborating on this project to promote, publicize and preserve local sites (or "properties," in UNESCO terms) deemed unique and outstanding from a global perspective. Yet, the CODIM and UNESCO WHL projects both illustrate the risk involved in using Marquesan heritage for sustainable development.

First, the use of historic landscapes for tourism allows them to be used for the individual

¹⁴ Original French text reads: "Nul doute que le développement futur du tourisme devra veiller à préserver les expressions traditionnelles et contemporaines de la culture locale marquisienne, qui non seulement est un facteur de cohésion entre les îles mais également garante de la fierté et de l'attachement des habitants à leur île et à leur mode de vie, condition indispensable à un développement harmonieux et durable de l'archipel."

accumulation of wealth in new ways not permitted by historic, shared patterns of land use. In the process, the objects and aesthetic appeal of an historic place gain greater importance, as does its precise ownership. Second, the emphasis on celebrating heritage means that spiritual relationships to the land involving sinister, ambiguous or painful colonial connotations are more likely to be suppressed. Third, assertively promoting the preservation of certain historic landscapes prioritizes the goals of safeguarding and maintenance, precluding any alternative local practices of respect that involve the avoidance of sites with exceptional *mana*. As a result, using heritage to advance sustainable development commercializes local land and, in doing so, reconfigures the relationship between people, places and heritage.

The development of heritage tourism also helps to isolate islanders from historic resources and their associated knowledge (e.g., Nestor Ohu, October 4, 2013: 3; Georges Teikiehuupoko, October 9, 2013: 4, 1.10.20). As growing numbers of youth orient themselves towards the tourist industry, patterns of respect for ancestral places based on reciprocal relationships with the land are fading (e.g., Remy Mahea Santos, June 20, 2013: 1, 2.25). Retired school teacher Pierre Teikiotiu remarked on how tourism and copra work together to alienate youth from their past: “for [young people], when they go chop copra there are no *paepae*, it’s just copra! For them, the only *paepae* are at Upeke,” one of Hiva Oa’s restored *tohua ko’ina* (June 24, 2013: 2, 28.45).

Meanwhile, restored or widely recognized sites have already become, for some Marquesans, more valuable as places “for the tourists” that generate valuable financial income for villagers (e.g., Marc Pichon, June 20, 2013: 3; Sylvia Teikiupoko,¹⁵ November 26, 2013: 2, 19.45; Théodora Tehina Teikitohe, September 14, 2013: 3, 44.40). This perspective would

¹⁵ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

appear to conflict with the idea that ancient places are valuable to islanders because of their ancestral worth. As one artist pointed out, “there are *upe* [or *paepae*] that still have *mana*, and that is interesting! That’s part of a culture that’s old and that’s still there, but they’re abandoned. Those are the sites to bring back to life. They are really ancient. They’re unique!” (Timona Tereino, October 14, 2013: 3, 45.05). The restored site of Upeke, for example, is still *tapu* (ibid.). Yet, the use of such sacred lands for tourism jarringly conflicts with Marquesan interpretations of respect and reciprocity. Like the forest *hau* that Mauss (1990[1950]) describes as animating Maori objects of exchange (15), Marquesans interpret their tending of the land as a gift that will be reciprocated; a relationship that can be threatened by tourist commodification (see Kahn 2011:68, 166).

Others have noted how the commoditization of heritage through tourism has great potential for altering social relationships between people and their resources (see Appadurai 1986; Lockridge 2012). Tourism, in particular, cultivates new and potentially damaging representations of places and people that can reshape local reality and relationships to the past (Kahn 2011:116-7). As Miriam Kahn (2011) discusses in her study of the use of sacred Tahitian *marae* for tourism, disagreements over the meaning of place can lead to a “clash between, on the one hand, the actions of foreign users and abusers of Tahitian land and, on the other, the feelings of Tahitians for whom *te fenua* [or, the land] embodies their roots, their nurturing mother, and their identity” (ibid.:88). Kahn focuses on the positive aspects of ruins, defining *marae* as “physical remnants of ancient, sacred sites that today still provide Polynesians with an emotional and spiritual sense of identity and historical continuity” (ibid., 159). Still, my discussions with some Marquesans suggest that the relationship may be more deeply conflicted, in ways similar to

what exists in the Marquesas (e.g., Jean Matio Tamarii, October 7, 2013: 7, 28.20).¹⁶ Indeed, Marquesans appear to have a much more ambiguous relationship to a land that nourishes them but also contains ruins that can represent either strength or danger.

Despite these differences, the dilemma presented by tourism at historic sites remains the same. The conversion of Marquesan sacred places into tourist sites risks violating them in ways not typically acceptable to Marquesans. Strangers could disrespect the ancestors and their places by walking where they should not, touching certain things or sitting on particular stones. Even with an open acknowledgement of their power and strict rules about the behavior of visitors, the use of sacred places as commodities is bound to offend the spirits. Like the sale of traditional remedies whose power depends on *mana* (Regina Teikiheekua, September 14, 2013: 4, 15.30), this should be forbidden. Yet, some islanders advocate for it.

The divisive effect of this process can be seen in the way that some restored historic sites, and potential tourist attractions, have been treated. In particular, the neglect of a number of these sites demonstrates how their maintenance has become entirely dependent on the making of money. Several village mayors lamented the fact that there “isn’t enough money” to keep these historic sites maintained for tourists (Yvonne Katupa, September 13, 2013: 2, 28.35; Teikipoetahi Kautai, October 9, 2013: 3; Félix Barsinas, May 28, 2013: 2, 5.55). Speaking of hiring young men and women on CPIA contracts to help maintain the popular site of Kamuihei in Hatiheu, village mayor Yvonne Katupa noted the importance of emphasizing how the work is “not just about making CPIA money. You must also work to leave something for the future...they must understand that” (Yvonne Katupa, September 13, 2013: 2, 59.00). Yet, as her comment implies, this interpretation is increasingly rare. On the island of Hiva Oa, mayor

¹⁶ I was unable to explore this question further since the focus of my research did not include Tahitians.

Etienne Tehoamoana observed how the discovery of a new site in a tiny village became controversial because the villagers viewed it more as a potential source of money than as their common heritage (June 17, 2013: 1, 16.55).

Thus, in an ironic twist the supposedly long-term goals of maintaining heritage and achieving sustainable development actually have the opposite effect on local perspectives, spurring islanders to focus on earning money rather than sustaining reciprocal relationships to the land or their ancestors. Moreover, these examples illustrate how the reinterpretation of just a few restored historic landscapes for tourism is encouraging new understandings of all local sites as commodities. Due to this correlation, individual families may be less likely to maintain historic sites without the promise of income. As demonstrated by Laurie Medina's (2015) study of ecotourism in Belize, newly introduced "market rationalities" based on monetary income can actively restructure local residents' relationship to the environment. More specifically, she notes how the process of commodifying a nature sanctuary "reordered roles, relationships, and priorities" among conservation advocates, the state and the community, and in doing so enabled "the market for protected tropical nature to operate as a mechanism for governing" (*ibid.*, 281). The commodification of heritage through tourism, likewise, threatens to territorialize historic landscapes and, ultimately, damage Marquesan connections to the land and the past.

This process is aggravated by other, related historic and market influences that are working to draw Marquesans away from the land. As discussed in Chapter 4, local connection to historic landscapes depends upon regular engagement with the land. Moreover, an open awareness of relational signs, and a willingness to engage with the forest and the spirits therein, appear directly related to the amount of time people spend on the land. Although some villages like Hapatoni or Taiohae have kept and incorporated certain historic sites in their central cores,

most ancient landscapes remain further away, in the backs of valleys or removed from the areas where people live and, increasingly, work. Meanwhile, as the use and ownership of land becomes more contentious many young islanders prefer to simply pursue employment away from the land, such as creating art for sale, working under contract for the town, opening restaurants or more intensively cultivating their yards. In the process, the forest recedes from everyday life.

Memories of a painful colonial past and hopes for a different future both serve to broaden this separation from the land. Parents today work harder than ever to make money so that their children will have better lives, and realize greater ambitions, than what they were allowed in the past. Alcoholic parents, grueling work regimens and going to school on an empty stomach are all common themes in adults' accounts of growing up in the Marquesas. A life of harvesting copra is closely associated with that era, and therefore viewed as undesirable by many Marquesans.

The problems of the recent past have not disappeared, but many hope their children will achieve something better through improved education and regular, salaried jobs. Above all, the advance of development is seen as offering an escape from that time, as in some ways it already has. Following the establishment of a French nuclear testing site in the Tuamotus in the 1960s, economic development of the capital grew rapidly. Hundreds of Marquesans went away to work at the testing site and make more money than they had ever seen. By the 1990s the government was transporting hundreds of their children on scholarship to Tahiti for high school, a policy that continues today. Yet, as previously noted, the many types of practical expertise delivered in Tahiti, including training in hotel services, finance and secretarial skills, cannot be applied in the Marquesas due to a scarcity or total absence of the institutions that support them. Others who

have worked hard to obtain their BAC or other licenses have later found that these qualifications disqualify them from applying for the government-subsidized commercial or agricultural work (CPIA) contracts that are the chief source of salaried Marquesan jobs outside of municipal employment.

Still, today many parents push their children to pursue their studies as far as possible rather than accept the alternative of returning home to chop copra. Although the Marquesas have a few vocational schools, most higher education is available only in Tahiti or, in some cases, France. The resulting years of absence from the Marquesas have produced a growing separation between islanders and their land. As noted by one local baker, “I sometimes [tell my children about *tapu* places], but that’s rare because starting from the age they must go to school the kids are not there. Sometimes they’ll come back for a month and then they go away again. Sometimes you don’t have time, and other times you say something; but for them it’s like the wind [or it means nothing]. Since they don’t see it, they don’t go to those places, they’ve never seen them, that’s the thing. But it’s too bad” (Tahiaapameama Matuaite, September 19, 2013: 1, 41.55)

Most youth of 20 years or younger have little experience in the forest. Although they may subsequently cultivate this expertise if they return home to work with family on the land, many avoid this option by remaining in Tahiti or choosing to focus on art or other pursuits. Thus, youth risk losing knowledge about land boundaries, plants, place names and emplaced histories that are communicated and reinforced by activities in the landscape and the *polyvalent* lifestyle. As copra farmer Cyrille Vaki (age 34) remarked, “you have to know how to look at [*paepae*]. Sometimes the stones mark the boundary of lands between different families” (Cyrille Vaki, June 25, 2013: 2, 7.05). For many Marquesans his age or younger, the livelihoods that

facilitate the transmission of this knowledge and other stories about historic landscapes are losing their relevancy.

Tehina Gilmore, who works with the local UNESCO WHL initiative on her island of Fatu Hiva, described this situation.

We still keep our customs even though they are disappearing more and more, but the *paepae* are still there to show that our customs are still there, and we must not forget them. But it's too bad there aren't many *paepae* in the village. And the young people rarely go into the bush. They'll say, "I'm not going to waste my time in the bush going to see those *paepae*." And that's too bad. ...There are parents that push their children to chop copra or collect fruit, all that. So there are some youth who go [into the bush], but most of them prefer to stay at home listening to music, all that. You know, each person has their own experience, and you can't judge them. (August 29, 2013: 2, 30.45)

Though Tehina is right, the full import of separating people from the land threatens to have long-term consequences, as youth lose touch with their ancestors and Marquesan knowledge of place. Older islanders lament the loss of expertise about land, cultivation and subsistence. Whereas most young men could climb a coconut tree with ease 20 years ago, far fewer of the current generation have needed to cultivate the same skill. Since higher education became the norm in the 1980s, most youth leave home as teenagers and spend at least several years in Tahiti. They return to the Marquesas with metropolitan hopes and feelings distant from their parents' agrarian lifestyles.

The loss of the knowledge and skills associated with the bush worries others because it represents a crucial part of who they are, as Marquesans. The name of the islands in Marquesan is *te fenua enata* (or *te henua enana*), meaning the land of men or the people's land. Even as local school curricula incorporate the UNESCO WHL project and the occasional local heritage site, contemporary youth risk a kind of deculturation achieved through alienation from the land and loss of knowledge about ancestral places.

Instead of improving local connections to the land and heritage, the Western development model adopted by CODIM and the UNESCO WHL project could advance this process of alienation by commoditizing ancestral places. The spread of digital technology in the islands is one example of how Western approaches to development already threaten to compound local isolation from the land.

Alienation and Resistance

According to some health professionals, the growing role of technology and the associated decrease in the amount of time American children spend playing outdoors have triggered a “nature deficit disorder” linked to such troubling trends as rising childhood obesity, depression and attention disorders (Louv 2005). Prompted by similar concerns over the decline of visitors in recent decades, in 2015 the United States’ National Park Service launched a new initiative urging Americans to “Find Your Park” (*Associated Press* 2015). Faced with what seems like a fundamental dissonance between modern technology and nature, park leadership is striving to bring outdoor spaces and other forms of heritage into the virtual age through online videos, celebrity involvement and diversified appeal (*ibid.*).

Technology in the Marquesas is playing a similar role in local disconnection from the land. Those in their 30s or older remark how youth today prefer spending time with their friends, on Facebook, playing with their cell phones or on computers rather than working at home or in the bush with their families (e.g., Emile Buchin, August 21, 2013: 1, 54.45). Ua Huka mayor Nestor Ohu noted how technology has made it more difficult for today’s youth to relate to the forest:

Often in the evening, when I look at my grandson, he asks for a cartoon on television. Or if it’s not a cartoon, it’s video games. And then I think, all that

is serious! I have friends in Tahiti who don't even talk to their children any more. They're in front of computers with their video games. Whereas us, back in the day, in the morning we knew: you get up, you take your broom and go collect leaves in the yard, all that, and we knew what time we would have coffee, and what time we'd go to school. And in the evening when we came back there were horses and pigs to feed. It was well organized... Before, we knew how to fish, we'd go on the rocks with our fishing rods... You know that now, there are young people of 17 or 18 years old that don't even know how to attach a hook! It's true! (October 4, 2013: 3, 22.45)

During their time away at school and in Tahiti, Nestor said, many of these youth have been “a bit removed from those who know how to work well” (ibid.), isolated from their Marquesan families. Indeed, the ongoing social engagement of people with particular places and things represents a crucial aspect of continuity in knowledge and culture and, ultimately, identity.

Today this emplaced relationship between people and land appears to be weakening. Ironically, it may decline still further as a result of heritage preservation initiatives that aim to reinforce Marquesan culture. Speaking of *mana*, Etienne Tehoamoana asserted, “I believe in that supernatural power...Marquesans believe [in it]. But people from outside, they don't believe. Even the Marquesans who live in Tahiti, they don't believe [in it] too much. But when you talk to them about that stuff, then they know; it's in their culture” (June 17, 2013: 1, 9.50). Due in part to their inspiration in sources outside of the Marquesas, existing efforts to promote local heritage largely ignore these beliefs and their importance. For example, CODIM's Sustainable Development Plan acknowledges, but fails to address, the spiritual meaning of heritage. It mentions the “spiritual environment” of historic sites and notes that local belief in the “magical” power of the ancient *tiki* has not entirely disappeared (CODIM 2013:40-41), but it does not suggest or explore either the true significance or potential implications of these understandings. This includes the crucial role of *mana* and local practices of respect in maintaining many historic sites in cultivated landscapes, in addition to the risk that tourist income may pose to such

interpretations.

As the first document of its kind for the Marquesas, the scope of the CODIM plan is understandably limited, a fact which may explain its cursory treatment of spiritual meanings. However the CODIM may also feel a certain pressure to downplay such underlying, and complicated, heritage meanings and ambiguities. Indeed, as noted by Etienne, most outsiders involved in heritage initiatives do not believe, or may not even be aware of, alternative local understandings. Whatever its cause, the failure of either CODIM or the UNESCO WHL project to acknowledge spiritual interpretations of historic places or local practices of respect parallels historic and colonial silences surrounding ancestral spirits.

Current approaches to development and the associated processes of territorialization produced by the relationship between power, the market and the land facilitate this silence. As a tool useful for both nationalist and economic purposes, heritage is often employed by state governments as a method of territorialization (Anderson 1983; Edwards 2007; Harvey 2001; Lowenthal 2005) or, as it has been called in Europe, patrimonialization (Vaccaro and Beltran 2010; Cormier-Salem et al. 2002). Drawing upon examples from natural resource management, James Scott (1998) and others have explored how states create specialized knowledge through surveying, mapping, zoning and scientific research (Carr 2010; Robbins 2001). This process, also known as “functional territorialization,” involves “the remapping of forest and other land according to scientific criteria such as soil type, slope, and vegetation, which...become the basis for laws prohibiting and prescribing specific activities in these areas” that tend to promote specific economic interests (Vandergeest and Peluso 1995:408, 416).

At the levels of both State and Territory in French Polynesia, heritage management links territoriality with commoditization in similar ways. As explained by Foucault: “mercantilism is

the first rationalization of the exercise of power as a practice of government; it is the first time that a knowledge of the state began to be formed that can be employed for tactics of government” (Foucault 2007:102). Although UNESCO is an international organization, the WHL nomination effectively reshapes knowledge in this way. As a project implemented by State and Territory, it allows these governments to expand their power over territory for specific cultural, economic and political purposes. Thus, nation-state and market processes are inseparable, interdependent and anchored in territory (Polanyi 2001[1944]).

UNESCO WH listing does not entail the actual transfer of land ownership, but it does require landowners to relinquish certain rights to their land. Decisions about construction, where and what to plant, and how to maintain or divide the land are made using government management plans approved by UNESCO, rather than the owner of the property. In a fundamental if not a legal sense, this forces property owners to assume a kind of sub-ownership involving possession of a land title without full authority (Di Giovine 2009:363; Martin 2011). Although the very idea of total control and inalienable property does not fully apply to the Marquesas due to the *indivision* of land and local interpretations of shared use, the uninvited introduction of foreign authority over land is an unwelcome prospect for a variety of political and historic reasons. This type of dispossession echoes ongoing patterns of colonial violence and represents one of the leading reasons cited by Marquesans who oppose the UNESCO WHL project.

For example, Vaipae artist Jean Matio Tamarai described attending the first couple of community meetings held by UNESCO representatives in his village. They discussed “heritage for UNESCO, and the *paepae* and all that. And we [the landowners] also had to sign something for the *paepae* in our valleys. I signed, and then after, at the second meeting, I didn’t sign any

more to [say that I] accept UNESCO's presence on my land for the *paepae*. And afterwards I heard that later, UNESCO will be the one that inherits all the *paepae*" (October 7, 2013: 7, 46.25). Others similarly worry that UNESCO will "take" their land (e.g., Rachel Barsinas, April 29, 2013; Josephine Heitaa, December 19, 2013; Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 10.35). A former dancer and copra farmer in Hohoi explained how she had heard from other Marquesans that "UNESCO isn't good...because everyone from outside is going to come and take away our lands" (Hélène Kautai Hikutini, October 10, 2013: 7, 58.15).

Local landowners may, indeed, lose some of the rights associated with local ownership if their properties are added to the UNESCO WHL. An appropriate plan for the management of a nominated UNESCO WH property entails "a cycle of long-term and day-to-day actions to protect, conserve and present the nominated property" which are implemented by the government "in close collaboration with property managers, the agency with management authority and other partners, and stakeholders in property management" (UNESCO 2013: Chapter II.F.112 and II.F.117). Although this policy clearly emphasizes local participation, it nonetheless represents the extension of government authority through advancing the particular goal of preservation.

The flexible approach of the *polyvalent* has an important role to play in resisting this process and defying the classic, arguably illusory, dichotomy between tradition and change (Sahlins 1999). For example, the dependence of the *polyvalent* lifestyle on reciprocal relationships and shared responsibility gives islanders the opportunity to engage actively and dynamically with both money and the land, if they choose. Marquesan fishing strategies have therefore persisted over generations through the transmission of cultural knowledge in practice (Rolett 1998:118), even as some fishermen sell their catch. Likewise, rich stores of knowledge

and patterns of behavior have endured through continuous Marquesan activity in, and use of, the bush for commercial purposes like copra harvesting. This transmission of skills applies not only to the physical and material utilization of resources, but to how individuals engage socially with their material and spiritual surroundings. Thus, knowing how to interact with the spirits has long remained as fundamental to Marquesan health and survival as being able to husk a coconut (see Chapter 4).

The ongoing flexible use of land, itself is also an important tool for resistance to state power. In their study of privatization in Thailand, Vandergeest and Peluso explain how residents' non-compliance with territorial strategies forces governments to continually revise territorial maps and categories in order "to account for how people have crossed earlier paper boundaries" (Vandergeest and Peluso 1995:416). As Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) illustrate, the development of heritage can be a similarly complex process. The use of heritage as both an economic commodity and a social or political tool of exclusion, nationalism or development can create an internal dissonance as conflicting forms of "economic and cultural capital" are simultaneously pursued (Graham 2002:1003, 1005).

By failing to recognize the emplaced spiritual meanings of local landscapes, current Marquesan heritage projects mobilize this tension. Government initiatives to promote and develop certain local historic sites combine with associated processes of commoditization to alienate Marquesans from their land and their past, even as local practices on the land resist these changes. Above all, instead of complementing Marquesan ideas about the land, current goals for sustainable development forge a new and potentially risky connection between the preservation of heritage and commoditization.

Development and Heritage

In the past, development in the Marquesas has often led to the destruction of historic sites. Islanders have frequently placed their future and their past in direct opposition to justify the construction of roads, buildings and community spaces in ancestral landscapes. The hope has been that these changes will allow them to not only advance but to leave their painful colonial history behind them. Yet, this perspective puts historic places at imminent risk of harm. The same reasoning has also encouraged many Marquesans to ignore or avoid ancestral landscapes, rather than try to understand them.

In other cases, even those who care about historic places have been pressured to destroy them in the name of development. In the valley of Hanamiai, an unusually rich ceremonial fishing complex excavated by Barry Rolett in the 1980s was subsequently destroyed in order to create a village soccer field and provide sand for local construction projects. Tehaumate Tetahiotupa, the mayor at the time, remembers having to tell Rolett, whom he considers a close friend, about this difficult decision. “I explained to him that there are many archaeological sites in the Marquesas, and we really needed that site for a soccer field. When you look at the topography of the Marquesas, you can easily tell there aren’t many flat places. So for me, that was the principal thing, [and that is why] the soccer field came before [his] archaeological site” (May 14, 2013: 3, 1.02.55). He noted that the soccer field was a place for the youth of the village to gather, socialize and play. Moving it from its former location in the center of Vaitahu also freed up more space for the town’s school and administrative offices. Thus, despite his great interest in history and his ancestors, the mayor found himself choosing local development over the past.

Challenging heritage management decisions like these are common around the globe, and

normally receive guidance from local laws. In the Marquesas, no such legal framework exists. The threat to Marquesan heritage of all kinds, natural and cultural, material and immaterial, has long been acknowledged by local and territorial leadership, yet it remains unmitigated. Current French Polynesian law provides severely limited protection for only those heritage sites that have been classified. Even despite classification, some properties may not be protected since the landowner may be unaware of their special status and therefore move to damage or destroy them (Tamara Maric and Christiane Dauphin, February 14, 2013: 1).

In 1917, the Society for Oceanic Studies (*Société des Études Océaniques*) first recognized the value of local heritage in French Polynesia, as well as the need for its protection. Two statutes in support of this goal prohibited the unauthorized export of historic objects and established the Papeete Museum (later the Museum of Tahiti and the Islands, or *Musée de Tahiti et des îles – Te Fare Manaha*) (Government of France Arrêté, June 11, 1917; Government of France Arrêté, October 24, 1917; *Hiro’a* 2013). These efforts were subsequently fortified by scientific research and publications from the ORSTOM Center¹⁷ of French Polynesia and the government Department of Culture and Heritage (*Service de la Culture et du Patrimoine*, or SCP) (SCP 2010b; IRD n.d.).¹⁸

Still, the first legislation to actually advance the preservation of local heritage was a 1937 decree for the protection of natural monuments and sites of historic, legendary or aesthetic (*pittoresque*) value in the French colonies (Government of France Décret, August 25, 1937). Thirteen years later, two more statutes furnished the necessary details to act upon this decree by laying out how to apply the protection of such places (Government of France Arrêté No. 460,

¹⁷ The ORSTOM Center, or the *Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer*, was established in 1964 and is now known as the *Institut de recherche pour le développement*, or IRD.

¹⁸ The SCP was originally created in 1985 as the *Service de la Culture*.

April 15, 1950; Government of France Arrêté No. 597, May 19, 1950). The actual preservation of sites was finally implemented by a 1952 statute identifying a collection of “classified” sites requiring protection. Drafted and passed thousands of miles away by the government in Paris, this law states that classified sites possess natural, historic, legendary or heritage character which justifies their conservation, and their destruction or any modification is forbidden without authorization from the government (Government of France Arrêté No. 865, June 23, 1952). Officially, damage to any classified site incurs a fine. Yet no framework has ever been established to provide consistent enforcement of this rule or surveillance of sites (Conte 2006).

The list of classified sites in the Marquesas has not been updated since 1952, and includes some sites that have largely disappeared (JOPF 1952). For example, the classified site Tohua Pekia in Atuona, Hiva Oa, was destroyed by the landowner during a house construction project in 2005 yet still remains on the list (Tamara Maric, January 24, 2013). As of 2010, 600 sites had been inventoried in the Marquesas for their archaeological, historic and legendary value, representing about 18 percent of French Polynesia’s total. Forty-two of these inventoried Marquesan cultural sites are classified, of which 33 are privately owned (*Hiro’a* 2010; SCP 2012). Meanwhile, a 1971 statute classified four of the Marquesas’ uninhabited islands as natural sites (Government of France Arrêté No. 2559, July 28, 1971).

Still, the actual protection offered by such legislation is limited by the lack of any ongoing assessment or classification of sites. Most of the existing classified sites are only vaguely identified, without such details as exact resource type, size or boundaries specified by the classification. The current selection of sites also reflects the perspective and priorities of another time. For example, the only two classified sites on Tahuata are both colonial: a small memorial to French soldiers and a monument commemorating the 1838 arrival of French admiral

Dupetit-Thouars (JOPF 1952). The latter held so little meaning to the local community that it was actually removed from public display and put in storage around 2006.

Meanwhile, historic sites in the forest are constantly vulnerable to damage by the elements, animals or land users who either don't notice them or don't care (Tamara Maric, February 14, 2013). Although the rates of destruction have dropped in recent years due to an increasing attention to heritage value, bulldozers continue to destroy historic sites for the construction of homes, farmland and roads throughout the islands. The burning of brush piles can also crack and damage stones or burn historic trees, while the grazing of livestock and the rooting of both wild and domestic pigs can displace and destroy ancient structures. The abandonment of sites can be almost as damaging, since the growth of large trees like mango, coconut and local hardwoods break apart *paepae* and send neatly assembled walls gradually crumbling to the ground. Many stone statues and petroglyphs are carved from *ke'etu*, a sacred volcanic tuff that is soft, porous and particularly susceptible to wear from the elements. Some of the more popular, frequently visited petroglyphs are degrading due to repeated rubbing, as people working to remove moss scrape away part of the design, as well. Local vandalism has also become an issue. In the past few years several popular sites and *tiki* were targeted by misdirected youth who were likely confused and probably frustrated with the government or other institutions that support the celebration of heritage (see Figure 18).

In response, heritage advocates have called for greater recognition and the urgent protection of historic resources (Chavaillon and Olivier 2007), a need heightened by the increasing desire for tourist development and site visitation. How to effectively pursue this goal requires careful attention, however. In the words of the chief of the SCP, "the biggest obstacle" to the success of the UNESCO WHL project is "the population itself" (Teddy Tehei, February 7,

2013: 2, 8.25). Despite Motu Haka's leadership and strong political support for the project, many Marquesans remain skeptical and still need to be "convinced" of its value (ibid.). Thus, the tension between powerful economic, political and cultural goals both inside and outside of the Marquesas complicates current preservation initiatives.

In view of these threats to local heritage, the French Polynesian government is working on a new heritage code that will revise the existing laws and improve the protection of historic resources. The ongoing UNESCO WHL project has helped spur this development, since a successful nomination requires local support and legislation for the protection of heritage (Pascal Erhel, February 11, 2013; Tamara Maric, February 14, 2013; Teddy Tehei, February 7, 2013). The new heritage code would therefore work in conjunction with the management plans drafted as part of the Marquesas UNESCO WHL nomination. An additional impetus for this legislation is the simultaneous, and competing, development of a UNESCO WHL nomination for the giant ceremonial complex of Taputapuātea, on Raiatea in the Austral Islands of French Polynesia. Despite the broader cultural significance of Taputapuātea as an important sacred site and voyaging destination throughout the Eastern Pacific, the Marquesas project has taken priority due to the enthusiasm of Marquesan leadership and its unusual 20-year history (Teddy Tehei, February 7, 2013).

Still, once the new heritage code is completed and implemented each of these two sites will require substantial social and political support at the local level if historic resources are to be effectively preserved. Heritage professionals in Tahiti are both skeptical and hopeful, noting the importance of involving Marquesan landowners, local law enforcement and others in the implementation of the new rules (e.g., Eric Conte, February 13, 2013; Pascal Erhel, February 11, 2013; Christiane Dauphin, February 12, 2013). A suitable point of departure for these

discussions could be the sharing of existing local perspectives and knowledge about the common treatment of heritage landscapes.

For example, in their everyday agricultural activities at historic sites islanders tend to avoid climbing, planting, burning or urinating on ancient structures and try not to disturb stones or damage associated trees such as banyans. Islanders explain these behaviors as indications of respect, although some project participants found it difficult to articulate why such demonstrations of respect are necessary (e.g., Marie Josephine Scallamera, June 24, 2013: 3, 6.25; Eugène Ehueinana, August 28, 2013: 2, 1.05). They noted that this behavior was taught to them by parents, relatives or friends who either did not explain it or merely said it was because certain places or *paepae* were *tapu*, served a funerary purpose, or had been the site of unusual events (e.g., Christina Timau, November 26, 2013: 3, 26.40; Konihi Vaimaa, December 3, 2013: 3, 4.45; Nestor Ohu, October 4, 2013: 3, 10.30).

Thus, although islanders may not recognize heritage places as inherently valuable or meaningful, many are nonetheless compelled to respect ancestral landscapes in their own way. With encouragement from a successful UNESCO WH listing, tourism could facilitate the first mass commodification of Marquesan heritage, a change that already threatens to reshape this particular relationship between islanders and their land. The current state of tourism at one of the most visited historic sites in the islands offers a hint of what could lie ahead.

Iipona, Hiva Oa

I have visited the historic site of Iipona almost every year since 2007. It sits in the middle of the lush, wide valley of Puamau, cupped in the great green drum of mountains that shape Hiva Oa's northeast coast. Several roads lead up into the valley from the village, whose

population numbers around 400. One unpaved track ascends steeply past small, colorful homes, giant mango trees and grazing horses.

After a switchback and a sharp rise, your breath comes short and fast in the warm, humid air. As you continue climbing the view of the surrounding mountains sharpens to reveal waterfalls and sheer cliffs dotted with tenacious green tufts of vegetation. You pass several coconut plantations and a small inn surrounded by abundant fruit trees, vines and rows of hand-made beehives. Beyond the last house on the left looms a towering, craggy cliff of rock. Sheltered at its foot lies Iipona, one of the best-known historic sites in the Marquesas.

A series of stone terraces joined by stairs lead up to a grassy court inhabited by five large stone *tiki*. Visual representations of the deified ancestors of Marquesans in human form, *tiki* appear in all types of local media including stone, wood, bone, and tattoo. The Marquesan *tiki* has certain characteristics that distinguish it from other Pacific *tiki* including large, round eyes, a wide mouth and flat hands that sit on a protruding belly. The *tiki* at Iipona vary in size, shape and gender. The largest and most prominent among them is Tiki Takai'i, the biggest *tiki* in French Polynesia (Figure 29). Tourists come from around the world to see him, and islanders refer to him with a kind of familial pride. Together, Takai'i and his silent companions face the bay, their once open view of the sea obscured by the bushy tops of coconut palms and mango trees.

In 2013 I had my first chance to visit this place alone, with nothing to break the silence but the occasional bird call and the swishing of weeds against my flip-flops. The contrast with most of my previous visits was striking. I normally come to the site as a guest lecturer on the combined cruise ship and freighter *Aranui*, accompanied by some 200 other people. Once a month, the *Aranui* disgorges its passengers onto the Puamau quay along with a variety of items

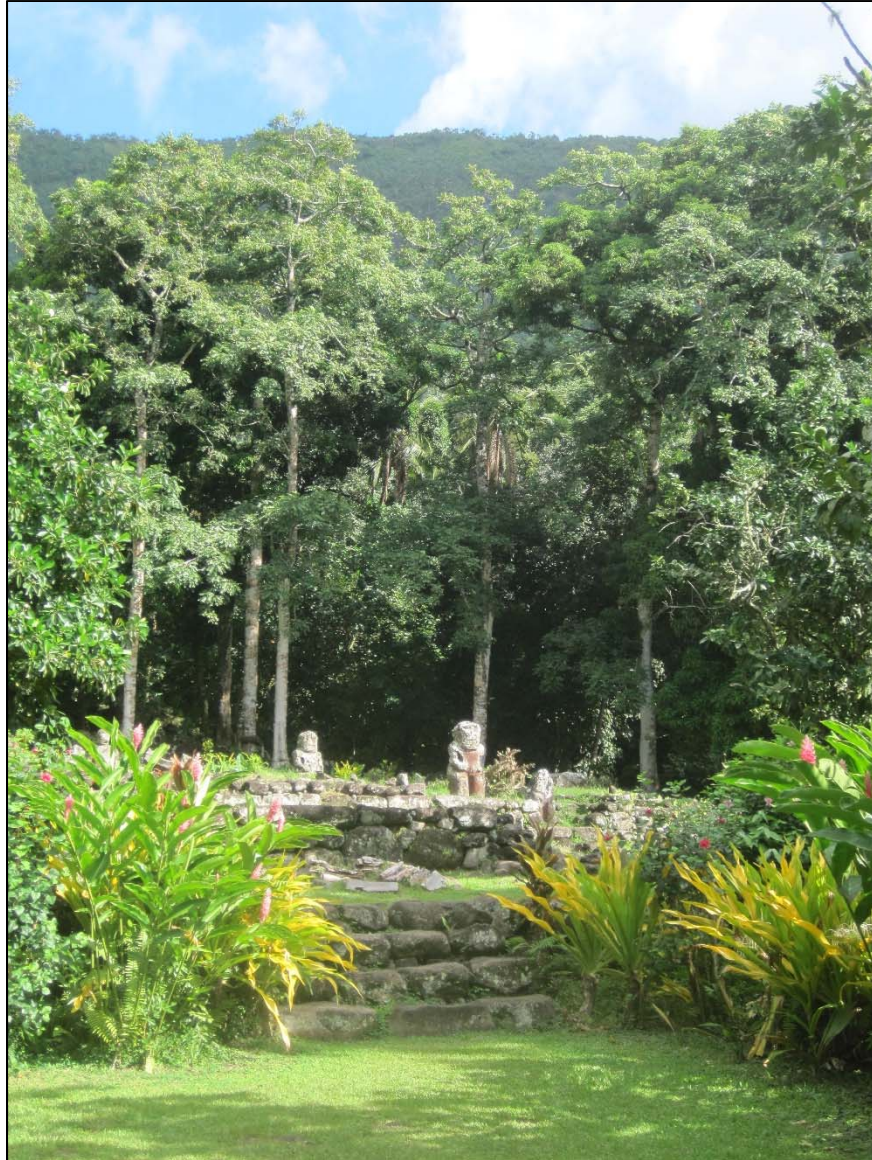


Figure 29. Tiki Takai'i (right, center) looks out over the open terraces of Iipona in the valley of Puamau, Hiva Oa.

such as giant crates of mail, food, beer and building materials. Plastic bags of limes, burlap sacks of copra, bunches of bananas and red crates of empty beer bottles wait to be loaded, in turn. While the local store-owner tallies his stock, a rumbling convoy of private pickup trucks absorbs the colorful stream of global passengers, one by one. They drive off down the coastal road and ascend a different, paved route to arrive at Iipona within minutes. Many of the visitors have dreamed of this moment for years, enchanted by the *tiki* and their majestic, mysterious air.



Figure 30. Tourists from the Aranui listen to one of the ship's guides at Iipona.

The stone pavements quickly disappear beneath scores of sneakers and sandals, and the site hums with voices punctuated by the digital “click” of countless cameras (Figure 30).

On one such visit in 2013, when I was not working for the *Aranui*, I stood near the edge of the site with a young Marquesan artist named Djecis, listening to an *Aranui* guide explain some of Iipona’s history. Djecis and I had come up to the site earlier in the day, just as the freighter was pulling into the bay, to prepare. Her husband and mother helped her unload a small plastic table and a chair from her husband’s truck, in addition to several shopping bags.

Then, in a routine already familiar to me from art sales in Vaitahu, Djecis constructed her market. She set up the table on the edge of one of the lower pavements, beneath a large lime tree, and unfolded a red cotton cloth to cover it. On the cloth she placed a stack of colorful

printed sarongs,¹⁹ neatly folded. Grabbing a second bag, she began the process of carefully unwrapping and arranging a series of stone carvings. Her husband makes the carvings from stones he finds on local beaches and river beds, while Djecis and her mother make the sarongs. They use local leaves and hand-made designs for the prints, which are carefully dyed onto the cloth under the tropical sun. Each object is discreetly labeled with a piece of scotch tape and a price. The smallest stone carving goes for 8,000 xpf, or about \$80 US, while some larger ones are 20,000 xpf (\$180 US) or more. The sarongs sell for around \$35 US. When she had finished arranging her things on the table, Djecis folded the bags and sat down in the chair just in time for the first few tourists to arrive.

Similar scenes to this one regularly unfold at several Marquesan historic sites, with the highest volume of tourists visiting Iipona and Kamuihei, in Hatiheu. The actual presence of artists like Djecis at sites remains relatively rare, however. More often, tourists visit historic attractions located outside of villages, either before or after visiting art sales in town. With the exception of Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa, these sales are temporary displays set up only for the days that the cruise ships visit. In the past ten years Taiohae and, more recently, Atuona have established permanent art shops operated by their local tourism committees and available to sell local artists' products during regular business hours. In all cases, local historic sites support art sales by attracting both cruise ship and independent visitors.

Although some islanders hope to develop their own tourist attractions out of historic sites on their land (e.g., Frédéric Ohotoua, October 8, 2013: 3, 12.25), this kind of private heritage enterprise has yet to be realized without the help of archaeologists or the impetus of the Marquesan Arts Festival. The hesitancy to pursue this kind of ambition is partly due to the

¹⁹ Known locally as *pareu*.

polyvalent lifestyle as well as the quality of resources and current state of lands. As one young copra farmer said of the *paepae* in one of Tahuata's deserted valleys, "those are the sites to restore, because there aren't any coconut trees [there]! There are only mango trees" (Raphael Pahuaivevau, June 13, 2013: 1, 1.38.20). For him the appeal of developing tourism in this location was clear, since mangos are far less profitable than coconuts; yet, as illustrated by the case of Tohua Taupoto, the prospect of developing heritage in a coconut grove is significantly more complicated.

Meanwhile, many view the restoration of sites as a necessary precursor to drawing tourists. The most popular tourist sites have all been previously restored, are a part of the *Aranui* schedule and are regularly maintained (see Figure 18). Iipona is the only one that provides direct income, however. The woman who cares for the site charges an entry fee of 300 xpf (\$2.75 US) per person, which she uses to pay for its routine maintenance (Thérèse Napuauhi, June 18, 2013). In addition to land ownership issues and the unreliability of visitors, the overtly capitalist implications of an entry fee help to explain why more Marquesans have not done likewise. For many, the prospect of charging money to visit a site involves a kind of breach of trust, as well as embarrassment. As one member of the family that owns the giant ceremonial site, Upeke, put it: "If I [charged an entry fee] now, since there are already millions of tourists who came before without paying, then when they came back [they'd say], 'Hey it's weird, before we didn't [have to] pay, but now we do!'" (Timothé Hikutini, June 24, 2013: 7, 27.10). Even the remotest likelihood of this scenario is enough to deter many islanders from considering the idea.

Marquesans have planted some restored sites with ornamentals like flowers, *ti* (*Cordyline fruticosa*) or native ferns (e.g., *Asplenium australasicum*) in order to cultivate their aesthetic appeal for festivals as well as tourists (Thérèse Napuauhi, June 18, 2013: 1, 39.40; see plantings

in foreground, Figure 29). Some also recognize that these plantings are not only pleasing to the eye, but also spiritually and historically appropriate, since they are indigenous plants used by the ancestors for social and religious purposes. As noted by Héléna Kautai Hikutini, the presence of *ti* at a well-maintained ancient site makes the ancestors “happy” (October 10, 2013: 7, 39.30). Still, islanders most commonly plant this kind of decoration on sites where they anticipate visiting tourists.

Those who own or are responsible for well preserved, non-tourist sites sometimes find alternative methods for making a profit from the land, such as planting the terraces with a shallow crop that will not damage them. Some cultivate sites with culturally useful plants like *ti*, which they use for decorations and costume making (Figure 31). Other types of structurally



Figure 31. In Puamau, a me'ae planted with *ti* plants.

innocuous plants can offer monetary profit. For example, Hortense Titivehi Matuunui maintains a plantation of paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) on a *paepae* next to her house. She uses the mulberry to make *tapa* that she can either sell or use decoratively (August 21, 2013). Likewise, part of the festival site of Te Tahuna, in Hakahetau, has been planted with pandanus (*Pandanus tectorius*) which is used for weaving hats, mats and other items made for sale.

Still, agricultural use of historic sites for economic profit remains rare. Some older banana plantations were clearly planted in or on ruins, and banana trees can grow on partially buried platforms (Figure 32). However, most islanders avoid planting directly on top of *paepae*, either out of respect for the ancestors or because they believe the density of stones and relative



Figure 32. A banana plantation (background) and wild mango trees (foreground) grow in the ruins of several *paepae* terraces in Vaitahu.

lack of soil would prevent healthy growth (e.g., Ernest Kohumoetini, October 17, 2013: 2, 15.00; Suzanne Kautai,²⁰ October 11, 2013: 4, 27.20; Noeline Tepea, September 29, 2013: 2, 5.35; Thérèse Napuauhi, June 18, 2013: 1, 1.00.20).

In the end, choosing how to treat an historic site depends upon individuals and their economic needs, their use of and access to land, and their views on what is appropriate. A person with only limited land access may decide to plant on top of a *paepae* simply because it is the best way to maximize production. Others, like Hortense, may choose to make a site productive in other ways, “because in your garden, you must have a bit of everything. Then when there’s a party you can be covered in flowers... You must create it yourself!” (Hortense Titivehi Matuunui, August 21, 2013: 5, 21.00). As this statement illustrates, Marquesan work involves not only a commitment to productivity, but the recognition of how making a living from the land involves the pursuit of both economic and social ends.

The way that people move and work in the landscape also influences local treatment of historic sites. Someone hunting, harvesting fruit or seeds, or collecting coconuts into piles tends to be less likely to notice relatively mundane details like *paepae* because he or she is focused on their work. My host mother in Hanatetena frequently works on the land, but while we were visiting sites one day she confessed that “today is the first time I’ve looked at [this *paepae*] closely. Usually I just come through here to collect *mape* [Tahitian chestnuts], and then go back home that way. I’ve never come to look, like this...and I’ve passed by here so many times! But it’s not the same when you come here for your work as when you come with someone like you, who’s here to look...if you come up here to work, you just go collect your *mape* and you won’t pay attention to this” (Marie Rose Moiatat Vaimaa, June 11, 2013: 1, 32.50). Likewise, a hunter

²⁰ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

from Hiva Oa described how he knows where all the *paepae* are when he goes hunting, but he doesn't pay attention to them. If he knows the site he will go on top of the platforms, but his primary goal is to track, catch or kill a pig (Marius Natohetini Ohu, September 16, 2013: 3, 10.30).

Above all, market influences are tempered by the intimate connection between land ownership and use as well as relationships between people and the past. Decisions about clearing, planting and harvesting from historic sites depend not only upon the economic profits to be made, but the stories and silences that surround these places. This demonstrated contingency in Marquesan livelihoods, following the style of develop-man, suggests that existing conflicts with classic Western approaches to value will continue to characterize local development. Indeed, despite being championed by the municipal government and based in consultations with local communities, the current sustainable development goals of the CODIM and UNESCO WHL project are equally vulnerable to this kind of adaptation through resistance. Thus, the dense historical and spiritual aspects of islanders' relationships to the land demand a more nuanced approach to heritage preservation and sustainable development.

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CHAPTER 6

Beyond “Heritage”: Power, Respect and UNESCO

Standing beside her table of seed jewelry at the artists’ market in Hane, Ua Huka native Vanessa Tepea (age 28) tells me about what “heritage” means to her. “It’s our culture. Heritage is what your ancestors leave for you and what you build upon for the future... [it’s] everything you have learned from the ancestors. It’s a wealth for you, personally, as a Marquesan, and it’s now up to you to leave it for the future” (September 30, 2013: 2, 38.40). She quickly adds that she has studied this idea with Palimma (*Patrimoine lié à la mer aux Marquises*, or *Te Ha’a Tumu o te Tai Moana*), an organization closely associated with UNESCO and the French Marine Protected Areas Agency (*Agence des aires marines protégées*). Palimma is dedicated to protecting the marine and related coastal heritage of the Marquesas. Their research on marine and coastal resources in Marquesan villages in 2013-15 is destined for inclusion in the marine portion of the UNESCO WHL nomination.

Vanessa happens to be the local Palimma representative for her island. I ask her what she thinks about the UNESCO WH project,¹ of which Palimma is a contributing part.

[UNESCO’s] goal is not to prevent, instead it is to protect. When people here hear UNESCO, right away they say, “ah, those people are going to forbid us from doing this and that,” but in fact, no. UNESCO is there to protect our heritage and our culture so that it will still be there in the future... When we came here with Palimma, I was the one who spoke to the population [of Ua Huka], as we were trained to do. And I explained to them in my language [Marquesan], “we [UNESCO] don’t write the law, we are not the law and we don’t forbid you from doing things. Instead, it’s you who must tell us what we have to do for you, for later, and what we must prevent. Because we are here to recognize what you want to do. And if we, the population, don’t do anything and don’t react, then there won’t be anything left”... Now, with Palimma’s fieldwork, I think the population has understood that we must protect our

¹ I subsequently refer to the initiative to nominate the Marquesas to the UNESCO World Heritage List as the “UNESCO project,” a term used widely by Marquesans.

assets!² (Vanessa Tepea, September 20, 2013: 2, 38.40)

Full of hope and passion, Vanessa's statement captures many of the most crucial and conflicted elements of the current initiative to promote and preserve Marquesan heritage. Advocates of the UNESCO project have cast differences in perception as "misunderstandings" or "slowness," treating the task of defining heritage as a simple process of explanation and education. Yet, is the definition of heritage and its preservation truly so simple?

This chapter addresses a current gap in the understanding of "heritage" in the Marquesas, and the latent resistance that it represents. I delve into the spaces between heritage as it is defined and operationalized versus how it is experienced or lived. Examination of the ongoing Marquesas' UNESCO project reveals familiar patterns of power and territorialization, as tensions manifest between different authorities of heritage and understandings of the value represented by historic resources. Crucial discrepancies separate the practice of "respecting" the "work of the ancestors" from the "protection" of "cultural and natural heritage." The pressure to use the latter terms ultimately involves the transformation or disregard of other interpretations. In particular, local cultural leaders, government and international actors who prioritize global perspectives of heritage give such views a certain authority. In the process, heritage becomes a vehicle for social change and even governance (see Harrison 2010; del Mármol et al. 2015; Smith 2006). The resulting implications for both the Marquesan worldview and spiritual understandings of the land demonstrate how heritage initiatives can lead to a kind of disenchantment, in the Weberian sense (see del Mármol et al. 2015; Weber 1958:139).

The persistence and strength of alternative perspectives continue to resist these processes of authority over knowledge and territory (see Foucault 2007; Carr 2010). Similar to the

² Original French term: *nos biens*.

divisions of power and worldview already discussed, competing understandings and approaches to “heritage” illustrate the strategic use of what can generally be interpreted as local and non-local perspectives. More specifically, Marquesans, like other Pacific Islanders, are “skilfully navigating contradictions between culture as the lived practice of everyday life, culture as heritage and heritage as property” (Henry and Foana’ota 2014:147). Thus, examination of heritage advocacy in the Marquesas reveals as much suppression as resistance, as Marquesans respond to the UNESCO project with skepticism. In particular, the embedding of alternative understandings of the past in social relationships and the land indicate their inevitable and integral role in the implementation of any Marquesan heritage initiative.

Tiki Takai’i

In the village of Puamau, I ask young mother and artist Djecis Heitaa what she knows about the effort to add the Marquesas to the UNESCO WHL. She replies: “Normally, what I’ve heard is that UNESCO will take all the sites?” (Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 10.35). This is a common worry among islanders (Jean-Louis Candelot, October 18, 2013). Although UNESCO will not actually acquire the listed properties, the villagers’ concerns are in some ways well founded.

Islanders’ strategic approach to land ownership (see Chapter 3) suggests that the addition of local properties to the UNESCO WHL could result in a certain kind of appropriation that resonates with the Marquesas’ long colonial legacy of land and artifact theft. Indeed, the designation of UNESCO WH properties is likely to have a lasting impact on authority over land, including islanders’ rights to use their land as they wish. Current events illustrate how the recently submitted UNESCO WHL nomination for the French Polynesian site of Taputapuātea

runs similar risks. In what could be an ominous preview of what the Marquesas may soon encounter, a group of private landowners contested the site's listing due to their concerns about loss of their land (Polynésie Première 2016). Despite these potential consequences, those involved in the Marquesas UNESCO project have continued to interpret WH listing in its most technical sense, stressing the fact that ownership will not change and UNESCO WH is only a "label" (e.g., Henri Tuieinui, August 27, 2013; Joseph Kaiha, October 17, 2013; Pascal Erhel, February 11, 2013).

For the sake of discussion, I decide to pursue this idea with Djecis. I explain that UNESCO will not technically take sites but will instead help to care for certain ones. I also emphasize other potential benefits, such as how the Marquesas will become better publicized and draw more tourism if they are added to the UNESCO WHL. I ask her if she views these developments as positive. "Yes, that's good!" she answers, especially for her business selling art. "I think UNESCO is doing a good thing, then" (Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 12.00). Djecis' revised view is not surprising, given the nature of my explanation and its admitted bias. Still, the more general prospect of certain historic sites, now in decay, being restored or maintained and the Marquesas gaining publicity around the world has broad appeal in the islands. Among other things, it deftly combines a reference to respect for the ancestors and the land with an increase in local cash flow. A closer look at the more detailed aspects of the proposed heritage initiatives complicates this vision, however.

For instance, the preservation goals of the UNESCO project may entail the construction of a roof over the giant stone statue known as Tiki Takai'i in order to slow his ongoing degradation. Since Takai'i's home at Iipona was cleared and restored in 1990, he has begun to show signs of wear from the harsh and relentless onslaught of rain, sun and salty wind (see

Figures 29 and 30). Djecis' grandfather, an entrepreneur and former village mayor in his 70s, lamented Takai'i's current condition: "Before he had a crown of ferns but you can't see it any more. Today he's in bad shape. He's rotting, melting" (Bernard Vohi Heitaa, June 19, 2013: 1, 50.00). Djecis (age 26) grew up just down the hill from Iipona, which she refers to as "our own site."³ I ask her if she likes the idea of building a shelter for Takai'i. She replies: "Yes, because that would protect him, and [also] no, because it would spoil the site....How can we [protect him] without ruining [the site]? Because then it wouldn't be local any more, with a tin-roof house and everything. It also wouldn't be as...I think it would lose its charm!" (Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 14.55). Her dilemma is ubiquitous to heritage management projects everywhere: whether, or when, to sacrifice historic character for the sake of preservation.

Ideally, the answer can be found in reaching some kind of consensus about the precise value of the object or place in question. Like many Marquesans, Djecis' views on Iipona are complex, and she values it for a variety of reasons. Some of these she articulates explicitly, such as the way it draws tourists who buy her merchandise or give her gifts. Others materialize as hints, like the *mana* of the site or the magical properties of certain *tiki*. For example, according to local legend, if you are an infertile woman and you touch a certain *tiki* at Iipona, you will get pregnant. Djecis hastily adds: "I don't know if it works, now. According to some people it works, but others, no. So I don't know" (Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 3.25). Despite her doubts, the perception of potential power in these stones is a key component of their meaning.

Another value associated with Iipona is its "local" feel, as Djecis' described it.

³ *Notre site à nous.*

Marquesans use this term as one way to express their fierce loyalty to their islands, their ancestors and the land. They may use computers, cell phones and iPads and avidly watch dubbed-over South American soap operas, but they also have an acute awareness of what is proper, in the customary sense. Thus, a *maison locale* is a house built entirely out of island materials such as bamboo, wood, cord made from hibiscus tree bark, and a woven coconut frond roof, while a site that isn't "local" would include objects that did not originate in the Marquesas.

The *paepae* is a fundamental part of this vision of "local" and Marquesan collective identity, more broadly.⁴ Indeed, one of the Marquesas' most popular myths, "The History of the Land of Men," recounts the construction of a traditional Marquesan house (*fa'e*) on its foundation of stone (or *tu'aka*, as it is called in the older language of the legend) (Kaiser and Elbert 1989). The presence of a stone base is so implicit in the myth that it is not even identified as one of the primary tasks involved in building a house. The *paepae* is already there, taken for granted like the forest floor (*ibid.*). The widespread presence of *paepae*, and many islanders' reference to them as a part of "nature," support this idea (e.g., Adrien Atai Hokaupoko, October 16, 2013: 2, 24.45).

Thus, Djecis cannot imagine the Marquesas without *paepae*. For her, the *paepae* are "nature" in the sense that they are a stable presence in her environment. Without them, she says, "the Marquesas would have no more charm, you could say...there would be nothing to see, no *tiki*, no beach, nothing! No, I don't think so. I wouldn't like the Marquesas [to be] like that." (Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 0.35). For Djecis, "charm" has to do with a knowledge and respect for the life-stories of the historic artifacts and the place of *Iipona*. The

⁴ For example, one of the Marquesas' most popular myths, "The History of the Land of Men," recounts the construction of a traditional Marquesan house (*fa'e*) on its foundation of stone (*paepae* or, as it is called in the older language of the legend, *tu'aka*) (Kaiser and Elbert 1989).

site's weathered stones are not simply pieces of rock, they are the tiles of terraces once trod by chiefs, princesses and warriors.

This sense of a story played a crucial role in whether Marquesans viewed historic sites as important or not. For some, the narrative associated with a site is more valuable than the site itself (e.g., Catherine Aniamioi Tehaamoana, June 13, 2013: 3, 20.20; Xavier Teatiu,⁵ December 8, 2013: 1). Thus, when speaking about the lack of stories relating to *paepae* and ancient places, many expressed a profound sense of loss. This was true especially for young people interested in the work of their ancestors (e.g., Reva Tevenino, April 23, 2013: 3, 8.50; Judith Teikitohe, October 11, 2013: 1, 47.50). Others noted how newly constructed festival sites (*tohua ko'ina*) and invented dances lack meaning because they have “no story” (Venance Ah-Scha, October 7, 2013: 5, 56.35; Joinville Nahau Fournier, October 2, 2013: 1, 34.50; Christine Poemioi Vaimaa, November 26, 2013: 3, 48.55). As discussed in Chapter 4, the association between places and stories thus works to generate historic value.

For many others simply knowing that the ancestors created these places, and that they once had stories, generates value. Although she has now forgotten them, Djecis knows that her grandmother told her stories about *Ipona* when she was young. All she can remember now is that *Tiki Takai'i* “was really strong.” Before she can continue her young daughter chimes in, excitedly: “He was really strong, and his arm wasn’t broken!” (Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 0.35). The site gleams a certain power from even this vague association with the legendary *Takai'i*, who lived here long before the left arm of his stone statue became a rounded stump.

Father Emile Buchin, currently the sole practicing Marquesan priest in the islands,

⁵ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at his request.

recalled growing up on Nuku Hiva and seeing ancient sites in the woods. As he explained, the parents and friends who identified these places perhaps did not know “the stories of those *paepae*, their names, all that. Maybe even they didn’t know, so they couldn’t transmit that to me...those elements, those details. But all the same, I know that when we went there it was with a respect, a sense of *tapu*, and a certain fear...that you must not mess around. You had to be very careful” (Emile Buchin, August 21, 2013: 1, 0.50). Even if they don’t know or have forgotten the stories of historic sites, many Marquesans retain this respect because, as one young man pointed out, “the ancestors are still living in their *paepae*” (Feu Kohumoetini, October 10, 2013: 8, 8.35). The fact that stories exist, even if they are not known, can therefore be enough to instill historic landscapes with meaning.

From an economic perspective, inhabitants of Puamau also recognize Iipona’s tourist value. As the largest and one of the most famous *tiki* in French Polynesia, Tiki Takai’i draws a higher volume of visitors than almost any other place in the Marquesas. Djecis points out how thankful she is that the *Aranui* brings tourists each month, because otherwise many visitors would never make it all the way to her remote valley. Islanders from other villages with tourist sites shared her opinion, illustrating a general acceptance of the use of certain ancestral places for tourism. In a similar vein, some expressed gratitude that their ancestors had left them places and resources from which they could make a living (Vaiani Otomimi, October 25, 2013: 4; François Tui Ah-Lo, October 12, 2013: 3). As Djecis’ varied interpretations of Iipona indicate, such statements reflect one aspect of a rich kaleidoscope of meanings rather than the ultimate prioritization of money (see also Chapter 5).

Thus the celebration, protection and ultimate commoditization of “heritage,” as it has

been defined by UNESCO representatives,⁶ brings out a tension between the promotion of material goals and more diverse, alternative understandings of ancestral meaning. As Djecis and I chat about chopping copra and harvesting from the land, I ask whether she would ever plant some banana trees on top of a *paepae*. She replies: “Me, no! Personally, no—I respect everything related to *paepae*. I might plant flowers or something pretty next to it to make it nice, but not a plantation of bananas on a *paepae*! No. Because all the same, you must respect what [the ancestors] did. What I have always heard is that *paepae* have their own story, and it’s true that their *mana* still works, when they really want to make it work!” (Djecisnella Heitaa, September 7, 2013: 1, 23.35). The competing motivations to respect *mana* and the work of the ancestors as well as make money generates ambivalence as well as contingency in the way Marquesans approach historic landscapes.

Like many others, the Marquesas heritage project carries a high political and economic charge. Indeed, the act of identifying heritage frequently relies upon national or international standards that make the entire process an exercise of power and, ultimately, governance by the state and the global market (Harrison 2010; Omland 2006; Vaccaro and Beltran 2010:101). Laurajane Smith (2006) explains how this process occurs through an “authorized heritage discourse” that “focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations ‘must’ care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their ‘education,’ and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past” (29). In this discourse, “heritage” is viewed as intrinsically valuable while “experts” are accepted as the only ones with “the abilities, knowledge and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and

⁶ As Atle Omland (2011) points out, even UNESCO’s concept of heritage often becomes warped in local, applied settings (244). My references to it here and elsewhere therefore reflect UNESCO’s intended definition (see below).

places” (ibid., 11, 30).

These “experts” are often architectural historians and archaeologists who become the authorized representatives for, and stewards of, the past, with whom others must negotiate their own heritage goals and expertise (Allison 1999; Bender 1998:121). Diverse interpretations of heritage and the past are continually judged against these actors’ “scientific” assessments (Selwyn 1996:8), in the same way that nature conservation initiatives rely upon the opinions of biologists, ecologists and conservation professionals (Campbell 2005:311; Chapin 2004:20).

One of the most powerful mediums of the authorized heritage discourse are documents created by the “experts,” whose exclusivity is enhanced by their limited accessibility. For example, French and American archaeologists have played a crucial role as heritage educators in the Marquesas, employing villagers and establishing local museums. Their work is vital to local education, but it also contributes to the broader power structure surrounding heritage. Michel Hikutini explained: “I didn’t want to die without seeing the sites in each valley [of Ua Pou], all the sites. I had seen some, but not all of them. So that’s why I [worked for Pierre Ottino], because Pierre has a map of each valley, [showing that] there’s a site there, and another there, and a big one there. So then when I go with him, I see everything” (Michel Hikutini, October 11, 2013: 2, 1.04.10). Thus, control over heritage extends through the development and use of particular knowledges associated with authority (Foucault 2007:108).

This strategy has characterized many of the colonial projects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Using the “authority of the European observer,” colonial governments advanced the geographic centrality of Europe by mapping the theoretical and physical landscapes of colonized countries and building metropolitan economies dependent upon “overseas resources and territorial control” (Said 1993:58). The circulation of information about heritage in the

Marquesas both challenges and affirms this model, operating through tiers of knowledge and action originating in France, the U.S. and Tahiti but also the Marquesas. In a less uniform or “authorized” sense, important knowledge about “heritage” comes from local elders and the forest itself. James C. Scott (1998) calls this emplaced expertise “*métis*,” or a “wide array of practical skills and acquired intelligence in responding to a constantly changing natural and human environment” (313). As he argues, this form of situated knowledge springs from individual situations, people and places and is best learned through daily practices, experience and embodiment. It resists being standardized or theorized in the way required by most state or large administrative projects (*ibid.*, 316-19).

Due in part to this inner tension between types of knowledge, as the UNESCO project develops the relationship between power and information crystallizes in lasting but contested assertions about the value of heritage and historic resources. Indeed, different actors appear to disagree about the meaning of historic places and their role in building the Marquesan future. Working from a global perspective, those promoting the UNESCO project adhere to the definition given by the UNESCO World Heritage Convention: “heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritage are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2015).

UNESCO representatives, some of whom are Marquesan, therefore advocate strongly for the preservation of the islands’ natural and cultural sites in the name of their unique character and the importance of keeping them intact for future generations. Yet, many villagers struggle with how to develop their islands while simultaneously revitalizing the distinctive traditions of their grandparents. Others worry about the loss of their culture, or do not see a clear connection

between contemporary traditions and the overgrown ruins left by their ancestors. Meanwhile, Marquesans' use of heritage in the game of local politics both parallels and conflicts with the pursuit of international heritage goals. Exploring the question of heritage value and its various interpretations by Marquesans and others illustrates how initiatives to preserve resources generate, as well as perpetuate, relationships of power and resistance.

Marquesan Understandings of "Heritage": Practices of Respect

In the cluttered, stuffy office of Fatu Hiva's administrative chief, I perch on the edge of a metal seat listening closely. Roberto Maraetaata's soft but confident voice cuts through the sound of the desk fan standing on a nearby side table. He has taken a break from trying to fix one of his two computers in order to speak with me in the final hours of a long, warm work day. I have just asked about what the word "heritage" means to him. He replies: "Heritage is everything that's attached to a people, to a culture—it is culture. Heritage is the identity of a people, it's a knowledge, it's a richness. It is also the values that can be transmitted from generation to generation, because 'heritage' cannot have a meaning unless we can perpetuate it, [and] pass it on to subsequent generations" (August 29, 2013: 4, 0.00).

When I first began my fieldwork in the islands, I hoped to explore indigenous perspectives on what I knew as heritage and historic resources. For the most part, these terminologies worked smoothly during my research in Papeete, whose metropolitan feel and bureaucratic layers link it more firmly to international perspectives on heritage. However, when I reached the Marquesas I found myself needing to redefine certain concepts. I discovered that although terms like "heritage" and "historic resource" are unfamiliar or entirely alien to many Marquesans (see Chart 4, Appendix D), islanders' common understandings of ancestral objects,

places, knowledge and skills capture a similar, underlying concept. I also came to realize that despite the commonalities across translations, the actual interpretation of terms ultimately became just another illustration of power. As argued by Paige West (2005), similar processes of translation in the context of conservation projects have damaged local values as well as resources. My discussions about “heritage” with Marquesans suggest that historic preservation initiatives could carry the same risk.

The word heritage, or *patrimoine*,⁷ is new to the majority of Marquesans. Since the term has been introduced mostly in association with the UNESCO project, asking “What does heritage mean to you?”⁸ helped to reveal the extent of UNESCO’s reach.⁹ More than 40 percent of the 235 people who were asked this question said that they didn’t know, or were only vaguely familiar with, the term “heritage” (see Chart 4, Appendix D). When the same people asked me to define it, my standard explanation was: “Heritage is what the ancestors left for the people of today, including *paepae* and ancient artifacts but also things like language, birds, trees and fish.”¹⁰ After ten or fifteen interviews at the beginning of my fieldwork, I settled on this definition as a concise interpretation of the term that was based roughly around Marquesan understandings and close enough to UNESCO’s interpretation. In a small way, it was also my own effort to make the World Heritage project more “legible” to islanders. We would then often

⁷ I interpret heritage and *patrimoine* as roughly equivalent, following UNESCO’s lead. Although English interpretations of heritage have begun to broaden in recent years, classic definitions of the term evoke the idea of a stable, ancient and cultural resource held in common, much like *patrimoine*.

⁸ *Qu’est-ce que ça veut dire pour toi, le patrimoine?*

⁹ In my conversations with people, I usually took time to chat about life stories, *paepae*, ancient trees, historic artifacts, land use and stories about places in the woods before asking about “heritage.”

¹⁰ *Le patrimoine, c’est ce que les ancêtres ont laissé pour les gens d’aujourd’hui, y compris les paepae et les anciens objets mais aussi des autres choses comme la langue, les oiseaux, les arbres et les poissons.* Although this definition does not explicitly mention the shared aspect of heritage, the shared ancestry of Marquesans makes this aspect implicit.

discuss whether they agreed with UNESCO's goal to preserve these things or not, and why.¹¹

In the tiny village of Hohoi, a discussion with one man and his granddaughter illustrates the way this process, and words, can crack local confidence and establish or reinforce hierarchies of power. Ingrid Hikutini is one of the local contacts for Palimma and the UNESCO project. On the day I met with her grandfather, Jean-Marie, she helped me to translate between my French and his Marquesan. I arrived at their beautiful home, built by Jean-Marie's sons, on a sunny morning and we sat down together on a tiled front patio lined with potted plants. Jean-Marie sat in a plastic chair beside his granddaughter, dressed in a flower print shirt and a baseball cap that covered his graying, close-cropped hair. I sat across the table, with Ingrid's laptop between us. Part way through our discussion Jean-Marie called out to his wife in Marquesan to bring him a green coconut. He cut a hole in it using a machete, then handed it to me. Later, when I had drained every last drop of the tangy, almost fizzy pale liquid inside, he took the coconut back and chopped it open so I could enjoy the sweet, slippery film of meat that clung to the inner shell.

The following is a transcription of several minutes near the end of our conversation. Jean-Marie was speaking only in Marquesan, and each time Ingrid spoke to him she, too, used Marquesan (Ingrid and Jean-Marie Temauouapai Hikutini, October 12, 2013: 1, 57.30):

Emily: "Does [your grandfather] know what heritage means?"

Ingrid: "Grandpa...do you know what *ha'a tumu no te enana* is?"¹²

Jean-Marie: "Not really...what is it..."

Ingrid: "He doesn't know how to explain it, in his own words."

Jean-Marie: "The Academy¹³ works on that. It's old words that they brought back..."

Emily: "*Ha'a tumu* is a word from the Academy?"

¹¹ My own bias regarding this topic was admittedly evident to varying degrees in these discussions, and probably had some influence over the responses I received. Though I rarely expressed my opinions outright, my reputation as an archaeologist in some islands, and my interest in *paepae*, betrayed some level of interest in heritage and its preservation. Still, enough of the people I spoke to expressed a variety of opinions about the value of heritage, including indifference or even disinterest in preserving heritage (10 percent of the 271 people asked; see Chart 1, Appendix D), that I believe I at least caught some glimpse of the range of opinions about heritage.

¹² *Ha'a tumu no te enana* literally means cultural source of the Marquesan people.

¹³ Referring to the *Académie Marquisienne*, or *Tuhuna 'Eo Enata*, a cultural organization created specifically for the promotion and preservation of the Marquesan language.

Ingrid: “Yes. Before, when we wanted to talk about heritage, they’d say *ha’a tuku* [or shared culture]. But since *ha’a* really means culture, then they took *ha’a tumu* to mean heritage...*Ha’a* means culture in French. I don’t know if that is explained in the lexicon, because I recently got a lexicon from the Academy. Maybe heritage is in it.¹⁴

Emily: “And for you, what does heritage mean?”

Ingrid: “For me, heritage is the assets of the past, carried by the ancestors into the present for future generations.”

Emily: “Yes, that’s good. And is that important to you?”

Ingrid: “Yes, when I hear the word heritage, it’s...(laughs) it’s important!”

Emily: “It’s important that it remains, in the future?”

Ingrid: “Yes. Because we tried to define that word, heritage, and [think about] what it means. And that’s the definition that I gave. It’s the assets of the past transmitted to the present by our ancestors, for future generations...”

Emily: “And you also worked on that with Palimma?”

Ingrid: “Yes.”

As this conversation illustrates, it is difficult to speak with authority about a new, introduced term that is being filtered through layers of translation. Confusion arises even for Ingrid, a Palimma representative whose job is to interpret UNESCO’s definition of heritage for other villagers. Marquesan terms created or re-interpreted by the Marquesan Academy to aid this process have been slow to spread through the smaller villages, and can become controversial when elders disagree about precise meanings. The introduction of “heritage” to local French discourse has encountered similar political and interpretive challenges.

Thus UNESCO advocates’ careful use of Marquesan terms, meant to foster clarity, also creates confusion. As heritage “expertise” passes through what E. Summerson Carr (2010) calls the layers of “socialization, evaluation, institutionalization and naturalization,” its form shifts according to interpretation and context (27). By drawing upon the Academy’s Marquesan term for heritage, the UNESCO project leaders have chosen to rely upon the authority of a specific group of less than ten Marquesan elders. Despite the Academy’s rich expertise and crucial role

¹⁴ The lexicon to which she refers is a book published by the *Académie Marquisienne* and written by Catholic bishop Hervé Le Cléac’h (see Le Cléac’h 1997).

in securing the preservation and future of the Marquesan language, their interpretation of “heritage” has received a variable response. Their translation successfully facilitates understanding for some, but others may disagree. Still others find it confusing since they are unfamiliar with the old and less commonly used word, *ha'a*, which means custom, habit or behavior as well as culture (le Cléac'h 1997:35). Moreover, Marquesan and foreign heritage advocates who now use *ha'a tumu* (literally, “cultural source”) in the way you might use “heritage” are building a new meaning for those terms that may isolate or crowd out their former understandings. As naturally occurs with any language, they are stretching the meaning of words in order to apply them to a new concept. However, confusion results when this process occurs without clear recognition of the dissonance in ideas about the meaning behind the chosen terms.¹⁵

Thus, in this village of less than twenty families, on a porch with rogue chickens scampering across the veranda, Smith's discourse of authorized heritage blooms (Smith 2006). The Hikutinis' confusion about “heritage” reflects structures of power and the challenges of cross-cultural communication. More importantly, definitions of “heritage” obscure pre-existing Marquesan ideas about their ancestors' work, practices and knowledge. Investigating these alternative understandings reveals the detail and difference behind UNESCO's façade of a single, unifying definition of heritage. It also suggests that emplaced relationships between past, present and future should play a role in questions of Marquesan heritage and historic preservation.

I frequently encountered common Marquesan understandings of “heritage” in discussions about recently built versus older *tohua ko'ina*, or dance grounds. For the past two Marquesan

¹⁵ Over the past ten years, Marquesan schools have begun exposing children to these words as part of their Marquesan language and culture curriculum, which includes “heritage days” and oration (*tapatapa*) contests.

Arts Festivals, new dance grounds have been built in lieu of clearing and restoring old ones, as had occurred in the past. One old woman on Tahuata described the importance of the old *tohua ko'ina* in terms of admiration: “In ancient times they built those things themselves, they moved the [stones] by hand, without machines...[and now] we don’t know how they did it” (Béatrice Fetuta Timau, December 4, 2013: 3, 1.04.20). Others mentioned how the spirits are absent from the new sites. Describing a performance of the local island group at the ancient site of Upeke in 2003, artist Grégoire Ihopu said “when Hiva Oa danced, wow! You felt it. We were a bit removed from the *tohua*, maybe 100 meters away, but you could feel the ground trembling, aaah! You felt it! And everyone said, ‘Ah—the *pa'io'io*! The Naiki’s *pa'io'io*!’¹⁶...It’s the *mana*, the spirit of our ancestors, the *pa'io'io*. We felt that...[but the new site on Nuku Hiva] is nothing like that, it’s just there. And it’s nice, but it’s too bad...It’s not the same thing.” (August 17, 2013: 1, 44.40).

In the village of Hooumi, an old man and cultural elder who speaks little French described how the *paepae* are a vital connection to the ancestors. Like Béatrice, he noted that “they are very important” and you can’t rebuild them. He added that the *paepae* around his house are something left to him by his parents and his ancestors, and now they belong to him. Thanks to those stones, he said, he can see how many people lived there before, and he has a remnant of his ancestors (Gustave Teiki Tekohuotetua, October 24, 2013: 5, 19.50). Amidst the lack of written records and the loss of oral histories, these stone structures remain the material testimony of the ancestors.

Indeed, the great majority of islanders who expressed interest in preserving *paepae* did so because the ruins are a true testament to the strength and existence of their ancestors. The reality

¹⁶ The *pa'io'io* is a guardian spirit or ancestral, spiritual power passed down through families or tribes like the Naiki, of Hiva Oa.

of legends and other transmitted stories may be uncertain, but “when you talk about a *paepae*, you can see the work that they did. It’s real! That is the truth” (Isidore Kohumoetini, October 10, 2013: 1, 1.22.35). More than 35 percent of the islanders who believe *paepae* are important noted that these ruins are the surviving evidence or “footprints” of their ancestors, a testament to their existence but also the remnants of places they built and maintained. Of the 271 people I asked about it, 90 percent thought that *paepae* are important. Forty-two percent held this opinion for purposes of pride or education, while the rest said *paepae* were valuable for the purpose of future generations, tourism, admiration or spiritual power (see Chart 1, Appendix D).

For some, the absence of a connection to the ancestors at the new *tohua ko'ina* represents a separation from the past and their identity, as new meanings create physical and mental distance from the ancestors (see Chapter 5). In a way, these constructed sites are not as Marquesan as those built before living memory, without machines. Speaking of the newly built *tohua ko'ina* on Ua Huka, Jean Kautai asserted: “That’s not a site, it’s a place...It’s not a site for Marquesans. It’s a site to welcome tourists, [just] for your eyes” (Jean Kautai, October 12, 2013: 2, 1.21.20).

Not all islanders feel this way, however. When I spoke to residents of Ua Huka and Nuku Hiva, where the new dance grounds have been built, many were proud of the work they had done (e.g., Robert Sulpice, October 2, 2013: 4, 39.50). As Debora Kimitete pointed out, the goal of creating festival sites is to “assemble the population around [their] culture, and have a place that is close to homes and accessible, as it was in the past” (September 11, 2013: 2, 16.45). Referring to the site created for the 2011 Marquesan Arts Festival in her home village of Taipivai, Vaiani Otomimi explained:

Before the *paepae* were mostly in the mountains, in the bush. But now we’re lucky to have a *paepae* in the middle of the village, where we can go ourselves,

and we can perform shows there. And if there are heritage days or weeks,¹⁷ we can hold our activities there, to teach our children things like [how to do] *kumuhei*, weaving, *ka'aku*.¹⁸ ... Personally, I'm proud to have a *paepae* just next door, especially one that carries the name of our children, Te A'itua. (Vaiani Otomimi, October 25, 2013: 4, 12.00)

Te a'itua, the theme of the 2011 festival, also became the name of the newly constructed site whose meaning it aptly describes. In Marquesan, *te a'itua* means wave patterns but also the generations to follow,¹⁹ invoking a generation-upon-generation succession that echoes the breaking of waves on a beach. Meaning both a continuation and a replacement, this idea implies a kind of change over time that recalls, and therefore respects, what came before it.

These examples likewise illustrate how ancient sites, or even new sites built to imitate the ancient ones, evoke a strong connection to the past through the recognition of the ancestors' genius, their spiritual power, their authenticity, their skills, and their very existence. Despite certain reservations about ancestral *mana*, most islanders agree that the work of the ancestors is important to value and perpetuate (see Chart 1, Appendix D).

Time is another important aspect of *te a'itua* and Marquesan understandings of historic resources. Like some other peoples of Oceania, Marquesans view time in a cyclical way that gives their past a vibrant, dynamic role in their present lives (Mahina 1993; Sahlins 1985:47).

As Father Emile Buchin remarked:

For me heritage is life, because it's a story and the story always has a beginning, and it's up to us to transmit that story so that it does not end. That's why I say it's life. Life must endure, and heritage must do the same. Heritage is to learn life, to learn language, to learn what our ancestors lived in their time, and to transmit that to the younger generation so they can then transmit it to future generations... [So it's about] where am I from, and where am I going, and understanding where we are from...I think that if we have

¹⁷ Introduced within the last ten years, heritage days are organized by village schools or the government to periodically celebrate local heritage with games, demonstrations and other events.

¹⁸ *Kumuhei* are fragrant bundles of flowers and herbs worn by Marquesan women to attract men. *Ka'aku* is a traditional Marquesan dish made from fresh breadfruit paste and coconut milk.

¹⁹ As described to me in French, *la relève*.

respect for our parents and grandparents, then we will also respect our heritage. Because behind heritage there are works and the acts of men! And those men are our grandparents, our ancestors. So we must respect all that they lived, all they did, and not destroy their works, but instead continue to show that they are still there by remembering our heritage, language and culture. That's why for me, heritage is life! (August 21, 2013: 1, 35.15)

Islanders' relationship with their heritage is thus fed by active input from both past and present (see Chapter 4). From this perspective, understanding or learning from the past is not enough. By cultivating an active relationship with the works and experiences of their ancestors, many of today's islanders "live" them, in a way, and allow them to continuously nurture their lives and those of their children. In the words of one cultural elder, heritage is "your richness, and the wealth of the island. Because without it, the island is dead, it's no longer alive. Heritage is what brings the island to life" (Leonie Peters Kamia, August 29, 2013: 1, 22.05). This approach to the past makes it into one side of a kind of gift relation with islanders in the present. As individuals give respect to the ancestors and their places, they receive strength and support from the land in return, over time (Mauss 1990[1950]:18).

Thus, heritage combines nature and culture through a kind of necessity (Meadows and Ramutsindela 2004), echoing the object- and exchange-based social relationships long theorized in Melanesia and elsewhere (Douglas and Isherwood 1996; Mauss 1990[1950]). The continuous exchange and movement between social and spiritual realities also combines material and immaterial values (Mauss 1990; Olsen 2010; Viveiros de Castro 2009:245), even as it illustrates the flow of reciprocal relationships across nature, culture and time (see Ingold 2010; West 2005). As a result, the gift of strength flows from the past in both physical and metaphysical ways, as much in flesh and blood as in knowledge, stone ruins and the land.

Reciprocal connections to historic landscapes also allow Marquesans to assert themselves as distinct from their ancestors. Their interactions in this environment perpetuate differences

through a kind of “trade” with temporally situated “others,” a process Marilyn Strathern has demonstrated in ecological and political relations (Strathern 1984:50). Paralleling Strathern’s study of the reproduction of social identities and relationships (ibid., 55), transactions surrounding Marquesan heritage repeatedly foster broader “social” connections to cultural landscapes and the past. Time collapses as investment in the past becomes the future, a process Joseph Kaiha described as the preservation (*hakataetae*) of what the ancestors left behind. “It goes beyond preservation—it means to preserve with love, *hakataetae*. Because we say, ‘*hakataetae te tama*.’ You carry love for your children” (October 17, 2013: 4, 1.34.20). Marquesans give respect and attention to ancient places in this way and receive, in return, a form of cultural, even spiritual nourishment in a cycle of reciprocity they hope to perpetuate for generations to come. For many, it is a crucial part of what it means to be Marquesan.

Thus, although some disagree on how to interpret and interact with stone remains like *paepae* (see Chapter 4), most Marquesans value the knowledge and products of their ancestors in a broad sense. The feedback they receive from the forest and the spirits therein shapes local power structures, guiding the perception and treatment of historic places in a way that resists the prevailing heritage discourse. Islanders moderate their everyday interactions with forest, family and friends through the filter of this relationship. They also use it as a foundation for their identity when they travel to Tahiti and find themselves challenged to define “Marquesan.” In addition to the Marquesan creation legend about the building of a traditional house on a *paepae*, many popular depictions of Marquesans, including the recent logo from the Marquesan Arts Festival on Ua Huka, feature *paepae*.

Marquesans objectively value the work and knowledge of their ancestors, even if they do not always actively perpetuate or preserve it themselves. For example, many islanders recognize

the importance of their language but regularly address their children in French instead of Marquesan. Others lament the prevalence of processed foods and the illnesses associated with them, yet continue buying chips and imported frozen chicken from the store instead of preparing more traditional dishes from local, organic ingredients. These struggles highlight the tension between local regard for the past and hopes for the future.

In a similar way, islanders speak of “respecting” the ancestors rather than “preserving heritage.” Indeed, speaking of “heritage” creates a conceptual gap between understandings as well as associated actions. Heritage has particular ties to power, society and state government that emphasize the active preservation, safeguarding and maintenance of ancient sites. Paul Tetahiotupa, a former administrator of the Marquesas and the director of the French Polynesian Social Services Bureau (*Service des affaires sociales*) in 2013, described how this conceptual divide potentially slows the adoption of preservation goals. He noted how the designation of something as “heritage” creates a separation from everyday life:

You hear that heritage is something valuable, and it is a cultural object. But “heritage” has only a very distant link to modern life... We don’t say *ha’e* [house], or house, or *paepae*, we say heritage...[and] it’s a cultural object...it’s not a representation of a spirit, or a family member, or a belief in a god... It’s disembodied, outside of oneself. It’s not in one’s heart or in the life of the people. (Paul Tetahiotupa, January 31, 2013: 1, 20.30)

This explanation captures how information is currently transitioning in the Marquesas, from the knowledge of a lived or practiced respect for ancestral works to an understanding of objective “heritage” requiring protection (see Henry and Foana’ota 2014). The objectification of the past in this way recalls what Richard Handler (1988) calls the “objectified forms” of social life that both preserve and transform cultural practices (75, 77). In her ethnography of the Miao in China, Louisa Schein (2000) likewise discusses the influence of the “fascinated gaze” of spectators in the construction of culture and ethnicity consumed by tourists, ethnic groups and

others (238; see also Urry 1990).

In the Marquesas, embodied relationships to the past and the predominant focus on “respecting” the ancestors rather than “preserving” heritage resist these processes of objectification and their associated essentializations of culture and tradition (see Linnekin 1983). As individuals navigate these meanings in emplaced interactions with the land and with others, they strategically use both resources and knowledges according to the context. This fragmented, contingent character of heritage definition became particularly clear in one discussion with Michel Hikutini.

Speaking of his work clearing and surveying sites on Ua Pou with French archaeologist Pierre Ottino, Michel noted how they regularly made an effort to speak to villagers about respecting and maintaining *paepae*. “We told them that if you burn that *marae* [or ceremonial platform], I can tell you, it’s like you’re burning your home. Someone burned your house. And also, if you burn, maybe you’ll have memories or nightmares that will come to you at night...of people asking you why you burned their house! Maybe! I don’t know—there’s that, too” (October 11, 2013: 2, 35.50). As the value of historic sites changes, so too do the reasons for preserving them. Michel’s hesitant, uncertain reference to the role of the spirits illustrates his simultaneous subscription to the “science” of archaeology and heritage management as well as local interpretations of heritage and respect.

As the UNESCO project advances and heritage becomes an important term for Marquesans to know and use, new reasons to protect it emerge in response to its interpretation. However, the motivations for protection depend most heavily upon the perspectives most privileged by development and the prevailing heritage discourse. The state and international, non-governmental or multi-lateral organizations responsible for identifying these forms of

knowledge therefore have a special kind of power.

In the context of natural resource management, Ben Campbell has described this process as a negotiation between the elite “eco-discourses” of powerful outsiders and local, emplaced knowledge of the environment (Campbell 2005:311). Due to the skewed balance of power, indigenous peoples who are far more knowledgeable in their own surroundings than visiting scholars find themselves questioning or even discounting that knowledge in favor of foreign “experts” (Cornier and Leblic 2016:142; Hilmi et al. 2016; Walley 2004:214; West 2006:158). In the Marquesas, a clear separation of this kind cannot be made between outsiders and islanders, since a number of Marquesan cultural leaders have supported the UNESCO project and the interpretive shift it represents. Still, these examples help to explain why common local ideas about heritage are being subsumed by the prevailing, globalized discourse on heritage (see also Hilmi et al. 2016:191).

The resulting shift in authority can drive alternative knowledge still more deeply underground, inspiring either shame, defiance, or both. A young, well-educated Marquesan man spoke of how he has been inspired to encourage his people to

master what we know, or our ancestral knowledge, and from there, to share all that knowledge with visitors. Because one time I was really ashamed, I was on the Aranui and there was a French guy who does Marquesan tattoo, and who was giving lectures on Marquesan tattoos. That shocked me! He was the one explaining what the signs and motifs mean, and what we must do so that the meanings of Marquesan motifs have a real significance that is easy to understand... There were urbanites listening to his lecture, but I left after five minutes. And I thought, there you go, another white guy who arrives and who already knows everything, he knows your own culture better than you! (Vaa Toofitu,²⁰ October 2013: 6, 14.35)

This perspective grows from centuries of foreign “scientific” intervention, including archaeology. In many cases authoritative knowledge draws upon a collection of detailed

²⁰ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

nineteenth and early twentieth century European and American primary accounts of Marquesan culture and language (e.g., Crook 2007[1799]; Radiguet 2001[1859]; Handy 1923; Linton 1923). Richly illustrative of cultural details as well as how outsiders once viewed island life, these historic documents have become both a blessing and a curse for Marquesans. On the one hand, they are an invaluable source of historic information on the Marquesas during the early years of contact with foreigners and afterwards. Yet, they also advance primitivist views and have served to exacerbate the already tense power dynamic between outsiders and islanders. Their extreme inaccessibility until the recent introduction of the internet, and the continued exclusivity of access to them in the Marquesas, means that the contents of these books have also existed in an almost entirely foreign domain. This rigid divide has gradually begun dissolving since the formation of Motu Haka and the Marquesan Academy in the 1980s. Both of these organizations have emphasized scholarship and the reading of historical texts. Still, my discussions with islanders revealed how access to written historical knowledge remains rare.

The simultaneous existence and exclusivity of historic documents has also contributed to chronic fractures of doubt in local knowledge circulation. For example, many islanders have an ongoing preoccupation with the “truth” and “true” Marquesan culture. This topic comes up frequently in relation to dance groups and the Marquesan Arts Festival. As one dance leader explained, his dances are “pure culture,” or truly Marquesan, meaning they do not borrow anything from other islands or cultures but instead rely on historical texts and surviving oral history (Mathias Teaikinoehau Tohetiaatua, June 23, 2013: 1, 20.25). In the context of stories and legends, many hesitate to believe or openly question the knowledge they learned from their parents or grandparents because they have heard alternate versions from other sources (e.g., Christine Poemioi Vaimaa, November 26, 2013: 3, 16.05). Reinforced by ambivalence about the

sinister aspects of the local past, such doubts form part of a tense knowledge hierarchy that is shaping how politics and heritage collide and collaborate in the Marquesas.

The Politics of Heritage and the Marquesas UNESCO Project

One morning in August I sat in my Marquesan home in Vaitahu eating my *pain-beurre*, a section of baguette sliced in half and slathered with butter from a tin (New Zealand's Golden Churn). The rickety wooden bench beneath me wobbled back and forth as I chatted with my adoptive sister, Marie. From the living room the television blared the indistinct sounds of Japanimation. A humid breath from Vaitahu's deep, lush valley crossed the room in a light breeze, drifting from one end of the open kitchen to the other. While we talked the 14 family cats played their tireless game of table top thievery, hopping up and down between the benches and table at intervals moderated by the swat of a hand or an angry yell of *minu!* Her long, wavy dark hair piled up in its habitual twist on the back of her neck, Marie bounced energetically between topics that animated her face in alternating annoyance, confusion and joy.

I have forgotten our particular subject that morning, but like other mornings Marie was likely sharing some tidbit of village news: who has yet to pay their bill for her father's fish; which artists will be going to Hapatoni to meet the cruise ship *Paul Gauguin*; what she will be making for the weekend bake sale that will help furnish new supplies for the village school. Presently, our discussion was interrupted by the appearance of my adoptive father, Manuhi, at the door leading into the house. He had been napping after a late-night fishing trip, and his thick, curly hair stood out at odd angles from his head. Dressed in baggy board shorts and a stained, over-stretched Tahiti Phone t-shirt, he paused on the threshold before entering the kitchen.

"Emily!" he exclaimed, not waiting for a break in the conversation. "Are you in

UNESCO?”

“Uh...no.” I answered. “Why?”

He went on to explain how, over the past week, he had noticed an unusual sailing yacht hanging out by the south point of Vaitahu bay. A seasoned fisherman, he had passed the boat repeatedly on his trips to fishing spots on the south end of the island, and had noticed some suspicious activities. “Those people are up to something!” he said. Apparently they’d been anchored in the same spot, keeping their distance from the village, for almost a week. They had yet to come ashore, which was highly unusual. They were also using diving tanks. Manuhi’s son, likewise a fisherman, added that he had noticed them anchored outside a nearby, uninhabited valley the week before. Manuhi’s theory was that they were looking for something, maybe a shipwreck or a rare type of fish or shell, and might possibly be planning to illegally remove things like artifacts or endangered species from the islands. He asked me if I could go and talk to them. I suggested he call the police (*gendarmes*) instead, explaining that it was not my job, nor that of UNESCO, to patrol Tahuata’s shores.

Manuhi is not the only Marquesan who has been confused about my role as well as UNESCO. Although his question was partly facetious since he already knew I was not working for UNESCO, he was still curious to know more about the group and my precise relationship to it. Local perceptions tend to characterize UNESCO as a kind of clique. Since I know several of the project leaders, many villagers suspected that I was involved in some way. In a number of instances, I found myself explaining that my project was about, rather than a part of, UNESCO. Still, due in part to the controversy surrounding the UNESCO project, I was often asked to clarify this distinction.

It was also important for me to define my precise involvement due to the political

character of the UNESCO project in Marquesan villages. Despite the considerable efforts of Palimma and other UNESCO-related initiatives to involve villagers, for many islanders “heritage preservation” remains a foreign agenda supported by a few prominent Marquesans. One of the experts closely involved in the UNESCO project, French archaeologist Pierre Ottino, noted how the Marquesan heritage initiative emerged from a highly politicized, largely Tahiti-based environment. He fears that the most successful efforts today remain embedded in this power structure.

As some Marquesans actively use the Marquesan Arts Festival and the media to publically promote the project, others are marginalized and lose their chance to assert their views. Like in the hierarchy of the “modern world, that guy will stay there, and that guy speaks for everyone, and he profits from the other guy and from people outside [of the Marquesas]. He understands people, power, travel, the various media outlets. And so as a result, UNESCO has become the project of a small and privileged group, and not of everyone” (Pierre Ottino, June 8, 2013: 3, 50.45). Pierre, UNESCO project leader Pascal Erhel and others involved in the project on a local scale are acutely aware of this dynamic, but still find themselves obliged to conform to it due to logistical limitations such as funding, time and transport (ibid.). The politics surrounding the project are national in scale, as Pierre notes, but also local and intimate. I learned about the intricacies of this relationship for one family on a damp evening beneath the stars. As the crickets chirped and indistinct noises from the living room television again provided a backdrop, Vaihee Tetuiai²¹ and I chatted on her patio.

Vaihee Tetuiai and her husband Fabrice²² are important cultural figures in their village. They are both artists who have danced and led local dance groups for decades. Devoted to the

²¹ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

²² Pseudonyms used and exact date omitted to protect the speakers’ identities, at their request.

Marquesan language, Fabrice has spent years studying old texts, composing chants and traditional recitations, or *tapatapa*.²³ In view of their combined cultural expertise, I told Vaihee I was surprised she and her husband were not involved in the UNESCO project. She said that her village's team of experts for the UNESCO initiative had been assembled by the Ottinos. The selection relied heavily upon other existing cultural leaders, and despite his rich cultural knowledge her husband has never been invited to join the Marquesan Academy and Motu Haka. Motu Haka was apparently not interested in having him as a village representative because he is originally from a different island. The Marquesan Academy didn't want him because they said his Marquesan was not good enough (2013: 3, 22.05).

Vaihee views these organizations as institutions of power from which she and her husband have repeatedly been excluded, a pattern she ascribes partly to ongoing tribal tensions. Although most people are some mix of the two, many inhabitants of her island identify with either the Manu or the Pua'a,²⁴ two ancient tribes. For decades, those who identify as Manu have been powerful in both the Marquesan Academy and Motu Haka. They have also regularly represented the island at the biennial Marquesan Arts Festivals, despite having lost the island's local dance competition to another dance group associated with the Pua'a (ibid.).

Thus, for the Tetuaiti family, the UNESCO project fits neatly into existing local politics that involve island leaders already established through their places in the Academy and Motu Haka. Whether this particular selection of participants was intentional or not, Vaihee and Fabrice's choice not to participate is largely a consequence of the resulting political situation. Although those working on the UNESCO project cannot be blamed for relying on the island's

²³ Also known by its Tahitian name, *orero*, the *tapatapa* is a traditional recital of a legend involving ornate costumes, props, choreographed movements, chanting and voice modulations.

²⁴ Tribe names changed in order to protect the identity of project participants.

most prominent, well-known cultural leaders, the extent to which this perpetuates local imbalances of power may mean that the stated goal to understand and preserve the cultural values of the community, as a whole (see UNESCO 2013:97), is compromised.

More than an effort to promote local culture, many islanders see the UNESCO project as perpetuating a long-standing colonial pattern where visitors from outside the Marquesas use their privileged access to resources in order to subsume and devalue local views. Faced with this familiar situation, many Marquesans prefer to turn their backs and keep their ideas to themselves rather than attend numerous meetings where they may give their opinions but never see a result (e.g., Nicolas Heitaa,²⁵ October 2013: 7, 46.25). In the eyes of many, a vast void separates the truth promoted by the UNESCO project from their own reality.

UNESCO advocates and Palimma members have made considerable efforts to include as many islanders as possible through community meetings or “workshops.” They even visited some private homes of elders who could not attend such gatherings. Yet still, islanders viewed my focus on individual perspectives and personal contact as a welcome change from these contexts. Héléna Kautai Hikutini noted this distinction, explaining how villagers don’t really want to share their culture. And this is part of “keeping our culture. We don’t want to share it! They must leave it for us,” she said (October 10, 2013: 7, 1.06.30). This view is admittedly not well suited to the discussion of cultural knowledge in a public setting, yet she went on to add that “if you ever join UNESCO one day, we’ll see each other [there] and when you come by our house! Because if you are in UNESCO, then you’ll be the only one who knows everything. You’re the only one. Because you went to see people, and talked to them about heritage, and since you [did that] you are the only one who knows the truth. So you could potentially be the

²⁵ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

one who gives them [UNESCO] good or bad ideas” (ibid.).

Due to the clear priority of individualized interactions, H  l  na was thus concerned about the communicational barriers created by community meetings and the resulting divide between villagers and heritage advocates. My experience living with Marquesan families and demonstrated interest in listening, rather than instructing, convinced her that I could serve as a useful bridge between these two realities. Yet this role of advocating local interests and views is ideally meant to be played by people like Vanessa Tepea and Ingrid Hikutini, as local Palimma representatives. Recognizing the communicational challenges they face and the conceptual divides between many islanders and outsiders, Palimma members hope these local representatives will help to educate and learn from their fellow islanders. Indeed, Palimma’s statement of methodology for the fieldwork they conducted in 2013 and 2014 emphasizes the importance of negotiating the difference between local and expert definitions of “heritage” (Palimma 2015). Local representatives are thus expected to assist at community workshops but also independently collect information from villagers and regularly communicate the goals of Palimma and, by extension, UNESCO, within their communities.

Included in the group of Palimma representatives are one or two volunteers from each island who have attended a training on the preservation goals and historic resources in the Marquesas. Largely by chance, it is entirely female. Most of these women are young (age 35 or younger) and do not generally seem weighted down by the pessimism and politics of some older villagers. Their youth also complements the hopeful ideals and sustainability goals of preservation. Yet, during visits to villages during Palimma's community consultations in 2013, I also observed that their relative inexperience can negatively impact their influence among other

villagers. For example, experienced fisherman Heikua Manea²⁶ is frustrated by the fact that Tahuata is being represented by two women who “don’t know anything about the ocean” and could not even tell you the names of most fish, if you asked (June 2013). He added that he had not observed any results or change following his previous consultations with project director Sophie Duron. This situation has discouraged islanders like Heikua from attending Palimma’s meetings. It has also given some people the impression that local representatives are simply another tool in UNESCO’s political machine. This view was only enhanced by the heavily foreign leadership at Palimma’s community consultations, where Pascal and the local representatives were the only Marquesan facilitators.

Thus, the UNESCO project tends to play into local politics as well as suspicions of foreign-driven ambition in the islands. Many Marquesans have heard that UNESCO aims to protect *paepae*, places, birds or plants, or culture and nature more generally, but almost as often the organization is viewed as a political tool intended to influence local relationships of power (see Appendix D). Common concerns include anxieties that UNESCO has stolen or will be stealing land from Marquesans, or making rules about what you can and cannot do on your land (Pascal Erhel, January 29, 2013: 1, 15.18; Vanessa Tepea, September 30, 2013: 2, 38.40; Henri Tuieinui, August 27, 2013: 3, 47.25). Others worry that UNESCO is only interested in the Marquesas “because everything works with money now” and they are hoping to get rich (Sandrine Ahuefitu,²⁷ October 2013: 2, 49.15). Concerned about the strain on local financial resources, Vaihee asked if the project was run by the State (i.e., France). I said yes, to which she replied: “This is just my idea, and maybe it’s not fair, but the Territory has no money. [So] it’s the State that’s pushing it” because they are interested in the money and the fame. “Like what I

²⁶ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

²⁷²⁷ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

heard about the ocean, everything we have in the ocean here does not exist elsewhere, it's only here in the Marquesas. And so France wants to take that" (Vaihee Tetuaiti,²⁸ August 2013: 3, 27.50). As illustrated by Figure 33, the web of money, labor and legal support for a variety of Marquesan heritage projects has deep ties to local, Territory and State actors.

Vaihee and other islanders thus remark upon the distinctly political and international incentives of a project that, if it succeeds, would add desirable diversity to France's collection of UNESCO WH properties. The underlying concern, then, is a potential shift in hierarchies of knowledge and power, and the associated devaluing of local understandings and uses of heritage. In approaches to natural and cultural heritage in French Polynesia, the particular *régime de savoir*, or network of power through which privileged knowledge circulates (Foucault 1982:781), relies heavily upon experts and organizations like the government Department of Culture and Heritage (SCP, or *Service de la culture et du patrimoine*), the Marquesan Academy, UNESCO, Palimma, Motu Haka, and the Catholic church, to name a few.

Like similar organizations around the world, these bodies use their power to determine authenticity and value in pursuit of sustainability, world heritage preservation, conservation or tourism (Gable and Handler 2003:371, 383). Heritage advocates, in particular seek to use history and historic resources for particular purposes in the present. In the process, sites become more than simple tools for understanding the past. Their substance and meaning as heritage also becomes implicated in contemporary goals, uses and interpretations (Graham 2002; Smith 2006; Stoler 2013). The very use of the term heritage, or *patrimoine*, has deep political ties and underlying meaning that is tied to colonialism, the land (or homeland, *la patrie*) and both French and Tahitian nationalism.

²⁸ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

Heritage Administration Chart									
Activity	Acting Bodies and their Support								
	State (France)	Territory (French Polynesia)	SCP (French Polynesia)	IRD, university archaeologists	Local mayors (municipal government)	Motu Haka, Marquesan Academy, Te Manu	Catholic church	Local tourism committees	Community, landowners
Planting, harvesting & hunting		- Subsidies - Tech support							- Workers - (Consent)
Survey & monitoring of rare birds		- Subsidies - Tech support - Consent			- Funding - Tech support	- Tech support			- Workers - (Consent)
Site survey			- Tech support - Consent	- Funding - Workers - Tech support	- Tech support - Consent			- (Funding) - Workers	- Consent - (Tech support) - (Workers)
Site maintenance		- Tech support	- Tech support		- Tech support - Consent			- (Funding) - Workers	- Consent - (Workers)
Site excavation		- Consent	- Tech support - Consent	- Funding - Technical support - Workers	- Tech support - Consent			- (Workers)	- Workers - Consent
Heritage days, education, dance competitions		- Tech support			- Funding - Tech support - Logistics	- Tech support - Workers	- Funding - Tech support - Logistics	- Tech support - Logistics - (Consent)	- Tech support - Logistics - (Consent)
Site restoration & festivals	- Funding - Workers	- Funding - Logistics		- Tech support - Workers	- Funding - Workers - Logistics	- Tech support - Workers		- Workers - Logistics	- Workers - Consent
UNESCO project & Palimma	- Tech support	- Funding - Tech support	- Tech support	- Tech support - Workers	- Tech support - Logistics	- Tech support		- (Tech support)	- (Workers) - Consent
Notes - Instances of support written in parentheses do not necessarily occur. - "Tech support," or technical support, can include administrative duties or leadership, political campaigning, providing research, documentation and scientific expertise, etc. - "Logistics" indicates logistical support of some kind including transportation, lodging, communications and networking, etc. - "Consent" indicates the official permission of an acting body, allowing the execution of certain types of activity. - "Te Manu" is the Polynesian ornithological society (<i>Société d'ornithologie de Polynésie</i>), founded in 1990, dedicated to protecting indigenous bird species throughout French Polynesia. - A "site" refers to an historic resource, or a structure and associated landscape, which represent the work of the Marquesan ancestors. - Funding for local tourism committees often comes, with the help of the village mayor, from municipal and/or territorial governments.									

Figure 33. Chart illustrating the actors involved in the administration and management of Marquesan heritage.

These associations with nation, pride and power are likewise built into the UNESCO WHL and its reliance on state governments, yet they are quite different from Marquesan interpretations of ancestral value. None of these connotations, or the contexts behind them, originate from the Marquesas. Indeed, certain local approaches to, or understandings of, heritage and historic landscapes are distinctly separate from the interpretations and *régime de savoir* of those working to recognize heritage. Remarkably, this split persists despite UNESCO advocates' genuine efforts to include and engage with Marquesan communities around the subject of heritage. The issue therefore appears to be structural, more than personal.

Palimma pays its island representatives to gather information and advocate locally for heritage preservation, and in 2013 it kicked off fieldwork with an ambitious program of community workshops in every village of the Marquesas. The goal was to investigate and promote awareness of local heritage, and at each gathering Marquesan representatives helped to lead and engage in discussions with fellow villagers, speaking French and Marquesan and sharing their infectious enthusiasm. Together with the mostly French expatriate project leaders, they completed forms that recorded information about historic island and marine resources.

Yet these forms, themselves, illustrate the tenacious dominance of foreign heritage perspectives. They include space for a description, and check boxes to indicate resource importance, local interest and threat level. Tellingly, one series of check boxes on “typology” features lists of tangible and intangible resource types. “Religious / ceremonial” value appears under tangible resources, but the only boxes provided for intangible resources are oral history, performative arts, social practices, world view and artistic expertise (Figure 34). How, then, would one categorize a site that has *mana* or is inhabited by spirits? It could be identified as a religious or ceremonial site with oral history, but the associated spiritual meanings would have to

N° de carte :
 N° de fiche :
 Lieu : (ville ou île) (Vallée)
 Nom ou n° groupe : (experts) Nom de l'auteur :
 Ref Biblio :

Nom du référent :
 Date :

Fiche élément patrimonial
 - **Dénomination**
 Marquisien : Français :
 - **Localisation** : Nom de la terre :
 Nom de la rivière :

- **Typologie**
☐ Patrimoine matériel

<input type="checkbox"/> Monument	<input type="checkbox"/> Religieux/ cérémoniel	<input type="checkbox"/> Patrimoine immatériel
<input type="checkbox"/> Entité	<input type="checkbox"/> Domestique	<input type="checkbox"/> Tradition orale
<input type="checkbox"/> Sites	<input type="checkbox"/> Horticulture	<input type="checkbox"/> Arts du spectacle
	<input type="checkbox"/> Funéraire	<input type="checkbox"/> Pratiques sociales, fêtes
	<input type="checkbox"/> Activité maritime	<input type="checkbox"/> Connaissances univers
	<input type="checkbox"/> Artistique	<input type="checkbox"/> Savoir-faire artisanat
	<input type="checkbox"/> Défensif	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Activité lithique	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Communautaire	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Indéterminé	

- **Description** (ne pas oublier accès, plantes associées, état...)

- **Hiérarchisation valeur du patrimoine**
☐ Prioritaire ☐ Important ☐ Secondaire

- **Accord élément patrimonial (Atelier collectif)**
☐ Unanimité ☐ conflit ☐ désintérêt

- **Menaces**
☐ Disparu ☐ En danger ☐ Existe (non géré) ☐ Géré ☐ Important pour demain

- **Pistes de gestion**

Figure 34. Palimma's resource inventory form, 2013.

be described in a short space also intended for such topics as site access, vegetation and condition.

As noted in the Palimma fieldwork methodology, the project goal was to document the existence of local knowledge but not necessarily record it. In additional community workshops held after my departure in 2014, the members of Palimma made a second visit to each village to confirm their data and explore the question of management (Palimma 2015). However, despite these efforts to facilitate communication between scientists and the Marquesan population, and even to treat the islanders as “experts” by giving them maps on which to write, the project remained fixed within a broader framework of authority. Although Palimma’s questionnaire-style form is well-suited to the goals of identifying and managing resources, it is much less capable of capturing local ideas about historic landscapes. Despite their exceptional efforts to include islanders in their work, this example illustrates how Palimma’s parameters for pursuing heritage preservation failed, in some ways, to provide for alternative interpretations of local resources that are regarded as alive, spiritually powerful or potentially dangerous.

The selection of properties to include in the UNESCO WHL nomination runs a similar risk. Since these sites are ultimately chosen based on their “outstanding universal value,” they must be assessed with a particular view towards the world, rather than the Marquesas (UNESCO 2013). Indeed, one of the traditional tenets of global heritage management is a certain disregard for local interests or the seamless translation of preservation goals, based on the premise that the safeguarding of an endangered species or unique cultural relic trumps the views of any indigenous people or other local concern (Di Giovine 2009:77; Smith and Turk 2013:27). The cost of this judgement becomes increasingly clear, however, as heritage sites around the world confront maintenance and other issues relating to the needs and actions of local populations and

development (UNESCO 2007:184-90). Given the conflicting views involved, a successful WHL nomination could destine the Marquesas for a similar fate.

The remarkable historic role played by the Marquesas UNESCO project in island politics does not immediately suggest this kind of pessimism. Indeed, it has been lauded as a successful effort to value and represent Marquesan interests. From the beginning, certain Marquesan leaders have championed the World Heritage project as an important development for the islands. Following in the footsteps of the iconic Marquesan cultural activist and politician Lucien Kimitete, current UNESCO project leader Pascal Erhel has dreamt of an initiative that works closely with communities to invigorate local culture.

Listening to Pascal speak about his heritage is inspirational. With infectious charisma, he explains how the Marquesas UNESCO project, and the protection of heritage, is the enduring work of Marquesan society. “That means that the whole future of the Marquesas will be oriented towards heritage. [Like] the new professions that are linked to heritage, and to gain those new professions [there is] education: how can we train our children in biology, ethnology...[and] archaeology, that will be the focus of tomorrow. Teaching [people] how to manage sites, how to develop small, quality tourism, ecotourism, or sustainable tourism. That, the Marquesas know, and they really know what they want!” (Pascal Erhel, January 29, 2013: 1, 46.16).

As this statement illustrates, Pascal has a broad vision for the UNESCO project. Anchored in the political setting of Tahiti, he speaks tellingly of “the Marquesas” rather than “Marquesans.” Even if the World Heritage listing does not succeed, he noted, the current work of assembling the nomination is a valuable exercise in building and consolidating Marquesan power and administrative structures around heritage. Above all, the project is a practical tool to educate, train and empower the local population to recognize and celebrate their culture (Pascal

Erhel, February 11, 2013: 1). This perspective is particularly wise given the UNESCO project's long and uncertain history in the Marquesas and the ongoing political instability of French Polynesia. As residents of an "outer" island group not directly implicated or represented in the capital's politics (Gonschor 2014:199), Marquesans' ability to dictate their own heritage agenda has never been guaranteed. Indeed, as the nomination progresses and concrete decisions become necessary, cracks are beginning to spread in the originally solid vision of a participatory, inclusive initiative.

Since 2009, articles have been appearing in the Tahiti news about the "UNESCO fiasco" (Tarrats 2009) and the "UNESCO trudge" (*La Dépêche de Tahiti* 2010), lamenting the slow progress and repeated political blunders of a project originally launched in 1996. Even now, the same problems persist. When I began fieldwork in 2013 the anticipated date of submission for the nomination was 2017 (Pascal Erhel, January 29, 2013: 1, 13.25). As of 2015, its completion was not expected before 2022 (Viatge 2015).

In addition to its contentious aspects both in the Marquesas and Tahiti, a primary issue is the size of the proposed listing. Despite a meeting of experts to more clearly define the parameters of the Marquesas nomination in 2012, a 2014 article states that "to date the Marquesas managerial committees have still not selected a group of proposed sites for inscription from the 43 potential sites identified" (*Tahiti Infos* 2014).²⁹ The author goes on to note how the nomination's success is linked to the number of selected sites and their associated management plans. "A research bureau must be designated in order to help the Marquesas managerial committees prioritize their sites and make a definitive choice that is realistic, in view

²⁹ Original text: "les comités de gestion des Marquises n'ont pas sélectionné à ce jour des sites à proposer à l'inscription parmi les 43 sites potentiels identifiés."

of French Polynesia's financial possibilities" (ibid.).³⁰ Without doubt, part of the delay in making this decision stems from the disconnect between the goals of the UNESCO project and their implementation in the Marquesas. At some point, the creation of a successful nomination requires the suppression of whatever local ideas and values are being voiced at community meetings and discussions in the name of adapting local resources to UNESCO categories and criteria.³¹ Particular Marquesan understandings of heritage must therefore be sacrificed for global ones.

This process appears to have included the discounting of widespread beliefs about ancestral spirits. Although they are fully aware of the sacred meanings associated with certain landscapes and *paepae*, influential Marquesan leaders and archaeologists, alike, recognize that the bid for WH listing will advance more smoothly without getting tangled up in painful memories, questions of belief and ancestral mysteries. In view of the project's historic and political importance for Marquesan cultural leaders, they have found it necessary to make certain sacrifices in the pursuit of success.

Marquesan perceptions of the project reflect this dilemma as well as its sluggish progress towards a solution. As illustrated by a study of indigenous peoples' interaction with, and reaction to, a new UNESCO World Heritage marine site in New Caledonia, the perception of international preservation projects as political, stagnant and restricting is not unique to the Marquesans (Cornier and Leblic 2016:144). Vaihee Tetuaiti³² noted that despite four visits from the UNESCO representatives to her island in the past several years to promote preservation and

³⁰ Original text: "*Un bureau d'études doit être désigné afin d'aider les comités de gestion des Marquises à prioriser leurs sites afin de prendre une décision définitive qui soit réaliste au regard des possibilités financières de la Polynésie française.*"

³¹ For discussion of similar patterns of suppression and erasure in the context of global conservation initiatives in Oceania, see Bell et al. 2015.

³² Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker's identity.

gather information, their work remains invisible. “They come to say, ‘oh, you must do this and that.’ But how? We don’t have any money” (2013: 3, 27.50). By comparison, she said, the local Tourism Committee’s initiative to clear and maintain historic sites demonstrates good, solid work (ibid.).

Back in the tiny village of Hohoi other islanders expressed similar views. Mauia, a historic site restored by Pierre Ottino and a team of villagers in 2007, is one of the main properties under consideration for the UNESCO project on Ua Pou. Today, many residents express concern about the condition of the site, which has not been consistently maintained but is already “classified” by UNESCO, according to local rumor.³³ Jean Kautai lamented the state of the traditional houses, most of which have partially or completely lost their roofs, and wondered whether a new village initiative to replace them might just lead to the new ones falling in like the old. As he spoke about Mauia, the physical and emotional investment of Hohoi villagers in the site became clear:

We restored the site and everything with Pierre Ottino and we did the festival, and we were happy, the workers who worked on it. You could say that we won. It was super, we did our work in Hohoi—the parents of Hohoi were the ones who worked on it, with all the people who came from elsewhere. It was four or five Hohoi families that did the site, and we won. But there—that victory we won, will we win it all the time? Later, will we be able to say where UNESCO is, and where the town [government] is? Will those houses fall apart entirely, rot there on the ground and be swallowed up again by the bush? Where are we there, and what will we see, later? Where is UNESCO, where is the town, where is the work that we did? It hurts...What is next?...[Mauia] is the work of our ancestors, but the restoration and all that, that is our work! We hurt our backs, there were stones that made our hands swell up, [and] the pavements—we placed them stone by stone. That was us! It wasn’t the women of Ua Pou, no! It was four or five women from Hohoi... We have the value of the ancestors, we took it in our hands and we worked on it, and now we have our own value that they worked on. And now it’s 2013, but maybe in 2020 there will be a bunch of trees on it...That’s why I say, on

³³ Throughout the islands, villagers often referred to sites being considered for inclusion in the (still incomplete) nomination for the UNESCO WHL as already “classified” or “in” UNESCO, reflecting the ongoing lack of local clarity concerning the project.

the question [of cleaning the site], it's good if it's UNESCO. But now, where is UNESCO for the continuation of our work? [And] the protection of our heritage—will they really protect [it]? I don't know. I don't know because I'm nothing, in it. I'm just a little person. (October 12, 2013: 2, 49.15)

Jean's opening comments here strike jarringly close to those of Tahuata residents who likewise worked to restore Tohua Taupoto; a similar project that came to an almost identical conclusion.

His observations regarding UNESCO further illustrate how Mauia's particular appeal as a site of world heritage has led to additional complications. As many islanders see it, the admittedly languid progression of the UNESCO project creates a disquieting divide between idea and action, inspiration and achievement. As a result, they have begun to doubt. Although many support the project or its broader goal of preserving Marquesan heritage, they have been unimpressed and occasionally disgusted by the politics and lack of tangible action. As Jean pointed out, if the UNESCO project takes on the maintenance of Mauia, then the villagers will trust them to do that work; but if they say they will take responsibility and then do nothing, the site will suffer. In recent years, the town has taken responsibility for maintaining the site, but has allowed it to fall into a state of semi-neglect due to severe limitations on the funding and labor available for such work (Teikipoetahi Kautai, October 9, 2013: 3). A similar situation exists at Upeke, on Hiva Oa, where the lapse in town funding sources and a state of ambiguous ownership was causing neglect in 2013 (Scholastique Tauapiia Tehevini, June 24, 2013: 6, 23.20; Pierre Teikiotiu, June 24, 2013: 2).

Due to these ongoing issues, Jean and others fear the time and money already invested in Mauia may have been in vain. From an ownership perspective, Mauia's status as an undivided family property further complicates the situation. As a member of one of the families that owns

the land noted, “that’s a family-owned site, a family-owned place.”³⁴ And they say it’s protected by UNESCO now, but who is that? The mayor has a vote, and the delegates [of the municipal council]. But I think the family is also concerned! I think we should do a round table and discuss with the family” (Thomas Naunau,³⁵ October 2013: 1, 1.02.40). The Hapiapi family represents another branch of the site’s landowners. Having been directed by villagers in Hakahau to the “owner” of Mauia, I spoke with Mélanie Hapiapi Bruneau, who expressed confusion about the meaning of the UNESCO project. She had heard of it and knew that Mauia was being considered for inclusion, but no one had approached her directly to discuss it (Mélanie Hapiapi Bruneau, October 19, 2013: 4, 47.05).

A number of other festival sites, including Upeke, are also in *indivision* and face similar problems. Indeed, part of the confusion and the related tendency to abandon restored historic sites like Mauia springs from UNESCO’s complicated approach to responsibility. According to the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Committee, the State party that submits a nomination is responsible for undertaking all work relating to the concerned World Heritage property, including management and maintenance. Due to the growing number of properties with maintenance and management related challenges, this has become one of the more controversial aspects of joining the WHL (Di Giovine 2009:253; UNESCO 2007:21, 184-90).³⁶

The Operational Guidelines express a preference for preservation through “participatory means” and recommend that a site’s Outstanding Universal Value be determined using “efforts to build, as far as possible, a multidisciplinary and community consensus concerning these values” (UNESCO 2013:27, 97). Crucial differences in interpretation and understandings of

³⁴ In the original French, “*un site familial, un endroit familial.*”

³⁵ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

³⁶ See UNESCO’s List of World Heritage in Danger, which includes 46 of the currently listed 1007 World Heritage properties (UNESCO 2016).

history and its remnants can complicate these admirable goals, however. My personal experience with those working on the Marquesas UNESCO project offers insight into this friction between global heritage and ancestral landscapes.

Palimma

At the beginning of June, 2013 I was invited to present my research at a CODIM meeting in Atuona, Hiva Oa. While there I ran into some friends from Tahiti, Pascal Erhel and his wife Sophie Duron, who were in the islands to conduct a series of local consultations with Marquesans about marine resources. Their group, Palimma, is dedicated to managing and promoting the marine heritage and related terrestrial resources of the Marquesas, with a particular eye towards contributing to the ongoing UNESCO project.

As an active local arm of the broader heritage initiative, Palimma became one of the most visible aspects of UNESCO for islanders in 2013. Over the course of several visits to the Marquesas, they conducted at least one round of community workshops in every village. The effect was tangible: when I asked about UNESCO many islanders defined it as specifically associated with the ocean. When I saw them in June, Pascal and Sophie asked if I might help with Palimma's visit to Tahuata later that month. I accepted their offer as an opportunity to not only lend a hand but to travel and witness UNESCO's "field" arm first hand, on my home island.

I have known Pascal and Sophie since 2007, when I met them as a guest lecturer on the *Aranui III*. Pascal is uniquely positioned to advocate for Marquesans using a global perspective and a political rhetoric that is relatively unfamiliar to most islanders. An excellent French and Marquesan orator, he serves as an invaluable link between heritage professionals, politicians and Marquesan villagers. Born on Ua Pou, Pascal was adopted by a visiting French couple at a

young age and spent most of his youth and early adulthood in France. He stands around six feet, four inches and has a deep booming voice and an infectious, energetic personality. As an adult he returned to the Marquesas, re-learned Marquesan and began working as a tour guide on the *Aranui III*. He participated in Motu Haka and took a job with the Ministry of Culture, and in 2007 he helped lead the reconstruction of an ancient taro plantation and dance site in his home village of Hakahetau.

In addition to helping to direct Palimma, Pascal also serves as chief of the UNESCO project. In both roles he draws upon his broad experience in Europe, his proud Marquesan identity and his bright political and economic hopes for his homeland. In our various conversations about heritage, it became clear that he understands the latent tensions involved in the current approach to Marquesan heritage development, yet he actively promotes it nonetheless as a crucial strategy for advancing the territorial and international interests of his islands (e.g., January 29, 2013: 1; February 11, 2013: 1).

His French wife, Sophie, serves as chief of the French Polynesian branch of the Marine Protected Areas Agency and a director of Palimma. The Agency has been working in Polynesia since 2007 and represents part of the UNESCO project's committee of experts (*Agence des aires marines protégées* 2012). Founded in 2011, Palimma includes members of the Agency as well as others working on the UNESCO project, members of the Marquesan cultural group Motu Haka, researchers from IRD (*Institut de recherche et développement*), members of the Marquesan Academy and the eight local "heritage representatives" from each of the six inhabited islands.

Palimma's 2013 tour of the Marquesas was intended to survey cultural heritage linked to the ocean and coastal areas. Its findings were meant to advance the Marquesas nomination to the

UNESCO WHL by contributing to the management and promotion of both marine and terrestrial heritage in the Marquesas (Duron 2013). The survey was conducted by holding one or more public workshops in each village. The local Palimma representatives and mayors were responsible for publicizing these gatherings in advance and inviting members of the community to participate. My involvement in Palimma's five-day visit to Tahuata was strictly as an observer and, occasionally, Marquesan language translator. The following passage describes a typical community workshop.

I awake early on the morning of June 7 and have a quick cup of Taofe, a Tahitian brand of instant coffee, before catching a ride from Vaitahu to Motopu in a friend's pickup truck. The dirt road is full of potholes and includes several rocky stream crossings. The truck's suspension creaks plaintively over the reggae music coming from the radio. A half an hour later, we roll with relief onto the cement of the Motopu village road and coast directly down to the dock. A rented tuna boat (*bonitier*) is just pulling up to the cement platform, heaving up and down on the waves. A young Marquesan man jumps off to help lend support to a series of white (*hao'e*) passengers who step cautiously from the jerking stern to the wet dock. Then comes their luggage, tossed from hand to hand over the yawning gap between land and boat. They are welcomed with fragrant flower leis made from *tiare* flowers. By chance *Taporo*, one of the regional freighters, is simultaneously unloading its own cargo via a barge that pauses at a distance while the *bonitier* deposits its charges. The dock is crowded with cars, bustling bodies and the *Taporo*'s bounty: huge stacks of cardboard boxes filled with everything from rice and instant noodles to Coca Cola, Fanta and bottled water.

I had previously met the members of the Palimma team either through my former research or in Atuona the week before, and after exchanging greetings we walk down the road

and into the village. The arrivals include eight people in all: Pascal and Sophie, two French anthropologists, one French archaeologist, two French research assistants, and the Marquesan representative for Hiva Oa. The group is completed by the two Marquesan representatives for Tahuata. We arrive at the meeting place, which consists of an open air room next to the village soccer field. Before they begin setting up the space, Sophie gives the team a pep talk about why they are there, how to present themselves and how to fill out the survey forms. I ask what kinds of people they hope will attend, and Sophie says mainly fishermen and hunters. The team lays out large maps of Tahuata and a few pens on three plastic tables surrounded by chairs. While we wait for participants to arrive we chat and snack on juice, instant coffee and local fruit provided by our Motopu hosts.

A few islanders trickle in, but after the energetic preparations it feels like a weak showing. One of the Tahuata representatives is quick to point out that many Motopu residents are probably preoccupied with the arrival of *Taporo* and the Catholic retreat (*fête patronale*) being held in Hapatoni that weekend. Ultimately, only seven Motopu residents attended the meeting, joined by several enthusiastic villagers from Vaitahu. All of them save one are over 40 years old, and most of them are women, meaning that the active young male hunters and fishermen of the village are conspicuously absent. I drift between the two tables as the elders impart their knowledge of shorelines, legends and various marine species. One of the topics that most interests Palimma is resource shortage, and the team asks repeatedly about perceived reductions in various species of fish and shellfish in different locations. Though these elders have a rich knowledge of certain areas including the past, it strikes me that they may be able to share only what they have heard from younger fishermen regarding the current state of the sea. Few of them are still active fishermen, themselves.

One exception to this rule is an elderly woman recognized as a champion octopus hunter. The morning meeting thus concludes with a rare highlight: an invitation to witness an octopus hunt. Machete in hand, the fisherwoman silently leads a few of the Palimma team out onto the beach and into Motopu's shallow bay, where she demonstrates her technique (Figure 35). She spots the octopus' hiding place from above the surface of the brilliant, glinting sea and, reaching down with one bare hand and her machete, wrangles with the beast in a cloud of submarine sand. After several moments of concentrated struggle, she pulls out the octopus with both hands and rips out the brain and ink sack with her free hand. Everyone applauds, and she poses for photographs with a wide smile before we all head back to shore.

Since the fisherwoman spoke only a little French, her demonstration was a crucial way



Figure 35. Palimma representatives and a Vaitahu villager prepare to watch a Motopu woman hunt an octopus, Motopu bay.

for her to convey what she does to the mostly francophone Palimma leadership. This communicational barrier was only one of a number of challenges confronted by the Palimma tour. For example, the community workshops suffered from low attendance rates while the flow of information was heavily structured by the nearly exclusive focus on a group meeting model of interaction.

The almost entirely foreign (and white) composition of the Palimma leadership further aggravated a host of political tensions surrounding the tour, politics that became evident in conversations with islanders. Speaking about the UNESCO project I frequently heard references to “those meetings” and “Pascal and them,” and its deep political connotations on a local level became clear. One farmer from Fatu Hiva explained how work relating to the UNESCO project has been delegated to a team of people on each island. Remarking on her own village, she noted:

What people here think is that those people are doing UNESCO and afterwards it's for them, to make a living... And I think that's true...I don't think everyone will benefit from it. It will just be a small team, a few people...who will benefit. You know, it's globalized, around the world. So there are those who reject it, maybe also because they don't understand, what it means. Toti and Pascal have come here and held meetings, but it's like people aren't interested. And then they criticize, [saying that] those people are coming here to take our wealth, and then they're going to globalize it, and they will be the ones who make money. That's what people are thinking. (Charlotte Tuiana,³⁷ August 2013: 3, 49.20)

Charlotte's use of “globalization” refers to the spread of uniform ideas as well as commoditization, both of which are seen by many islanders as a threat to their way of life. Her reaction to these trends also illustrates a degree of local resistance, although Marquesans have happily adopted such things as Facebook, satellite television and other digital technology. Above all, her association of UNESCO with globalization reflects her interpretation of the organization's international, or non-local, priorities. Indeed, as other preservation initiatives

³⁷ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker's identity.

have shown, anxieties about the relegation of local interests to the peripheries can be all too valid (see Fache and Pauwels 2016).

Resulting in part from this political environment, UNESCO meetings advertised as open to the public were actually perceived otherwise. Many of the hundreds of knowledgeable Marquesans who participated in my project, and who often professed to know nothing, either did not believe they would be welcome at the UNESCO meetings or felt that their contributions would not be treated seriously. The low attendance rates, in turn, contribute to raised suspicions and the perception of the meetings as stagnant and monotonous. Jean Kautai's reference to not knowing about the details of the project, since he is a "just a little person" (October 12, 2013: 2, 49.15) is highly indicative of general sentiments about the initiative. To take another example, when I was discussing UNESCO with Jeanne Sana Pahuavevau and her mother in Hanatetena and they said they had no knowledge of UNESCO, their cousin Marie-Christine Timau remarked: "UNESCO means nothing to them...they don't hear things." Sana added, "we are far from everything!" (May 10, 2013: 1, 38.55). These statements once again infer that certain types of information are accessible only to certain people, to the exclusion of others or even whole villages.

My participation in the 2013 Palimma tour of Tahuata demonstrated how, despite their genuine commitment to villagers and their eagerness to hear local perspectives, the project's success was partially compromised by the social and political framework in which Palimma operates. Although some past meetings have been for experts only, the exclusivity of the Palimma and UNESCO meetings is largely unintended and results at least in part from their remote origins, far removed from Marquesan shores. Indeed, although certain Marquesans have played a pivotal role in the UNESCO initiative, it is a State and Territory project administered by

actors who live outside the Marquesas. Current members of the project are also working against a long precedent of high-level political maneuvering: the first, failed attempt to submit a nomination in 1996 was partially motivated by Marquesan political aspirations for greater independence, while the subsequent 2006 effort was championed by Tahitian politician Louis Frébault. As a result, activities relating to the UNESCO project have long been saturated by the competitive, occasionally jealous dynamic between Tahiti and the Marquesas. A closer look at French Polynesia's heritage offices in the capital illustrates some of the crucial contrasts and tensions between these two places, cultures and political bodies.

Papeete, Tahiti and the SCP

In early February, 2013 I visited the administrative arm of cultural resource management in French Polynesia, the Department of Heritage and Culture, or SCP (*Service de la culture et du patrimoine*), with the aim of exploring how various tiers of power influence heritage and historic resource management in the Marquesas. The following description offers a brief window into the contrasting world of Papeete and its surrounds, as well as the workings of the SCP.

In the half-light of dawn I open the refrigerator at my hotel and pull out a strawberry yogurt. On the terrace outside, I sit quietly and scrape out the last corners of the container before moving on to a New Zealand apple and some SAO crackers, a popular Australian import throughout French Polynesia. Beyond the terrace, the rooftops of Papeete stretch away to the distant Pacific Ocean. As I finish my breakfast the first few guests are stirring from their rooms and Gloria,³⁸ the hotel maid, has emerged to arrange a spread of fruit, cheese and cereal for the paid-breakfast customers. I chat briefly with her as I wash my dishes in the kitchen.

³⁸ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity.

“Gloria, have you ever taken the bus to Punaauia?” I ask.

“I don’t usually go that direction, no. Are you going there today?”

“I’m going to try...”

Public transportation in Papeete is at best, perplexing and at worst, maddening. After waiting at a bus stop in the dusty, hot sun on a busy roadside for over two hours the previous day, I am hoping to have better luck today. Gloria is able to give me a few tips, but nothing definite. I thank her and set out from the hotel armed with the knowledge that I must catch an orange bus, which appear to run most frequently in the mornings.

The bus stop pull-out is clogged with small trucks and passenger vehicles parking illegally. During my lengthy wait, I observe the neighboring Champion, one of Tahiti’s most popular American-style grocery stores. At this time of year the store is decked out in red lanterns and streamers for the Chinese New Year. My mouth waters as I picture the refrigerated section, overflowing with imported apples, peaches, cheese and fancy French sausages. My longing is fed by my impending departure for the Marquesas, where these foreign treats are largely unavailable. With only half my mind on the present, I watch yet another customer descend the stairs outside the main entrance, two fresh baguettes poking out of his reusable plastic bag.

Craning my neck past the parking offenders at the bus stop, I note each bus as it comes into view down the road. Their trim is pink, brown or white, and the front windows of many are marked with paper signs labeled “School.” I wait almost an hour before I see the first orange-accented beacon come rumbling towards me. Its front window bares a plastic sign reading “Paea.” At last, my bus is here.

A few minutes later I am happily settled on a narrow plastic seat, rolling down Tahiti’s

only round-the-island road while a remixed reggae beat floats from a smartphone a few rows behind me. At first used car dealerships, dusty roadside fruit stands, apartment buildings and the city's public soccer field slide by; then we pass several large hotel resorts that alternate with large tracts of low, crowded dark structures built from plywood and corrugated iron. Stretching from the single-lane highway straight down to the edge of the lagoon, these are Tahiti's ghettos. Diesel fumes linger in the air, mixing with the smells of burning trash, frying food and the tropical ocean. Entering Punaauia almost an hour into the ride, the road is hemmed in by small food stores and cement brick walls whose metal gates offer brief, blurry glimpses of close-cropped grass and multi-story homes. Finally, just beyond a bridge tagged "F*** the cops" (in English), I get off outside a sprawling shopping complex with a gas station. Turning down a side road, I walk through a well-groomed neighborhood in the direction of the ocean, round a corner and arrive at the office of the SCP.

When I visited it at the beginning of 2013, the SCP had no front desk or "welcome" person to direct new visitors. My first time there I took a few steps down the main hall before pausing to listen. Most of the doors had no labels, and the hall was almost devoid of any audible sign of human activity. No one came in or out of a doorway or followed me through the entrance. I hadn't seen anyone outside. After a few more seconds of silent waiting, I walked back to the first door near the entrance and knocked. The woman who answered the door kindly directed me upstairs to the archaeology department.

In the weeks that followed I spent a considerable amount of time at the SCP, seeking to understand its role in the management of historic resources in the Marquesas. The UNESCO project, in particular, was a popular topic for SCP employees and others who have participated in different levels of Marquesan historic resource management. For many in Tahiti, the project has

become a symbol of the Marquesas. As described by Teddy Tehei, Director of the SCP: “From the beginning, Marquesans were the ones who wanted to classify their sites as global heritage...it is really *their* project. If we had asked the question [about UNESCO listing] before, we would certainly not have chosen the Marquesas” (Teddy Tehei, February 7, 2013: 2, 0.20). To clarify, Teddy is Tahitian, and by “we” he refers to the SCP leadership in Tahiti. He went on to explain that, given the size and scope of French Polynesia, the significance of Marquesan heritage relative to Oceania and the world was not as impressive as some other prospective sites such as Raiatea’s Taputapuātea, in the Society Islands.

In short, the Marquesas nomination is neither strategic nor politically savvy, from a Tahitian point of view. Indeed, a strong political preference for the Taputapuātea project in Tahiti has likely contributed, along with its relative simplicity and smaller size, to its speedy nomination compared to the Marquesas. Although the two UNESCO initiatives were launched (or, in the case of the Marquesas, re-launched) almost simultaneously in 2010, the Taputapuātea nomination has already been submitted, while its Marquesan counterpart still languishes, years away from completion.

This imbalance reflects a familiar trend in the uneasy political relationship between the Marquesas and Tahiti. Marquesans generally have a certain dislike of Papeete and its dirty politics, and they have consistently voted against independence from France. Many fear that freedom from the metropole will only strengthen the Tahitians’ greed for power and resources, ultimately securing their hegemony over the outer islands (Moulin 2001). Such tensions are only exaggerated by the deep historic, cultural and linguistic differences between the different island groups, in what has been called the “politicization of cultural identity” (Howard 1990:274).

In this tense political arena, the Marquesas’ UNESCO WHL nomination is an additional

tool of resistance. With the help of the French State Administrator for the Marquesas, Dominique Cadilhac, a small group of passionate Marquesans led by Lucien Kimitete first proposed it to France in the 1990s. Like the Marquesan Arts Festivals launched in the late 1980s, the UNESCO WH initiative thus began as a calculated Marquesan effort to assert their power through the promotion of their unique culture (see Moulin 1994). Yet while its leaders had thoroughly political, as well as cultural, motives, few Marquesans actually knew about the project at this early date.

Many people outside the Marquesas have interpreted these origins as a firm indication of a general, long-standing Marquesan support for the initiative. Meanwhile, political interest from the Marquesas has continued to be strong. As Teddy noted, “there is a desire [for it in the Marquesas] and several people, elected officials of the Marquesas, have pushed the project. And that is why we are where we are today...and it has been twenty years [since it began]” (ibid., 5.40). As a result of its symbolic importance as French Polynesia’s first attempt to add a property to the WHL, the Marquesas project initially competed furiously against Taputapuatea, yet ultimately lost.

Still, the initiative is well underway and carries the hopes of most Marquesan leaders. The Marquesas are currently on UNESCO’s Tentative World Heritage List. Inclusion on this list is a necessary precursor to joining the WHL, and sites on the Tentative List are generally either nominated to the WHL or removed within ten years (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2016b). Although the project was officially launched 20 years ago, the current draft nomination has been underway since 2010, when it was expanded to include both nature and culture. If it succeeds, this listing could be symbolic, not only for the territory of French Polynesia but for France. Indeed, strong French interest has responded to pressure from UNESCO and its administrative

bodies to broaden the WHL's geographic and topical content.

As outlined in their 2013 Operational Guidelines, the World Heritage Committee has adopted a "Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List" that recommends ways to "fill the major gaps in the World Heritage List" by promoting World Heritage Convention membership and developing UNESCO's Tentative Lists (UNESCO 2013:15). More specifically, the World Heritage Committee would like to include more non-European cultural, natural and especially "mixed" cultural and natural properties on the WHL (Lilley 2013:14). As a mixed property located outside of Europe, the Marquesas project meets both of these criteria and represents a relatively rare opportunity for France to make one of these more desirable nominations. Of the 38 properties currently on France's Tentative List, the Marquesas are one of eight mixed sites, and one of four outside continental France (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2016a).

In this politicized context, the underlying goals of protection and conservation take on a secondary significance, becoming tools of European political power rather than vehicles of, for example, Marquesan culture. Thus despite the fact that the project is, in some ways, deeply Marquesan, the development of a UNESCO WHL nomination for the Marquesas relies upon diverse territorial, national and international actors and agendas. Like other power-oriented processes of "heritagization" (Davallon 2010), work on this project has allowed state and territorial governments as well as local organizations to generate a new hierarchy of knowledge (see Foucault 1997:10).

One of the most poignant and problematic manifestations of this hierarchy is evident in local concerns about site ownership. As previously noted, UNESCO WH listing involves a certain degree of sub-ownership for local landowners, despite the lack of any actual transfer of

title (Di Giovine 2009:363; Martin 2011). This situation becomes particularly problematic in the Marquesas, where the shared or remote ownership of much of the land has contributed to a strong correlation between land use and rights (see Chapter 3). The listing of a property makes it the responsibility of UNESCO and a host of other parties such as local and state government, diffusing both rights and work away from the original landowner (Smith 2006:101).

Although Marquesan mayors, UNESCO project leaders like Pascal Erhel and Motu Haka president Georges Teikiehuupoko struggle with these local ownership concerns, they still ultimately promote the most technical interpretation of the listing process by saying that islanders will not be dispossessed of their land (e.g., Henri Tuieinui, August 27, 2013: 3, 47.25; Pascal Erhel, January 29, 2013: 1, 15.18; Georges Teikiehuupoko, October 9, 2013: 4, 1.02.50). Yet this approach discounts crucial differences between classic European and Marquesan models of land tenure. Indeed, for many owners losing the right to plant on a piece of land means surrendering your rights to it, altogether. As one young hunter and fisherman who has spoken to UNESCO leaders about the project put it, “when [a site] is taken by [UNESCO], then it’s over. You can’t do anything on it...you can’t plant, you can’t cut—you can do nothing. You have to talk to them, make the decision with them, [for example,] can I cut down this tree, or that plant. That’s what is not good. You can do nothing on your land, after. It’s over...and when you look at it, it’s more like they are the owners!” (Patrice Gerard Touaitahuata, October 3, 2013: 2, 1.04.35).

Speaking of Mauia, which has been restored and receives regular visitors, Isidore Kohumoetini voiced similar concerns:

When they say “classified by UNESCO”, then that’s what it is. And there are even moments when you don’t feel any more courage to go work, to maintain it or plant [on it]. Because the town [government] comes into it—the town, the territory, the state!...We’ve heard all that, but we are trying to understand. I am

trying to understand...especially in terms of the landowner. I know that for UNESCO it's about protection, maintenance, it's to keep it in good shape. But you also [find] that us, now, we don't have the right to do this. Or can we ask for that? (Isidore Aratini Kohumoetini, October 10, 2013: 1, 1.02.40)

Such details are crucial for many Marquesans for whom the use of, and rights to, land are vital to both survival and their children's future. Others pointed out that if UNESCO invested years in helping to pay for the maintenance and protection of a site, they could then naturally assert rights to it (Philippe Teikitohe, October 10, 2013: 3, 36.45). Indeed, as previously noted, many islanders already view the historic resources being considered for the UNESCO nomination as "belonging" to UNESCO (e.g., Marie-Christine Timau Teikiotiu, June 24, 2013: 3).

Although UNESCO World Heritage listing does not involve a formal transfer of ownership, these perspectives illustrate how the landowner still surrenders the right to exercise his or her ownership by harvesting, building, changing or otherwise accessing the land at will. Elsewhere in the world, similar processes have unfolded in association with conservation projects that offer payment for ecosystem services in the form of "green grabbing" (Fairhead et al. 2013). Under these circumstances, "nature is being privatized, commercialized, and commoditized" while local communities suffer loss of sovereignty and resource use (Corson and MacDonald 2013:28). The association of a similar threat with heritage development in the Marquesas could likewise result in local dispossession. Despite their frequent dismissal by UNESCO project advocates, Marquesan concerns about site ownership are therefore valid.

The common perception that islanders are simply misunderstanding UNESCO classification and land ownership illustrates yet another way in which the promotion of heritage exercises certain hierarchies of knowledge. Hoping to encourage Marquesans to recognize the richness and value of their historic resources, village mayors and other local leaders have worked

tirelessly to “explain” and “make them understand” (e.g., Henri Tuieinui, August 27, 2013: 3, 47.25) or, in short, to convince villagers to think more like Europeans or Americans. As Delphine Rootuehine, an Ua Huka member of the Marquesan Academy, put it, the UNESCO project is good, “but the thing is that now, people haven’t really understood what [UNESCO] is, and so there’s a kind of slowness. Because they don’t know. So for example [they say,] “if we classify that place then we can’t go chop copra there any more. It won’t be ours any more, and we no longer have access.” And then you must talk to them and make people understand that heritage...is everyone’s” (September 28, 2013: 1, 44.35).

In order for the UNESCO WHL project to succeed, this approach is necessary. In addition, more explanation of the heritage idea, and particularly more dialogue around historic resources and the past, could indeed benefit villagers, as would greater clarity about what UNESCO WH listing means. However, repeated references to local misunderstandings of the UNESCO project appear to overstate things, particularly when it comes to local anxieties about land use and ownership. These concerns deserve to be seriously addressed.

Many Marquesans recognize the complicated power struggles enacted by the UNESCO project and its particular forms of knowledge, and they express this awareness in the ways they interact with and interpret the initiative. Paloma and Grégoire abstain from participation, tired of the politics and waiting for a better opportunity to promote their culture in their own way. Pascal gives himself over to the effort at every level, sustained by the knowledge that even if it fails, the valuable work of promoting and educating about heritage in the Marquesas will remain. Many islanders, meanwhile, silently go about their lives without reference to UNESCO or its politics. Speaking of heritage, cultural leader Georges Teikiehuupoko remarked: “What I’ve noticed is that each time, the researchers [who come here] are foreigners, foreigners, foreigners. Very few

locals! And you know, I have things that I know, but if no one asks me then I shut my trap” (October 9, 2013: 4, 1.20.00).

Georges’ comment implies certain obstacles to sharing knowledge, as well as the general failure of foreign researchers to grasp local perspectives. Despite its integral role in the UNESCO WH guidelines and widespread support from local and non-local project leaders, the goal of seeking out islanders’ views has thus far been ineffectively executed. In many ways, the Marquesas WH project is a model for the conscientious treatment and representation of local communities, yet still it threatens to slip into a well-worn colonial “eclipse of the other” (Dussel 1995) due to its foundations in a Western, Euro-centric perspective assumed to be universal (Escobar 2008:3). The Marquesas’ bid for global heritage illustrates how difficult it is to shed this formidable process of “global coloniality” (ibid., 4). Yet, a first and crucial step is to recognize the politics of difference and internal struggles that unfold as Marquesans continue to make strategic choices about the interpretation and use of their heritage.

Listening to Marquesan voices requires additional time, resources and private attention. Perhaps more importantly, it also calls for an opening of perspective and a willingness to hear the voice of the “little man,” and even the forest. The existing hierarchies of knowledge and political strategy surrounding ancestral sites cannot be challenged from within the dominant Western interpretation of heritage currently popular in resource preservation and management. Stepping away from this perspective requires an acknowledgement of the relationality of Marquesan interactions with the bush and historic landscapes. Indeed, alternative Marquesan notions of respect, ownership and time that are currently viewed as hindrances to heritage preservation could ultimately complement initiatives to preserve these historic places.

CHAPTER 7

Sustainability and Loss in Heritage Management Practice

Lasting processes of colonial power, territorialization and resistance tend to characterize Marquesans' current relationships with their ancestral places. In the advance of heritage management initiatives, in particular, local leaders and government promoting a vision of preservation and sustainability based upon global standards and ideals face off against a range of alternative Marquesan interpretations of historic resources and the past. Although these two perspectives do not represent absolute ideals, they serve to illustrate a general duality between classic heritage perspectives and the dynamic, sometimes discordant relationships many islanders cultivate with their ancestral lands. Certain local, entangled interactions with the environment challenge current international trends and assumptions about heritage and community-based resource management (e.g., Escobar 2001:142; Escobar 2008:109; West 2006). Thus, as CODIM and UNESCO initiatives follow the global lead by advancing the same preservation-based goals as other heritage management projects, they conflict with the contingent quality of Marquesan heritage views as well as underlying, mixed understandings of ancestral land. Given these restricted options, how might ambivalent islanders build a supported, sustainable future for their ancestral places?

In the midst of this struggle to define plans for the treatment of the past, no clear correlation can be made between actual heritage preservation, in the classic sense, and Marquesan or other indigenous perspectives on historic resources. This chapter takes a more applied approach by looking at how the general split between different philosophies or systems of ethics (Omeland 2006) in the Marquesas influences the stewardship of the land. It traces the

development of the dominant Western approaches to conservation and preservation, and then examines their actual implications for the practice of heritage management in the Marquesas. In response to the above question, it also suggests some potential paths forward, including the potential for using the perspective of cultural landscapes to broaden opportunities to support local views. Building from museologist Annette Viel's proposal to recognize heritage based upon "the spirit of places" (Viel 2008), the crucial acknowledgment and awareness of Marquesan networks of responsibility, spiritual power, practices of respect and negative heritage could help to improve the long-term sustainability of ancestral places. Most importantly, the future sustainability of Marquesan heritage and, more broadly, culture may depend on the redefinition of "preservation" and the re-enchantment of heritage (see del Mármol 2015).

The Development of Heritage

I grew up in a small town outside of Boston, Massachusetts, in the historic cradle of the American Revolution. Like the regimented march of the Red Coats, each spring brings reenactments of Paul Revere's famous ride, staged battles, fife and drum processions and the firing of muskets on the street corner outside my house. At the nearby intersection of Lexington, Lincoln and Concord runs an old road marked by the classic characteristics of a colonial town: wooden saltbox homes, rocky fields and crumbling stone walls. I remember riding by this place as a child and seeing it as just another old local road, similar to others in the surrounding neighborhoods. However, as the years passed the home owners living here who left or died were not replaced. As their life-time leases of the land expired, the landowner, the National Park Service, reactivated its authority over these properties. The more modern houses were destroyed, leaving the historic wooden buildings to stand as lonely sentinels along a road turned to dirt and

renamed “Battle Road Trail.” Over the past 30 years, this road has effectively traveled back in time. Today it is a central feature of Minute Man National Historical Park.

Although I am glad this landscape has become a beautiful place to remember and recognize the colonial history of the area, I can’t help feeling a twinge of sadness when I gaze through the dark windows of empty homes along that road. The National Park Service maintains some of the surrounding land as agricultural, and during the warmer months visitors are greeted by people in colonial dress engaged in various colonial pastimes. A popular bike path winds through the Park towards Concord, and families pause to admire the peaceful setting and appreciate the feeling of stepping back in time. Still, the structures and surrounding landscape feel dormant and, somehow, not fully alive.

The development of Minute Man National Historical Park reflects the classic Western model of historic preservation and the associated view, shared by UNESCO, that an old and meaningful place can represent both the identity of a people *and* something entirely unrelated to the survival or everyday lives of that population. This perspective approaches heritage as “a precious and irreplaceable resource, essential to personal and collective identity and necessary for self-respect” (Lowenthal 2005:81), an idea shared by both natural and cultural preservation philosophies. Since John Muir and Gifford Pinchot popularized the clash between wise use and preservation, movements to conserve and preserve have struggled with this concept of the “irreplaceable resource.” Both ideas contain the inner contradiction of perpetuating and creating something that is at once artificially generated and vital to local identity and self-respect.

The classic concept of heritage represents the past as something like a museum, separate and alien from present-day populations in a way that parallels Muir’s arguments about a pristine “nature,” neatly divided from humans, that must be conserved. Also known as the fortress or

“Yellowstone model,” this nature conservation strategy was born with the late nineteenth century inauguration of the world’s first national parks, Yosemite and Yellowstone, in the United States (Stevens 1997:13; West and Brockington 2006:613). In contrast to the kind of pre-existing natural resource management strategies, advocated by Pinchot, which incorporated human involvement and the principle of respect, the new approach transformed certain resources from products for human use into elements of “nature” chiefly valuable for their ecological merit (Stevens 1997:13; Bromley 1989:870). The first World Conference on National Parks, held in 1962, decisively rephrased resource management goals in Muir’s terms by promoting biodiversity conservation and the “nature islands” of National Parks (Udall 1962).

The popularity of this stance grew in the 1980s, as scientists in genetics and evolutionary biology argued that biodiversity, nature and protected areas were under imminent threat from human activities (Flitner 1998:144,147). It also gained support from the ecological perspective of “nature-tending-toward-equilibrium” (Zimmerer 2000:356), a vision of ultimate balance and sustainability that parallels the implied stable connection between heritage and identity facilitated by a heritage that can be frozen, preserved and passed on intact (Silberman 2009:8; Anderson 1983:183). Similar to the way historic and curatorial preservation strategies anchor cultural significance, meaning and interpretation in set time periods of history, conservation efforts have relied upon assessing environmental areas using gauges like “native” species, carrying capacity and maximum sustainable yield (Wilson 2002:70).

These interpretations support Muir’s preservationist call to “protect” natural spaces by enclosing them like fortresses of inestimable value, rather than adopting Pinchot’s more utilitarian approach of resource integration and sustainable use. The philosophies for the safeguarding of both natural resources (generally known as “conservation”) and cultural

resources (or “preservation”) have long grappled with these two perspectives, and most solutions have settled on a compromise. For example, the National Park Service “manages” wildlife on an individual and negotiated basis, allowing certain types of use-related activities to occur within the protected enclosure of park boundaries (United States Government 1968).

In recent decades, new iterations of Pinchot’s original view have argued that humans and forests are tangled together in an ecological matrix that benefits, and sustains, both through endless cycles of regeneration (Fairhead and Leach 1996; Hecht et al. 2013; Hviding 2015). With particular reference to Oceania, Bell et al. (2015) unpack the confluence of cosmologies, livelihoods, biodiversity, local and foreign desires embedded in island forests that “have always been constituted through human interaction with the natural environment” (2).

Building upon the idea that many natural resources are also cultural, I have used “preservation” to refer to all varieties of resource protection and address, more generally, historic landscapes rather than natural or cultural heritage (see Sheail 2007). As illustrated in the Marquesas and elsewhere, the distinction between nature and culture necessarily dissolves as historic resources encompass all surviving features of landscapes previously inhabited by humans (Meadows and Ramutsindela 2004). Historic resources include material objects created by humans but also plants, rivers or other features that might normally be referred to as natural or untouched elements of the environment. Marquesans tend to approach these objects as emplaced and imbued with a more dynamic meaning. As discussed in Chapter 6 the interpretation of this meaning, or lack thereof, represents an exercise in power since the actual creation of heritage depends upon perspective and reasoning, rather than physical objects. “More concerned with meanings than material artefacts [sic.]” (Graham 2002:1004), heritage is moreover identified based upon the power of certain historic resources in the present, rather than what they may have

represented in the past.

Thus, as Laurajane Smith points out, heritage does not simply represent the past or material things but is instead “a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present” (Smith 2006:1). The identification of heritage is an exercise in communication aimed not only at understanding but *using* history for a current purpose. Like the challenge of interpreting the archaeological record, the meaning of any group of historic resources is diffuse. As a result, although recognizing heritage is vital to understanding the origins and charting the future of any population, it also risks promoting particular political, social or economic agendas unrelated to the past or its preservation (e.g., Henry and Foana’ota 2014). Likewise, the apparently rational basis for preservation according to biodiversity or unique value can mask underlying political or economic agendas (Greenberg 2006:140; Karlström 2013).

The interpreters who determine how to recognize the past are therefore powerful actors whose choices reflect particular values. More specifically, even if local populations respond to these interpretations in diverse ways (see Tantalean 2014), heritage classification tends to shape both space and meaning around a single interpretive framework crafted by states and the global market (Costa 2004; Harrison 2010; see also Chapter 5). Evident in the stewardship of both natural and cultural resources, this power dynamic is aptly reflected by the connotations of state (*patrie*) in the French term for heritage, *patrimoine* (Omeland 2006; Smith 2006; Vaccaro and Beltran 2010:101).

Indeed, heritage has long proven an invaluable, sometimes sinister tool for state-building, knowledge creation and the control of space (Anderson 1983:185; Gellner 2006:77; Sivaramakrishnan 2000:81). What Lefebvre (1991) calls the enduring “tranquil power and

certitude” (222) of monumental spaces has been the making, or unmaking, of nations and communities (Stoler 2013). From the Roman Empire to the Renaissance, Western notions of heritage have deep roots in the human attachment to “nature” and the admiration of antiquity (Harvey 2001:331; Lowenthal 2005:82). In seventeenth century Britain, an early “heritage industry” promoted certain public spaces and monuments in order to manipulate the interpretation of past events and exert political influence (Harvey 2001:329). In eighteenth-century France, “historic monuments” (*monuments historiques*), heritage (*patrimoine*) and a list of “national antiquities” were identified to help define a new understanding of national history (Edwards 2007:27). By the nineteenth century, governments and individuals were moving to venerate and preserve ancient monuments not only as the tangible evidence of the past, but the material embodiments of collective and national identities (Harvey 2001:335). Today, most states continue to cultivate natural and cultural heritage as a way to promote nationalism (Cederlöf and Sivaramakrishnan 2006) as well as territorial and ethnic differentiations between populations (Gosden 2004:70).

Due to its particular trajectory of development, heritage continues to function in ways specific to its American and European origins. Some have even argued that the race to preserve historic monuments parallels humanity’s struggle against death, a symbolic escape from Western ideas about the finality of death and decay (Lefebvre 1991:221). As discussed in earlier chapters, this legacy similarly applies to how colonial nations have utilized heritage and other types of resources to exert power over colonized lands through territorialization (e.g., Foucault 2007; Scott 1998). For example, as Gaspar and Tamatoa (2008) aptly observe of a French Polynesian case, the creation and management of Moorea’s Marine Protected Area has involved various splintering processes of territorialization that tend to sideline local interests. The reserve

is being imposed on residents and fishermen who have been absent from debates about its purpose, goals and implementation (243).

As the public, shared property of a particular population or homeland (*patrie*), heritage gains a collective meaning and responsibility beyond what is implied by historic or natural resources. This process of “heritagization” creates a division between two worlds: the object and the interpretive actions that generate knowledge about that object (Davallon 2010:57). Yet for many indigenous populations for whom these arenas are entangled (see Ingold 2010), the subsequent interpretive “work” of creating heritage is equally tied to local, emplaced experiences as to the existing discourses and relationships of power (Smith 2006:13-17). The political negotiations inherent in the definition, recognition, and management of heritage are therefore not limited to states or market systems, but occur across different scales.

As noted by one Ua Pou housewife, “The fact that the population understands the importance of safeguarding their heritage, that is a good start...But it must not be people from outside, foreigners, who are the first to understand that! Even though value of those things, it’s ours. [So] it’s up to us to take care of it, first. That is important, very important” (Sandrine Katupa,¹ October 15, 2013: 4, 39.45). Thus, in order to successfully manage heritage in a way that resonates with local populations and indigenous communities, the power to define it must be diffused across local and non-local actors. In the case of the Marquesas, this could help to destabilize the various divisions between nature and culture, and the rejection of animism, that make current heritage initiatives distinctly Western and, therefore, foreign. For instance, archaeologist Christopher Tilley describes how early inhabitants of south Britain “‘thought’ the landscape through their own emplaced and palatial bodies. The landscape to them was a kind of

¹ Pseudonym used to protect the identity of the speaker, at her request.

body, and this body was imbued with spirit powers. It was not dead or inert but alive and animated” (Tilley 2010:467). These beliefs and others, including Marquesan, could be better served by allowing the definition of “heritage” preservation to be challenged.

Although the fortress approach to preservation and conservation remains dominant (see Chape et al. 2008), the kinds of alternative relationships between people and place described by Tilley are increasingly gaining recognition. For example, more dynamic perceptions of landscapes, ecology and culture now suggest the use of “new conservation geographies” that renegotiate the nature-culture divide (Zimmerer 2000) and prioritize community involvement. Bridging this gap has also been suggested as a way to improve heritage management (e.g., Harmon 2007), as demonstrated by the popular “cultural landscapes” approach to preservation that began in the 1990s (Longstreth 2008). The U.S. National Park Service, ICOMOS, UNESCO and the World Conservation Union (IUCN) have all broadened their resource categories to allow for the interpretation of entire landscapes, rather than separate and distinct natural and cultural features.

Such cultural landscapes, or what the IUCN calls “protected landscapes/seascapes” are defined as:

a protected area where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values. (IUCN 2016)

This revised perspective allows for the preservation of important cultural and historical places in combination with rich biological diversity (Lowenthal 2005:82; Nietschmann 1992:1; Remis and Hardin 2008:97). The Cultural Landscapes Program of the U.S. National Park Service (NPS) illustrates one example of how this concept has been implemented. The program

addresses the stewardship of natural and cultural resources as integrated parts of a single landscape used, valued and modified by humans and nature over time (see Tacon 1994).

Although the NPS approach remains limited by certain professional and legislative constraints that prevent it from fully engaging with local communities and cultural issues, the more holistic cultural landscape approach has broadened opportunities to consider and respect local meaning.

Natural and cultural heritage projects alike face this crucial challenge of re-integrating people into the environment and its management. After 50 years of parallel theoretical development, both movements have concluded that communities are key. Efforts to implicate contemporary populations in heritage management have included the use of innovative cultural resource management strategies, collaborative archaeology and Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) initiatives in the 1990s (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Smith and Wobst 2005; Stevens 1997; Swidler et al. 1997). New legislation, ethics codes and other supportive documents attempted to facilitate communication and consultation between researchers, heritage managers and local communities, with varying levels of success (Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Douman 1993; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Walley 2004).

Still, despite such efforts to engage with the agency of local and indigenous groups, “the dominance of non-Indigenous perceptions in the legal and heritage management process has been identified as actively and materially alienating communities from their cultural heritage” (Smith 2006:283). Instead of providing a platform for indigenous voices to be heard, dominant narratives of value and history obscure and even silence local perspectives (e.g., Bell et al. 2015; Salazar and Bushell 2013; Waterton 2013). The broader national or global priorities promoted by state and international organizations can compound this process. In the most extreme cases,

new ventures such as mining, logging or other types of large-scale resource extraction exercise a “structural violence” on indigenous communities that erases local histories and relationships (Bell 2015:131; Farmer 2004). Over the past 30 years, local-global mediation by non-governmental organizations has illustrated how even promoting natural or cultural sustainability through ecotourism or the use of market incentives can, likewise, undermine community interests. Chernela argues that, as a result, “the local is no longer generative; instead, it is the object of the actions of outsiders” who prioritize “efficacy and efficiency” over “solidarity and inclusiveness” (Chernela 2005:629).

Although Marquesans challenge this point by continuing to generate and use their own meanings and priorities, Chernela’s argument about the imbalance of power is key. As Escobar has noted, the broader race to embrace global movements in sustainable development, biodiversity and the rational use of the environment effectively exclude “the culturally specific and non-market-driven forms of appropriation of nature that characterize local populations” (Escobar 2008:106). In the context of heritage management, this means that regardless of their intentions, state and global initiatives continue to cultivate a static, nostalgic image of a past to be preserved, a perspective that shuts out dynamic contemporary populations just like the classic fortress approach of conservationists (see Labadi and Gould 2015).

Heritage tourism only aggravates this effect. For example, Roigé and Estrada explain how the creation of a national park in Montseny, Catalonia, aimed to make the area attractive “by constructing a new image of rural life from elements that are chosen in accordance with an ideology of going back to or recovering a previous state that is timeless and based on an ideal of purity and authenticity” (Roigé and Estrada 2010:84). Others have noted how this process can transform the meaning of places and activities (e.g., Kahn 2011; Urry 1990), although the

creation of particular sites specifically for tourism can also demonstrate agency (Lundy 2012). Indeed, some Marquesans knowingly use “authentic” constructions of their heritage for economic reasons, even if it means alienating themselves and their neighbors from their own past (Heato Teikiehuupoko, October 19, 2013: 6).

Increasingly, arguments for sustainable development are recognizing heritage and culture as important concerns (Labadi and Gould 2015:201). Elsewhere, local governments have sought out ways to integrate historic value, local meaning and economic profit. For example, the State of Vermont has developed what is known as the Vermont Working Landscape Partnership (VWLP). Located less than two hundred miles northwest of Minute Man National Historical Park and launched in 2012, the VWLP invests in farmers and small businesses that work the land in ways that perpetuate Vermont’s rich agrarian past. These “working landscapes” ideally accomplish such goals as maintaining open fields, pasture and historic features like barns and stone walls. Like CBNRM, the VWLP aims to deliver agency and action into the hands of local land users at the same time that it pursues conservation, preservation and economic growth. Administered by the government through the Working Lands Enterprise Initiative and the non-profit Vermont Council on Rural Development, “the Working Lands Enterprise Initiative recognizes, celebrates, and leverages our working landscape to continue to strengthen our economy, sustain our environment, and keep our state beautiful” (Costello 2014). Above all, the project uses heritage to stake a claim in the future and economic sustainability of the state of Vermont, including its distinct character in relation to surrounding New England states.

Marquesans hope to use their heritage in a similar way, to build towards the future and distinguish themselves from the rest of French Polynesia (see CODIM 2012). Yet this goal contains inner tensions that could threaten its success. As observed by Anna Tsing in Indonesia,

the placement of local concerns within a global context of interests and demands creates “awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference,” a friction that produces meaning in global interaction (Tsing 2004:3-4). Thus, as French Polynesian nationalism grows and concern for heritage becomes a regional priority (Kahn 2011:178; SCP Representative, February 15, 2013: 2), Marquesan land becomes a site of friction. Both natural and cultural resources in the Marquesas increasingly represent economic and global political opportunities for the territorial government. As state and territorial preservation priorities confront local interpretations of the Marquesan landscape, friction results and historic sites caught in contingent actions become vulnerable to damage, degradation or even destruction.

The threat to Marquesan historic lands has been clear in my own 15 years of experience as well as the stories I have heard from heritage professionals and islanders (e.g., Lionel Contois, August 26, 2013: 1; Tamara Maric, February 14, 2013; Tuu Ikihaa, December 3, 2013: 4; Yvonne Katupa, September 13, 2013: 2). French archaeologist and University of French Polynesia President Eric Conte remarked how the most unique resources, or those with some artistic aspect, are what “we should more systematically preserve...because they are degrading rapidly...though there are not many of them” (Eric Conte, February 13, 2013: 2, 32.10).

A cultural elder from Fatu Hiva explained in her own words: “You could say that our heritage is the sites. And so, what did we do on those sites, before? What were those sites used for?...It is a knowledge that we must pass to our young people...[So] they will have respect. It’s a respect for the heritage of our ancestors. Because if not, one day what will they do? If that *paepae* or that site is on my land and I want to build, I’ll destroy it to build a house. And so we won’t preserve it any more” (Leonie Peters Kamia, August 29, 2013: 1, 22.05). The sparks of

this friction in local landscapes, like the contingency of local actions, are unpredictable.

Indeed, the same friction has also produced more creative reactions. As islanders have continued to work in the bush, transmission of knowledge about places, spirits and respect has endured. Resisting the dominant flows of expertise about heritage and the past, Marquesan relationships to the land have in many cases retained a unique connection to the ancestors thanks to ongoing, everyday use of historic landscapes. In this sense, natural and cultural heritage could be considered as a renewable resource (or re-source) that may be preserved in being brought to life, rather than commemorated (e.g., Shiva 1992).

In this way, sites could be either the object of shared use or enclosure, depending on their local and long-term meanings. Indeed, certain sacred landscapes in the Marquesas should perhaps be allowed to decompose in the same way that wilderness areas are surrendered entirely to the wild, while others are better suited to work activities and renewable use. Both useful and used historic landscapes and preserved wilderness could therefore hold value. If different actors can be persuaded to genuinely listen, accept and respond to each others' views and interests, this goal could be within reach. To begin the process, in the Marquesas, a candid assessment of the relationship between threatened historic landscapes and established practices of respect is required.

Risks and Opportunities in Marquesan Landscapes

Stepping off the hot, paved road hugging the side of Vaitahu valley, I enter the green fringes of the forest. A light breeze touches my face, swooping down from the back of the valley to flutter the green leaves of mango and coconut trees along either side of the rutted dirt road. I pick my way around muddy puddles, the dense red earth breathing a rich, damp aroma after the

recent rain. As I pass a stained wooden rack for drying coconut meat I catch the strong, sour smell of copra in the air. After a few hundred yards the road begins to climb, and the concentration of spindly coconut trunks on the right side grows. In the steep approach to a shallow left turn, it would be easy to miss the ancient site of Tohua Taupoto, spread out among the forest greenery below. Two car-sized turnouts mark the entrances, now overgrown with weeds and shrubs nearing chest height. Dense vegetation including banana, lime and noni trees thicken the landscape beyond, making it difficult to see the terraced stone platforms, alignments and central dance grounds of the *tohua ko'ina* beneath.

From a particular point on the road as it continues climbing past the site, you can still make out a high stone platform that stands over five feet tall and once dominated this landscape (Figure 36). Approaching the central dance grounds from an entrance below was once a matter of walking an easy, open fifty yards. Covering the same distance now involves picking gingerly through the abrasive weeds and prickly, outstretched arms of the scattered lime trees. Down along the ancient road that leads through the site, piles of loose dirt and large holes gape amidst the stones, indicating the presence of pigs. Sure enough, I come upon several hogs tied to trees further on, near the site's overgrown central platform. The faint rush of water belies the presence of the river close by. Like the distant ocean, it was once easily spotted from the site but is currently obscured by the tangle of vegetation.

This was the appearance of Tohua Taupoto in 2013, seven years after Tahuata hosted its first Marquesan Arts Mini-Festival there. I helped to survey and restore this site in preparation for the festival, in 2005. Together with Barry Rolett, a few students and a team of islanders, we kicked off over six months of work on the site. After our departure the land came alive with villagers and government workers who painstakingly restored a series of terraces and house



Figure 36. Tohua Taupoto, as seen from the road above in 2013, Vaitahu, Tahuata.

platforms before building six houses in the local style, from island wood and woven coconut fronds. The project was supported by government funding and supervised by the island mayor. Presenting a successful, aesthetically pleasing site was a point of pride for Tahuata, which was the first of the three smaller Marquesas Islands to host the biennial Arts Festival.² First launched by Motu Haka in 1989, these events rotate through each of the six islands and are an icon of the Marquesan cultural revitalization movement (see Figure 18).

Determined to properly receive and impress their fellow islands, all of Tahuata's

² The three smaller islands (Tahuata, Ua Huka, Fatu Hiva) officially host "Mini-festivals" that invite exclusively Marquesan participants, whereas the Arts Festivals on the larger islands (Nuku Hiva, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou) invite participants from throughout the Pacific.

residents mobilized for the Vaitahu festival in 2006. During the five-day event, the island's population doubled as people from throughout the Marquesas and beyond arrived to participate and observe. Tohua Taupoto's convenient location just a few minutes' walk from town made it well-suited to the purpose of hosting the main dance events. A series of massive music and dance performances took place on the broad central platform of stones, spectators eagerly watching and cheering from their seats on the ground or in the surrounding seating areas (Figures 37 and 38).

After the festival, many villagers envisioned that the restored site would become a center for community activities such as summer camps, field trips, tourism and education. The landowners had a different plan in mind, however, once it was cleared of weeds and opened up to the sunshine. Although the land here is in *indivision* (see Chapter 3), the same family that had



Figure 37. Marquesan Mini Arts Festival, 2006 (photo courtesy of the Tahuata municipal government).



Figure 38. Tohua Taupoto in 2006, several months after the arts festival. Vaitahu, Tahuata.

given its permission for the site restoration and festival use took action almost immediately after the event, setting up a small temporary house at the site and planting limes and *noni* trees. Despite the huge success of the 2006 festival, by the following year the open dance grounds were being used as a combined banana, lime, *noni* and coconut plantation. When I returned to the site that year and realized what had happened, I remembered how the landowner had allowed us to chop down only a very small number of coconut trees during our work on the land in 2005. The full meaning of this stance suddenly became clear when I saw how the landscape transformed over the subsequent years.

This site could have easily been turned into a working landscape like those in Vermont. Indeed, many ancestral lands are managed in this way, as copra harvests take place in harmony

with the maintenance of historic features. On Ua Pou, Pascal Erhel has already implemented this idea for a similar site in his native village. Having helped to restore the landscape of Te Tahuna for the Marquesan Arts Festival in 2007, Pascal worked with the villagers and the local school of Hakahetau to repurpose it as a kind of working landscape. The site's ten terraces were divided between families, and at first people exclusively planted taro in keeping with its historic purpose. As the years passed, however, families began planting more and more fruits, of all kinds. Pascal describes his reaction:

In the beginning I said, “No, no! It’s a taro plantation! It’s traditional! No, it’s only [for] taro!” But afterwards I let it go, and I was right to do so, because today, when you visit—it’s a tourist site. And when visit, you see everything. You can tell the tourists, “this is an ancient taro plantation, but the villagers appropriated it, meaning, it’s theirs. And they plant what they want! And so when you visit, you have all the fruits of the Marquesas! Even watermelon!...[So] this provides for the population, and the population is happy to go there...And when you go there and look, it’s a live! It’s living...For me, this is really the only thing that can protect sites...if you want to protect a site you must return it to life, and in order to do that the owner must have a project on it. And if it’s not a tourist project, then I think the second thing that can bring them some money is agriculture. (February 11, 2013: 1, 29.10)

This example illustrates an opportunity for the sustainable management of Marquesan heritage places as working cultural landscapes. Yet Te Tahuna has since become obscured by volunteer vegetation and suffers from a lack of attention and consistent maintenance. Like Tohua Taupoto, Mauia, Upeke, Koueva, Hikokua and elsewhere, the metaphorical “weeds” of local politics, heritage goals and tension over land ownership have led instead to overgrown, nearly forgotten landscapes. Each of these historic sites has run a similar gauntlet of hope, community involvement and success followed by disillusionment and various levels of neglect. Although these places were largely overgrown before their restoration, their transformation into restored sites wrought deep changes in their meaning as pre-existing meanings or feelings of respect were displaced by a new political focus and the prospect of individual income. This

pattern neatly reflects the conflicting hopes, values and actions embedded in today's Marquesan historic landscapes.

Over the past few decades, all of the historic sites that appear in guide books and are regularly visited by tourists have been restored with the help of archaeologists (see Figure 18). In most cases the motivation and, crucially, funding for these projects have come from their association with Marquesan Arts Festivals. With the help of Motu Haka and the municipal government, almost every one of these festivals has secured State and Territorial support. Foreign archaeologists have played consulting and management roles in the clearing and restoration of ancient dance grounds (*tohua ko'ina*) and ceremonial sites (*me'ae*) that now serve as cultural attractions throughout the Marquesas (see Figure 33). These sites include Kamuihei and Hikokua in Hatiheu, Koueva and Temehea (also known as *paepae* Piki Vehine) in Taiohae, Mauia in Hohoi, Te Tahuna in Hakahetau, Upeke in Taaoa, Ipona in Puamau, Meaiaute in Hane, Eia in Hapatoni, and Taupoto in Vaitahu (e.g., Antonina Fournier Teatiu, September 27, 2013; Lucella Teikiotiu, June 24, 2013; Tuhi Kautai,³ October 12, 2013: 3). Among these, Kamuihei, Temehea, Eia and Ipona are the only reliably maintained sites. Some of them, like Kamuihei and Ipona, are main attractions for the mass tourism of cruise ships like the *Aranui*, *Paul Gauguin* and Oceania Cruises.

In 1998 Eia, the *me'ae* in the center of Hapatoni, was restored under unique circumstances unrelated to the festival (Christina Timau, November 26, 2013: 3, 4.25). Hoping to celebrate local heritage and improve tourist appeal, village elder Liliane Teikipupuni was inspired to rebuild the *me'ae* so that local youth could appreciate the work of their ancestors (Liliane Teikipupuni, November 27, 2013). She worked directly with archaeologist Pierre Ottino

³ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker's identity, at her request.

to restore this once *tapu* site, located in the middle of Hapatoni. Liliane's charisma drove both the project and local support for the regular maintenance of the site and the road for many years afterwards.

Her strategy worked in part due to her influence and Hapatoni's small size and communal attitude. Most importantly, Liliane was not a politician, and never held public office.⁴ Her approach relied upon a traditional framework of reciprocity rather than a monetary rationale. As the president of the local artists' association, she explained: "they respected me a lot, because when I asked them for help they knew the work that I had done, and it was answered. That's why they trusted me. When I'm the one to go ask, I will succeed right away because they know it isn't just hot air" (November 27, 2013: 6, 9.55).

In a testament to the power of this strategy, maintenance of the site continues despite the absence of any direct financial incentive. Since its restoration, cleaning of the *me'ae* has been organized in conjunction with church responsibilities that are handled by teams of villagers. This approach profits from the historic precedent for communal responsibility regarding local projects, a practice enacted throughout the islands by way of similar teams that clean and decorate village churches and organize public events. Thus, Marie-Christine Timau and the other mothers of Vaitahu make periodic contributions to local bakesales so that the proceeds can be used to buy school supplies. Yet, thanks to Liliane it is only in Hapatoni that these responsibilities also include maintaining an historic site.

Hatiheu is another village whose charismatic mayor has proven instrumental in preserving historic landscapes. Since 1987, Yvonne Katupa has promoted the restoration and regular maintenance of two giant *tohua ko'ina*, Kamuihei and Hikokua, near her village. She has

⁴ She passed away in 2014.

also fought to preserve the historic road along Hatiheu's beachfront, which is still paved with half-buried ancient stones. Like Liliane, Yvonne has pursued these goals as an active demonstration of respect for the ancestors. She also views it as an important economic opportunity and a source of employment for her village (Yvonne Katupa, September 13, 2013: 2, 52.45). For Yvonne, attracting tourists and gaining UNESCO WHL status were crucial reasons to pursue historic preservation. She has also taken a more capitalist approach to site maintenance by hiring CPIA workers or using town workers to clean Kamuihei roughly twice a month for the *Aranui* passengers and other visitors. However, in contrast to Liliane's strategy, the financial basis for this approach means that it is forced to rely upon the unstable political climate. As Yvonne noted, she is lucky that Nuku Hiva's current mayor supports the recognition of heritage and has provided the necessary money and materials to properly maintain Kamuihei (ibid., 59.00).

The availability of funding for heritage maintenance thus depends heavily upon local and national politics (e.g., Teikipoetahi Kautai, October 9, 2013: 3), in addition to the individual commitment and charisma of village mayors (e.g., Nestor Ohu, October 4, 2013: 3; Yvonne Katupa, September 13, 2013). On a village scale, Yvonne, Liliane and others (e.g., Lionel Contois, Pierre Ottino, Eric Olivier, Tehaumate Tetahiotupa, Barry Rolett, Pascal Erhel) have struggled to make site restoration and maintenance meaningful to villagers; yet still there is a sense of local indifference. Indeed, in conversations with those who have long advocated for heritage on a local level, the prevailing sentiment was discouragement (e.g., Jean-Louis Candelot, October 18, 2013; Lionel Contois, August 26, 2013; Tamara Maric, February 14, 2013).

Although sites are still occasionally vandalized and artifacts stolen or sold, these cases

are rare. The destruction of sites continues, however, particularly for the construction of homes and roads. Copra harvesters' small fires of leaves, coconut husks and other debris also occasionally destroy stones and platforms depending on their size, location, and whether they spread. According to almost all of my conversations with Marquesans, the building of fires on *paepae* is heavily discouraged as a practice offensive to the spirits that demonstrates a lack of respect for the ancestors. Instances of burned *paepae* appear to occur more on certain islands. On Hiva Oa, local farmers have even been accused of destroying sites with their copra fires, albeit unintentionally (Olivier 2010). Here and elsewhere, the prevailing Western arguments about the economic and cultural value of historic sites do not appear to be particularly effective. The potential tourist appeal, value to future generations or unique quality of historic places remains unconvincing to many islanders. Based upon this evidence, the success of a UNESCO WHL project may likewise be dubious (Jean-Louis Candelot, October 18, 2013).

As explored in Chapter 6, the idea of heritage is complex and ripples in various forms across countries and cultures. Likewise, assessments of value can depend upon the scale one chooses to use. Thus Eric Conte, who has worked in French Polynesia for decades, pointed out how “you have to make choices, in a reasonable way, to protect that which is the most important, and also that to which the community is most attached. Because what is interesting to archaeologists may not necessarily be what is interesting to the population” (February 13, 2013: 2, 28.20) and vice versa.

UNESCO's emphasis on “outstanding universal value” recognizes this issue of scale in heritage meaning but explicitly prioritizes extra-local value (UNESCO 2013). The classification of a property as “outstanding” is gauged against the world, its meaning measured in terms of its significance to humanity as a whole. UNESCO World Heritage properties are noted as valuable

according to certain carefully reasoned criteria that recognize their unique qualities and the need to share them with future generations. Communities or nations are welcome to develop their own particular heritage places as they see fit, but global heritage stands apart. Thus, in the Marquesas *paepae*, places and things are being both officially and unofficially marked as heritage not because they are necessarily valuable to islanders, but because they are rare or unique to the rest of the world. UNESCO project advocates also note the potential benefits of joining the WHL such as financial gain, development and global recognition.

This approach has allowed the creation of a UNESCO WHL that promotes the recognition and preservation of heritage around the globe, spreading awareness of the great value and educational possibilities of the past (Di Giovine 2009). Only by adhering to the established formula can the Marquesas join this list. Yet, as local interest and attention focus on specific UNESCO WHL criteria and the global, monetary value of historic resources, heritage is being defined in isolation from alternative or local meanings embedded in the landscape. Following UNESCO's lead, villagers have interpreted their heritage as valuable to the world, and therefore most valuable to them as a source of tourist income. In turn, the spiritual or ancestral values of sites like Iipona have weakened as their economic potential becomes a greater priority. Such reinterpretations of historic landscapes also reflect upon the value of ancestral lands, more generally. Above all, the UNESCO project's failure to engage with local understandings or practices of respect for heritage poses broader questions about the long-term sustainability of preservation efforts in the islands.

Even as some islanders destroy historic sites in the name of development, the majority does not generally oppose their preservation. Indeed, many have been preserving them for generations due to their ancestral, rather than rare or artistic, value. As observed by Conte,

islanders are most likely to destroy ancient sites and artifacts by mistake, rather than on purpose (February 13, 2013: 2, 33.00). This is because Marquesans tend to demonstrate certain types of respect in their treatment of historic places.

Respect and Caring for the Land

Similar to the philosophies of many other indigenous peoples, the Marquesan idea of respect for land is partly spiritual (e.g., Carmichael et al. 1994; Guilfoyle et al. 2009; Mameamskum et al. 2016). As anthropologist David Carmichael and his co-authors note (1994), the proper treatment of sacred places concerns a respect for the presence and even inherent right of “others,” including “plants, animals, rocks, burials, and other sacred places” to exist (7). Describing the historic management of resources through a system of use rules known as *kahui*, Marquesan Roberto Maraetaata remarked how “there’s a spiritual participation from the ancestors, saying that there’s a *kahui*. So it’s about respect. Respect from everyone! Men, and especially women” (August 19, 2013: 3, 32.10).⁵

Respect for ancestral landscapes carries the same implications, although the resulting treatment of a material site can vary. As noted, the way an islander interacts with a site depends upon the ownership of the land, the stories associated with a place, and their own personal beliefs about how to maintain land. The most common cases of regular site maintenance occur when *paepae* are located in coconut plantations or sites of habitual use. Indeed, copra harvesters will often clear *paepae* while they are clearing the land, which also allows them to collect any fallen coconuts from the platforms (e.g., Gilbert Kautai, October 16, 2013: 1, 29.10). Some are more likely to treat a site in this way if they own the land and work it regularly, since over time this

⁵ Different practices of respect are, and were, required of different genders, as also noted by Handy (1923:135, 261).

becomes an investment of labor (Teupooteoo Kahupotu, November 25, 2013: 1). Depending on different families and their harvest rotations, others may clear the land or associated sites only in part or not at all, reasoning that there is no need to do so since they will not be the next ones harvesting there (e.g., Julie Tevepauhu Piritua, August 18, 2013: 2, 42.40).

A copra harvester working on someone else's land may also be paid specifically according to whether they clear the land or not (e.g., Marie Louise Teikiteepupuni, September 29, 2013: 2). Thus, the ratio used to divide profits between owner and worker (or *hope fenua*) may depend partly on whether the worker clears the land, in which case he will be paid more (Simeon Teatiu, October 2, 2013: 2, 22.15). Since clearing the land was heavily emphasized by parents and grandparents who lived in the bush at the backs of valleys, most islanders today regard it as a mark of good and conscientious work. The majority look down upon the practice of simply collecting coconuts without clearing the brush⁶ away, and many associate this kind of work with young people who are lazy, thieving or in a rush to make money (e.g., Matapua Priscilla Kohuemoetini, October 10, 2013: 10; Norbert Kokauani, December 10, 2013: 1, 31.20).

True, youth in their 20s, particularly cousins from Tahiti or young men freshly returned from school there, tend to worry more about maximum efficiency and quick profits than the state of the land. Many older copra farmers lament this apparent shift in harvesting philosophies, which they see as negatively affecting the landscapes their ancestors cared for so attentively. Whereas the elders “know how to do it well...young people now, they don't really know. And sometimes they burn all over the place, just anywhere” (Brigitte Hinaupoko Kaiha, October 15, 2013: 5, 31.00). I discussed the issue further with a Hohoi farmer, Kaha Aka and his sister, Pava

⁶ Includes weeds, ferns, shrubs, young saplings and grasses (*teita*) that clog the forest floor, harbor mosquitoes and are generally viewed as unwanted.

Aka⁷ (October 12, 2013: 3, 15.00):

Kaha: Before we used to always clear the coconut plantations, and they were clean. But now, no...

Emily: Why don't you clear any more? (*he sighs and pauses. Pava laughs*)

Pava: It takes more time! They want to get back to the house quickly.

Emily: So it's a question of time?

Kaha: Yes, it's time...but I think it's also laziness, too. Before our parents taught us, when we went with them, that you must clear the land first, then you collect the coconuts and you chop. Because then if you come [back] afterwards, it's really easy to collect the coconuts. There are no more weeds. But now when you go to chop *copra*, there are tons of weeds! We have to walk through the weeds to look for the coconuts...it's not like before. The coconut plantations were clean, [back then].

Vaiani Otomimi likewise remembers clearing land in order to avoid missing fallen coconuts: "With my grandparents, we always had to clear the land first, if not we wouldn't get any coconuts!" (Vaiani Otomimi, October 25, 2013: 4, 18.40).

Approaches to clearing coconut and other plantation lands therefore vary according to the family, village or island. For instance, after discussing common *copra* practices in her village, cultural elder Delphine Rootuehine qualified her statement: "I'm talking about what happens here in Hokatu, but if you want to go see in Hane, it's different [there], and the people in Vaipae are different, too" (September 28, 2013: 1, 0.00). My own observations, though subjective, generally confirmed Delphine's statement. Treatment of land appears to depend most heavily upon the views of individual farmers, their ownership of land and their inclination to follow their parents' example of keeping the land "clean."⁸ No clear conclusion can be drawn about the maintenance of the historic structures on a piece of land based on the structure of its ownership, be it municipal, lineage-based or worked on behalf of someone else. The attitude and position of individuals and extended families as well as the state of the economy and local and national

⁷ Pseudonyms used to protect the speakers' identities.

⁸ The idea of "cleanliness" (*poropa*) was common throughout discussions of the bush, and relates to earlier generations' perceptions of these spaces more as yards than as forest (see Figure 9).

politics all play an important role, in addition to land tenure.

Still, a *paepae* located in a coconut plantation is much more likely to be kept clear than one in the uncultivated bush or even in a different type of plantation (Figure 39). Banana or lime plantations, for example, are not always kept entirely clear of brush since the fruit is generally collected less frequently and picked directly from the tree rather than from the ground. In other cases, the spiritual associations of a *paepae* can mean that it is left untouched, regardless of the state of its surroundings. Most islanders avoid taking stones or other objects from these areas and do not intentionally burn fires next to sacred trees like ancient banyans (e.g., Justine Matahoata and Sylvia Teikiupoko,⁹ November 26, 2013: 2, 33.45). Over time, these sites can



Figure 39. Located in a working coconut plantation, this *paepae* has been kept clear and in relatively good condition compared to many others. Hanamiai, Tahuata.

⁹ Pseudonyms used to protect the speakers' identities, at their request.

become the most dilapidated because no one dares to clean them. In the words of Tehina Gilmore: “If you see that it’s not well maintained, you’ll surely think, ‘Ah, okay—that is a *tapu paepae*.’ At least, that’s how I see it!...[If it’s *tapu*,] sometimes people will just maintain around it, but they won’t go on top of the *paepae* for fear that they’ll be played [by the spirits]” (Tehina Gilmore, August 29, 2013: 2, 6.20).

Likewise, an elderly woman from Hakahetau explained how she and her family did not venture onto certain *paepae*, even to collect coconuts. “The places where there was a lot of [hibiscus shrubs], we didn’t clean! They’re still there. We didn’t dare go there” because they might have been *tapu* (Yveline Tohuhutohetia Hikutini, October 14, 2013: 5, 36.30). Places like that, she added, still exist. A woman in her early 30s recalled how her father had warned her about climbing on top of *tapu paepae*:

He said you never know what could happen to you, afterwards. It could happen now, it could happen later—[but] you will get sick...that’s why I don’t go too near the *upe* [or *paepae*]. Especially the *upe* where almost no one sets foot on...it’s scary. When I’m next to them, I don’t even want to go on top. I just continue on my way...I don’t know, but I have the impression that sometimes when I’m next to those *upe*, I shiver for no reason. Fear comes. I don’t know why, maybe because there are *pa’io’io* there, [or] ancestors. (Bernadette Tohuipoko,¹⁰ October 15, 2013: 2, 12.00).

In these cases, the overgrown weeds and giant trees sprouting from an historic platform can stand out from the maintained land around it, marking it as a sacred place. Thus, fear can have the tandem effect of both preserving a site through discouraging its active destruction, and permitting its gradual degradation due to environmental factors. Though perhaps undesirable from the Western heritage perspective, this kind of gradual decay may in fact be the most suitable treatment for some types of Marquesan heritage. As nature takes its course, such historic landscapes may then dissolve into the bush, swallowed by the layers of time until they

¹⁰ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

are truly silent and perhaps even fear itself is allowed to fade away.

This situation illustrates what Omland (2006) calls the “many faces” of the heritage concept, paralleling the kind of ethical dilemmas involved in transposing supposedly “just” global heritage goals onto diverse ethical contexts (245). Indeed, this moral conflict explains why the idea of decay, and the related discussion of spirits, *tapu* sites and *pa'io'io* more generally, do not form a part of heritage discussions in the Marquesas. Scientists and heritage professionals have yet to study local spiritual meanings seriously, and due in part to the resulting absence of formulaic or legitimized knowledge about them, relationships with the ancestral spirits have not been featured by islanders or others in UNESCO project meetings.

Likewise, local mayors and members of Motu Haka have yet to recognize them as an integral part of today's Marquesan heritage. At the Marquesan Arts Festival, chants and dances tend to incorporate them only in contexts where Marquesan language is used, and in reference to ancient legends. Thus the Legend of the Octopus (*Te A'akakai o te Fe'e*), performed by the Tahuata dance team at the 2013 festival in Ua Huka, recounted the confrontation of one tribe's *pa'io'io* with another. Featuring the invocation of ancient warriors and a giant octopus commanded by a priest, this tale is situated in the distant past and therefore places the spirits in a context apart from both the Marquesan present and reality.

As a result, various underlying meanings and relationships of respect with historic landscapes have been subsumed by other, global meanings based on politics and economics. Discussions of heritage in public spaces are often conducted in French and focus on sites as opportunities for development and economic growth as well as celebrations of Marquesan culture and identity. As argued by West in the context of nature conservation and what she calls “conservation-as-development,” the implication of local actors in this vision of progress results

in the alteration of values. In the case of the Maimafu of Papua New Guinea, “participation in conservation-as-development has worked to disengage people and their social institutions from the environment in a way that may well lead to environmental destruction instead of environmental conservation” (West 2006:185). Labadi and Gould (2015) have made a similar argument about how the advancement of world heritage projects can “undermine sustainable outcomes for communities despite the best intentions of international compacts” (211).

As long as they remain unrecognized, sacred places are moreover vulnerable to disrespect and damage. Cornier and Leblic’s (2016) recent study of the Hyabé-Lé Jao Marine Protected Area, listed as UNESCO WH in 2008, notes the conflict between scientific practice and local, customary systems of behavior. According to one of the men they interviewed, ““they (the scientists and the WWF marine coordinator) had to go under (dive in the taboo area)...to see and people here were not happy. They even filmed and took photographs. These guys don’t respect anything, they want to see everything, know everything, while for us, it was always forbidden”” (142).

In a similar way, the current degradation of Marquesan heritage places illustrates the disconnect between shared heritage hopes and haunting individual realities. In the ruins of the Marquesan bush, positive, future-oriented visions of heritage-as-development collide with the largely negative, past-oriented perspective of most islanders. Given the jarring incoherence of these views, the diversity and ambivalence of local approaches to Marquesan heritage are not surprising. Destruction of such landscapes occurs as a result of either active processes like bulldozing, agriculture and the theft of stones, or more passively from neglect (e.g., Figure 40). Both of these situations relate to the embodied landscape in different ways. Islanders who choose active destruction often lack respect for ancestral places because they prioritize making



Figure 40. Amidst coconut plantations at the back of Hanavave valley, this paepae has been allowed to gradually crumble as coconut trees and other vegetation break apart the stone pavement.

money over respect, they want to forget the past, they don't believe in the power of the spirits or they just don't care.¹¹ In some cases, these individuals did not grow up in the Marquesas and so they lack the education from local elders and kin about the historic landscapes where they work. Others were raised in the islands and taught about sacred sites but they prefer to destroy, and thereby escape, this material evidence of ancestral ghosts and a sinister past. Meanwhile, the local politics of land tenure can also play a role. For example, the active planting of Tohua Taupoto by one family was crucial to establishing their claim to it.

In other cases, local mayors have chosen to destroy sites in order to build public works

¹¹ In French, *ils ne font pas attention*; this was a common refrain to explain the degradation of local sites.

projects or infrastructure such as roads. As illustrated by the destruction of an archaeological site in Hanamiai in order to mine sand and build a village soccer field, this has been a difficult choice for some (Tehaumate Tetahiotupa, May 14, 2013: 3, 1.02.55). Yet, as noted by Conte, archaeology itself is a process of selective destruction. Archaeologists destroy historic sites, and “if, for example, space is limited, then you must make a choice. And everywhere, we destroy things. It’s not what you might wish, but we certainly cannot keep everything!” (Eric Conte, February 13, 2013: 2, 28.20).

Another primary cause of site damage is abandonment. In many cases, ancient sites in uninhabited valleys or outside of villages become gradually degraded by tree growth, wild pigs digging between the stones, the heavy tread of cows and horses or ongoing wear from rain and erosion. Sites are most frequently abandoned if they are located on either government-owned, unclaimed or disputed lands. As previously noted, a few on family lands also remain untouched due to their ongoing sacred (*tapu*) meaning. Barring cases where flooding or rerouted rivers have destroyed them, the abandonment of sites usually means degradation rather than destruction. In the most remote valleys visited only occasionally by hunters or copra harvesters, historic landscapes are rarely maintained but can still remain in remarkably good condition, with relatively little disturbance from large trees, erosion or wild pigs. The condition of these sites also benefits from the general absence of livestock, which can physically damage unstable structures and transport some of the most tenacious and prolific species of weeds in their guts.

As the case of abandonment illustrates, the practice of respect does not necessarily equate to the preservation or maintenance of a place. However, it does arguably represent the preservation of place and historic meaning, of a different and equally valuable kind. In conversations with islanders, more generally, respect was also clearly one of the most important

aspects of ancient landscapes, and a leading factor in cases where islanders have chosen to maintain sites (Figure 41; see Charts 1 and 2, Appendix D). In its reference to something left behind, the general view of ancestral landscapes and their features as the “tracks” (*les traces*) or surviving proof of the ancestors suggests that *paepae* are, in a way, also a part of them (see Chart 1, Appendix D).

Although the sites that have been restored and identified as part of the UNESCO WHL nomination are not generally known as sacred, certain parts of them may retain spiritual power

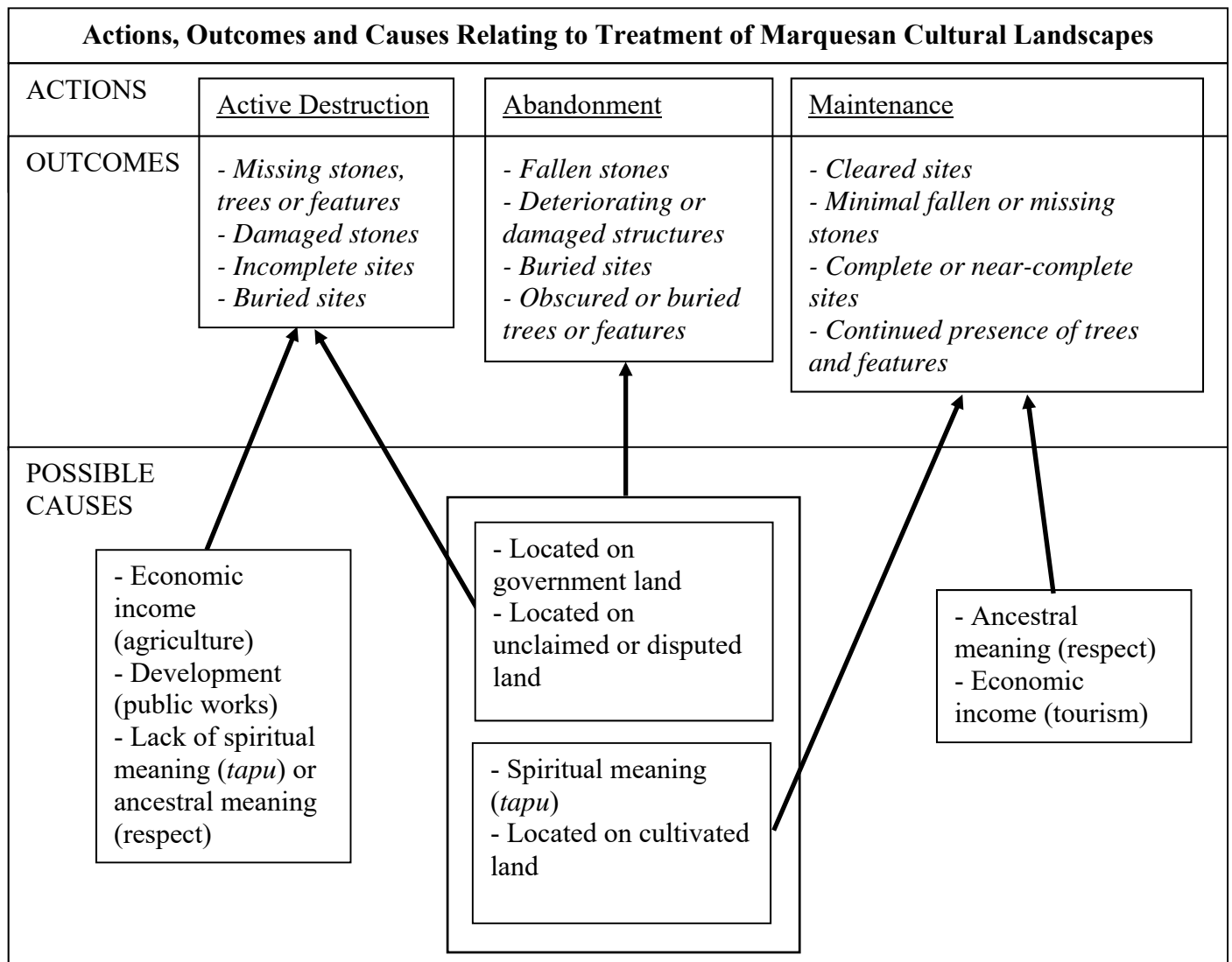


Figure 41. A chart illustrating some of the most frequent drivers and outcomes of Marquesan decisions about heritage treatment.

(e.g., Upeke), and the belief in them as traces of the ancestors still apply to them, as much as to the many other structures half-hidden in the bush. Many islanders spoke of feeling the presence of the ancestors at Kamuihei, one of the cultural cornerstones of the UNESCO WHL nomination (e.g., Nella Tekuaoteani Tamatai, December 4, 2013: 8, 35.45; Leonie Peters Kamia, August 29, 2013: 1, 56.15; Tehina Gilmore, August 29, 2013: 2, 39.30). They also often associate *tohua ko'ina* with the spirits and their broader respect for historic landscapes. Thus, artists and performers who have attended the festivals held in these places noted the importance of being aware of, and alert to, the past in historic landscapes. Ken Teva Taaviri, a young dance leader from Ua Huka, explained: “When you dance on the other islands’ ancient *paepae*, when I enter them I must make myself accepted. You must make yourself accepted by that *tohua*, and the ancestors of that *tohua*. Now, I don’t know if others feel that. But I feel it, when I enter an ancient *tohua*, it’s with [the] spirits” (October 4, 2013: 2, 41.05).

Teva went on to talk about how you “feel good” in a place where you are accepted, and the dance is bound to be a success, whereas “if you go in there and do whatever, and you don’t respect the *tiki*, then your performance may finish badly” (ibid.), like one time on Nuku Hiva when a dancer broke his leg. “You see, there are little signs like that” (ibid.) that illustrate the penalization of improper behavior. Retained across generations, this relationship of respect has driven the maintenance of some historic sites in a much more durable way than what might be motivated by tourist income.

Only since the restoration of certain large sites like Iipona and Kamuihei, in the 1990s (Chester 1998:34, 61), has heritage become a viable source of income from tourism. As the tourist appeal and, subsequently, economic value of these sites have gained both visibility and priority over the past two decades, they have aggravated underlying tensions like land

ownership, resource use and local politics. The association of potential tourist profits, which are typically individual, with a piece of land makes the state of its ownership critical and, in the frequent cases where more than one owner exists, potentially contentious. In the case of restored or popular tourist sites, the resulting jealousy between families has to some extent been neutralized by the active involvement of village mayors who make site maintenance a municipal responsibility, thus minimizing family disputes over both responsibility and profit. Still, as previously noted, this means that many of these landscapes have been inconsistently maintained due to the volatile balance of municipal staffing, financial restraints and local and national politics (e.g., Upeke, Te Tahuna, Mauia, Meaiaute, Hikokua; Jean Kautai, October 12, 2013: 2, 49.15), a weakness similarly encountered by heritage projects elsewhere (Venter and Lyon 2015:79).

Iipona appears to have at least temporarily escaped this destiny by using commoditization to its own ends and charging a tourist entry fee. Privately owned by an absentee landowner, the site's caretaker uses the entrance fee to pay for ongoing and reliable maintenance but not the accumulation of wealth (Thérèse Napuauhi, June 18, 2013: 1). A direct correlation is thus made between financial support and the cleaning of the site. Without the tourist income to pay for gas, supplies and workers, one retired Puamau teacher noted, "the trees would grow back!" (Remy Mahea Santos, June 20, 2013: 1, 40.50).

However, as discussed in Chapter 5, admission fees are generally problematic due to ambiguous land ownership and responsibility, as well as discomfort over the exchange of money given these uncertainties. As illustrated by existing disputes over harvesting and land use, the question of who gets the money and who does the work can be paralyzing for sites under ambiguous or family-based ownership (Marie-Christine Timau, November 1, 2013). When a

2013 construction project in the tiny village of Nahoe uncovered a series of buried stone slabs decorated with designs and *tiki* in relief, the island mayor suggested stabilizing the site so that visitors could come and view them. The land-owning family apparently hoped for a greater commitment from the municipal government, however, suggesting that the mayor take charge of the site and put something in place for its development. Meanwhile, the owners also expressed a desire that the site not be examined by an expert. For them, the mayor noted, “if technicians and specialists are brought in [to take a look], they see that as already giving something up,” akin to surrendering control (Etienne Tehoamoana, June 17, 2013: 1, 17.40). When I visited the site it was prominently marked with a hand-written wooden sign reading “Forbidden to the public. Private property. No photos.”

Due in large part to this kind of tension, no Marquesan site manager other than the one at Iipona has adopted the admission fee strategy to support maintenance. Placing a direct monetary value on historic places with pre-existing diverse and often spiritual meanings also acts as a subtle and insidious form of market-driven power (see Foucault 2007). In a Marxist sense, this could represent market capitalism’s advancing conquest of local networks of relationality and exchange. In the same way tourist consumption of “native” performances can lead money to dominate and subsume, rather than combine with, local cultural practices reframed as “dead” (MacCannell 1992:19), casting island heritage in an economic light risks surrendering local voices and authority in place-making.

Wary of this risk, many Marquesans approach the idea of an entry fee with the same skepticism they apply to capitalist ambition. For example, certain local artists have been criticized for using the government CPIA program to increase their production volume and sales. Some artisans train temporary CPIA employees in polishing or other simple tasks, or enlist them

to stand behind their table to sell things when the tourists visit. Others view such overt capitalism with a critical eye. Speaking of *tapa* production, a young artist named Sarah remarked how “some people say they make *tapa*, but it’s not even them—it’s their CPIA [workers] or their children, who are doing everything, and then they are the ones who sell it, as their little things even though it’s not true!...The people who work, they’re busy doing things, cutting or preparing things. You see that they’re really doing the work, while those who aren’t, they just sit down and sell it” (Sarah Anapua,¹² April 2013) while still laying claim to having made the *tapa*. It’s better to teach your own children how to make *tapa*, she noted, than to hire temporary CPIA workers. “Other people do it because of the money....[But] when you think only of money, then you will become selfish and you won’t want to learn. Because there are CPIA [workers] who will do their work, but once they’ve finished their contract, they’ll stop doing it at home. They’ll do something else, like make dried bananas” (ibid.).

Sarah’s comments illustrate a more general Marquesan attitude towards money (see also Chapter 5). At least to some extent, this distaste for monetary ambitions has facilitated the resistance of *tapa* and other forms of traditional art to commoditization. Instead, such views perpetuate myriad other values unrelated to economics such as transmitted knowledge about harvesting and artistry. For now at least, the value of Marquesan *tapa* thus remains equally vested in the economic income it provides, and the traditions and respect it perpetuates.

A similar constellation of values surrounds local understandings of historic sites, as sacred or ancestral meanings confront the looming incentives of monetary income and individual ambition. References to commoditization and “just doing it for the money” illustrate how tensions relating to capitalism shape the local perception and treatment of historic sites. Antoine

¹² Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

Teiefitu Barsinas (age 50) remarked upon how people used to always clean up the *paepae*, but now young people just want to make money so they don't clear the land any more. "It's not pretty, with all the weeds" (June 14, 2013: 5, 6.00). Islanders' relationships to both sites and the land are thus shifting in response to the influences of the market and development.

Still, the ongoing contingency of local actions illustrates the fragmented and incomplete authority of global capital and development. As Gene Ammarell (2014) has observed in the context of Indonesian fishing practices, individual actors may continue to privilege social relationships, principles of harmony and reciprocity over money and individual interests despite the assumed universal dominance of the latter (see also Sahlins 1999). Still, as Ammarell (2014) and others have observed (see West 2006), the resulting friction can threaten local environments and resources. Effective mitigation of the same risk in Marquesan heritage management requires not only a recognition of this tension, but the acceptance of the associated processes of disenchantment (see Weber 1958). Recognizing an "enchanted" Marquesan modernity, in turn, might allow for a more honest and effective approach to local heritage management.

This idea parallels Escobar's (2008) argument for recognizing "the right to no accumulation and to freer labor" in order to "reconfigure the stakes and keep viable other ways of being in place and being in networks, including those created by capital" (109). The strong and varied practices opposing commercialization in the Marquesas, specifically, suggest that revising popular heritage perspectives and even forgetting certain sites could be an important part of moving forward for Marquesans (see Meskell 2002). Indeed, allowing the neglect and degradation of some ancestral places may represent a kind of culturally appropriate site management that would counteract the various processes of economic, spiritual and administrative territorialization currently at work in the Marquesas. As heritage preservation

efforts confront this kind of challenge in communities across the globe, both the stakes and the level of complexity are elevated by various historical, cross-cultural and logistical factors.

“Preservation” of a Living Past?

The existing tensions between the implementation of heritage goals and the treatment of historic resources in the Marquesas spring in part from the gap between classic Western and Marquesan understandings of place, nature and culture. Marquesans interact with historic landscapes in a physically engaged, relational way that does not come easily to those more used to looking at the world as a domain of humans and the environment, functioning separately but together in a present where the past is firmly over. Cultural elder Maurice Rootuehine described it, thus: “I know that site [in Hane] was a *paepae* for sacrifices. And there, when they cut their heads off they brought the bodies down below, to where the population was. And that’s why, when I go see *paepae*, I respect them. Because you can’t just screw around on them, since you don’t know if it’s calm or if there is still a stone that’s alive! We don’t know” (October 1, 2013: 4, 23.30).

As discussed in Chapter 4, Marquesan place-making occurs through actions on the land and the reliving of “long histories of connections to markets and governments” (Feit 2004:94) as well as to family and spirituality. Islanders orient themselves in places using the material resources of the forest, their own spiritual beliefs, personal memories and longer social histories of the kind Feit explores. Due to the role of fear and colonialism in this process, these long histories also take on a sinister aspect, evoking Ann Laura Stoler’s (2013) morbid portrayal of a post-colonial present infected by the lingering “toxic corrosions and violent accruals” of empire (2). In particular, approaching the past as active in the minds, bodies and environments of the

present, as Stoler suggests, supports the kind of embodied connection many Marquesans have to the land. It also complicates current ideas and goals relating to heritage development and the islands' future.

A recent video by the French Agency of Marine Protected Areas (*Agence des aires marines protégées*), issued in collaboration with the UNESCO project, illustrates how global preservation agendas grounded in classic Western perspectives are exerting pressure and influence in the Marquesas. The video presents a rosy, simplistic image of an island heritage threatened by local and external forces, and suggests that the future of Marquesan culture depends upon the preservation of these resources. A young girl from Vaitahu narrates: “Recognizing the fragility of our natural and cultural heritage in the face of global challenges, we Marquesans, children of the ocean, have decided to work together to ensure a sustainable and innovative future” (Agence des aires marines protégées 2014).¹³

The film is essentially a marketing tool, but both local and foreign project leaders have faith in this goal. As argued by two of its greatest Marquesan advocates, the UNESCO project instills a greater appreciation for the value of historic sites that many islanders have long taken for granted (Georges Teikiehuupoko, October 9, 2013; Pascal Erhel, February 11, 2013). These leaders recognize that a UNESCO WH listing will offer the chance for Marquesans to engage with their heritage in new ways and also take greater responsibility for the recognition and regular management of all historic landscapes, not just those in the nomination. Ua Pou mayor and former French Polynesian Minister of Culture Joseph Kaiha explained:

It's not simply a UNESCO label, [and it's not] that this classification alone will do everything. It's we the Marquesans living today, and our children who live tomorrow: it's all a chain. And then there are things there, [like] the *paepae* in the bush that are abandoned and falling apart, and the stones that have broken or fallen, the animals, the human beings, fires, trees and roots, all

¹³ Translation from the original French by the author.

that, [and] construction, bulldozers, globalization, urbanization. Those are the constraints, the dangers. (Joseph Kaiha, October 17, 2013: 4, 1.41.20)

Joseph is speaking of Marquesans taking on the responsibility to protect and promote an entire way of life, and a perspective, under threat. Though not within the capacity or responsibility of UNESCO, this goal is pivotal to many Marquesans' strategic support of the project (e.g., *ibid.*; Pascal Erhel, January 29, 2013: 1; Debora Kimitete, September 11, 2013: 2, 28.40; Yvonne Katupa, September 13, 2013: 2, 30.35).

Meanwhile, the assumption of positive value implicit in the current UNESCO project conflicts directly with alternative understandings of ancestral lands. Some of the historic sites slated for potential inclusion in the UNESCO WHL nomination have, or once had, sacred and spiritual meanings for Marquesans (e.g., Thérèse Napuauhi, June 18, 2013: 1, 9.45; Pierre Tahiatohuipoko, October 14, 2013: 6, 35.25). One elderly dancer remarked on the restored site of Upeke:

“Before it was *tapu*, and we did a mass there so that when people came they wouldn't get sick. So we said a prayer and everything, we call it *ha'ameie* [Catholic blessing]. And now when you go there, there's nothing. You are at ease. You can go on the *paepae*, on the stones and everywhere, except for the *paepae* where women cannot go on top. You can go on the trees, everywhere, [and] you can even touch the *tiki* or if you want to sit on the *tiki*, there's nothing [that will happen].” (Marie Josephine Scallamera, June 24, 2013: 3, 46.40)

This account illustrates some of the lingering, sinister connotations that present a challenge to established notions of heritage recognition through celebration or commemoration (see Winter 2005). Although their meanings must not be essentialized, the yawning divide between these understandings of heritage suggest that current projects to develop and promote Marquesan heritage may never affirm local history, values and culture in the way some Marquesan leaders hope. On the one hand, the interpretive work being done by the UNESCO project will likely apply more to tourist sites than Marquesan historic landscapes, in general. On

the other, the project's global focus may in some ways preclude its acceptance of the personal quality of Marquesan relationships with the ancestral spirits. Thus, certain sites may be developed and marketed as tourist attractions while others remain subject to primarily private Marquesan understandings.

Yet, to assume that Marquesans will continue privately interpreting landscapes in a way that differs from and resists more public recognitions of value may be overly optimistic. As observed by one study of heritage commoditization in Mexico, the sale of archaeological sites "potentially impedes a genuine appreciation for actual, rather than imagined, cultural diversity and in-depth knowledge of Tuxtleco cultures, past and present" (Venter and Lyon 2015:77). Moreover, the commoditization of heritage could result in its meaning being driven as much by tourist expectations and the market as by the local community and past (ibid., 80).

As discussed in Chapter 6, the representation of Marquesan heritage value through formulaic global criteria may ultimately ignore, and therefore devalue, local understandings of the past and ancestral places. Although emplaced Marquesan knowledge endures, it is weakening under the weight of government, market and informational processes. In one sense, global reinterpretations of Marquesan heritage could help to preserve local meanings on the land by obscuring them from the global view as well as the "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990). Yet, without some recognition of shared value among Marquesans, these understandings may also ultimately disappear. A more flexible interpretation of heritage based on local practices of respect could help to facilitate a more public acknowledgement of the difference and value of Marquesan understandings of the past, place and the spirits. In particular, greater engagement with the sacred meaning of sites could help to guide better informed plans for their preservation (see Carmichael et al. 1994; Thorley and Gunn 2008).

The slippage between the global heritage concept and local interpretations of sacred and historic lands helps to explain the general lack of Marquesan enthusiasm or involvement with the UNESCO project, despite ongoing practices of respect for heritage and UNESCO's commitment to work with communities. In their efforts to promote heritage preservation, advocates have emphasized the associated commercial opportunities and tourism, in particular. If a site is seen as a potential source of tourist income, project leaders reason, Marquesans will be more likely to take an active interest (Félix Barsinas, May 28, 2013: 2, 5.55).

Evidence of this rationale can be seen in the relative maintenance of certain sites with strong tourist appeal. Intermittent municipal programs have engaged contract workers through the government CPIA program in order to keep some sites clean, over the years. Thus, as noted by Vanessa Tepea, in these cases *paepae* are kept clean only for tourists and because workers are paid to maintain them. Speaking of the site Meaiaute in Hane, she said:

There was a time when we CPIA [workers] went to clean up the *tiki* [at Meaiaute]. We cleaned up all the *paepae* there, from down below all the way up [to the top terrace]. And that was a good thing, to maintain the *paepae*... Normally it is kept clean, but for the moment we're busy and it's been sidelined a bit. They will clean it for the mini-festival, but I don't know when that will be. But when there are big events, that's when we clean it. Otherwise, normally there's no one who takes care of [that site] any more. If there are no CPIA, no one takes care of it. So nature does what it wants. (September 30, 2013: 2, 15.45)

A commercial frame of mind, in turn, reinforces and prioritizes the value of these sites for tourist, rather than Marquesan, purposes. Vanessa went on to note how it would be nice to maintain some of the more hidden *paepae* as well, and place someone in charge of them so that "when there are tourists...someone is there to tell them about the legends and the importance of the *paepae*" of Ua Huka (ibid.).

Few islanders interpret heritage as meaningful solely because of its potential monetary value, and the presence of economic (or profane) worth does not necessarily dominate or

dismantle other types of social or sacred meanings (Aikau 2012). Yet, the current tendency to clear sites only for visiting tourists or special events begs the question: For whom are historic landscapes maintained or restored? In comparison with the practiced modes of behavior and respect that have helped to preserve many sites for generations, the current monetary incentives associated with a small selection of historic places may fall short in terms of both strength and longevity.

Many islanders voice similar doubts. As evidenced by what happened at Tohua Taupoto in Vaitahu, the combined volatility of local politics, land ownership and general disinterest in developing the tourist industry can easily lead to wasted labors and an abandoned historic site. Thus, even before the completion of the ceremonial dance grounds of Tohua Tetumu, built for the 2013 mini festival on Ua Huka, some workers were already expressing concerns about what would happen to it after the festival ended. They joked about coming to plant their watermelons or limes there, arguing that the naturally arid landscape would dry up if it wasn't actively used. As Joinville Nahau Fournier argued half in jest, why not plant or even live there, because "no one will take care of [the site], otherwise. The rats will come sleep in it" (October 2, 2013: 1, 57.40). Since the land the site is on belongs to the town, I asked if the municipality was responsible for finding someone to care for it. He answered, "Yes! They're looking but they haven't found anyone" (ibid.).

Guy Teatiu added that there was "no more money" for later maintenance, and a few minutes later Léon Fournier confirmed: "After the festival, it's over—they're going to let it go. Because there's nothing [planned to come] next...that's why, if we don't enclose it [with a fence] then the horses will come [and eat everything]...and all the shrubs will die," all the beautiful plants they had spent months planting and watering (Guy Teatiu and Léon Fournier,

ibid.). As active participants in the building, planting and tending of the site in the months preceding the festival, these men worried that they had invested in a place that potentially faces the same sad fate as Tohua Taupoto.

Still, a crucial difference separates these two sites. Tohua Tetumu is an entirely new site built on town land and roughly modeled on the plans of an ancient ceremonial site, whereas Tohua Taupoto is a restored historic site on private land. Despite their similar maintenance challenges, the strategies for charting their futures are therefore quite distinct. Since it was originally built by the ancestors, Tohua Taupoto elicits a certain respect from most Marquesans. Yet, as long as this respect is not formally recognized by heritage advocates or even consistently expressed in practice, the underlying Marquesan interest in what you might call “heritage” remains obscured.

Kyung-Nan Koh (2015) describes a similar interpretational dilemma in her analysis of recent sustainability initiatives in Hawaii. The implementation of an idea like sustainability, she points out, depends heavily upon its translation in the local context. Despite the various Hawaiian traditions of sustainable resource use, the classically “white capitalist” term, “sustainability,” has been met with suspicion and skepticism in Hawaiian communities (59). She argues that a more meaningful Hawaiian form of sustainability focuses on the indigenous past, rather than a foreign (or *haole*), capitalist future. “In effect, sustainability was something still about the future, but that future now resembled the past” (ibid., 67).

In a similar way, Escobar (2008) notes how “sustainability needs to be rooted in cultural identities and ecological conditions” (105) in addition to ontologies and, as illustrated by Cornier and Leblic (2016), local systems of organization and resource management (147-8). Sustainable management, it would seem, is best ensured by achieving the co-construction of knowledge

through the inclusion of different stakeholders and expert knowledge, history and traditional knowledge or *metis* (ibid., 149). Reorienting heritage management towards a living past could thus help to encourage preservation goals that are better suited to particular places and peoples. If discussions of sustainability and heritage preservation could acknowledge this temporal focus they might also be able to recognize crucial, long-standing historic legacies and “toxic corrosions” of a painful colonial past (Stoler 2013). Although such historic influences are not always obvious to international proponents of conservation or preservation, their impact on local interactions with resources has fundamental implications for the future of cultural landscapes.

Like many international organizations, UNESCO has struggled with the ability to address and engage with local interests in the Pacific and elsewhere. Part of the problem is that the very idea of global heritage relies upon a substantial local investment in non-local interests and goals (Smith and Turk 2013:27). The reliance of global heritage on universal value also presents a challenge, since it rejects the idea that diversity, itself, could be a collective and valuable legacy of humanity. Yet, paradoxically, promoting diversity would repeat the original blunder of believing in universal value, in the first place. As critically noted by Anna Karlström (2013), “culture heritage is something that we create because we, archaeologists and heritage managers, think that conservationist ideals are universal” when in fact they are nothing of the sort (142).

Implementing this kind of universal value as an ideal fundamentally involves the subversion of local ideas to global ones (see Rico 2008). For example, at the World Heritage Site of Angkor, in Cambodia, cultural tourism has led to the marginalization of “alternative interpretations of heritage and memory” (Winter 2005:63). Winter interprets this conflict as the discordance between a “living heritage” and the material spaces of the “ancient” past that it is understood to inhabit (ibid.; see also MacCannell 1976:122).

In a parallel process, state members of the UNESCO Convention provide “localised venues for the invention of nature and culture, while science and other ‘expert’ disciplines provide some of the procedures for producing nature and culture in these contexts” (Pannell 2013:53). The consequences of this colonialist practice are manifest in the way local residents are dispossessed of private or public land and forced to rely upon tourism for income (Tanudirjo et al. 2013:72). Elsewhere, the volume of tourists and the infrastructure required to accommodate them have become a threat to the future of heritage itself (Huke and Aguilera 2007:45). As Dean MacCannell (1976) points out in his classic text, *The Tourist*, if a site becomes too popular it risks being obstructed by the very marks of its popularity (126).

In the words of one artist from Ua Huka, “for tourism, UNESCO classification is good! When you look at Easter Island today, [it is] classified as UNESCO World Heritage, and it’s good, the tourists go there. But then later, when there are too many [of them]? When there are too many [tourists], they’ll put up a moai that was made in China or Bali...for the tourists...That’s a show. It’s not cultural any more. That’s the danger” (Tana Heivana,¹⁴ October 2013: 4, 54.25). “And then the *pa’io’io* leaves!” adds a friend (Caroline Heivana,¹⁵ *ibid.*).

The ultimate risk is similar to what James Wilson (1998) has observed among Native Americans who fear that their youth “are not merely adept at *playing* the Indian of European fantasy but have actually *become* him,” and “the Euro-American idea of what an Indian *ought* to be has finally supplanted the sense of who they really are” (420). The Comaroffs (2009) take a closer look at this kind of peril and how it relates to the commercialization of culture. As they note, the creation of ethnicity as a consumer product offers great opportunities for claiming

¹⁴ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

¹⁵ Pseudonym used and exact date omitted to protect the speaker’s identity.

profits, ownership and power. Yet culture, the commodity, is also “vulnerable to the vagaries of commerce, which demands that the alienation of heritage ride a delicate balance between exoticism and banalization” (142). In the process, valuable traditions and one’s connection to place and people are imperiled (ibid.). By solidifying ethnic divides, what they call “the Difference Business” renders “invisible, or only just translucent, those whose claims to belonging and material benefit are erased by the process of incorporation itself” (ibid., 143).

Marquesan leaders of the UNESCO project have discussed some of the risks of commercialization with villagers, using Rapanui (Easter Island) as an example (Iris Paro Kahiha, August 21, 2013: 3, 49.20). Isolated and culturally distinct, like the Marquesas, Rapanui has benefitted from increased tourism revenues in the wake of joining the WHL. However, it now faces a host of related challenges associated with the tourist boom, including challenges to local heritage sites and respect for *tapu* beliefs (Joseph Kaiha, October 17, 2013: 4, 1.41.20; Haun 2008:13).

Under the current circumstances, adding Marquesan heritage to the WHL runs the same risk. A more distinctive “Marquesan” vision for how to advance this project could improve both its potential outcomes and its chances of success. Such a vision would involve a broader acceptance of indigenous syncretism and spirituality, as well as the open recognition of historic sites as living, embodied places. Islanders would be offered the opportunity to abandon sites or close them off from visitors entirely, based on spiritual values they are not required to share. Empowered by the local recognition of spiritual value, individual or extended families would be allowed to openly block access to certain parts of their land and develop others as tourist areas, according to their views. Perhaps most importantly, Marquesans would be given the first and last word on the importance of living historic landscapes and how they should be treated.

Marquesan cultural leader Benjamin Teikitutoua spoke of this challenge one morning in Hakahau, while waiting for his dance team to assemble. As the gathering artists bantered and Celine Dione's "I'm Your Lady" played from a boombox in the background, he explained how "we have asked for help from UNESCO in protecting our natural and cultural heritage, [because now] there are no more artifacts, like the religious objects of our ancestors, the *tiki* and other things. They're rare, they've gone." Citing the mayor's plans to develop a new heritage space next to his office in Hakahau as an example, Benjamin noted how it's important to preserve what is part of islanders' lives, like "the dance costumes that they danced with [at the festivals], so that's a living heritage. It's not a heritage that's in a glass case. It's a heritage that lives, or you could say, it's a living heritage, it's not an immobile heritage like in a museum. Museums are dead" (Benjamin Teikitutoua, October 19, 2013: 1, 25.10). He went on to explain how *paepae*, too, have a living quality due to their relationship with people, place and the ancestral spirits.

A *paepae* isn't like a museum because it's in a living place. It's in nature, and there are trees, chickens, roosters and other animals around it, so it's part of living setting. Even if they are not lived on like they were before, they're in a living place, they're not shut in a cabinet. They are in their setting, and they live in the mountains. [And] we must leave them there, we must not touch them... Many young people don't know the function of *paepae*, so we talk to them and we visit the *paepae* and explain to them about why, what they were used for, what was on them, where the house was, or the place to sleep, or eat, [where] the porch was for chatting, the pit where they put bones (*ua huna*). That is a sacred place in the *paepae*. In fact, I think that pit is the soul of the *paepae*. The genealogy is there, and that's the soul of the *paepae*, that gives it life. Because there's a link with the ancestors who are there, buried inside. (October 19, 2013: 1, 28.25)

Approaching heritage preservation from this perspective requires a reframing of how and why historic places are important. Marquesan interactions with these living sites tend to be like meetings with the past, pivotal moments of contact between islanders and their ancestors. To speak of the "soul" of these places is not only an expression of a location with paramount significance; it also refers to life and the associated relationships. Due to the typically Western

approach of the current heritage projects, preserving and promoting historic Marquesan landscapes requires negotiating a broad interpretational gap. Above all the themes of fear and respect, so prevalent in islanders' relationships with their past and ancestral places, are used to justify both preservation and neglect, and therefore play a central role in this process and the ultimate outcome of local sustainability efforts.

Living Fear, Faith and the Marquesan Future

Ideally, the future being shaped for local heritage and culture by Marquesans, UNESCO representatives, foreigners and experts will be sustainable because it resonates with island residents. As my research indicates, this requires the negotiation of not only local hopes for tomorrow, but the ghosts of the past. Yet, to what extent should heritage management plans address the relationship between islanders and spirits? As noted by Félix Barsinas and others, some Marquesans hope to avoid contact with this pre-colonial religious legacy and to forget, choosing not to transmit their knowledge to children or grandchildren (e.g., Teupootoe Barsinas, May 28, 2013: 1; Remy Mahea Santos, June 20, 2013: 1, 37.45). Both fear and religion are primary motivations for this view. From a religious perspective, one islander explained how “since now we are in the Catholic religion and we believe in God, we are trying to forget all that because it’s not part of our Christian life” (Lucie Ohu Ah-Scha, October 7, 2013: 6, 1.25). According to many, Christians are also immune to the power of ancestral spirits, and so have nothing to fear (e.g., Noeline Tepea, September 29, 2013: 2, 37.50). To believe in the presence of ancient spirits gives them power over you and makes you vulnerable to their mischievous or sinister games (*keu*). In most cases, places blessed by a Catholic priest no longer pose a threat (e.g., Jeanne Timau, November 19, 2013: 3, 23.05), but they still demand respect

(e.g., Ingrid Hikutini, October 12, 2013: 1, 21.55).

Despite the strong role of Christianity in neutralizing some fears of historic landscapes, related anxieties remain a leading reason why some would prefer to forget or ignore the past and historic sites. Most of the Marquesans with whom I spoke have felt discomfort, at the very least, around certain historic places. Thus, they face the awkward predicament of wanting to awaken the culture of their ancestors without simultaneously rousing their unpredictable spirits (e.g., Héléna Kautai Hikutini, October 10, 2013: 7, 38.50; Vaiani Otomimi, October 25, 2013: 4, 20.40). Many feel torn between two perspectives. Despite his faith, the Catholic priest and Marquesan Emile Buchin still believes that spirits live in the forest:

We [Marquesans] believe in God and we go to mass and all that, but still on the other hand...Even if we believe in God, there are also your roots and your culture that tell you that you must be careful of spirits and all that, in nature. We are very superstitious...maybe because we grew up in that spiritual side, that side that's a bit demonic (*diapolo*), it's about the spirits...and as a result we live with those two sides...we go to mass and we sing to God, but then there's the other side, too...it's very strong... Sometimes in my sermons I say to be careful, it's okay to have respect and everything, but then you must not fall into [too many superstitions]. Because after that, everything is a subject to interpret, and then we imagine things and we hurt ourselves and others, and we destroy ourselves...it's in your head. (August 21, 2013: 1, 25.00)

Marie-Christine Timau Teikiotiu, a practicing Catholic and active member of her local church on Hiva Oa, further remarked: “We feel those things from our ancestors, and we can’t calm it. But when we are in Christianity, and we live by prayers and we are in touch with who we are, all that, [then] we’re in [Catholicism]. But from there, to leave the other half...we cannot. And it’s not easy. Especially when you hear words like ‘pagan’...it has an effect on you” (June 24, 2013: 5, 0.00).

The dynamic character of this perspective is a foundational aspect of a more general Marquesan approach to the past, development and change. Nonetheless, building on their

ambivalent past has been, and continues to be, a difficult task. Father Emile pointed out how “if you do not have roots, you have no future” (Emile Buchin, August 21, 2013: 1, 18.50); yet islanders forced to be selective about their roots face agonizing choices in their everyday activities as well as their hopes for the future. Kiki Timau commented how it always seems to be foreigners who work to recognize the Marquesan past and “bring the *paepae* back to life,” rather than islanders. There are Marquesans, he said, “who want to speak of their ancestors (*tupuna*), who want to talk about *paepae*, but there’s something that prevents them. It’s religion and all that, [saying] you must not do that, it’s not good, it’s diabolical” (Kiki Timau, May 17, 2013: 1, 2.31.45). Now, confronted with the challenge of reviving Marquesan culture, he noted how difficult it is to bring it “back to life with written materials and books. It’s a shame” (ibid.).

Yet, in many ways that is what the cultural revitalization movement has done. In the broadest sense, Marquesan culture has speedily transformed from embarrassment to a source of pride in a mere two decades. While Moevai Huukena Bonno (age 23) and others her age remember being penalized for speaking Marquesan, teachers and other local leaders now urge children and their parents to speak it (September 11, 2013: 4). The same shift did not extend to relationships with the ancestors and ancestral places. Due to the central role of the Catholic Church in launching the revitalization movement, open engagement with the ancestral spirits in the context of Marquesan culture continues to be discouraged. In 1991, at the third Marquesan Arts Festival on Hiva Oa, a group of youths who “were trying to bring their culture to life by invoking the spirits of the ancestors” began visiting the Upeke *me’ae* to communicate with the ancestors (Tehaumate Tetahiotupa, March 20, 2013: 2, 12.40). One of the Catholic priests denounced their activities in order to “take back the festival. He said that it was not good for the festival to involve the spirits by calling to them [because that meant] that it became something

diabolical” (ibid.). That year the island of Tahuata boycotted the festival for religious reasons. Today, the opening of each festival on the *tohua ko'ina* always includes a Catholic prayer.

This troubled relationship plays an important role in Marquesan perspectives on their past and the dangers it holds, as well as the potential future of local heritage. Similar trends have been observed elsewhere, as world religions like Islam or Christianity have pushed ancestral spirits “out” into the wilds of the bush (Shaw 2002:54). In Rosalind Shaw’s study of memory and the slave trade in Sierra Leone, she notes how the transformation of pre-colonial spirits “from close neighbors into external marauders” (ibid.) over time reflects the hostile historic relationship between villagers and foreign slave traders. “Through [the spirits]...the perilous potential of the southern Temne landscape condenses historical experiences of raiding and warfare, siege and ambush, death and capture, down the centuries” (ibid., 56).

Thus, colonial legacies of conflict actively shape local perceptions of the land, spirits and the threats they pose (ibid.; see also Stoler 2013). Over the past 150 years, Marquesans have grappled with a violent and unpleasant past that similarly emphasizes the savagery of both colonists and colonized. Here, as in Sierra Leone, time seems to collapse in the predominant silences of an incomplete past. In the process, the historic violences of colonialism and Catholic conversion are perpetually revisited through indigenous realities and spiritual beliefs. Paul Basu notes how this progression is like a palimpsest in which “memoryscapes” blur the boundaries between colonial and indigenous, bringing memory and history into the same space and time (Basu 2007:234). As Sierra Leone struggles to commemorate its turbulent colonial history and pursue national “rebirth” with the help of a Truth and Reconciliation Committee, Basu warns against ignoring the “still-potent underlying layers” of an undead past (ibid., 254). Stoler’s (2013) analysis of colonialism’s “accumulated debris” and the resulting “degraded personhoods”

similarly suggests that this kind of ongoing conquest of local realities or perspectives comes at a high price (7).

On the one hand, the greater ontological flexibility allowed by cultural landscapes could serve as a valuable tool for islanders to negotiate greater power in this process through the blending of nature and culture, past and present (Boyle 2008; Buggey 1999:12). Yet, as discussed in Chapter 4, this process would also involve redefining existing ideas about place and phenomenology, which tend to overlook understandings of ambivalent landscapes or discomfort about the past. Likewise, despite their ongoing innovations, the VWLP initiative, UNESCO WHL and most other existing heritage projects emphasize the more positive, uncontested aspects of the past in their promotion of preservation. Looking specifically at the UNESCO WHL, only a small collection of listed properties have conflicting meanings, or what has been referred to as dissonant or ambivalent heritage (Chadha 2006; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). These include the Hiroshima Peace Memorial and the Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp.

Archaeologist Lynn Meskell (2002) and others have referred to these places as negative heritage, or conflictual sites that serve as repositories of “negative memory in the collective imaginary” (558). As pointed out by Trinidad Rico (2008), such heritage places call for closer scrutiny of the World Heritage Committee’s idea of “universally shared unconflicting heritage” (349). In the Marquesas, the similar failure of heritage advocates to openly recognize dynamic ancestral spirits, embodiment or local practices of respect and their role in understanding Marquesan heritage therefore creates friction. In many ways, planning for the future of cultural landscapes requires positive connections to the land and feelings of strength, pride and hope that conflict with the kind of ambivalence Marquesans feel about their historic places. As particular

sites begin transitioning to interpretation and management as “heritage” places, their dominant meaning becomes commercial (see Venter and Lyon 2015). Either embroiled in land disputes or assumed to be the responsibility of UNESCO and the territorial government, a number of these landscapes have been abandoned and are now vulnerable to decay and damage.

Meanwhile the shadowy, haunting associations of many sites give islanders pause as they consider how they feel about their heritage and its preservation. In particular the historical power, both colonial and spiritual, latent in ancestral places can predispose them to neglect. Heritage sites with potential spiritual value remain ambiguous places of “temporal rupture,” caught in limbo between their interpretation as the “cultural products of a colonial ideology” and objects of personal and historic spirituality (Chadha 2006:341). Insidious and unresolved, this ambivalence compounds the myriad challenges of Marquesan heritage preservation.

Still, Marquesan ingenuity and the continuity of emplaced, embodied knowledges provide a metaphorical *paepae* on which to build a revised vision of heritage management. The origins and evolution of the Marquesan cultural revitalization movement offer some guidance on how to overcome lingering colonial corruptions and commemorate, or invigorate, Marquesan heritage. Cultural leader and Motu Haka co-founder Georges Teikiehuupoko spoke emphatically of confronting the islands’ dark and deep-seated legacies when he first launched the reclamation of Marquesan language and culture in the late 1970s and 80s.

So we had our first meeting here on Ua Pou...and there were some people, of a certain age, who said, “You want to return us to the past? Today, if you want to build a fire you strike a match. And you want to drag us out to make fire with wood, outside?” [And] I said, that’s not the goal...[And they said,] “You are a pagan, you want to send people back to pagan times, to paganism!” [But I said,] “No! It’s knowledge that you must transmit, not paganism. Knowledge.” And there are those who believe and who think of supporting it, but it’s always...people [everywhere] were the same, they were reticent. They weren’t cooperative. (October 9, 2013: 4, 23.00)

A certain fear lurks behind this reluctance, along with an impulse to leave the past alone. The assertion of Marquesan culture and the embrace of living from the land also carry a political tone, echoing calls for independence from France and economic freedom from French subsidies and imported goods (Trémon 2006:277). However, as illustrated by the reference to paganism, religion plays an equally important role. Georges went on to explain how “there’s a strong religious domination” exercised in practices like saying Catholic prayers before each Marquesan Arts Festival (October 9, 2013: 4, 1.44.40). Like the movement to revitalize local culture, heritage initiatives in the Marquesas must involve a sensitive negotiation of both places and the past. For many, the hope of sustaining cultural landscapes and historic values conflicts directly with simultaneous and discordant associations with that past, challenging Marquesans’ ability to build a future for their ambivalent ancestral places.

A greater awareness of local networks of responsibility, spiritual power and practices of respect could help to reorient accountability and treatment of historic landscapes in ways that would improve the long-term sustainability of heritage in the islands. Indeed, without respect for these relationships, local actions on the land and the reasoning behind them, heritage preservation prospects for the Marquesas are unlikely to extend beyond a few tourist sites.

Both capitalism and colonialism are woven into the fabric of the Marquesan past and present, and will never disappear entirely. Still, the most productive and sustainable approaches to land use and preservation will engage with the myriad local strategies of resistance to these legacies as well as the multi-layered, relational Marquesan perspectives on their land and the past. Here, inspiration can be found in Sahlins (2005) develop-man concept as well as Galaty’s (2013) interpretation of African pastoralists who seize upon the “tools” offered by processes of power and territorialization to construct their own original modernities (506). The same goal

holds promise for heritage initiatives in the Marquesas.

Above all, however, the delicate connection between fear and the respect it engenders suggests the need for particular care in pursuing heritage preservation in the Marquesas. I suggest emphasizing and promoting respect for traces of the past that have positive as well as negative connotations (Figure 42). Understanding, accepting and transmitting the history of surviving historic landscapes is a worthy legacy that islanders and outsiders, alike, can work to cultivate.

Common Reasons Marquesans Respect Indigenous Historic Landscapes		
<i>Positive</i>		
	Reason	Rationale
	Unique	It's beautiful, we can't replicate that work today
	Fingerprints of ancestors	Evidence of the ancestors' existence, strength or power (<i>mana</i>)
	Education	We can learn, our children can learn how ancestors lived
	Tourism	They can bring us income, provide a future for our children
	Source of strength	These places are an artistic, cultural and spiritual resource
<i>Negative</i>		
	Fear	Of spirits that can cause: sickness, death, bad luck
	Paganism	Savage, un-Christian and therefore dangerous
	Cannibalism and sacrifice	Savage, dark and therefore dangerous

Figure 42. Reasons were drawn from more than 250 interviews where islanders were asked specifically about why they respect historic places. This list is not exhaustive, nor necessarily indicative of all possible justifications for respect; see also Chart 1, Appendix D.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion: Building a Future on Sacred Lands

“Maybe UNESCO has criteria for saying that something is exceptional. Perhaps that’s the way *popa’a* [white people] see things. So now it’s up to us to answer, that this is how we see those criteria, and among those criteria, we don’t agree with this one or that one. Because you must explain! You can’t just say no.”

(Mélanie Hatihaa,¹ February 18, 2013: 1, 1.05.10)

The question of how to manage and preserve Marquesan heritage tangles intimately with how to ensure sustainable local livelihoods, now and into the future. Plans for growth and change rely upon the land, whose use in turn responds directly to understandings of the past and its material and immaterial elements. As processes of territorialization unfold through the mechanisms of administration, religion and the market they are met by myriad forms of resistance, and the resulting tensions threaten historic resources even as they affirm Marquesan resiliency. The true challenge, then, is to mediate this friction by revising current approaches to heritage management. Crucially, a sustainable strategy that perpetuates and promotes respectful treatment of local relationships to heritage and the land will allow these resources to continue nurturing Marquesans and their culture into the future.

As illustrated by ongoing heritage efforts, pursuing preservation and sustainability can be problematic (e.g., Labadi and Gould 2015:211). The heritage challenges Marquesans face are a microcosm of the broader issues being encountered by preservation and conservation efforts around the globe. Navigating these encounters is a predictably complex and multi-faceted proposition, but several important themes nonetheless present themselves across time and space.

First, as noted in the above quote from Fatu Hiva cultural elder Mélanie Hatihaa, established structures of heritage administration do not generally consider local views and

¹ Pseudonym used to protect the speaker’s identity, at her request.

interests. In their study of conservation and ownership on the Micronesian Island of Pohnpei, Ayres and Mauricio demonstrate how heritage classification entails two different types of conservation: “holistic conservation” and what they call “cultural triage” (Ayres and Mauricio 1999:315). The former is associated with the traditional management of resources and a focus on protecting the entire landscape, while the latter involves particular processes of resource prioritization and selection. Pursuit of holistic conservation therefore holds much greater potential for sustainable resource management, yet the authors point out how this strategy “may not provide practical and effective results when pitted against government policies and the requirements of cultural resource management and development” (ibid.) more easily addressed through cultural triage.

Still, both of these preservation strategies respond to a broader Western hierarchy of knowledge that privileges science and rationality over less formal and rarely recognized relational meanings. Nancy Peluso (1992) and James C. Scott (1998), among others, have explored how such judgments can influence political and economic outcomes as well as the material utilization of resources. By defining natural and cultural heritage in terms of its scientific legitimacy, accountability to the public good, and perceived benefit to “future generations,” states have been able to use it as a tool for state-building, knowledge creation and the control of space (Anderson 1983:185; Gellner 2006:77; Sivaramakrishnan 2000:81).

The case of the Marquesas both supports and challenges this interpretation of heritage by confirming patterns of knowledge hierarchy and resistance but also demonstrating how power is refracted as it passes through implemented preservation agendas. Thus, local leaders with regional and international aspirations are choosing to ignore critical aspects of Marquesan knowledge and perspectives on the past. Meanwhile, what at first appear to be effective and

genuine commitments to heritage and local Marquesan communities in fact gloss over the hidden and durable influences of colonialism and historic discomfort. Efforts by local and regional heritage advocates to incorporate villagers' interests, though genuine, have instead contributed to the alienation of Marquesans from their land and historic resources. Meanwhile, broader development and preservation initiatives anchored in heritage risk misinterpreting historic resources and, worse, perpetuating colonialist patterns of power and ontological authority.

Such projects to preserve heritage contain the same potential dangers as other sustainability initiatives whose "policies and ideas have concrete repercussions that arise from and can perpetuate existing inequalities," as noted by Nicole Peterson (2015:264). Though they were made based on conservation and the environment, Peterson's observations apply equally to ongoing natural and cultural heritage preservation projects in the Marquesas and elsewhere. Just as biodiversity and ecosystem health support the long-term vigor of human populations, the values, objects and meanings transmitted across generations feed and inform people's interactions with each other, their resources and the land (see Olsen 2010). However, in most cases efforts to engage local communities in sustainability projects appear to be insufficient.

Peterson explains the troubled creation of a new marine protected area in Loreto, Mexico: "Talking with environmentalists, tourism owners, and government employees, the request for a [Marine Protected Area] sounded like a grassroots effort. Yet most fishermen in Loreto were surprised to wake up one day in 1996 to a new protected area. Few had heard of it, and even fewer claimed any involvement in its birth" (Peterson 2015:267). A participatory project model, she points out, does not guarantee local community members a say in decision-making. More ominous, still are indications that "the combination of environmental and economic sustainability is not necessarily beneficial to marginalized groups and can actually increase inequality" (ibid.,

269; see also Labadi and Gould 2015; West et al. 2006). As previously noted, this situation echoes the Marquesas' current heritage initiatives.

Participatory strategies and other innovations in preservation projects can thus present almost as many problems as they solve. Terms like “community” and “indigenous” can be essentialized and ultimately act as damaging forces in the restructuring of power relationships (e.g., Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Chapin 2004; Igoe and Croucher 2007). Participatory approaches can even exacerbate long-standing power imbalances or colonial wounds by seeming to, but not actually, resolving them. As observed by Tania Li (2007), the successes of “integrated conservation and development” projects may be offset by unpleasant repercussions, particularly for local residents (142). Thus conservation and heritage preservation initiatives illustrate similar colonialist tendencies, encountering many of the same challenges as they try to work with local communities.

Today, certain Marquesan heritage sites like Tohua Taupoto are being abandoned and allowed to decay due to clashing systems of power and conflicting ideas about responsibility. Restored sites that may or may not have been maintained before their restoration are vulnerable to slipping through the cracks, as their value is recast in terms of money and local politics rather than spiritual or ancestral value. Many families and individuals want the freedom to be allowed to treat historic landscapes according to their relationships to place, each other and their ancestors. Yet, this kind of contingency challenges the established structures of heritage management.

Thus, the affective and atemporal quality of indigenous heritage cannot be sustainably preserved using the popular Western approach to resource management. In this case and others involving indigenous groups, the preservation of heritage therefore depends upon the

destabilization of prevailing heritage agendas that have long favored state and international interests. As in the Marquesas, heritage advocates may hope to benefit local communities and make genuine efforts to involve them in advancing preservation. Yet, the goal of historic resource “preservation” and, by extension, the very meaning of “resource,” require closer scrutiny due to ingrained cultural and ontological biases. Determining a suitable and sustainable heritage management framework for groups like the Marquesans thus depends upon being open and able to recognize alternative views and values that may conflict with international standards.

As illustrated by the Marquesas, the ongoing use of historic landscapes facilitates the transmission of knowledge and the persistence of alternative understandings about the environment (e.g., Ingold 2000). The cultural landscapes concept, and specifically the idea of working landscapes, could therefore potentially offer a “preservation” structure that allows for variable, emplaced interpretation (e.g., Pascal Erhel, February 11, 2013). Like Escobar’s (2008) “life corridors,” working landscapes rely upon particular, emplaced “sociocultural forms of use” that perpetuate certain types of movement, social relations, land use and management strategies (146).

Reinterpreting ancestral places as working landscapes would redirect the current focus away from heritage tourism and back towards active agricultural landscapes, thus encouraging the maintenance of the land regardless of tourist or commercial markets. Promoting working landscapes could also help to preserve a broad range of historic resources more effectively. As noted by Pascal Erhel, this kind of sustainable use of heritage sites could simultaneously recognize, preserve, generate profit from, and increase respect for Marquesan ancestral places (February 11, 2013: 1, 28.30). Indeed, the various contingencies and relative fluidity of this situation resonates with existing local approaches to land, livelihoods and heritage.

Above all, a revised strategy for local heritage management must recognize and engage with existing beliefs about spirits and sacred lands as well as the ongoing, everyday practices of respect already observed by many islanders in cultural landscapes (see Thorley and Gunn 2008). This approach might include the following tenets, among others:

- 1) Acknowledge that respect for spirits and the *mana* of the ancestors is a valid and crucial reason why these places should not be destroyed, independent of their unique or future value;
- 2) Accept neglect as a form of heritage preservation;
- 3) Avoid assuming systemic divisions between nature and culture, past and present, self and environment;
- 4) Avoid framing heritage management in terms of “education” and “awareness,” and instead focus on listening; and
- 5) Prioritize varied forms of communication, such as oral, written, behavioral, and multi-media, at different scales such as between small or large groups, or between individuals.

Most importantly, the resulting heritage management plans could be shaped around respectful local land use strategies that incorporate contingent and embodied indigenous understandings of place and spirituality. Where appropriate, narratives about specific places could be recorded and recommendations made about particular practices of respect, including the avoidance of sites, speaking to spirits and other behaviors. A subsequent goal could be to allow islanders to determine how these values and practices are then rephrased and implemented through heritage use and interpretation.

Even this kind of carefully mapped heritage management plan carries all the myriad risks

associated with the exercise of authority. Yet, its fundamental commitment to critical reevaluation and the reflection of indigenous views and ambitions would at the very least make it a useful alternative, to be picked up and strategically utilized according to individual agency (e.g., Coulthard 2013).

Ultimately, any successful heritage management strategy for the Marquesas would likely involve an integrated mix of preservation, working lands and intentional neglect. A crucial part of this approach would be the ability of Marquesans to collectively choose the option of forgetting certain aspects of their past. Diverse local treatments of historic landscapes depend broadly upon dynamic and changing livelihoods, commercialization, spiritual beliefs, educational ambitions and the ongoing negotiation of local land tenure and governance. As French Polynesia contemplates independence, the development of “heritage” must also respond to the politics of decolonization, nationalism, resistance to globalization and Marquesan cultural revitalization.

These factors play a crucial role in how island landscapes fit into local lives and aspirations. As they navigate a moving constellation of power and change, Marquesans can be counted on to behave in resilient and innovative ways. Above all the “connective tissue” (Stoler 2013:7) binding landscapes to bodies, and present to past, represents a personal interaction between islanders and their land that has the potential power to strengthen existing and future heritage initiatives. Marquesans and other indigenous peoples have a right to build a future of hope and improved circumstances that discounts neither their complex history nor their values.

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APPENDIX A

Glossary of Abbreviations and Marquesan Terms

Abbreviations

CBNRM – Community-Based Natural Resource Management

CODIM – *Communauté des communes des Iles Marquises*

ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites

IRD – *Institut de recherche et développement*, an institute for research and development that is responsible for much of the archaeological research conducted in the Marquesas over the past few decades

IUCN – International Union for Conservation of Nature

JOPF – *Journal officiel de Polynésie française*

NPS – National Park Service

Palimma – *Patrimoine lié à la mer aux Marquises*, or in Marquesan, *Te Ha’a Tumu o te Tai Moana*, an organization dedicated to protecting the marine and related coastal heritage of the Marquesas

SCP – *Service de la culture et du patrimoine*, the administrative office that handles cultural resource management in French Polynesia

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VWLP – Vermont Working Landscape Partnership

WH – World Heritage

WHL – World Heritage List

Marquesan Terms

Note: These definitions are drawn from my fieldwork data and correspond to the word meanings most relevant to my thesis. Many of the below words have other definitions, most of which can be found in *Pona Tekao Tapapa 'Ia: Lexique Marquisien-Français*, by Hervé le Cléac'h (STP Multipress, Papeete, 1997). Words are listed here according to their most common use in the text. Terms that differ between the North and South Marquesas dialects are followed by the alternative term in parentheses.

diapolo – demonic (from the French noun *diable*, meaning devil, in Marquesan it functions as both a noun and an adjective)

faaapu – plantation; large garden (a Tahitian term)

fe'i – short, thick, sweet bananas with orange skin that are eaten cooked (*Musa troglodytarum*)

fenua – land

fenua toto – literally, “blood land,” referring to family-owned land

ha'a – culture, behavior, habit or custom

ha'a tumu – heritage (or, literally, “original culture”)

ha'e (fa'e) – house

hakataetae – to preserve

hao'e – foreigner or outsider

hi'i – stone wall or alignment; sometimes used interchangeably with *paepae*

hiva – the other side; to one side

hope fenua – literally, “land portion,” meaning a share of harvest profits paid to the owner of the harvested land

i 'oto – inside

kahui – traditional rules controlling the harvest of resources, once defined by chiefs and priests; now rarely used

kava (tava) – the local name for a type of lychee fruit (*Pometia pinnata*); also, *kava* is a type of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*) historically used to make an intoxicating drink known by the same name

ke'etu – red volcanic tuff often associated with ceremonial or sacred sites and carvings

keu – play; tease

koku'u – round black seed (*Sapindus saponaria*, native to the Marquesas)

kuhane ('*uhane*) – spirit of any kind (e.g., *kuhane meita'i*, the Christian Holy Spirit)

mana – sacred or ancestral power; spiritual force

mape – Tahitian word for chestnut, commonly used in the Marquesas (the Marquesan word is *ihi*)

me'ae – site once used for sacred or religious ceremonies, characterized by a small stone platform and the presence of *tiki*, petroglyphs, *ke'etu*, banyan trees, human remains or other sacred features; Marquesans also sometimes call them by their Tahitian name, *marae*

mi'o (*miro*) – rosewood (*Thespesia populnea*)

neohe (*keoho*) – large gray seed (*Caesalpinia bonduc*, native to the Marquesas)

noni – medicinal fruit used for both traditional remedies and commercial harvesting (*Morinda citrifolia*)

onetai – light brown seed

'oto – inside; inside the bay

paepae (*upe*) – stone platform that once served as a terrace, enclosure or the foundation of a structure

paepae fa'e – stone platform that once served as the foundation of a house and characterized by two terraces, one of which is only partially paved

pa'io'io – guardian spirit; life force

pani – coconut oil cured with fragrant flowers and herbs

pao – finished or done

piere – traditional dried bananas packaged tightly, for long-term storage, in banana bark or plastic

pipiti'o rouge – flat, smooth red seed (*Adenanthera pavonina*, a modern introduction)

pohue – yellow to orange seed

poniu – small red and black seed (*Abrus precatorius*, introduced by early Polynesians)

popa'a – Tahitian word for white person or foreigner, also widely used in the Marquesas (the Marquesan equivalent is *hao'e*)

popoi – traditional dish made from fermented and pounded breadfruit

puka – round brown seed

tapa – traditional cloth made from soaking and beating tree bark

tapatapa – traditional recitation of a legend including costumes, props, choreographed movements, chanting and voice modulations (also known by its Tahitian name, *orero*)

tapu – forbidden; sacred

tau'a – spiritual healer; in ancient times, a priest

teita ('*eita*) – weeds; grass

tiare – Tahitian gardenia (*Gardenia taitensis*), a fragrant white flower

tiki – stylized image of a Marquesan god or ancestor

tohua ko'ina (*tohua ko'ika*) – ceremonial or dance grounds characterized by a long central terrace flanked by houses and seating; also known simply as *tohua*

tumu – source, origins, beginning or original; also tree

tupapau – the dead; spirits; ghosts (in contrast to *kuhane*, *tupapau* often refers to dangerous or evil spirits)

tupuna – ancestors

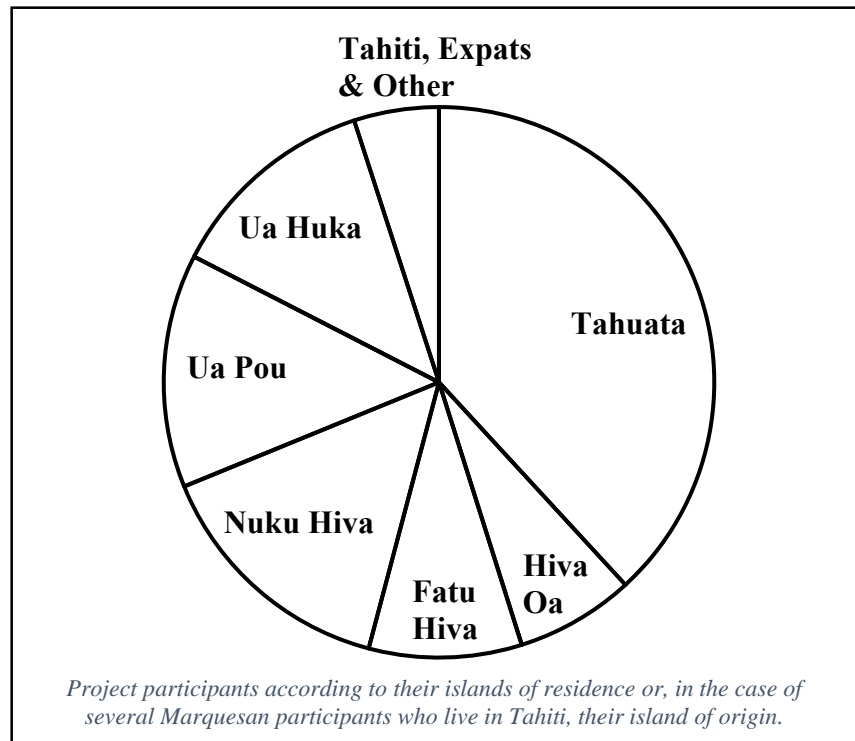
ua ma – traditional earthen pit used to store fermented breadfruit paste, or *ma*

vaho – outside; the open ocean (outside the bay)

vehine hae – literally, evil woman; ghostly witches or devils in female form who use their charms to lure men into their forest homes and then eat them

APPENDIX B

Field Sites, Interviews and Project Participants



The list below includes all project participants who signed a consent form or were recorded for this project, and excludes unrecorded or informal conversations. It is comprised of 401 individuals, 381 of whom are Marquesan (at the time of writing, data had been compiled for 392 total participants, including 372 Marquesans).

The participants from Vaitahu, Tahuata represent all but a few (less than five) of the homes in that village. Of the 20 non-Marquesan participants, five are Tahitian, two are from the United States, one is from Germany and the remainder are from France.

The average age of the Marquesan participants was 48 years old in 2013, and no one younger than 18 was formally interviewed. Participants include secretaries, administrators, cultural elders, mayors, members of the Marquesan Academy, farmers, fishermen, artists, dancers, archaeologists, house wives, hunters, unemployed young people, teachers and church leaders.

The asterisks (*) below indicate pseudonyms or other special names that are used at the participant's request. Listed dates are the day that each participant signed their consent form, but not necessarily the day(s) on which they were interviewed, in 2013.

TAHUATA : 153 participants

Vaitahu (94)

1. Upai Vaki* – April 10
2. Annette Tikua Tohuuotohetia – June 2

3. Augustin Vaki – May 23
4. Brigitte Barsinas – May 15
5. Delphine Barsinas – May 18
6. Josiane Tuia Tauatetua – May 16
7. Diane Bangelina – July 11
8. Einaatoua* – May 6
9. Pootu Teikivanaka* – May 16
10. Fatieua Barsinas – April 14
11. Félix Barsinas – May 28
12. Félix Fii – April 9
13. Vivienne Timau* – March 13
14. Graziella Burns – May 13
15. Pierre Timau – March 13
16. Huiata Kokauani – May 3
17. Imelda Timau – August 12
18. Jeanne Timau – November 19
19. Jimmy Grolez – May 1
20. Fifi Timau – May 17
21. Joinville Temahaga – August 12
22. Joseph Barsinas – April 18
23. Kahu Joseph Barsinas – April 19
24. Namauefitu Touaitahuata – May 6
25. Kiki Timau – May 17
26. Manari Tekurio – April 15
27. Manu Rohi – April 13
28. Manuhi Timau – March 2
29. Marcelle Barsinas – May 15
30. Marie Barsinas – May 14
31. Marie-Christine Timau – March 28
32. Marie Claire Peterano Kokauani – May 21
33. Marie Louise Barsinas Tetahiotupa – April 19
34. Marie-Lyne Barsinas – May 8
35. Marie-Therese Vaki – April 16
36. Mohi Barsinas – May 3
37. Dieudonné Teiefitu – May 2
38. Pierre Teiefitu* – May 16
39. Tahiapuatua Raihauiti – February 28
40. Philippe Tetahiotupa – April 19
41. Rachel Barsinas – March 21
42. Tatiana Tohuuotohetia* – May 16
43. Reva Tevenino – April 23
44. Sam Tiaiho – April 29
45. Solange Timau Mote – May 27
46. Florence Taata* – April 2
47. Teaa Teiefitu Barsinas – May 14
48. Teaiki Teiefitu – April 16

49. Teaikitini Teiefitu – August 13
50. Tehaumate Tetahiotupa – March 20
51. Teiki Barsinas – April 4
52. Teikiouavai Ahiefitu Timau – August 5
53. Tetumarere Turi Teheipuarii – April 9
54. Teupootoe Barsinas – May 28
55. Thérèse Vaimaa Fii – April 9
56. Tiaoute Teikipupuni Manea – April 23
57. Tohetia Timau – April 8
58. Upeani Tahia Rohi – March 27
59. Vaehina Bangelina – August 16
60. Valentine Vaki – May 23
61. Valérie Aniamioi Barsinas – April 24
62. Maurice Kokauani* – May 13
63. Teapua Burns – November 19
64. Catherine Timau Kokauani – November 18
65. Sabine Tetahiotupa Aniamioi – November 19
66. Nicolas Aniamioi – November 19
67. Louis Timau – November 19
68. Jeanne Marie Teikitumenava Barsinas – November 19
69. Lilianne Vaki* – November 20
70. Georges Iotete Tohuhutohetia – November 21
71. Eugene Teiitefatu Burns – November 21
72. Thérèse – November 21 (name shortened at her request)
73. Fata Nicolas Barsinas – November 21
74. Roger Ahuefitu Aniamioi – November 22
75. Moise Mote – November 22
76. Justine Patii – November 22
77. Frederic Barsinas – November 22
78. Tuhinane Taata – November 25
79. Teupooteoo Kahupotu – November 25
80. Wilfrid Barsinas – November 25
81. Jean Barsinas – November 25
82. Christopher Kokauani – November 25
83. Jimmy Tehei Timau – November 25
84. Xavier Teatiu* – December 8
85. Norbert Kokauani – December 10
86. Pua Kokauani* – December 10
87. François Kokauani – December 10
88. Tuhi Timau Raihauti – December 12
89. Louis Raihauti – December 12
90. Heremiti Raihauti – December 12
91. Marie-Florence Kokauani – December 12
92. Kathy Teiefitu – December 18
93. Paul Tetahiotupa – January 31
94. Edgar Tetahiotupa – January 28

Motopu (21)

95. Louis Cedric Kohueinui – December 3
96. Konihi Vaimaa – December 3
97. Marie Joseph Tehakautoua Kokauani – December 3
98. Tuu Ikihaa – December 3
99. Kehu Tahiaipuoho – December 3
100. Ghislaine Timau – December 4
101. Rosita Titihakai Timau – December 4
100. Béatrice Fetuta Timau – December 4
101. Honukaie Timau – December 4
102. Léonard Kautai – December 4
103. Marie-Yvelice Kautai – December 4
104. Emilienne Timau* – December 4
105. Paki Raihauti – December 4
106. Vaepeue Barsinas – December 4
107. Petronille Napei Timau – December 4
108. Nella Tekuaoteani Tamatai – December 4
109. Jonathan Vaaputona Piokoe – December 5
110. Germaine Kohueinui – December 5
111. Joel Kohueinui – December 5
112. Atatini Barsinas – December 5
113. Tahueinui Piokoe – December 5

Hanatetena (18)

114. Pahi Ikihaa – May 5
115. Jeanne Sana Pahuavevau – May 11
116. Marie Rose Moiatai Vaimaa – June 11
117. Adrien Teofiro Pahuavevau – June 11
118. Yvonne Aniamioi – June 12
119. Irma Ahlo – June 12
120. Maimiti O'Connor – June 13
121. Florence Ahiefitu – June 13
122. Jean Pierre Timau – June 13
123. Raphael Pahu Pahuavevau – June 13
124. Dominique Timau – June 13
125. Céline Tahiafititeteftani Ahiefitu Mahaa – June 13
126. Catherine Aniamioi Tehaamoana – June 13
127. Lydia Vaimaa – June 14
128. Antoine Teiefitu Barsinas – June 14
129. Anette Barsinas – June 16
130. Pierre Nakeaetou – June 16
131. Sabina Nakeaetou – June 16

Hapatoni (20)

132. Liliane Teikipupuni – November 27

133. Justine Matahoata* – November 26
134. Sylvia Teikiupoko* – November 26
135. Christine Poemioi Vaimaa – November 26
136. Christina Timau – November 26
137. Mathilde Teikivanaka* – November 26
138. Sandrine Rootuehine – November 26
139. Catherine Piokoe* – November 26
140. Veve Manea* – November 26
141. Amédée Rootuehine – November 27
142. Tehautetua Tauhiro – November 27
143. Juliana Mareva Burns – November 27
144. Victor Timau* – November 27
145. Paul Teapuaohatua Vaimaa – November 28
146. Veronique Teikipupuni* – November 28
147. Jacente Timau – November 28
148. Davy Piu Manea – November 28
149. Yvette Pahuavevau* – November 28
150. Sebastien Kehu Barsinas – November 28
151. Tehina Tauhiro* – November 29

HIVA OA : 28 Participants

Atuona (8)

1. Etienne Tehoamoana – June 17
2. Mathilde Barsinas* – June 6
3. Marie-Christine Timau Teikiotiu – June 5
4. Felix Teikiotiu – June 22
5. Constantino Teikiotiu – June 25
6. Mathias Teaikinoehau Tohetiaatua – June 23
7. Jean Pierre Bonno – June 4
8. Ani Peterano – September 26

Taaoa (8)

9. Lucella Teikiotiu – June 24
10. Pierre Teikiotiu – June 24
11. Marie Josephine Scallamera – June 24
12. Scholastique Tauapiia Tehevini – June 24
13. Timothé Hikutini – June 24
14. Julie Tahiaoteaa Lacharme – June 24
15. Cyrille Vaki – June 25
16. Vaehina Teikiotiu* – June 25

Puamau (12)

17. Thérèse Napuauhi – June 18
18. Bernard Vohi Heitaa – June 19
19. Marie Antoinette Katupa Heitaa – June 19

20. Jean Aiu Piokoe – June 19
21. Marius Natohetini Ohu – June 19
22. Remy Mahea Santos – June 20
23. Joseph Tinihau Napuauhi – June 20
24. Emeline Tina Napuauhi – June 20
25. Marc Pichon – June 20
26. Léon Sichoix – June 21
27. Etienne Heitaa – June 21
28. Djecisnella Heitaa – September 7

FATU HIVA : 36 Participants

Omoa (20)

1. Grégoire Ihopu – August 17
2. Paloma Gilmore Ihopu – August 17
3. Julie Tevepauhu Piritua – August 18
4. Teipoiatua Pahutoti – August 19
5. Louis Mose – August 19
6. Raquel Aveva Mose Gilmore – August 19
7. Roberto Maraetaata – August 19
8. Manuel Taua Gilmore – August 25
9. Teiki Gilmore* – August 24
10. Rebecka Tahia Rohi – August 26
11. Henri Tuieinui – August 27
12. Joseph Gilmore – August 27
13. Jean Barthélémy Ihopu – August 27
14. Eugène Ehueinana – August 28
15. Jeffrey Naani Fuaa – August 28
16. André Gilmore – August 28
17. Johanna Teupooteaa Tiaiho – August 28
18. Leonie Peters Kamia – August 29
19. Tehina Gilmore – August 29
20. Mélanie Hatihaa* – February 18

Hanavave (16)

21. Hina Tuieinui* – August 20
22. Daniel Pavaouau – August 20
23. Justine Gilmore Pavaouau – August 20
24. Iris Paro Kahiha – August 21
25. Catherine Tiaiho* – August 21
26. Hortense Titivehi Matuunui – August 21
27. Léonard Vaikau – August 21
28. Thomas Kamia* – August 22
29. Flavian Pavaouau – August 22
30. Phelomene Kamia – August 22
31. Timeri Tuieinui – August 22

32. Patrice Gilmore – August 22
33. Christine Tuieinui Gilmore – August 22
34. Edgard Tametona – August 22
35. Catherine Tuieinui Kohueinui – August 22
36. Rosa Tuieinui Kohueinui – August 23

NUKU HIVA : 59 Participants

Taiohae (14)

1. Tora Huukena – September 10
2. Tatiana Huukena – September 10
3. Annabella Huukena Ellis – September 11
4. Sophie Huukena* – September 11
5. Debora Kimitete – September 11
6. Benoit Kautai – September 11
7. Severin Matu Bonno – September 11
8. Moevai Huukena Bonno – September 11
9. Eugene Teikiteetini – September 12
10. Tahiahakatau Tikitamaria Vaiaanui – September 12
11. Damien Miano Huukena – September 13
12. Marthine – October 24
13. Emile Buchin – August 21
14. Ingrid Haiti Hart – February 15

Hatiheu (19)

15. Yvonne Katupa – September 13
16. Alphonse Puhetini – September 14
17. Théodora Tehina Teikitohe – September 14
18. Valérie Dupont – September 14
19. Justin Taiara Pahuatini – September 14
20. Jessica Pao – September 14
21. Regina Teikiheekua – September 19
22. Lydie Teohoteaa Barsinas Puhetini – September 19
23. Tahiaapameama Matuaite* – October 22
24. Montgomery Teikiv'uouohotaioa Bonno – October 20
25. Laura Vaianui – October 21
26. Frédéric Vaianui – October 21
27. Marie Sonia Nganahoa Teikitohe – October 21
28. Jany Pautu Foucaud – October 21
29. Lia Tamarii* – October 21
30. Georgina Pahuatini – October 22
31. Tehina Upoko – October 22
32. Tapuouoho Puhetini – October 23
33. Béatrice Aka* – October 23
34. Patricia Teikihaa* – October 24
35. Elodie Barsinas* – November 28

Aakapa (4)

36. Marie Christine Tetohu – October 22
37. Teikiatoua Teautouahaavao – October 22
38. Titioho Tamarii – October 22
39. Jean-Pascal Rutu Teikihaa – October 24

Taipivai (20)

40. Jean Vaiaanui – October 24
41. Kiki Tata* – October 24
42. Edmond Toatini Ah-Scha – October 24
43. Teautaiipi Teikitekahioho – October 24
44. Marthine Teikihaa – October 24
45. Rose-Nathalie Motahu – October 25
46. Vaehoetai Otomimi – October 25
47. Mathieu Tenahe Pautu – October 25
48. Christelle Tahia Taioa – October 25
49. Vaiani Otomimi – October 25
50. Merani Teikitohe – October 25
51. Wilfrid Hakapua Otomimi – October 25
52. Julia Piriotua – October 25
53. Marie Louise Piriotua – October 25
54. Cécilia Vaiaanui – October 25
55. Cécil Foucaud Ah-Scha – October 25
56. Victorine Tetuanui Vaiotaha Tata – October 26
57. Tevai Piriotua – October 26
58. Thomas Mahina Tata – October 26

Hooumi (1)

59. Gustave Teiki Tekohuotetua – October 24

UA POU : 55 Participants

Hakahau (8)

1. Georges Teikiehuupoko – October 9
2. Joseph Kaiha – October 17
3. Ribèka Hikutini Candelot – October 18
4. Benjamin Teikitutoua – October 19
5. Jeanne Vahiteuia Tamarii – October 19
6. Mélanie Hapipi Bruneau – October 19
7. Lidwine Bruneau Aharau – October 19
8. Heato Teikiehuupoko – October 19

Hohoi (25)

9. Isidore Aratini Kohumoetini – October 10
10. Philippe Teikitohe – October 10

11. Teikipoetahi Kautai – October 10
12. Kuaitapu Kautai – October 10
13. Patricia Kautai – October 10
14. Léon Kautai – October 10
15. Hélène Kautai Hikutini – October 10
16. Louis Hikutini – October 10
17. Feu Kohumoetini – October 10
18. Luc Kaiha – October 10
19. Matapua Priscilla Kohumoetini – October 10
20. Christine Aka – October 11
21. Judith Teikitohe – October 11
22. Emelyne Hikutini – October 11
23. Michel Hikutini – October 11
24. Victoire Tahiakimikua Kautai – October 11
25. Suzanne Kautai* – October 11
26. Vaitapu Teikitumenava – October 11
27. Ingrid Hikutini – October 12
28. Jean-Marie Temauouapai Hikutini – October 12
29. Jean Kautai – October 12
30. Irénée Kautai – October 12
31. François Tui Ah-Lo – October 12
32. Pava Aka* – October 12
33. Tuhi Kautai* – October 12

Hakahetau (21)

34. Rosina Kautai Kaiha – October 14
35. Timona Tereino – October 14
36. Yveline Tohuhutohetia Hikutini – October 14
37. Pierre Tahiatohuipoko – October 14
38. Jeanne Kaiha* – October 14
39. Juliette Hatuuku – October 14
40. Boniface Hatuuku – October 14
41. Tefare Tapati – October 15
42. Rahera Tapati – October 15
43. Bernadette Tohuipoko* – October 15
44. Tunui André Barsinas – October 15
45. Marthe Barsinas Vanaa – October 15
46. Sandrine Katupa* – October 15
47. Brigitte Hinaupoko Kaiha – October 15
48. Evelyne Kaiha – October 15
49. Jean-Marc Kaiha – October 15
50. Gilbert Kautai – October 16
51. Adrien Atai Hokaupoko – October 16
52. Eri Hikutini – October 16
53. Ernest Kohumoetini – October 17
54. Pascal Hatuuku Erhel – January 29

Haakuti (1)

55. Tea Mohuioho – October 17

UA HUKA : 50 Participants

Hane (19)

1. Antonina Fournier Teatiu – September 27
2. Etienne Akahia Teatiu – September 28
3. Joinville Nahau Fournier – September 29
4. Adelaïde Tehono Kiihapaa Fournier – September 29
5. Marie Louise Teikiteepupuni – September 29
6. Noeline Tepea – September 29
7. Nestor Ohotoua – September 30
8. Pascal Ohotoua – September 30
9. Vanessa Tepea – September 30
10. Thérèse Teikihuavanaka – September 30
11. Patricié Tepea – September 30
12. Frédéric Ohotoua – October 1
13. Marie José Tevaïora Ohotoua – October 1
14. Joseph Atohei Hikutini Fournier – October 1
15. Marianne Fournier – October 1
16. Léon Fournier – October 2
17. Pita Taiemoearo – October 2
18. Martine Sulpice Teikihuavanaka – October 5
19. Teikiheita Sylvain Fournier – October 9

Hokatu (6)

20. Delphine Rootuehine – September 29
21. Patrick Kakiha Poevai Teikiteepupuni – September 28
22. Maurice Rootuehine – October 1
23. Robert Sulpice – October 2
24. Emma Teopookouhi Touaitahuata Poevai – October 2
25. Teima Poevai – October 2
26. Ken Teva Taaviri – October 4

Vaipae (24)

27. Guy Teatiu – October 2
28. Simeon Teatiu – October 2
29. Ferdinand Fournier – October 2
30. François Fournier – October 3
31. Patrice Gerard Touaitahuata – October 3
32. Florentine Scallamera – October 4
33. Leonard Teatiu – October 4
34. Nestor Ohu – October 4
35. Toa Taiaapu – October 3

36. Arii Taiaapu – October 3
37. Marie Karène Taiaapu Fournier – October 4
38. Anne Marie Brown Kaiha – October 5
39. Léon Temooheiteaoa Lichtle – October 5
40. Sabrina Teatiu – October 5
41. Hubert Teatiu – October 5
42. Emma Barsinas – October 5
43. Noho Fournier – October 5
44. Daniel Naudin – October 6
45. Colette Huhina Naudin – October 6
46. Florence Touaitahuata – October 7
47. Venance Rura Ah-Scha – October 7
48. Lucie Ohu Ah-Scha – October 7
49. Jean Matio Tamarii – October 7
50. Josephine Heitaa – December 19

FRENCH EXPATRIATES of the MARQUESAS : 4 Participants

1. Patrick Tripault – June 5
2. Fernand Tholance – August 28
3. Lionel Contois – August 26
4. Jean-Louis Candelot – October 18

TAHITI : 12 Participants (including expatriates currently living in Tahiti)

1. Bruno Saura – February 12
2. Christiane Dauphin – February 11
3. Eric Conte – February 13
4. Jean-François Butaud – February 7
5. SCP Representative – February 15
6. Matthew Hanover* – January 29
7. Michel Bailleul – February 8
8. Sara Bendel* – February 15
9. Tamara Maric – January 25
10. Timiri Hopuu – February 14
11. Teddy Tehei – February 13
12. Tara Hiquily – February 15

OTHER : 4 Participants

5. Barry Rolett – July 27
6. Kathleen Riley – September 18
7. Pierre Ottino – June 8
8. Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger – June 8

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APPENDIX C

Participant Consent Form

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT

Titre du projet: Les paysages culturelles, la vie quotidienne et la gestion durable du patrimoine aux Iles Marquises
(*Landscapes Lost, Paradise Found: Negotiating Sustainable Heritage Management and Livelihoods in the Marquesas Islands*)

Chercheur étudiant: Emily Donaldson

Subventionné par: Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarship; Tomlinson Doctoral Fellowship, l'Université de McGill

Téléphone: 689-36-52-91 (Polynésie française) ou 001-781-413-5611 (Amérique du nord)

Adresse email: emily.donaldson@mail.mcgill.ca

Affiliation: Département de l'anthropologie, l'Université de McGill

Directeur d'études: Colin Scott (Contact: Salle 718, Leacock Building, 855 Rue Sherbrooke Ouest, Montréal QC, H3A 2T7, Canada; Tél: 514-398-4291)

Description de la recherche:

Emily va faire ses recherches aux Marquises jusqu'à 2014. Son projet étudie les structures et les plantes historiques marquisiennes et leurs contributions à la vie marquisienne. Elle fait des entretiens avec les marquisiens pour discuter l'histoire et l'utilisation de ces ressources, et les perspectives marquisiennes de leur usage. Elle utilisera ces informations pour compléter sa thèse doctorale, présenter des conférences, écrire des articles et un livre, et pour les recherches pareils à l'avenir qui s'occupent du même sujet que ce projet. Néanmoins son travail à valoriser la patrimoine marquisienne comme archéologue, Emily poursuit ce projet uniquement pour mieux comprendre le valeur local des sites historiques.

Avantages pour les participants de recherche:

Il n'y a aucun avantage, ni du risque personnel pour les participants à ce projet.

Protection de l'information:

Emily Donaldson est la seule chercheur qui travail sur ce projet. Elle sera la seule personne d'avoir accès aux informations de recherche, et elle ne partagera aucun des informations personnelles données. Elle protégera l'identité de chaque participant et chaque site historique qu'elle étudie en utilisant les pseudonymes pour chacun, sauf si le participant(e) accepte l'utilisation de leur vrai nom. Tous les données de recherche numériques seront protéger par des codes de sécurité, et les notes et d'autres documents en version papier seront garder en sécurité, sous clé. Elle gardera ces données de recherche jusqu'à la fin de ses recherches anthropologiques (au moins, l'année 2030).

Enregistrements:

Emily ne prendra pas des enregistrements de voix sans l'accord du participant, et elle ne partagera aucun de ces enregistrements sans l'autorisation du participant enregistré. Les participants enregistrés ne seront pas identifiés sans leur consentement écrit.

Photos:

Emily obtiendra l'autorisation verbale des participants avant prendre des photos, et elle ne partagera aucun photo d'un participant sans leur autorisation.

Consentement:

Veillez-vous cocher les cases ci-dessous *seulement* si vous acceptez ces déclarations, et si vous avez eu l'occasion de poser tous vos questions à propos du projet. Votre consentement ne vous prive d'aucun droit au recours judiciaire en cas de préjudice lié aux travaux de recherche.

☐ J'accepte de participer au projet de Emily Donaldson, décrit ci-dessus.

Votre nom, prénom: _____

Votre signature: _____ Date: _____

Si vous avez des questions ou des inquiétudes en ce qui concerne vos droits ou votre bien-être comme participant à cette étude de recherche, veuillez-vous contacter la Responsable des Éthiques à McGill Université à 514-398-6831 ou lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.

Détails de votre participation:*Enregistrements*

Les enregistrements et des déclarations d'un participant(e) du projet pourraient être publiés dans un article, une présentation ou un livre écrit par Emily Donaldson. Sauf l'indication contraire du participant ci-dessous, ils seront publiés sous un pseudonyme, sans aucun détail identifiant. Ils ne seront pas publiés sur l'internet.

☐ J'accepte d'avoir ma voix enregistré si Emily me prévient et je lui donne mon accord verbal.

S'il vous plaît, cochez une case seulement:

- ☐ **J'accepte** la publication de mes citations enregistrées comme texte, **avec mon vrai nom**.
ou
☐ **J'accepte** la publication de mes citations enregistrées comme texte, **sous un pseudonyme**.
ou
☐ **Je n'accepte pas la publication** de mes citations enregistrées.

Photos

Les photos d'un participant(e) du projet pourraient être publiées dans un article, une présentation ou un livre écrit par Emily Donaldson au sujet de ce projet ou des recherches pareils à l'avenir. Si c'est le cas, ils seront publiés sous un pseudonyme, sans l'identification des personnes là-dedans, sauf une indication contraire du participant.

PHOTOS

☐ J'accepte la prise de ma photo si je donne mon accord verbal à Emily en avance.

☐ J'accepte la publication de ma photo **avec mon vrai nom**.

APPENDIX D

Compiled Data Sets

Note: The information below draws upon a single data set of 372 Marquesans. Different summaries and tables do not necessarily include the same individuals, since the same topics and questions were not uniformly addressed across all interviews.

Charts 1, 3 and 4 below divide islanders' responses into groups of similar answers in order to compile data that reflects the shared meaning of *paepae*, UNESCO, and heritage, respectively. The listed responses were actual answers to my questions, many of which were given by more than one individual.

Chart 1: Summary of Responses to Questions about the Preservation of *Paepae*

Question: Are *paepae* important to you? Is it important that they remain intact? Why or why not?

Positive Responses (see Groups below) **90%**

Non-Positive Responses (Groups 9, 10, 11 and 12) **10%**

General Rationales for Positive Responses:

Pride or Education (Groups 2, 3 and 6)	42%
Future Generations (Group 4)	14%
Tourism (Groups 5 and 8)	14%
Admiration (Group 1)	11%
Spiritual Power (Group 7)	9%

Responses	Total	% of Total Answers
Group 1: a) Yes, because they're beautiful, we can't do that work today, they did it by hand, without machines; b) it's endangered; c) it's unique; d) I'm proud of it; e) it shows their power; f) it's nice to look at	30	11%
Group 2: a) Yes, because it's our ancestors, they cared about them; b) it's culture, it's sacred; c) it's a resource, power; d) it's the tracks our ancestors left us; d) it's something our ancestors left; e) it was their lives, before--what they lived; f) that's where they lived, slept, ate; g) we came from there; h) it's clues to/it's the proof of our ancestors; i) it's the pride of our ancestors, it belonged to them; j) other things disappear, but the <i>paepae</i> are still there; k) they're real (not just a story); l) because you must know the stories of ancestors; m) it's our story, our Marquesan side (vs. French side); n) we must respect our ancestors; o) we must try to live together with them; p) it's like someone still lives there	99	37%
Group 3: a) Yes, it's good to see them, see what they were used for; b) you can learn from them	7	3%

Group 4: a) We should leave them alone for our children; b) it's for us, for later; c) it's so we can be proud; d) it's for our descendants, to teach their children, generation to generation; e) it's for the island; f) it's what my parents taught me; g) if they stay, our customs stay; h) I don't want my children to lose that; i) we must not forget; j) it's important for the family	38	14%
Group 5: a) We should maintain them, for tourists and the ancestors	24	9%
Group 6: a) Yes, because it's the source of our identity, it's our heritage; b) they are vestiges, things to keep for the culture of a people	9	3%
Group 7: a) Yes, they're important, but they scare me; b) they're sacred, tapu; c) you must respect them otherwise they might play you; d) you could get sick	24	9%
Group 8: a) Yes, because it's our living, we bring tourists there	13	5%
Group 9: a) I don't know	8	3%
Group 10: a) They're important if they have a story--the story is what makes you like them	6	2%
Group 11: a) They were important before, when people lived on them; b) important to elders	2	1%
Group 12: a) No, they're not important; b) they're nothing	11	4%
Total Responses	271	

Chart 2: Summary of Negativity and Respect for *paepae*

The following data draws upon the content of interviews and individuals' opinions, rather than their responses to one specific question.

Negative Associations with Paepae (Groups 1 and 3) 77%

Participant Groups	Total	% of Total Answers
Group 1: Participants who mentioned respecting historic resources or places due to any of the following reasons: a) sickness, going crazy or dying; b) <i>tapu</i> or sacred; c) <i>mana</i> ; d) danger or fear; e) spirits or getting "played"; f) something bad could happen; g) tombs or bones	226	61%
Group 2: Participants who simply mentioned respecting historic resources or places, or mentioned respecting them for another reason such as pride, the ancestors, etc.	39	10%
Group 3: Participants who didn't mention respecting historic resources or places, but associate sites with one or more of the terms listed in Group 1	59	16%
Group 4: Participants who said they do not respect or advocate respect for historic resources or places	2	1%
Group 5: Participants who did not speak specifically about respect for, or negative associations with, historic sites	46	12%
Total Responses	372	

Chart 3: Summary of Responses to UNESCO

Question: What do you know about the UNESCO project?

UNESCO is about Positive Education, Preservation or Development: **56%**
UNESCO is Unfamiliar: **30%**
UNESCO is Negative: **14%**

General Rationales for Responses:

Resource Protection (Groups 1 and 2) 39%
 Don't Know or Understand (Groups 7, 9 and 10) 32%
 Restriction (Group 6) 9%
 Tourism (Group 3) 8%
 Culture and Education (Groups 4 and 5) 7%
 Incorrect (Group 8) 1%

Responses	Total	% of Total Answers
Group 1: a) They protect paepae or places and other things; b) they're for the marae; c) they teach us to watch out, not just do whatever; d) they restore ancient <i>paepae</i> ; e) they bring ancient stuff back to life	57	25%
Group 2: They protect: a) birds, fish, ocean, plants or nature; b) the island; c) Eiao, Motu Manu, or Mohotani; c) things that are unique	33	14%
Group 3: a) They publicize our culture/islands to the world; b) they will bring tourists; c) they will generate economic profits; d) they clean up sites for tourists, make them more accessible for tourists	19	8%
Group 4: a) They show us history, educate; b) they teach us about ancestors	7	3%
Group 5: a) They're for Marquesan culture; b) they're coming to look at paepae; c) they collect cultural knowledge; d) they talk about ancestors and stuff; e) they work on the language and paepae	9	4%
Group 6: a) They make rules about what you can't do; b) They're stealing land; c) they take sites; d) they alienate us from sites and our land; e) I'm scared they will take things after; f) they're here to make money; g) they raise money; h) they're not necessarily for us; i) they're stealing objects	29	13%
Group 7: a) I don't know it; b) I've only heard that word; c) I know it, but can't explain; d) they want the Marquesas; e) they're for development; f) I've heard that or seen it on TV; g) I've heard people talking about that; h) I've heard of it but I don't understand; i) I have a cousin who works in that	57	25%
Group 8: a) They're for the language, to show us real language	2	1%
Group 9: a) That doesn't interest me; b) I haven't paid attention; c) I did that at first, but afterwards I lost track	4	2%
Group 10: a) They have exclusive meetings; b) they put places in it; c) it's here; d) we're in it	11	5%
Total Responses	228	

Chart 4: Summary of Responses to “Heritage”

Islanders’ ideas about the French term “heritage” (*patrimoine*) give some indication of their familiarity with the UNESCO project, since the two have advanced through the Marquesas largely together (via television programs, the news, UNESCO community meetings, Palimma, etc.). Though only a little over half of the people asked were able to answer my question, the responses nonetheless help to indicate which parts of the “heritage” concept appear to resonate most with islanders.

Question: What does “heritage” mean to you?

Answered (Groups 1-4): **57%**

Unable to answer (Groups 5 and 6): **43%**

Primary Themes Associated with Heritage:

Shared Ownership (Groups 2 and 4) 26%

Preservation and Transmission (Group 1) 23%

Culture (Group 3) 9%

Responses	Total	% of Total Answers
Group 1: a) What the ancestors left us; b) our history; c) ancestral knowledge that we must preserve, pass on; d) what we have made or learned before, and still do; e) it's like a gift; f) what we have received in life for free that we will leave for those after us; g) everything that was left for us and allows us to live, and that we will leave for the future; h) it's for preserving places or things; i) something you must not touch; j) something you must keep; k) a place you cannot touch or destroy; l) you must protect it; m) what I have done for my children and grandchildren	55	23%
Group 2: a) Everything that belongs to Marquesans; b) everything that is in the Marquesas that concerns their inhabitants; c) my or our land, my island, the land, sites and things; d) the richness of the land; e) your assets; f) something that belongs to a group of people; g) an island or a country; h) my town or village; i) something that belongs to me; j) something that's mine of which I am proud; k) something that's valuable	20	9%
Group 3: a) It's culture, everyday things like cooking, working, or legends; b) it's our culture that we must keep; c) it's culture, and <i>paepae</i> ; d) your origins; e) where you're from, who you are; f) our language; g) it's life--like for <i>paepae</i> , it's our legends, our pride; h) the legends you get from your ancestors; i) old stuff or ancient objects; j) what UNESCO works on, it's about safeguarding culture and <i>paepae</i>	21	9%
Group 4: a) Wealth or treasures like culture, language, dance, nature, food; b) your pride; c) something unique that only exists here; d) your tribe or family; e) isn't it your tribe? f) your ancestors? g) each island has its own; h) it tells you where you're from, to whom you belong; i) it's the testament of a people; j) it's how we know who we are; k) the beauty of an island or valley; l) the ancestors that are still alive; k) the tribes	40	17%

Group 5: a) <i>Silence</i> ; b) I don't know; c) <i>asks someone else</i> ; d) what does that mean? e) what does that mean, for you? f) can you explain it? g) how do you say that in Marquesan?	82	35%
Group 6: a) I've heard of it, but I don't know what it means; b) I know it, but I can't explain it; c) I know it vaguely; d) I don't really know what it means; e) it's important, right?	17	7%
Total Responses	235	