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REVIEWS

EDMONDS, Penelope: *Settler Colonialism and (Re)conciliation: Frontier Violence, Affective Performances, and Imaginative Refoundings*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 253 pp., bibliography, illustrations, index. US\$95.00 (hardcover); US\$69.00 (eBook).

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This book argues that contemporary political reconciliation cannot be understood without exploring the political, historical and colonial genealogies of conciliation. As such, Edmonds poses the following questions: How can reconciliation occur within contexts of unacknowledged founding violence and ongoing colonial oppression? How can re-conciliation occur when conciliation was either never attempted or was itself coercively enforced? What kinds of emancipatory politics do Indigenous groups envision, and how are they evoked in decolonised, grassroots (re)conciliatory performances?

Edmonds examines reconciliation performances as crucial rites of passage in the settler societies of the United States, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. As transformative moments, such acts reflect the desire of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in contemporary settler states to build new covenants based upon the utopic hope of an equitable future. These performances, therefore, are vital for reconstructing history with the purpose of both bridging different communities and enhancing the engagement between citizens and the state. In other words, such performances strive to create new post-colonial socialities. Of course, this engagement is rarely uncomplicated. Reconciliation performances become mythic, symbolic exchanges that attempt to resolve potentially irresolvable tensions between the domination and friendship of which the Indigenous-settler relationship is unavoidably enmeshed. Indeed, state-sponsored (re)conciliation performances often serve to reinforce histories that minimise genocidal foundational violence. They also reproduce Euro-American, Christian rituals and values associated with “white civility”. Such performances, therefore, neglect Indigenous histories. In response, Indigenous communities differently engage in state-sponsored performances, including promoting their own grassroots alternatives that privilege localised knowledge-practices. Nonetheless, settler states often obligate Indigenous communities to petition the state for justice. By submitting to the state’s legal and hegemonic authority, such petitions serve to negate Indigenous sovereignty.

Edmonds justifies this book by arguing that scholarship on settler colonialism has tended to focus upon historical *narratives* of conciliation rather than on the legacies of conciliation as cross-cultural, performative phenomena. This analysis, therefore, is an attempt at comparative transnationalism. Reconciliation has become a part of a global lexicon and an attribute of late liberal modernity. Consequently, this book explores

local socio-political specificities and Indigenous responses and tactics, although within a context of dynamic transnational flows of colonial (re)conciliation and emancipatory resistance. By tracing reconciliatory performances as a relatively new, intersubjective genre, this book also illuminates transnational “affective economies” that evoke co-mingled emotions of shame, anger, mourning, optimism, togetherness and so on. Significantly, sometimes these emotions cultivate an assimilationist politics of consensus, while at other times they unsettle such consensus in order to develop a dissenting political space.

The book successfully situates these performances within a transnational “Age of Apology” whereby settler states have acknowledged (some of their) foundational violence, for example, although without simultaneously acknowledging Indigenous sovereignty, providing reparations or altering oppressive structures. The analysis could be strengthened, however, if Edmonds were to more effectively frame—as she asserts in the Introduction—reconciliatory performances within an equivalently global trans-Indigenous scholarly politics. In other words, while it is clear how contemporary settler politics resort to a global (re)conciliation genre, what remains less clear is how Indigenous knowledge-practices of resistance have also circulated on a global scale.

Edmonds’ monograph is divided into seven sections. The introductory and concluding bookends serve to theoretically frame the local case studies that comprise the body of the text. Each of these chapters charts how state-sponsored and Indigenous reconciliation performances differently call settler histories into the present and imagine utopic futures. Chapters 1 and 2 are situated in the United States. The former explores the symbolic enactment of the Tawagonshi Treaty/Two Row Wampum Treaty, framing Haudenosaunee Wampum knowledge-practices as a potential framework for decolonisation. The latter analyses the Future Generations Ride as a Native response to the bicentennial re-enactment of Lewis and Clark’s “Voyage of Discovery”. Chapters 3 and 4 are situated in Australia. The former juxtaposes the symbolically powerful, though politically empty, Sydney Harbour Bridge Walk for Reconciliation with the Aboriginal-led Myall Creek ceremonies. The latter chapter investigates how Tasmanian Aboriginal peoples have creatively engaged Sorry Day performances, particularly through their rejection of Christian-centric demands for forgiveness.

Perhaps of most interest to the readers of *JPS* (aside from the Introduction and Conclusion), is Chapter 5, which is situated in Aotearoa New Zealand. This chapter centres a broader discussion of settler violence and Māori resistance within an analysis of Tūhoe activist Tame Iti’s rejection of state-sponsored commemorations of the Treaty of Waitangi. Iti’s performance of “shot gun diplomacy” in 2005 underscores the contradictions surrounding such reconciliation events, namely that they present settlers as already at home when they arrived in Aotearoa. Revealing more about the present than the past, therefore, this chapter highlights that contemporary commemoration events ignore historical conflict and disrespect biculturalism because they allow for the co-existence of distinct Māori and Pākehā ontologies only if colonial violence is written out.

Perhaps most problematically, particularly given the complexities of Indigenous-settler politics (of scholarship), is the relative lack of a discussion of methods or Edmonds’ positionality. While acknowledging that Edmonds is a historian (and not, say, a social anthropologist for whom it would be more expected to reflexively interrogate

one's positionality), such a discussion would certainly help the reader to situate Edmonds' analysis. Edmonds discloses her participation in Melbourne's reconciliation march, for example, but little else. This becomes all the more important because she highlights the intersubjective and affective nature of reconciliation performances.

In all, Edmonds' is a strong analysis. On the one hand, it connects the United States, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand within the broader settler colonial world, past and present. On the other hand, by (re)centring Indigenous communities and global processes of colonisation, this transnational analysis helps to transcend certain problematic geopolitical conventions. This book adds a significant critical perspective on the topic of reconciliatory settler politics. Thus, it will appeal not only to scholars interested in Indigeneity and (neo)colonisation within the Pacific and beyond, but also to those engaging debates about empire and imperialism, war, the state and creative, collaborative resistance.

KAHN, Jennifer, G. and Patrick Vinton Kirch: *Monumentality and Ritual Materialization in the Society Islands: The Archaeology of a Major Ceremonial Complex in the 'Opunohu Valley, Mo'orea*. Bishop Museum Bulletins in Anthropology 13. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2014. 267 pp., appendices, bibliography, figures. US\$50.00 (softcover).

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The 'Opunohu Valley on the island of Mo'orea in the Society Islands group holds a special place in the history of Polynesian archaeology as one of those sites where modern method and theory was first introduced and tested on the ground. It was there, in 1961, where the recent graduate Roger Green first applied the settlement pattern approach that he had learned from Gordon Willey, his mentor at Harvard, which became one of the dominant methodologies in Polynesian field archaeology. The authors, especially Kirch, were in turn mentored by Green and their work is not only influenced by Green's ideas but draws directly on some of his original field data. This publication is a data-rich monograph that contributes to research into the evolution of social complexity in chiefdoms using the 'Opunohu Valley as the case study. Although the work draws deeply on Polynesian and, more specifically Society Islands, ethnography, the authors' ambition is for the analysis to contribute to the worldwide study of chiefdoms. The work achieves that goal.

The archaeology of socio-political change has been a central focus in much of the theoretical and field-based work of both authors. This particular study picks up and develops key ideas and positions that Kirch has been developing in his writings over the last four decades—most recently this includes his work on the Hawaiian chiefdom, as well as ideas showcased in earlier works such as *The Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdoms* (1984). It also shows a continuing commitment to the historical anthropology methodologies developed by Kirch and Green (e.g., Kirch and Green 1987; Kirch and Green 2001). Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the 'Opunohu research represents the application of a standard set of methods and ideas in a new

Polynesian setting. This volume presents some new insights and the prospect for critical re-evaluations of ideas about chiefdoms, ideology, power and landscapes presented in earlier works on these subjects. It is less ecologically focussed than other works, and it centralises ideas around “community” and “house society”, which are topics Kahn has been developing in her landscape studies since her graduate work.

Chapter 1 describes the aims of the work. The project investigates the role of *marae* ‘temples’ and other monumental sites of ritual activity in the evolution of a complex Ma’ohi (indigenous Tahitian) society founded on inequality, rank and social hierarchy. In Mo’orea the authors identify ideology as a major source of elite power and the materialisation of ideology (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996) as the key means by which rank and status difference was promoted and stabilised in Ma’ohi society. The authors argue that processes of “intensification” of cyclical ritual activity in temple compounds led to an increase in the scale and elaboration of monumental construction over time. The key actors in this process were “houses” not lineages or sub-lineages as might be expected. The authors define “houses”, using Susan Gillespie’s (2000) critical interpretation of Levi-Strauss’s house society concept, as a corporate body organised by shared residence, means of production and ritual actions. Thus the composition of a “house” may have a strong kinship basis but it is not determined nor reproduced by kinship processes alone. The ancestral temple—*marae*—was the focus for corporate actions of “house” members and continued investment in the *ritual estate* of the “house” should reflect shifting organisation at the community scale, especially the centralisation of power and emergence of hierarchy.

Chapter 2 is a history of *marae* archaeology in the Society Islands, including a critical discussion of classification and an evaluation of chronological models. The authors are critical of much earlier work on classification arguing that “types” were often ill-defined and awkwardly arranged into classificatory structures (or more properly perhaps “non-classificatory arrangements” [after Dunnell 1971]). Although they do not present a new classification for Mo’orean *marae* here, they argue that future work should follow Dunnell’s (1971) classificatory approach and that it should be a *taxonomic* or hierarchical system prioritising the platform or court. In the discussions of chronology and classification it is fascinating to see again and again the value and prescience of Emory’s early observations. Although Emory was not equipped with sophisticated field gear or theory, his work highlights the significance of those insights that emerge through long field engagement—a point I am sure the authors would agree on.

Chapters 3 through 5 present the field survey, excavation and chronological data. The survey data was all produced either using tape and compass or, in the more complex landscape settings, plane table and alidade. The authors are strong advocates of the plane table, arguing that it has yet to be replaced by any digital instrument capable of producing similar results. I strongly agree with those views. The plane table does require skills that take time to acquire and which I suspect are not being passed on as much as they once were, but the results stand out and the maps in this volume are excellent. Unfortunately, the production quality does not do justice to the fine field mapping. The critically important Figure 3.2, which shows SeMo-124, spans two pages and several of the key features are obscured by the binding. The photos too look a little dull on these pages. I would also have liked a larger scale

map that shows both the Upper and Lower Sectors (SCMo-124 and ScMo-125) together. The chronology of construction was achieved using seriation, radiocarbon and U-series dating methodologies. The overall picture is of a relatively late (15th to 16th century) ritual landscape but one that shows clear signs of sequence "... the emergence of complex monumentality through sequential additions to structures—tangible symbols of the increasing control of elites over surface production and the ritual calendar" (p. 199).

The final chapters of the volume reflect on the archaeology of the SCMO-124/125 complex and its growth, in relation to site function as inferred from ethnography and traditional accounts. The authors then refer back to the theoretical concepts and arguments introduced in Chapter 1 and expand these to set out a more general model linking ritual and economy in Polynesian chiefdoms and showing how elaborate architectural remains aggregate and eventually emerge as administrative centres through the intensification of ritual acts that centralise power around social elites.

This is a valuable contribution to the archaeology of landscape and the literature on chiefdoms and the evolution of social hierarchy. One of the features that especially appealed to me was the commitment to the role of quality field data. Some of the linkages between key concepts did not seem entirely transparent or fully developed, but this volume will be a vital part of the ongoing discussions around landscape, monumentality and power in Polynesian chiefdoms and the authors are to be highly commended.

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LEVINE, Stephen: *Pacific Ways, Government and Politics in the Pacific Islands*. 2nd edition. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016. 416 pp., bibliography, illustrations, notes. NZ\$40.00 (softcover).

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This is an important and convenient reference handbook. It is clearly written and systematically constructed around exploring the history, structure and functioning of the political institutions of 27 states in Oceania. This is an area of great political

diversity and experimentation. The book's significance is revealed by its being issued in this second edition, only seven years after it first appeared.

Pacific Islands' political elites are pushed by foreign governments and international organisations into making globalising reforms (specific chapters referenced by their authors in the following). The book alludes to this in relation to Australia's and New Zealand's increasing role in political restructuring in many parts of the region (Jon Fraenkel), Australia's reconstruction of Solomon Islands (Gordon Leua Nanau), the UK's enactment of a lengthy, complicated global-human-rights-oriented constitution for Pitcairn Island (Peter Clegg), and France's imposition of gender quotas in New Caledonia's parliament (Nic Maclellan).

Globalising pressure is extremely powerful and subtly pervasive. There is too little about it in most of these essays, especially in relation to the political policies that are constantly promoted to integrate the islands further into global capitalism. An example of a relatively unexplored area is the political and economic hold that the international tourism industry exercises over several jurisdictions—recognised in some chapters, in cases such as the Northern Marianas (Frank Quimby) and Rapa Nui/Easter Island (Forrest Wade Young)—but ignored in chapters on some other polities, such as Guam (Kelly G. Marsh and Tyrone J. Taitano).

At the same time as economic and social globalisation spreads, there are currents running toward smaller political units and a dispersion or devolution of political sovereignty. Independence or secession movements are important in New Caledonia (where intriguing long-term, large-scale political experimentation is taking place), French Polynesia (Lorenz Gonschor), Bougainville in Papua New Guinea (Vergil Narokobi), Rapa Nui/Easter Island in Chile, West Papua in Indonesia (Gregory B. Poling), Malaita in Solomon Islands, and Chuuk in the Federated States of Micronesia (Glenn Petersen and Zag Puas). These are buoyed by the success of Timor Leste/East Timor in becoming independent from Indonesia in 1999 (Michael Leach).

A counter-example has been the US federal reassertion of control over immigration and the minimum wage in the Northern Mariana Islands and Australia's recent and controversial removal of territorial autonomy in legislation, income taxation and other important state functions from Norfolk Island. Norfolk deserves its own chapter in this book on "the Pacific Islands", which would be more focussed if it did not include chapters on Australia (Nigel S. Roberts) and New Zealand (Stephen Levine).

There are intermediate cases between these extremes of independence and secession, on one hand, and external removal of elements of sovereignty, on the other hand. In American Samoa and Guam the indigenous emphasis has been on gaining greater local powers of action within the US constitutional framework, and in the Cook Islands (Phillipa Webb), Niue (Salote Talagi) and Tokelau (Kelihiiano Kalolo) the movement for complete independence from New Zealand has been weak.

The policies of the Pacific Islands governments are heavily influenced by their relations with metropolitan governments. Sovereignty continues to be an important resource—providing votes at international organisations, considerable sea and air space, significant strategic and military advantages, and even sovereignty businesses such as passport sales and offshore tax havens. Many countries are sustained by aid or migrant remittances.

MIRAB (Migration, Remittances, Aid, Bureaucracy) political economies have spread through most of Polynesia and Micronesia and, arguably, are moving into some parts of Melanesia. In the book this MIRAB feature is mentioned by name only in relation to Wallis and Futuna and French Polynesia. What are the effects on the politics of those countries where large proportions (even, in some cases, vast majorities) of the population have emigrated to friendly metropolitan countries and whose remittances are subsidising neo-traditional life back “home”?

Neo-traditionalism is taking new forms. One striking recent trend is the notable decline, but not disappearance, of the political power of indigenous aristocracies in parts of Oceania. This is particularly true in Fiji (Robert Norton), and to a lesser extent in Tonga (Steven Ratuva), the Marshall Islands (David W. Kupferman), and Wallis and Futuna (Hapakuke Pierre Leleivai). On the other hand, there appears to have been relatively little deterioration in the strength of the traditional political elites in Samoa (Iati Iati), American Samoa (J. Robert Shaffer and Cheryl Hunter), the Federated States of Micronesia and Palau (Wouter Veenendaal), although these customary hierarchies may be in more of a holding pattern. How can we explain this unevenness?

The Pacific Islands have the highest per capita foreign aid recipient levels in the world. How do the close and cooperative relations with donors affect the recipients’ policies? Is the aid dependency relationship an external clientelism that complements the internal clientelism explicitly noted in Kiribati (Takuia Uakeia), Tuvalu (Jack Corbett and Jon Fraenkel), Palau and Papua New Guinea, and implicit in the accounts of corruption in Nauru (Max Quanchi), Vanuatu (Marc Lanteigne), the Northern Marianas, Tuvalu and West Papua? How does the rapidly rising role of China as an aid (loan) giver, noted in a few of the chapters, affect the allegiances and ethical decisions of political leaders in the Pacific? How are internal and external forms of clientelism connected to the prevalence of independent politicians and general weakness of political parties in the region? While the book cannot do everything, all of these important questions deserve more complete, analytical answers.

Levine’s edited volume is an important handbook, reference and text book, although it would be more effective if it had an index and more statistical and summarising tables. The book helps the reader comprehend the history, structure and functioning of the region’s domestic political institutions in a relatively unified way. The broader contribution of the work is that it can lead to further study, other ways of understanding, and new methods of approaching government and politics in the Pacific Islands.