

UC San Diego

UC San Diego Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Value differences and processes of value commensuration in Raja Ampat, West Papua

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6v93z2wj>

Author

Parker, Ian Nicholas

Publication Date

2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Value differences and processes of value commensuration in Raja Ampat, West Papua

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology
with a Specialization in Interdisciplinary Environmental Research

by

Ian Nicholas Parker

Committee in charge:

Professor Joe Hankins, Chair
Professor Rupert Stasch, Co-Chair
Professor Guillermo Algaze
Professor Jonathan Friedman
Professor Richard Norris

2021

Copyright
Ian Nicholas Parker, 2021
All rights reserved

The Dissertation of Ian Nicholas Parker is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication in microfilm and electronically.

University of California San Diego

2021

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Professor Marcel Hénaff, and to all West Papuans who seek better futures.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DISSERTATION APPROVAL PAGE.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLE.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ix
VITA.....	xii
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION.....	xiii
Introduction.....	1
TOPICS AND THEMES	9
FIELDWORK AND METHODS.....	16
WAIGEO ISLAND’S WEST PAPUAN COMMUNITIES	22
CHAPTER OVERVIEW.....	34
Chapter 1. Fluid relations on West Papua’s coastal fringe.....	38
THE ISLANDS OF RAJA AMPAT AT THE CROSSROADS OF CURRENTS, A JUNCTURE OF WORLDS	41
MYTH AS MAP: COSMOGONIC ORIGINS OF RAIDING PEOPLES.....	48
RECALLING THE PAST TO CHART THE FUTURE	59
RIPPLES OF VALUES, WAVES OF CHANGE	63
Chapter 2. Mixtures of conservation practice in Raja Ampat	71
MARINE CONSERVATION IN NORTHWESTERN NEW GUINEA.....	74
MANAGEMENT, MORALITY AND IMPROVISATION	82
NATURAL RESOURCE PROTECTION IN RAJA AMPAT REFLECTS CHANGING SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS	84
CHURCH SASI AS EMBODIED CHRISTIAN PRACTICE	90
SASI MON: MEDIATING THE HUMAN AND NONHUMAN	103
MOSAICS OF PROTECTION.....	110
CONVERSATIONS ABOUT CONSERVATION	121
SIMILARITY OR DISSONANCE OF CONSERVATION REGIMES	132
Chapter 3. Ecotourism on Waigeo and hopes for future wellbeing.....	141
MISPLACED HOPES	141
MILLENARIAN ECHOES IN AN ECO-TOURISM MARKETPLACE.....	148
RAJA AMPAT AS ECOTOURIST EXEMPLAR.....	156
CONSOCIALITY IN HOMESTAYS: CREATING A SHARED SPACETIME.....	169
CONVERSATIONS WITH ECOTOURISTS.....	170
INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN THE VILLAGE HOMESTAY ECONOMY	176
GETTING ORGANIZED: A MEETING OF THE RAJA AMPAT HOMESTAY ASSOCIATION.....	181
Chapter 4. Reflective voyage: a conservation film tour	192
THE KALABIA CONSERVATION TOUR	194
SYNOPSIS OF THE FILM.....	197

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AS A ROUTE TO SELF-REGARD FOR WEST PAPUANS	204
INTERDISCURSIVITY AND TRANSLATION: CREATING A POLITY OF CARE	207
A STORYLINE OF THE FILM AND CONCERT TOUR	214
CHRONOTOPES OF LOVE AND SELF-REGARD	228
OUT OF FRAME, OUT OF VIEW	231
THE GUADIANS OF RAJA AMPAT TOUR AS A METASEMIOTIC AND METAPRAGMATIC JOURNEY	235
Chapter 5. Cannibal witches, environmental mix-ups: doubts about others in Raja Ampat	240
WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY REFLECT AN ETHICS OF CAUTION IN RAJA AMPAT	246
TRANSGRESSIVE BEINGS	248
WITCHES SIGNIFY THE LIMITS OF INTERPERSONAL ETHICS IN RAJA AMPAT	252
DEALING WITH SORCERERS AND NATURE SPIRITS	255
INSTANCES OF ETHICAL OR MORAL BREAKDOWN IN RAJA AMPAT	260
UPSET FEELINGS OVER TOURISM FEES ON WAYAG ISLANDS	267
CAPTIVE SPEEDBOATS IN WARSAMBIN	270
RESOURCE EXTRACTION AND DISPOSSESSION ON WAIGEO ISLAND.....	272
RUMORS OF USING RADIO TRANSMITTERS TO STEAL BIRDS FROM KALITOKO	277
NATURE AS A MEDIATING AGENT FOR INTER-CLAN DISPUTES IN MA'YALIBIT BAY	282
ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS REFLECT DOUBTS PEOPLE HAVE ABOUT OTHERS	286
Conclusion: Crosscurrents of values in Raja Ampat	290
PROSPECTS FOR VALUE COMMENSURATION ON WAIGEO ISLAND	295
TRANSLATING VALUES INTO A 'SECOND FIRST LANGUAGE'	297
Appendix 1. Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Human Research Protections.....	310
Appendix 2. Valuable marine and terrestrial species	312
OTHER VALUABLE MARINE SPECIES COMMONLY SPOKEN OF IN RAJA AMPAT	316
VALUED TERRESTRIAL PLANTS AND ANIMALS IN RAJA AMPAT	319
Bibliography	321

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLE

FIGURE 1. TOURISM MAP OF THE RAJA AMPAT ISLANDS. SOURCE: BASUDAR	21
FIGURE 2 BRIDEPRICE EXCHANGES, AMBEL WEDDING, WARIMAK, 2015.....	25
FIGURE 3 BUSH HOUSES OF DAWA FAMILY BEHIND WARIMAK, WAIGEO, 2014	28
FIGURE 4 PREPARED SAGO FLOUR, GO VILLAGE IN MA'YALIBIT BAY, 2014.....	30
FIGURE 5 MAIN OCEANOGRAPHIC CURRENTS DURING THE MONSOONS IN EASTERN INDONESIA. SOURCE: MANGUBHAI ET AL. 2012.....	43
FIGURE 6 KARST ISLETS NEAR MISOOL, 2014	44
FIGURE 7 OUTRIGGER CANOE, WAIGEO ISLAND, 2014.....	48
FIGURE 8 THE FOUR RAJADOMS OF RAJA AMPAT. ADAPTED FROM MANSOBEN (1995).....	55
FIGURE 9 SHRINE OF KALIRAJA, 2015	56
FIGURE 10 CORAL TRIANGLE INITIATIVE. SOURCE: CTI, 2015.....	76
FIGURE 11 MAP OF THE BIRD'S HEAD SEASCAPE SHOWING THE LOCATION OF MAJOR TOWNS, ISLANDS, AND MARINE PROTECTED AREA (MPA) BOUNDARIES. SOURCE: MANGUBHAI ET AL. 2012	77
FIGURE 12 MARINE PROTECTED AREAS IN RAJA AMPAT, ADAPTED FROM GRANTHAM 2013	78
FIGURE 13 PREPARING TO SELL FISH AT WAISAI MARKET, SAPORKREN, AUG 2015	80
FIGURE 14 CONSERVATION INTERNATIONAL STAFF, SORONG WEST PAPUA, 2015.....	82
FIGURE 15 DR. DEDI ADHURI MARKS CLAN FISHING AREAS AT GO VILLAGE, MAYALIBIT BAY, 2014 ...	83
FIGURE 16 LAND-BASED SASI FOR COCONUTS, KRI ISLAND, 2012.....	85
FIGURE 17 OFFERINGS TO THE SEA AT A SASI RITUAL, MISOOL 2013. SOURCE: TNC	87
FIGURE 18 HIGHLY PRIZED PALOLO WORMS (<i>PALOLA VIRIDIS</i>) ON AYAU, 2014	90
FIGURE 19 SIGN OF CHURCH SASI NEAR ARBOREK VILLAGE.....	93
FIGURE 20 COLLECTING SURVEY RESPONSES ABOUT SASI, ARBOREK ISLAND, 2012.....	94
FIGURE 21 ELVIS MARINO, RUTUM ISLAND, AYAU ATOLL, NOVEMBER 2014	97
FIGURE 22 YELLU VILLAGE, OFF MISOOL ISLAND, DEC 2014	98
FIGURE 23 NEW GKI CHURCH BUILT WITH ECO-TOURISM REVENUE, YENBUBA VILLAGE, MANSUAR ISLAND, 2014.....	100
FIGURE 24 SIGN INDICATING SASI <i>MON</i> ZONE NEAR WARSAMBIN VILLAGE, MA'YALIBIT BAY, 2012 ...	106
FIGURE 25 NADUS NOK AT KAKIT MON SITE, MA'YALIBIT BAY, WAIGEO SEPT 2015.....	109
FIGURE 26 MA'YALIBIT BAY MPA ZONE, WAIGEO ISLAND. SOURCE: RAJA AMPAT REGENCY	111
FIGURE 27 DAMPIER STRAITS MPA ZONE. SOURCE: RAJA AMPAT REGENCY.....	111
FIGURE 28 PERFORMING ECOSYSTEM INTERACTIONS, WARKABU POST, MA'YALIBIT BAY, 2012.....	113
FIGURE 29 FISHING FOR BAIT, SAPORKREN VILLAGE, WAIGEO, 2012	116
FIGURE 30 SASI SIGN, DEER VILLAGE, KOFIAU ISLAND 2014.....	117
FIGURE 31 IMAM SOLTIF WITH AUTHOR, FAFANLAP VILLAGE, MISOOL, DEC 2014	118
FIGURE 32 YOHANES GORAM GAMAN AND ABRAHAM GAMAN, SORONG, 2012	121
FIGURE 33 KRIS THEBU OVERSEEING A NEW CONSERVATION AGREEMENT IN 2018.....	124
FIGURE 34 REUBEN SAUYAI, 2012.....	127
FIGURE 35 YEHEKIEL DAWA, WARIMAK VILLAGE, 2015.....	130
FIGURE 36 CHURCH SERVICE, SAPORKREN VILLAGE, WAIGEO, 2015.....	138
FIGURE 37 YOSIAS MAMBRASAR TALKS ABOUT MANARMAKERI, WAIGEO 2014.....	153
FIGURE 38 WAYAG ISLANDS, RAJA AMPAT. SOURCE: TNC PHOTO.....	156
FIGURE 39 KORANU FYAK HOMESTAY, KRI ISLAND, 2014	161
FIGURE 40 KRI SHORELINE WITH HOMESTAYS IN BACKGROUND, 2015	164
FIGURE 41 WARIMPUREM HOMESTAY, AUGUST 2014.....	165
FIGURE 42 ENGGELINA DIMARA MANDOSIR, OWNER OF WARIMPUREM HOMESTAY, 2014	167
FIGURE 43 DIVERS ARE BRIEFED BY LOCAL DIVEMASTERS, KRI ISLAND, 2014.....	175
FIGURE 44 MAMBETRON HOMESTAY, KRI ISLAND, AUG 2014.....	178
FIGURE 45 BETEO MEN CONSTRUCT A NEW HOMESTAY, KRI ISLAND, 2012.....	179

FIGURE 46 HOMESTAY OWNERS DISCUSS GENDER, LABOR AND VALUES, SEPT 2014.....	183
FIGURE 47 RAJA AMPAT HOMESTAY ASSN MEMBERS COMPARE ONLINE REVIEWS	184
FIGURE 48 KALABIA EDUCATION SHIP DURING THE GUARDIANS TOUR, AYAU ATOLL	194
FIGURE 49 POSTER ADVERTISING AN EVENING FILM SCREENING OF GUARDIANS OF RAJA AMPAT.....	199
FIGURE 50 ARTIST EDO KONDOLOGIT IN HAT WITH VILLAGE WELCOME COMMITTEE, SOLOL, SALAWATI	205
FIGURE 51 GUARDIANS OF RAJA AMPAT FILM TOUR ROUTE, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 2014. SOURCE: NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC.....	214
FIGURE 52 KALABIA TEAM WITH SCHOOL CHILDREN, SELPELE VILLAGE, WAIGEO	218
FIGURE 53 PARTICIPANTS DANCE FOLLOWING AN EVENING FILM SCREENING AND CONVERSATION, ARBOREK ISLAND	229
FIGURE 54 TWO TREES SIGNAL ‘BEWARE OF DEMONS’ (INDO: AWAS SETAN) IN THE FOREST BEHIND SAPORKREN, 2014.....	248
FIGURE 55 <i>SUANGGI</i> LEAF (<i>CORDYLINE FRUTICOSA</i>), HARAPAN JAYA VILLAGE MISOOL, 2014.....	257
FIGURE 56 PAPUAN BLACKSNAKE (<i>PSEUDECHIS PAPUANUS</i>) AT KAKIT CREEK, WAIGEO, SEPT 2015.....	259
FIGURE 57 SAPORKREN PARISHIONERS PRAY FOR A RESOLUTION TO THE URAI CONFLICT, 2014.....	264
FIGURE 58 ILLEGAL LOGGING CAMP BEHIND KALITOKO VILLAGE, MA’YALIBIT BAY, 2015	273
FIGURE 59 WARSAMBIN VILLAGE, MA’YALIBIT BAY, WAIGEO 2012.....	285
FIGURE 60 SEA TURTLE NEAR MANSUAR ISLAND, 2015	295
FIGURE 61 WOLTER GAMAN, CONSERVATIONIST AND MA’YA INTERMEDIARY, WARIMAK 2015	298
FIGURE 62 SALMAN WIYAI, MA’YALIBIT BAY MARINE PATROL, 2014	299
FIGURE 63 RIA AND BERTHA, MARINE CONSERVATIONISTS WITH RARE AND RAJA AMPAT’S MPA TEAM	300
FIGURE 64 ARTISANAL FISHERIES SURVEY TEAM, ARBOREK ISLAND, AUGUST 2012	311
TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION IN RAJA AMPAT	136

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis emerged from conversations and travel with many people. I am incredibly grateful for the support, advice, criticism and encouragement of mentors, advisers and friends. In particular, I would like to thank co-chairs Rupert Stasch and Joe Hankins for their willingness to support this project. I am particularly grateful for the guidance of Guillermo Algaze, Jonathan Friedman, Richard Norris and Stuart Sandin. Marcel Hénaff provided important insights into recognition, and his friendship will be sorely missed. At UCSD, Joel Robbins, David Pedersen, Shirley Strum, Octavio Aburto, Mikael Fauvelle and Jordan Haug also greatly helped the development of this project. I also am indebted to Dedi Adhuri, Hamid Toha, Tony Rudyansjah, Laura Arnold, Bert Remijnsen and Gene Ammarell for critical support during my fieldwork in West Papua. Anna Tsing, Nils Bubandt and Danilyn Rutherford have provided important feedback. Additionally, I want to thank Robert Brightman, Marko Zivkovic and Paul Silverstein at Reed College, Karl Jackson, Bill Wise and Fred Brown at Johns Hopkins, SAIS, Paul Taylor at the Smithsonian Institution and Nina Bhatt with the World Bank.

There are many friends and collaborators in Raja Ampat that I want to recognize, whose perspectives and openness to my presence in their lives has provided the core material for this project, including: Gress Sauyai, Reuben Sauyai, Paulus Sauyai, Shinta Baransano, Raja Tahir Arfan, Bob Tanamal, Azhar Hamid Arfan, Franz Membilong, Mohammid Yunus Soltif, Yohanes Goram, Abraham Gaman, Kris Thebu, Yudas Sauyai, Yusak Dawa, Bram Goram, Elias Mambrasar, Luther Mambrasar, Lefinus Dimara, Yosias Mambrasar, Heret Sauyai, Engelina Dimara, Noldi Sauyai, Denis Sauyai, Rano Raweyae, Onis Sauyai, Isak Ansan, Yeskel Dawa, Yakob Mambrasar, Wolter Gaman, Orogenes Burdam, Salmon Burdam, Ali Gaman, Markus Fiay, Amos Lapon, Samuel Morin, Freddy Mambraku, Martin Makusi, Nellie Makusi, Yusuf

Sumbaha, Yohan Berotabui, Rosita Mambrasar, Anache Goram, Drophinus Dailom, Reiki Nok and Yusuf Rumbiak.

Several members of conservation staff, particularly from Conservation International in Sorong, and Yayasan Kalabia have been instrumental to this project. I want to thank Angela Beer, Sally Kailola, Dwi Aryo Tjipto Handoso, Karel Wawafma, Valen, Om John Muhajir, Berto Rahawarin, Salman Wiyai, Mety Mongdong, Nico Rombau, Edo Konologit, Helen Newman, Chris Fox, Mark Erdmann and Dominic Elson. Special thanks to Shawn Heinrich and John Weller for their generosity for allowing me to accompany them on the Kalabia conservation tour in 2014, Fitry Pakiding, Helen Fox, Dian Oktaviani and Paulus Boli for their insights into Raja Ampat's social and ecological dynamics. I also want to thank several visitors to homestays I met between 2012-2015, especially: Florian Bickel and Johanna Zanon, Melissa Monthe, Jesse Waddell, David Lloyd, Aron Timar, Alan Reyes, Natalie Gazit, Philipp Wacha, Nicholas Taric, Irena Sterk, Alina Orrico, Esther Bermesjo, James Richardson, Sara Dachos, Gabriella Fredriksson, Graham Usher, Eric Vogel, Jeff Bowman, Sarah Purkey, David Rasmussen and Pierre Brandt.

I am grateful to grant organizations and institutions that funded this project, including: Fulbright-Hays, National Science Foundation IGERT program, UCSD Friends of the International Center, Waitt Foundation, Scripps Institution of Oceanography's Center for Marine Biodiversity and Conservation, The United States Indonesia Society, and UC San Diego Department of Anthropology.

Finally, I want to thank my wife Priscila and our daughter Ariel, as well as the Parker family, for their dedication, patience, encouragement and love on this journey. Thanks to you all.

Chapter 2, in part, contains material published in Parker, Ian N. (2021) “For Kin, God and Other Beings: Mixtures of Conservation Practice in Raja Ampat, West Papua” *In* Johannes M. Luetz and Patrick D. Nunn eds., *Beyond Belief: Opportunities for Faith-Engaged Approaches to Climate-Change Adaptation in the Pacific Islands*, Springer Nature, Pp. 267-285. Springer Nature Switzerland AG. The dissertation author was the primary investigator and author of this paper.

VITA

EDUCATION

2003 BA in Anthropology, Reed College

2007 MA in International Relations, Johns Hopkins University,
School of Advanced International Studies

2012 MA in Anthropology, University of California San Diego

2021 PhD in Anthropology with a Specialization in Interdisciplinary Environmental
Research, University of California San Diego

GRANTS

2011-13 National Science Foundation IGERT Fellowship

2012 Waitt Foundation Fellowship

2012 Scripps Institution of Oceanography Summer Research Grant

2014-15 Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Grant

2014 UCSD Friends of the International Center Scholarship

2014 United States Indonesia Society Sumitro Fellowship

2014 F.G. Bailey Research Fellowship

2016 Haydu Prize on the interaction of culture, behavior and human values

PUBLICATIONS

Parker, Ian N. (2021) "For Kin, God and Other Beings: Mixtures of Conservation Practice in Raja Ampat, West Papua" *In* Johannes M. Luetz and Patrick D. Nunn eds., *Beyond Belief: Opportunities for Faith-Engaged Approaches to Climate-Change Adaptation in the Pacific Islands*, Springer Nature, Pp. 267-285. Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

WORK

2008-2016 Consultant, World Bank and Millennium Challenge Corporation

2011-2016 Teaching Assistant, University of California San Diego

2015 Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University of California San Diego

2017- Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Department of State

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Value differences and processes of value commensuration in Raja Ampat, West Papua

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology
with a Specialization in Interdisciplinary Environmental Research

by

Ian Nicholas Parker

University of California San Diego, 2021

Professor Joe Hankins, Chair
Professor Rupert Stasch, Co-Chair

This dissertation is an ethnographic study of how environmental conservation and ecotourism are contexts for how people sort out what is at stake in living among the Raja Ampat islands of Indonesia's West Papua Province. Through examining ways that people seek to protect areas and things inhabiting the surrounding land and seascape, I evaluate situations where people identify what is valuable to them, how those values influence ethical actions, as well as consequences of acting unethically toward the environment or other people.

The study highlights efforts of Beteo and Ma'ya people to figure out how to balance the protection of coral reefs and forest zones while also seeking improved livelihoods. It presents accounts of environmental conservation practices and ecotourism around Waigeo Island – the

largest and northernmost island of the Raja Ampat area – because it is the center of tourism activity and migration of Indonesians to the region. Waigeo has also become a zone of conflicts between locals and outsiders over access to and control of natural resources in coastal West Papua. Conservation and tourism have become a context for how Beteo and Ma'ya residents have identified options, developed strategies and negotiated conflicts within and across boundaries of social difference as they seek to chart a better life.

The study focuses on instances where environmental values overlap and diverge to probe the possibility that different forms of care may be analogous, congruent, or at least recognizable by people with different reasons for protecting nature. I document situations when people were forced to reconcile apparently incommensurable practices. I evaluate to what extent marine protected areas are symmetrical with ritual harvest prohibitions known as *sasi*. I assess to what extent closed fishing grounds reflect Indonesian Evangelical Protestant Church ideals of a moral community, or whether they can be considered alongside non-Christian understanding of forest spirit realms where one is at risk of being eaten by witches or destroyed by amoral nature entities. By focusing on marine conservation and tourism interactions in coastal West Papua, I document the capacity of people to adapt, transpose or otherwise incorporate different environmental norms into their lives.

Introduction

“For whatever we lose (like a you or a me), It’s always our self we find in the sea.” – e.e. Cummings

This dissertation is an ethnographic study of how environmental conservation and ecotourism are contexts in which societies of the Raja Ampat islands of Indonesia’s West Papua Province communicate values about protecting the natural world and living ethically with others. Through examining ways that Beteo and Ma’ya people seek to care for important species and places, I describe encounters where people from different societies identify what is valuable to them. I document instances where environmental values influence ethical actions, as well as cases of misunderstanding toward the environment or other people. I report people’s hopes and suspicions of others – of rival families, ethnic groups, with tourists, conservationists, and Indonesian migrants – and how a few West Papuan communities living on and near Waigeo Island in Raja Ampat attempt to reconcile different notions of doing the right thing related to human-environment relations in a time of rapid socio-economic change.

There are high stakes for doing the right or wrong thing for societies living in coastal West Papua. Following the creation of large zones of marine protection in the late 2000s, the coastal region of Indonesia’s West Papua Province, and especially the islands of the Raja Ampat archipelago, have become a major destination for nature-oriented tourism. Visitors from Europe, the Americas and across Asia have come to witness the region’s marine and terrestrial biodiversity in a presumably remote natural setting. Tourists come to swim with manta rays, seek out nudibranchs on coral walls, watch the Red bird-of-paradise summersault in the morning light or take self-portraits atop iconic karst walls of Wayag Island. Charismatic species and landscapes

continue to attract interest in this far eastern fringe of Indonesia after reading articles or viewing documentary films about conservation initiatives or tourist brochures.

I describe efforts of Beteo and Ma'ya people to figure out how to balance protecting reefs and forests while also seeking improved livelihoods. I present instances where people I met struggle to sort out why strangers are coming to their place, to identify who is friend or foe, who to align with and when to take a stand when others challenge the social norms of appropriate conduct towards communally-managed natural resources or nonhuman places of meaning, danger or remembrance. I also incorporate accounts from local villagers with perspectives I encountered among extralocal visitors who stay at village homestays, and Indonesian staff of environmental non-government organizations (NGOs) who have implemented conservation programs in Raja Ampat since the early 2000s.

The dissertation focuses on ethnographic accounts of environmental conservation practices and ecotourism around Waigeo Island – the largest and northernmost island of the area – because it is a setting for conflicts between locals and outsiders over the access and control of nature. Conservation and tourism have become a context for how Beteo and Ma'ya residents have identified options, developed strategies and negotiated conflicts among kin and strangers for pursuing a better life. What began as a study of fishing and conservation practices in 2012 broadened to encompass how people's desires for tourism are connected to conservation practices, because the link between protecting nature and promoting its value has become an essential basis of people's hopes and frustrations. Moreover, by attending to forms of environmental care, I seek to understand the ways West Papuans are translating ethical norms from other societies into an idiom that is meaningful to incorporate into their day to day lives.

Part of my rationale for focusing on environmental practices is that these topics speak to a long-standing debate in anthropology about small-scale or ‘local’ management of marine resources. Anthropologists since the 1970s have documented various practices of species and place-specific restrictions among different societies in maritime Southeast Asia and Oceania. For instance, in the late 1970s, Dutch ethnologist Alex van der Leeden identified instances where Ma’ya villagers in Samate village on Salawati Island (across from Waigeo) protected sea cucumbers by enacting seasonal closures overseen by the Arfan clan with support of the village’s Muslim leadership (van der Leeden 1980). In other places, people have enacted culturally salient resource prohibitions for valuable plants, such as coconut palms, langsat fruit (*Lansium parasiticum*), merbau trees (*Intsia bijuga*) or sago palm (*Metroxylon sagu*).

There are several different types of environmental management in coastal West Papua, each with its own rules, norms and practices. In the predominantly Beteo-speaking Ayau atoll north of Waigeo, fishermen initiated seasonal harvest taboos in conjunction with the Papuan Evangelical Christian Church to ensure sufficient food stocks of sea turtles for Christmas feasts. Among the Ambel-speaking settlements of Ma’yalibit Bay, zones of ancestral spirits or nonhuman others called *mon* are treated with caution. Only certain persons with the authority and capacity for communicating with *mon* entities can intercede on other people’s behalf. Other natural zones beyond the village are considered realms of cannibal witches who detach their heads at night on hunts for human victims.

Some forms of resource management have been practiced for generations while others are more recent adaptations to curb exploitative fishing practices, or a mechanism to shift towards a market-oriented tourism economy. These adaptations have been documented among sea-oriented societies elsewhere in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu (Cinner and

Aswani 2007). In some cases, what appear to be longstanding practices of resource taboo are in fact recently introduced hybrid systems that emerged through engagement with government officials or environmental organizations at workshops in far-away cities.

Raja Ampat at first glance seems off grid. Yet it is a region connected for centuries to trade and social exchange. Traders, pirates, European voyagers, explorers and sultans have interacted with resident populations in the Raja Ampat area since the 16th century (Andaya 1993; Ellen 2003). Waves of settlers from Biak, the Moluccan Islands and other areas have shaped the region's hybrid linguistic and social character. Goods and gifts have facilitated marriage alliances, slave raiding, inter-regional trade networks, global spice monopolies and contests over access rights. So a focus on values of different kinds is perhaps not alien to the region, but is a basic feature of living in maritime-oriented societies where people come and go, following tidal currents or political-economic flows.

The advent of commercial-scale eco-tourism in the late 2000s has increased the frequency and variety of cross-cultural interaction in coastal West Papua. Interactions with strangers have forced Papuans living tourist areas to rethink their relations to their surroundings in increasingly capitalist ways. In other instances, people have re-sacralized reefs or forest areas by involving church leaders or cultural mediators who advise environmental organizations. Localized forms of environmental care have become linked to a regional economy where conservation and tourism have become the engine for economic development and a fulcrum of local politics. Both tourism and conservation have become a focal point for people's hopes and fears.

Ensuring the right forms of human-environment relations has become an important topic by which Beteo and Ma'ya people reflect about how to live ethically among their families and

with one another. In Raja Ampat, there are three general types of environmental oversight. A first type includes spatially-limited marine protected areas (MPAs) or forest zones established since the early 2000s by international conservation organizations in conjunction with local mediators and Indonesian government agencies. A second type is generally called *sasi*, which refers to forms of ritually-sanctioned and seasonally-closed harvest practices. A third type involves special forest zones of cultural significance. This final type is associated with clan ancestors and nonhuman beings, particularly among Ma'ya settlements in Ma'yalibit Bay in Waigeo and on Misool Island. This genre of conservation is less focused on protecting particular plant or animal habitats, though that may be an unintentional ecological benefit. Stewardship of sacred areas reflects the importance of maintaining a separation between human and nonhuman realms.

Communities throughout Raja Ampat engage in forms of environmental management or care for different reasons. Rather than chart out all possible variations of conservation, this study focuses on instances of overlap and divergence to probe the possibility that different types of environmental protection may be recognized as ethical by people that appear to have very different values. Specifically, I document events, conflicts and situations when West Papuans sort out how norms about people's responsibility to the natural world align with *sasi* practices, Christian ideals of a moral community, and ongoing kin-mediated relations to nonhuman entities living in the forest or sea.

This process of ethical commensuration is a dialogue between and among people. My objective is to evaluate the extent to which West Papuan societies, in their engagement with outsiders, adapt, inflect or incorporate different ideas about doing good. The broader question I seek to address is to what extent the value-ideals of different interacting societies or social

networks can overlap and harmonize, or not. Relatedly, this study's ethnographic focus on marine conservation and tourism practices suggests that peoples are capable of engaging in ethical relations that extend beyond particular boundaries of language, society and place.

Environmental or 'eco'-tourism is important to West Papuan efforts to live up to values they consider important when dealing with nature. As with new types of marine protected areas, tourism is a recent arrival to West Papua's shores. Following the establishment of several marine protected areas in the late 2000s, a few men from the Beteo village of Yenbuba built a bungalow for dive tourists on Kri island across the Dampier Strait from Waigeo. Since then, whole families have become involved in building and managing over sixty village-based 'homestays' across Raja Ampat. These homestays range from a few large resorts that lead dive tours and accept credit cards to remote palm-roofed shacks built over a coral reef slope far from cell towers, roads or boat traffic.

Tourism has become an issue that local people increasingly talk about and engage with in Raja Ampat. It has become a source of aspirations and frustrations, alliances and clan rivalries. Some view local tourism as providing benefits – money, status, community development – while others are more ambivalent about visitors from abroad or the effects of such encounters: trash, conflicts between communities over land, intergenerational fractures over money and destiny and jealousy. Village homestays also increasingly compete with expatriate owned dive resorts or Indonesian-run hotels in Waisai, Raja Ampat Regency's administrative center.

When I first visited the Raja Ampat area in the summer of 2012, I assumed that conditions there reflected a gradual trend in maritime Southeast Asia in which hinterland communities shifted from reciprocal exchange to capitalist accumulation. This seemed to be the case among the Beteo people living around Waigeo Island. However, after spending time with

Papuans involved in promoting homestays and after speaking with tourists staying in local villages, I came to understand that tourism has become an important vector for hope and shame. Among the Beteo, hopes for tourism are interlinked with messianic aspirations for the future. Conversely, for most Ma'ya people, the lack of tourism near their settlements has made them feel ashamed.

Talking about conservation has also become a way for people in Raja Ampat to communicate their desire for autonomy, to be left to live on the land and sea as they see fit. The more entrepreneurial Beteo engage in *sasi* as God-fearing Christians but also support gear restrictions to ensure that manta rays return every year to circle and mate at sandy shoals. They value money for building churches and for paying their children's school fees but also as a way to foster a belief in themselves after generations of dispossession. Finally, the tourists who travel to Raja Ampat desire to immerse themselves in the wild, but their communion with nature and local Papuans is often a desire to heal broken hearts or a way for them to renew their faith in the world. To what extent can conceptions of the good incorporate different values, and if so, how?

As indicated above, perhaps more than one value at a time motivates people's actions within a society. Perhaps people aren't entirely sure why they do things or how things will turn out. During my fieldwork, I witnessed instances in which awkward encounters with visitors led to disappointment. One could sense such disappointment in frank conversations after fishing workshops didn't translate to better living among impoverished villages. It could be heard in discussions with Beteo families who railed about the lack of understanding by Indonesian government officials about their vision for community-based conservation. It could be felt as a widely shared sentiment that West Papuans are often treated as dependents rather than partners. Additionally, I observed contentious disputes over land rights and resource extraction that

pointed to emerging tensions over property, money and status that challenges the image of Raja Ampat as a placid tropical idyll.

West Papuans are keenly aware that the Indonesian government has promoted conservation and tourism not only as a means for economic development but also as a bulwark against calls for greater autonomy from Indonesian New Guinea. Some are finding ways to counter attempts to subvert their aims. Speaking about human-environment relations – struggles over protection, contests over land, misunderstandings with extra-local institutions – has become a covert grammar for communicating socio-political aims in a place where political violence, repression and coercion is an ever-present concern. Talking about conservation and tourism's potential is also a dialogue about the politics of recognition. It entails talk about the limits of freedom as well as prospects for an imagined for but as yet unrealized future.

West Papua is a paradoxical place. It is represented as a far-flung realm of great natural wonders and resilient peoples. But it is also a place where generations of West Papuans have been denied basic rights. The several hundred ethno-linguistic groups that comprise Indonesian New Guinea have faced a legacy of discrimination, cultural erasure, targeted assassination and political subjugation. Dutch colonial officials, and later, Indonesian state officials have systematically squelched West Papuan's capacity to aspire to live better lives. But people do not eat politics. Most depend on what they fish, collect, garden or exchange to survive. People living amidst conservation zones in Raja Ampat have found creative ways to respond to their dispossession. Many have other ideas about their future. In talking through their hopes and fears about conservation and tourism, people on Waigeo's coastal fringe articulate different possibilities for better relations with outsiders in which they can more fully participate in the work of living their lives in their own way.

Topics and themes

I emphasize crosscurrents as a theme for ways people in Raja Ampat think about and act upon their ideas about the right ways to engage with the environment and with other people. Norms here – like intertidal flows – are interchangeable. They can mix with other streams but also can be eddies that move against the main currents. To demonstrate how crosscurrents of values are present in everyday interactions in Waigeo, I focus on conduct related to protecting nonhuman things and places and how best to resolve conflicts that arise over land ownership, tourist projects, corrupt officials, tourist arrivals and other misunderstandings. Through an examination of West Papuan origin tales, conservation practices and eco-tourism interactions, I show how West Papuans orient themselves as ethical persons in relation to others in situations where people have to confront different notions of what is right.

The communities of Raja Ampat strive to live their lives as well as they can in accordance with their own values. To the Beteo of Saporkren village, what matters is being a good Christian neighbor and a person able to accumulate wealth, status, exchange partners, and relations of dependence. To the Ma'ya of Warimak, it entails remembering stories of *mabri*, the heroic demigods, placating the *mon* spirit beings who live along Kakit river or campaigning for forest access rights, while also providing for their families.

One of the features that makes Raja Ampat an ethnographically rich setting is how it provides a case study for how intersocial relations are made and severed. Perhaps this is not unique to coastal West Papua but a common theme among coastal peoples. Seascapes provide a type of figure-ground reversal for the ethnographic examination of cultural life as *in-situ* – in one place. To make sense of sea-oriented people is to be necessarily mobile. Alterity is a feature of

daily life. People coming and going is also reflected in cosmogonic myth (see Ellen 2003). It is reflected in ideals of marriage exogamy as well as through island voyaging.

While the human-environment dynamics of Beteo communities of southern Waigeo and Ma'ya in Ma'yalibit Bay form a core research focus, I also describe their engagements with tourists from Europe and Indonesia, nongovernmental staff and government officials. By extending the lens of anthropological investigation to encompass such strangers I argue that marine management practices and village-based eco-tourism have become a crucible through which different coexisting communities define their ties to place, their orientations to one another and their ethical ideas about human social relations.

By accounting for such interactions, I posit that peoples' conceptions of and interactions with their physical surroundings are consequential to how they define what environment and society are in the first place (Ingold 2000; Atran and Medin 2008; Throop 2010; Descola 2013). Across Waigeo, despite the relative ease of inter-island travel, people's lives are anchored to particular villages or specific clan-controlled places. The micro-spatial focus on village-level living is also a reflection of the granularity of ethnographic fieldwork: whether Saporkren, Yenbuba, or Warimak village, twined to a family network, with an always partial account of a society.

A first set of themes I draw from is the anthropological study of the environment. The relation between nature and culture is foundational to anthropology's emergence as a separate discipline in the 19th century. It continues to inform debates about human evolution, the transmission of cultural practices and struggles of indigenous people to seek recognition for land rights within multiethnic nation states. Several subfields of anthropology have examined interactions between environment and culture. These subfields have focused on different issues.

For example, while ecological anthropology evaluated the role of human communities in maintaining a homeostatic equilibrium, political ecology focused on ways control over natural resources by large-scale exogenous institutional forces negatively affected local people's access to fishing grounds, forest sites and livelihoods.

Beginning with Franz Boas in the early 20th century and extending to many practitioners today, American cultural anthropology has been skeptical of the notion that cultural practices are determined by ecological niches, by demonstrating the historically transmitted, non-contingent features of social forms. This tradition views societies as internally consistent but still capable of change. They are influenced by contact with other groups and different environmental conditions, yet are not bound by them. The emergence of a distinctively ecological approach to human-environment relations is reflected in ethnographic accounts of Shoshone Indians by Julian Steward (1955), the Maring of highland Papua New Guinea by Roy Rapaport (1967) and Andrew Vayda (1983). Researchers incorporated religion, technology and economy as influencing factors to a society's biophysical setting.

In the 1980s and 1990s a research focus on traditional environmental knowledge systems coincided with a broader interest in environmental projects, development institutions, non-governmental organizations and state institutions, particularly as these forces encountered indigenous populations (Dove 2006; Brosius 1999; Hames 2007). Conceptually, 'the environment' in such accounts encompassed ecological niches and human settlements together (Milton 1996:115). Several ethnographic accounts evaluated interdependencies between people and animals, plants and places in ways that shaped their experience and perception of the world around them in ways that contrasted from a Western conceptual division between human beings and nonhuman nature (Peace, Connor and Trigger 2012:218).

In relation to this literature, I draw from anthropological research focused on customary stewardship of specific ecological zones by resident communities. These practices involve spatial and temporal boundaries, acceptable gear and catch restrictions to maintain valued biota in specific ecological habitats (Hviding 1996; Cinner and Aswani 2007). Researchers have focused on these practices in part because they are thought to provide counter-evidence against the tragedy of the commons, the idea that a shared resource such as fish will be exploited without regulation by a system of private property rights (Hardin 1968; Ostrom 1990, 2008). An overriding assumption is that well-managed marine zones, in conjunction with strong community engagement, can prevent over-exploitation (Berkes et al. 2000; Dietz et al. 2003).

Anthropologists, among others, have criticized a tendency to stereotype people living in places like Raja Ampat as indigenous or in terms of an undifferentiated community where in fact a diversity of experiences and interests are at play (Lemos and Agrawal 2006; Sillitoe 1998; Nazarea 2006). Different people in a given locale may in fact compete among one another for control of forests, reefs and fishing grounds (Adhuri 2013; Thorburn 2000). Some may choose not to cooperate with conservationists at all, while others may feel a sense of loss if the new management plans restrict access to formerly open spaces (Lowe 2006). Alternatively, local oversight of an estuary or coral reef could provide a way for local people to garner support from powerful agencies to give preference for tourism projects, or other types of recognition that could help clans to make claims over land and sea territory.

A second major theme of this dissertation concerns conservation and eco-tourism as ethical domains. Whether or not to use tiger nets, when to harvest lobster, who is allowed to scoop up Spanish mackerel, where a person can enter a sacred forest or not, what to do about pirate fishermen, who should benefit from *sasi* harvests, and whether to support marine spatial

planning initiatives are examples of specific instances where West Papuans in Raja Ampat make ethical choices, often involving people from different places. Eco-tourism across the region is re-orienting people to view the natural world as a monetized economy of value. It also poses an ethical dilemma about how to share the proceeds of tourism revenue across kin networks and villages communities.

On Waigeo island, ethical life is expressed in routine social interactions that perform specific moral codes. It is demonstrated in obligations a Papuan person has to their immediate family to provide shelter and food. Ethics is witnessed in people's expectations of sharing bounty from the sea and land with others. It means behaving with appropriate shame and humility when walking and talking in a village's open spaces. It can entail efforts to generate profits in tourist areas, with extracted gains circulated among kin networks as money, food and jobs. Ethics in Raja Ampat also means concealing desires from others in situations where jealousy or sorcery accusations are common. It increasingly takes shape as a discourse to advocate for environmental protection through alliances with strangers, or confronting others when nature is harmed. As a speech genre, ethical talk is often subjunctive and future-oriented: elders chastise youths who ought to remember the stories of their ancestor's paths. It is echoed by mothers fretting about their children's future job prospects, and the future of their communities.

In recent years a distinct sub-field of the anthropology of morality and ethics has documented ethnographic accounts of religious experience, ethical dilemmas, the search for the good or the problem of evil. This focus on different societies' norms of what they ought to do provides conceptual tools for the study of non-Western resource management because these practices rely on shared moral practices. To provide just a few examples of recent disputes across recent ethnographic accounts of cross-cultural moral worlds, anthropologists have debated

whether a focus on collective or individual experience is warranted; have argued to what extent self-conscious action is required for ethics; and have discussed to what extent a focus on ‘everyday’ or ‘transcendent’ phenomena is key to understanding how other societies live their values (Throop and Mattingly 2018). Are moral domains distinct domains of social life or is morality “a modality of action in any domain”? (Csordas et al. 2013:535-36). It likewise remains unclear to what extent a given society’s values are organized around coherent, encompassing values or across a range of disparate schemas that oscillate between conflicting poles (Robbins 2004; 2013). A final consideration is the comparative scope of different moral orders: are they commensurable with different schemas of ethical practice or are cultural worlds mutually incomprehensible or always subject to mistranslation? (Povinelli 2001; Gal 2015).

Ethnographic case studies that take on ethical issues have tended to describe non-Western ethical traditions as internally consistent unities that are incommensurable with – but comparable to – others (ie, Mahmood 2005; Hirschkind 2006; Laidlaw 2013; Zigon 2010). Other researchers have called attention to the difficulty of separating the ethical presuppositions of anthropologists from the people with whom they study and work (Fassin 2012:5; see Wagner 1975). This has led some scholars to pursue research that seeks to alleviate suffering, promote political or social change or call account to legacies of dispossession to minority groups, indigenous peoples or others. In this thesis, I emphasize the ways a few apparently different social groups make sense of their own ethical presuppositions as they encounter other groups’ values.

An alternative development in the anthropology of morality and ethics has called for the comparative study of non-Western ethical norms. Several ethnographic studies have engaged in productive discussions about the possibilities and limits of choice, prospects for pluralism and the inherent instability of being moral all the time. An emphasis on ‘everyday’ or ‘ordinary’

ethics has contributed to ethnographic accounts of practices, ritual activities, reflections on daily experiences and conflicts between competing values (Das 2012:134; Lambek 2010).

One debate relevant to this study concerns the issue of choice versus moral reproduction. Some (e.g. Laidlaw 2013) have argued that moral action is only possible in situations where people are able to make decisions about whether to consciously engage in an ethical activity or not, rather than automatically reproducing cultural norms. Other studies (e.g. Robbins 2007) have focused on a productive tension between a morality of freedom and a morality of reproduction, situations of ‘moral breakdown’ (Zigon 2007), as well as the possibility of self-aware moral reproduction (Cassantini and Hickson 2014:258).

The search for a middle ground – of an ethical stance that is between reproduction and self-conscious intentional activity – is mirrored in emerging ethnographic accounts of ethics across borders. Rather than presume a model of culture in which values are internally consistent to a historically transmitted set of codes that cannot be subject to external criteria, some scholars have sought to understand situations where values, ethics or moral codes from one code or schema – say Beteo society – could be compared to another – the Ma’ya, environmental organizations or European tourists.

Some may claim that a comparative cross-cultural study of values or ethics is itself dubious. Mair and Evans (2015) suggest that many anthropologists would probably agree with the position of Alasdair MacIntyre who argued that ethical practices and traditions are defined by goods ‘internal to a practice’ rather than by external criteria or overlapping affinities. They highlight how Hans-George Gadamer and Bernard Williams also expressed the view that ethical praxis is inherently incommensurable. Mair and Evans argue that social anthropology’s proclivity to methodological relativism, emerging with Emile Durkheim, has tended to preclude

the identification of cross-cultural affinities, which are often taken to be unbridgeable misunderstandings: “conversations at cross-purposes whose participants are hopelessly trapped in their own symbolic systems and webs of belief” (2015:208). They contrast this relativist stance to the inverse perspective of political economy that posits that humans everywhere have similar motivations and drives. Mair and Evans argue that commensurability and incommensurability can provide a basis for intersocial ethical relations that “enables us to understand, through an ethnographic appreciation of process, the production of forms of alterity that can both enable and foreclose dialogue” (2015:217).

This dissertation takes up the call to provide ethnographic examples of people struggling to make sense of ethical affinities and divergences in Raja Ampat, amidst rapid changes to peoples’ lifeways brought about by increased media exposure following environmental conservation initiatives in coastal West Papua in the 2000s. I focus on ways people are creating shared understandings of values, norms and prospects for cooperative governance of natural resources, as well as the capacity for mutual recognition or extended moral horizons (Povinelli 2001). I draw from these theoretical orientations to make sense of how people in Raja Ampat talk about alliances and conflicts over resource use, and eco-tourism projects.

Fieldwork and methods

During my fieldwork, pursued across three separate trips to the Raja Ampat area between summer 2012 and October 2015, totaling one year in Indonesia and ten months in Raja Ampat, I observed practices and collected information about human and environment interactions, with a specific focus on conservation practices, beliefs, values about the nonhuman world and ecotourism. I collected preliminary data on fishing, sea harvesting, collected taxonomies of important locally named species and piloted a mixed-methods protocol for small-scale fisheries

research collection. I also spoke with people about how things have changed – how the sardines and anchovy fisheries collapsed, how the seasonal winds have changed. I listened to people's fears about the destruction of reefs, collusion of Indonesian police officials and gangsters in illegal hardwood extraction, or the threats of Hong Kong's live reef-fish trade on their ability to feed their families. I visited sacred places, recorded stories about ancestors and learned of different ways people think about and work to protect culturally meaningful sites. In subsequent trips I incorporated tourism since it had become a major topic of conversation, activity and anxiety.

A few questions that guided my research included: To what extent do people desire to protect plants, animals and special natural sites for their own sake? Is conservation in nonhuman surroundings motivated by the intrinsic value of protecting nature or something else? Are positive spillover effects associated with resource protection an unintended effect of West Papuan cultural practices? Why are West Papuans willing to support environmental initiatives? How is ecotourism effecting social interactions among West Papuan families and with outsiders?

I will draw on some of the data I collected in the field in this dissertation but much more will necessarily be left out. An unexpected encounter with *falciparum* malaria in February 2015 on Waigeo Island and subsequent gallbladder infection and surgery required me to shorten my fieldwork by several months and return to the United States. I returned to Raja Ampat for a brief follow-up visit in the fall of 2015, and have maintained correspondence with several informants.

Throughout the period of my doctoral fieldwork, I interacted primarily with Beteo and Ma'ya informants and families, but also with eco-tourist visitors and conservationists from other parts of Indonesia. I spent most of my time living among extended family networks of Beteo people on Waigeo and nearby Islands – particularly Gam, Mansuar Besar and Kri Island. I

engaged in conversations with around 300 different people and over a dozen key informants, as well as through group discussions and surveys at over a dozen villages.

The Beteo people speak a dialect of the Biak language, and typically either Papuan Malay or Standard (Bahasa) Indonesia. Papuan Malay is classified as either a nonstandard dialect of Indonesian or a separate Malay language, but which is mostly understandable to an Indonesian speaker, with variations of grammar and vocabulary. The Beteo are connected to Biak and to a history of raiding related to Moluccan spice trade from the 16th-19th centuries. They are known as skillful traders, and make their living as fishers and gardeners, laborers, teachers, homestay operators and, occasionally, administrators. Almost all are Protestant Christians who are members of the West Papuan Synod of the Evangelical Church (GKI; Indo: *Gereja Keristen Injili di Tanah Papua*)¹. I became close with the Sauyai-Dimara family of Saporkren village, who provided me a place to stay on several visits and who made introductions to others on my behalf.

I also worked with Ma'ya (or Ambel) people of Waigeo Island, primarily in Warimak, Kalitoko² and Warsambin villages in Ma'yalibit Bay, as well as key informants in Sorong City. I made shorter trips to Ma'ya settlements of Wauyai, ManyaiFun, and related Matbat villages of Harapan Jaya and Fafanlap. The Ma'ya-speaking peoples of Raja Ampat are considered by many to be the 'original' inhabitants of the islands. Ma'ya languages are not clearly classified, but include between three and four languages with several dialects, all only spoken in this region

¹ In this thesis, I occasionally will italicize words or phrases from Standard Indonesian (abbreviated as "Indo"), and scientific species names. When I first introduce a term I will generally define its language, and its rough English translation. Some words, such as *sasi*, are not translated, and will remain in italics. When I use terms from other languages (Ma'ya, Ambel, Matbat, Papuan Malay, etc.) I will first identify the source language, then the associated word or term.

² Population of Ambel speaking villages visited: Kalitoko: 250 (2014); Warimak: 147 (2014). Besides Ambel, languages spoken include Standard Indonesian, Papuan Malay and Beser.

(see Arnold 2018; Kamholtz 2010; Leeden 1980; Remijssen 2002). I conducted key informant or life history interviews with forty or so Ma'ya persons and group discussions in ten villages. The Ma'ya make their living primarily through subsistence fishing and gardening, some commercial trade in sago, shellfish and garden produce in the town of Waisai and Sorong City.

Besides these core research populations, I also spoke with around one hundred ecotourists and operators at homestay locations in the Dampier Straits region, particularly on Waigeo, Gam, Kri and Mansuar islands. I also spoke with around forty Papuan, Indonesian and non-local staff of conservation organizations and local non-governmental and religious charities in Sorong, Waisai and Bali with a focus on marine protection, social and economic development and health issues. I primarily engaged with staff, volunteers and advisers of Conservation International, World Wildlife Foundation, The Nature Conservancy, Flora and Fauna International and Yayasan Nazaret Papua.

I conducted two dozen key informant and life history interviews and attended several workshops and meetings. These meetings took place in Ambel-speaking villages of Warsambin, Kalitoko, Warimak, Go, and Lopintol (where most speak the Legenyem dialect of Ma'ya), Beser-speaking localities of Arborek, Kri, Yenbuna, Saporkren, the Raja Ampat sub-district town center of Waisai, Sorong City on the West Papuan mainland, and conservation posts at Warkabu in Ma'yalibit Bay on Waigeo and on Gam Island. I gained particular insight from Beteo and Ma'ya informants who also work as senior advisers to conservation organizations.

I also participated in a few sea voyages. In July 2012, I spent ten days on ManyaiFun island hosted by an elected official (*camat*), after rough seas prevented a return to Waisai. I accompanied officials on several welfare trips to small island villages off the west coast of Waigeo. From late August to early September 2014, I accompanied a multi-site survey trip to

participate in fisheries workshops in nine villages in Waigeo's Ma'yalibit Bay with Indonesian scientists from the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (LIPI) and RARE, a conservation organization. In November 2014, I participated on a two-week environmental education tour across Raja Ampat with Yayasan Kalabia, a local NGO funded by several international donors including the Walton Family Foundation, Conservation International and the Raja Ampat fisheries department (*Dinas perikanan dan kelautan*). Throughout my fieldwork, I was fortunate to link up with Ma'ya and Beteo leaders, especially Kristian ('Kris') Thebu, on visits with conservation staff and to village locations off Waigeo.

Throughout the three periods of fieldwork in Raja Ampat from 2012-2015, I spoke with people in Standard Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia), English and Papuan Malay, after several months of halting progress in this commonly-spoken regional language. I learned a few phrases and words in Beser and Ambel during trips to village locations on Waigeo but did not develop proficiency in either Raja Ampat language. While my fieldwork was sea-oriented and mobile, I focused much of my time in a small house in the middle of Saporkren village on Waigeo Island. I also made several trips to Kri Island and nearby Yenbuba village, and Warsambin, Warimak and Kalitoko villages in the Ma'yalibit Bay area of Waigeo Island. I often traveled with members of the Sauyai-Dimara family and informants by motorized longboat or by small speedboat when available. On Waigeo Island I would often join people on public transport as they came and went to sell market produce, or would hire a car to take me places. In Sorong I travelled by ubiquitous, affordable yellow shared taxi (*angkutan kota*, or 'angkot').

A basic aim of my research has been to give an initial ethnographic study of contemporary human social interactions in and around Raja Ampat. My project is based on a certain viewpoint about the value of anthropology for relaying the different ways people make

their lives cohere to observable patterns of meaning, and for how they respond to changing conditions. My work is particularly a contribution to the anthropological project of appreciating how in many social contexts, people engage with each other in multiple ways.



Figure 1. Tourism map of the Raja Ampat islands. Source: BASUDAR

Waigeo Island's West Papuan communities

While there are several distinct ethnic communities living among the islands and bays of Raja Ampat, this dissertation focuses on interactions with Ma'ya, Ambel and Beteo settlements primarily on and near Waigeo Island, the largest of Raja Ampat's four main islands (see Figure 1 above).³ The Ma'ya people are considered to be original inhabitants of Waigeo Island (Mansoben 1995; Van der Leeden 1987; Remijnsen 2001). Certain Ma'ya clans became intermediaries in the exchange of natural resources for precious goods (and people) between Moluccan Sultans, Biak raiders and people from the New Guinea mainland. Today, Ma'ya make their living from fishing, subsistence gardening and selling selected products. The Ambel live in several small villages along the shores of Ma'yalibit Bay where they hunt and live by what they gather or grow, with some trading of areca nut, sago, veggies, fish and marine animals. The Beteo are originally from Biak-Numfor to the east, later settling on Waigeo, Batanta, Kofiau and outer islands in the east following seasonal raids for tribute. Most lived by gardening, trading salted fish, and working in commercial fisheries based in Sorong. The Beteo are both the most numerous ethnic group in Raja Ampat and have become the most prominent in the region's booming eco-tourism market.

The study population are speakers of Ma'ya, Ambel, Biak-Beser and Papuan Malay. Ma'ya is a language with three dialects spoken on Waigeo, Salawati and Misool Islands. Ambel is a language spoken by people who identify themselves as Ma'ya-Ambel or Ambel people (Indo: *orang Ambel*) in the Ma'yalibit bay area of Waigeo Island. Biak Beser is an undescribed

³ It is unclear whether the Ambel should be considered a separate people or a Ma'ya sub-group that speaks the Ambel language. Several Ma'ya informants argue that the Ambel are one of four Ma'ya groups of Raja Ampat. However, Mansoben, Arnold and Remijnsen argue they are a separate society. For purposes of this dissertation, Ambel refer to those people (whether self-identified as Ma'ya or not), who speak Bahasa Ambel, and who live among the seven predominantly Ambel-speaking settlements in Ma'yalibit Bay.

dialect of Biak, spoken on Waigeo, Batanta and Kofiau, the coral atoll of Ayau and other satellite islands. Papuan Malay is a nonstandard variety of Malay commonly spoken along West Papua's coast as a lingua franca (Klug 2014; Blust 2013: xxiv-xl), which is replacing many local languages as a primary means of cross-cultural communication.

There are seven original languages spoken in the Raja Ampat archipelago: Ma'ya, Matbat, Biga, Fiawat, Batta, Ambel and Gebe (Arnold 2017:15). Ma'ya is the most commonly spoken original language among the islands, with around 4000 speakers and five dialects. There are several other languages spoken in the area by interior-oriented human communities on the islands of Misool and Salawati (Remijsen 2001a:14). Other languages that are not autochthonous have become prominent due to language shift among younger speakers, population change, and the influx of newcomers. The most important of these other languages are the Beser dialect of Biak (hereafter referred to simply as 'Beser'), Papuan Malay and Standard Indonesian (Kamholz 2014). Leeden argues that Ma'ya had been a lingua franca for the region, but since the mid-20th century this has been largely displaced by Beser and Papuan Malay (Leeden 1993:13; cited in Arnold 2017:16; Kamma 1957:8). Below, I describe a few key features of these communities, focusing on how settlement patterns, marriage, and economic activities are linked to particular ways each group conceives of and interacts with the surrounding environment.

Ma'ya

The Ma'ya people have lived on Waigeo and other islands for many generations. Many of the place names of Raja Ampat reflect a history of settlement by Ma'ya families – Gam Island, the place of the Gaman clan, ManyaiFun, the island of raja (Ma'ya: *fun*) Giwar, Teluk Ma'yalibit, the bay of the Ma'ya. In addition to Waigeo Island, Ma'ya people also live on Salawati Island (in Samate and Sailolof) and on Misool Island (at Yellu, Lilinta and Waigama).

The Ma'ya people are divided into three or four sub-groups on Waigeo island, and several others across the region, depending on whom you ask.⁴ The general pattern among Ma'ya is an emphasis on the social importance of the sub-clan or *gélet*⁵ that defines a settlement and connects several villages together with one or more *gélet* from other islands. According to two elders on Wauyai, a village of some 400 mostly Wauyai-speaking Ma'ya residents, in the past people lived in the forest but now they live by the shore.

At some point these communities became entwined with the Sultanate of Tidore, who selected representatives among coastal areas for alliance against rivals, particularly in Jailolo and Seram. The appointed 'rajas' were hereditary positions responsible for collecting taxes or tribute in irregular cycles in specific geographic areas. Traces of this past are found today in clan names such as Arfan, Soltif, and Gaman, which had been surnames of raja families, and whose descendants still play prominent roles in local government politics as elected District Heads (*camat*).

In every Ma'ya community, different clans have rights to specific geographic areas marked by natural boundaries such as rivers, swamps, mountains, headlands, straits or bays. These rights to determine resource use (*hak ulayat*) specify access and control to specific land and sea zones held as common-pool resources by each community (Mansoben 1995:255). A Ma'ya 'village' then is less a unity of structures and more an agglomeration of one or several *gélet*-controlled zones. This unity of people and place, according to Mansoben's informants from

⁴ On Waigeo the Ma'ya are segmented into the Kawe (from Selpele and Saleo on the western tip of the Island Waigeo), Wauyai (Wauyai village in Waigeo's Kabui Bay), Laganyan (on Lopintol, Beo and Araway in Ma'yalibit), and sometimes the Ambel, who also live in Ma'yalibit Bay. The Ma'ya of Misool and the Laganyan-speaking villages of Waigeo are Islamic, while most Ma'ya on Waigeo and Salawati are Christian.

⁵ *Gélet* is an Ambel word for exogamous kin groups, or 'clans'. In other parts of Raja Ampat, people refer to these kin networks as *marga* (Indo), or *keret* (Biak).

Salawati, is called *pnu* (Ma'ya). While titles, rank and status have faded in present times, the importance of clan-managed territories has not.

The marriage preferences of Ma'ya villages seem correlated with religious belief and relative exposure to commercial metropolises. For instance, Islamic-oriented villages such as Fafanlap, Salailof and Beo prefer marriage endogamy with cross-cousin marriage, while other Ma'ya communities seem to prefer marriage exogamy, choosing wives from other Ma'ya clans, or islands abroad (Mansoben 1995: 246-247). Among Christian-oriented Ma'ya, women typically move to the villages where their husband's family lives, but here too there is variation, particularly among Kawe-speaking Ma'ya villages of Saleo and Selpele where husbands live among their wives' families.⁶



Figure 2 Brideprice exchanges, Ambel wedding, Warimak, 2015

Generally, marriage exchanges (*mas kawin*) include negotiations between a bride and groom's relatives. Exchanges of gifts between families cement reciprocal obligations along a

⁶ Mansoben refers to a few accounts that reflect preference for matrilocality: Haenen about the Moi (1991), Mansoben's study of the Palata people in South Salawati (1982), Van der Leeden's study of Ma'ya and Moi in Salawati (1987) and Kamma regarding Biak (1972).

chain of social connections, creating a cycle of debt and future expectations. In most cases, exchanges involve provisions to the bride's side for a house – plateware, cloth, money for a generator, etc. Relatives of the groom's side bring these as gifts to the home of the bride's parents (Figure 3 above).⁷ They bring large porcelain plates (*piring gantung*) (Figure 3 above), followed by a large public meal. Marriage gifts are expensive by design: one must lean on one's uncles, aunts, cousins, and siblings to cover all the costs. One Ma'ya informant put it this way: “It is nice to have sisters, because we get lots of bride-price gifts!” If a man cannot pay he would be expected to help build a house, boat or open a clearing for his wife's family. Negotiations usually take a few days, which is followed by a delay of weeks or months before the actual ceremony to allow relatives to arrive.

Ambel (quite possibly a particular Ma'ya group)

According to several informants, the Ambel people of Ma'yalibit Bay lived in dispersed family settlements as recently as the 1930s, with each kin network having unique relations to their nonhuman surrounds.⁸ Ambel families stayed in separate houses and would move regularly, preferring forested areas to the shore or villages. One man from the Dawa clan in Warimak said his parents were born in bush houses. He said that all the Ambel Ma'ya clans have named lands and that as with Ma'ya *gélet*, all Ambel families have rights to productively use their territory. Each territory is marked by geographic features and associated with nonhuman entities who inhabit specific places. For instance, the Nok clan speak of dragons on Nok mountain. They also

⁷ Discussion with Andarius Lapon, Kalitoko village, January 29, 2015.

⁸ Wolter Gaman, Sept 2015, Warimak.

have special relations with agents of the forest (*mon*) along the Kakit river. Along the Manibron river, the Ansan family can speak with ancestral spirit beings.⁹

Ambel households support themselves through fishing, collecting sea products, and trade in some garden produce or sago. Each village has its own specialization: in Waifoy, women use scoop nets to collect small shrimp, while men journey out farther to fish for larger catch. In Lopintol, men and women gather Spanish mackerel by kerosene lamplight during a new moon. In Kalitoko, women collect small crabs and clams, while men dive for sea cucumber. On Beo, men lately use traps (*bubu*) to catch lobster for sale to merchants.

Ambel families will often travel by motorized canoe together to collect marine animals at finding places (*máncari lúl*) (Arnold 2017:647). On land, families have garden sites that they manage for a few years before clearing a new site in the forest. This creates an ecological mosaic of secondary disturbance but maintains soil fertility. Gardens have eggplant, chilies, fruit trees, leafy greens, sweet potatoes and corn. There are large sago patches near Kalitoko village and the village of Go. People travel to Waisai to sell sago and areca nut, along with some produce and fish, woven sago mats and chickens. Men head to the forest to gather wild plants, hunt pigs, cut hardwoods or gather medicinal plants. Each Ambel village has specific areas that are off limits because of associations with spirit beings or malevolent forces. Beyond the village space are forests and higher up on mountain peaks loom the realm of dragons (*kórben*) (see Cheesman 1949). Each Ambel clan also has its own lineages of heroic ancestors (*mambri*), believed to be capable of breathing fire or causing floods. People say that the giant *mambri* also founded settlements and fought in tribal wars.¹⁰

⁹ Clans also identify with particular geographic features. For instance, the Kein family is from Mt. Babasi on the other side of the Unya river, whereas the Gaman family is originally from Mt. Tolon. The Wakaf family says it originated on Mt. Waimila.

¹⁰ For instance, the Nok family tells stories of the *mambri* Beten and his younger brother Walimao.



Figure 3 Bush houses of Dawa family behind Warimak, Waigeo, 2014

The Ambel believe there is a world beyond what people can see – marked by boundary stones, shells or rivers – that divides human from non-human places. Entering into these realms requires caution, and a guide from the right *gélet*, or one is vulnerable to being eaten by cannibalistic witches (*kábyo* - Ambel, *suanggi* - Indo.) or bitten by a poisonous animal. Forest spirits (*mútum* or *mon*) must be placated with offerings (*kakes*) of cigarettes, areca nut, sago and spoken requests from intermediaries (*sadaká*) before embarking on any treks into interior parts of Waigeo (Arnold 2017:648). Ambel informants say that the *mon* inhabit primary forest, caves, natural springs or trees. They are generally tolerant but sometimes annoyed with human meddling, inappropriate talk or if their area is disrespected. While they are generally unseen they can also manifest as serpents, spiders, birds, crocodile or a wild boar. They are believed to cause blindness, crop loss or drought, illness or animal attack by stealing a person's vital energy or 'smell' (*gamú*). Areas where they live tend to be especially biodiverse, resource-rich zones. Only a member of the *gélet* associated with a *mon* zone can intercede for outsiders: these relations

provide additional evidence of the intimate ways the Ambel think of peoples' engagements with the nonhuman world.

The Ambel converted to Christianity in the 1930s when an evangelist teacher arrived to Lainsok. People say that since the gospel arrived (*injil masuk*), the power of the *mambri* went away, the *suanggi* no longer walked as men during the day, and clans made oaths to support and defend one another. Christianity brought several transformations, including changes in residence patterns, clothing, bodily comportment, norms of sociability, work and time reckoning. For instance, these days most Ambel people live in organized village settlements with a church, school, and kiosk or two. However, villages tend to be deserted during the day, with most people out fishing, tending to their gardens or staying in bush houses with their families (Figure 4 above). People still produce sago for sale to Beteo people and at the Waisai markets (Figure 5). Illegal logging has become a source of significant concern in Ambel communities, though some families are happy to sell valuable hardwoods to outsiders. Some Ambel are working with environmental groups such as Flora and Fauna International (FFI) to improve agricultural practices, and to support eco-tourism given the boom elsewhere.

Most informants said that the Ambel people are a Ma'ya group with a different language but with the same values, the same ideals and the same character: quiet and reserved, preferring "not to speak with other people in public about personal issues." They said that the Ma'ya tend to be suspicious of others, guarding the secrets of the *mon* places. These characteristics contrast with the Beteo who are much more assertive or with entrepreneurial Bugis or Manadonese traders who dominate the shops of Waisai. Yet the Ambel are proud of their stewardship of the land. Similar to other West Papuans, many dream of stronger ties to Westerners, greater respect

for their land rights and political independence. I will discuss current efforts of Ambel to protect forests in Chapter Five.



Figure 4 Prepared sago flour, Go village in Ma'yalibit Bay, 2014

Beteo

The Beteo are the most numerous ethnolinguistic group in Raja Ampat. Most Beteo differentiate themselves from Biak people as one of several sub-groups or as a separate society.¹¹ They have lived here since at least the 18th century (Ploeg 2002:79; Huitzinga 1998), perhaps as early as the 15th (see Kamma 1948:365). Beteo families arrived on large canoes (*karures*) westward across the north coast of the Bird's Head Peninsula and established coconut reserves on outer islands near Waigeo. Widely known as sea pirates, (*bajak laut*) or enforcers of Tidore,

¹¹ There are around twelve Biak sub-groups, of which the Beteo, Usbah, Wardo, Sopen and Souek are associated with Raja Ampat. Wardo families live in east and north of Waigeo, and on Numfor; Usba live in north Waigeo; Beteo predominate in southern Waigeo, Kofiau and near Misool. Other classifications of the Biak differentiate Biak-Numfor, Biak Superiori, Biak Doreri, Biak Karon, and then Biak Raja Ampat. There are also related dialects: Beser (Beteo dialect), Biak Wardo and Biak Usba. Yakoneas Wanme, Saporkren, Sept. 2, 2015; discussion with Simon Antonius Yapen. Jan 3, 2015, Kalitoko village, Ma'yalibit Bay.

they later became important traders, employees of commercial fishing companies, and more recently, pioneers of village-based marine tourism. Some say that the Beteo first arrived at Ma'yalibit Bay near Warsambin, later settling on uninhabited sites off west Waigeo near Urai Island in Kabui Bay.¹²

A Biak clan (*keret*) is a patrilineal, exogamous kinship network that “derives its name from the raised part in the center of a big canoe” (Kamma 1972:11). In the past, Biak society was divided between original inhabitants or free people (*manseren*), newcomers under the authority of clan (*keret*) elders of a community, and slaves (Indo: *budak*; Biak: *women*, or *manfanwan*). Leaders emerged based on their achievements rather than due to family lineages. One key example of these principles in action is the institution of making lasting ‘trade friends’ called *manibob*. This is a situation where two people from different places engage in delayed exchange: one person sells certain valuable goods to another but does not demand full payment. He later calls in the debt in a time of need: a drought, a time of war, or perhaps to assist with building a homestay resort.

The reciprocal nature of these interactions encourages relatives of both sides to marry. Those who benefit from these interactions enhance their prestige, which in turn raises the renown of their families. Within a family, the *keret* would be made of family groupings (*sim*), associated with a clan house (*rumsom*) big enough to store war canoes, and up to four generations of relatives. Since the mid 20th century, most Biak families build houses for their immediate relatives, clustered in houses and places associated with their clan. This is still a key pattern of Beteo residence: for instance, in Saporkren village, the Dimara, Sauyai and Mambrasar live in large family compounds with their wives, children and other relatives.

¹² Onis Sauyai, Saporken, Sept 1, 2015.

In most Biak villages, wives lived with their husbands and children in family clusters called *mnu*. Each *mnu* settlement has certain territories with clear natural boundaries such as hills, mountains, rivers, headlands, large trees or other natural borders. A *mnu* territory encompasses cultivated and uncultivated land: forest reserves (*karmggu*), fallow gardens (*yapur* or *maures*), the sago stands (*serdan*) and new garden plots (*yaf*) are part of this human-environment mosaic. As compared with other Melanesian societies in Asia-Pacific including the Solomon Islands (see Hviding 1996), clan-managed zones extend from land to sea. A Biak *mnu* extends outward past a shoreline to include marked fishing sites, bays and lagoons (*bosen raswan*). Boundaries are marked by a headland or a prominent geographic feature, such as a rock, creek, reef or inlet. Such concepts provide a blueprint for how the Beteo perceive land and sea areas in human terms: an uncle's garden; a freshwater spring located on the Mambrasar clan's homestead; Yenbeser village's clam patch.

Throughout Raja Ampat, the first arrivals to a place tend to have greater rights over land and sea resources than those who come afterward. Similarly, in each *mnu*, the family that first developed a garden site, coconut grove, or built a house can claim rights to compensation for use of forest products, hunting, gardening, fishing or collecting marine animals. If a person wants to open a garden in a location that is property of another, then he or she must request permission from the owner. Through marriage alliance, the passage of time and collective recognition of prior claims, use rights can eventually become ownership claims. These issues have become more important as encroaching tourism developments have led to several inter-village conflicts over who really owns what. In the past disputes would be resolved by a village counsel (*kainkain karkara mnu* (Biak) or *dewan kampung* (Indo)) that discussed key issues with settlement leaders.

At the core of Biak social relations is the connection between cross-siblings. The intimacy of this bond is reflected in a traditional initiation ceremony called *war k'bor*. During this ceremony, a sister eats food mixed with blood from her brother's pierced foreskin. This event marks the intimacy and estrangement between them, reconciled in future generations through gifts and exchanges (Rutherford 1998:267). Sisters transform perishable resources into more lasting forms of value in the form of offspring that gain fame and reputation as civil servants working in cities, or travelers who bring goods from abroad back home.

On Waigeo, Beteo marriage begins with engagement and negotiation of bride price payments with family members (*peminangan*: Indo; *fakfukun*: Biak). As with Ma'ya and Ambel marriage, bride price (*ararem*) tends to include precious goods from elsewhere, in turn becoming vessels for foreign-acquired wealth which they later turn into value in the form of offspring who become 'foreigners' (*amber*). Relatives from the groom's family lineage (*keret*) contribute to the marriage gifts (*pakian nikah*): cash, clothing, plates, outboard motors, cookware.¹³ There is typically a church gathering followed by a large reception marked by competitive gift exchanges accompanied by processions, line dancing (*yospan*) and joking.

These descriptions provide a general overview of three communities living on Waigeo Island. Ma'ya, Ambel and Beteo societies are organized differently but together stress the territorial family kin groups as key to managing land and sea resources and as a basic social unit for differentiating kin from stranger. While the Ma'ya no longer have rajas or hierarchical social strata, they still recognize people with lineages to the raja clans. While today most are Christian or Muslim, many still regard the origin stories as true. Likewise, the Ambel people no longer live

¹³ Typically, thirty *piring gantung* (large, ancient plates) are given to the family bought in Sorong at special shops or heirlooms. One plate costs between IDR 80,000 or up to several million IDR for older versions. Other family members bring other gifts – plate sets, ceremonial food, textiles, housewares, furniture.

in the forests but maintain strong connections to nonhuman forces of the interior. While most live in modern villages on the shores of Ma'yalibit Bay, many still retreat to bush houses once village life becomes stifling (compare Stasch 2013). The Beteo are no longer pirates but still place great value on voyaging abroad, in which men's reputations are enhanced by 'raiding' foreign lands where they bringing back goods, brides or ideas from elsewhere (Rutherford 2003, 2012). Beteo women in turn play a key role in channeling the resources gathered by sea-oriented men into durable forms of value at home nurturing future generations or by managing tourism homestays.

It is important to note that these groups are not isolated from one another but are linked together through trade, marriage and common interests. The settlement of Waisai town by Indonesians from other islands has led each group to reflect on who they are, and who they want to be. This has forced a gradual change in thinking about the unit of society here: from kin group to clan networks, ethnic group to a composite society that must contend with an influx of non-Melanesian populations to their shores.

Chapter Overview

Chapter One provides an overview of the Raja Ampat islands' ecology and social fabric. It provides an overview of Papuan and Austronesian-speaking societies living across the islands. Throughout the chapter, I argue that society in Raja Ampat has been shaped by encounter with others, and that such layers of encounter provide a basis for ethical interactions that entail sorting out different sets of values. I reveal how origin stories of the autochthonous Ma'ya people index the fundamentally relational character of their social lives – they map out a social cosmology of links with different groups from far-away places.

In Chapter Two, I summarize trends in environmental protection in Indonesia before framing the emergence of marine protection efforts in Raja Ampat in the 2000s. I emphasize how different values motivate different types of space and place-based resource oversight, with different stakes involved for the people who support them. I then discuss the institution known as *sasi* as a type of seasonal harvest prohibition and gear restriction practice observed in several maritime societies in eastern Indonesia (Zerner 1994; McLeod et al. 2009). Near Waigeo island, *sasi* is a genre of locally-inflected conservation. It is also a discourse of ‘traditional knowledge’ that risks stereotyping indigenous people as ecological stewards by distancing the political-economic and historical complications that have led to its arrival.

In order to mitigate unintentionally reproducing this type of argument, I highlight two distinct forms of *sasi* concurrently enforced among the Beteo and Ma’ya: *sasi gereja*, a type of Christian village-based resource protection common in Beteo areas and *sasi mon*, a set of clan-mediated rules and regulations for territories inhabited by Ma’ya ancestors or nonhuman spirit beings that must be managed to ensure humans do not tip the balance of nature against them. Some see village-based forms of governance as key: adapting place-specific seasonal resource prohibitions to mitigate threats. Together with NGO-initiated protected areas, these types of conservation are interlinked throughout Raja Ampat. They may have radically different goals but together may constitute a composite approach to adaptive governance rather than inherently conflicting set of practices or norms.

In Chapter Three I evaluate how ecotourism is changing Beteo and Ma’ya peoples’ everyday interactions with each other, particularly in terms of everyday labor activity and their appraisal of relations with nonhuman places and species. The increased commodification of nature has catalyzed disputes between clans and communities over land rights. I begin with a

case of misrecognition connected to tourism's emergence. In the late 1990s, Beteo villagers from Kurkapa and Yenbuba thought that Dutch entrepreneur Max Ammer was an avatar of the Biak culture hero Manarmakeri, believed to be a sign of a time when foreigners and locals will become one. I review a few key elements of eco-tourism, then describe the emergence of a West Papuan-initiated homestay tourism market. I then highlight a few conversations with visitors before discussing how tourism in particular island zones is leading to the development of new values of money but also of time, civic institutions and democratic participation.

In Chapter Four I focus on values in circulation, through an ethnographic description of a two-week voyage from November to Dec 2014. This trip's purpose was to show a high-definition documentary film, "Guardians of Raja Ampat" (Indo: *Pelindung Raja Ampat*) to over a dozen West Papuan villages as a way to encourage greater local participation in environmental conservation projects. The tour also broadcast a set of specific messages about why biodiversity is relevant to their lives, the importance of taking care of reefs, managing waste and for preventing destructive fishing. I contend that the Kalabia conservation tour is an ethnographic context for showing how human-environment relations are represented, produced and refracted. Through presenting human-ecological dialogues in circulation, I identify elements of socially distributed polysemy. By attending to the specific media of contact between participants' conservation encounters, I evaluate the receptivity of conservationist messages among audiences who gathered to watch evening screenings of "Guardians of Raja Ampat" by evaluating talk from post-show discussions, individual interviews and group interactions.

In Chapter Five, I focus on conflict, misunderstanding and moral transgression that arose from conservation and tourism initiatives in northern Raja Ampat over a five-year period from 2010-2015. I first identify emic categories of immoral or transgressive forces through an

examination of nonhuman entities that reflect anxieties people have about social relations. I discuss how figures of alterity – cannibal witches, sorcerers and ambivalent spirits – reveal uncertainty about prospects for social interaction in a context where strangers are regularly coming and going. These beings of ambivalent value are associated with specific places. I argue that the juxtaposition of virtuous human realms from opaque nonhuman domains has implications for cross-cultural ethical engagements over resources.

I then turn to etic or external instances of moral breakdown. I highlight misunderstandings about conservation and tourism between different groups to argue that failures can be productive for an appraisal of values in conflict. I examine a selection of human-environment conflicts between resident communities and nonlocal actors: a dispute over compensation from tourist revenues on the uninhabited Wayag islands; the ransom of a speedboat in exchange for compensation from conservationists on Waigeo; disputes about illegal logging and mining activities; and rumors of the theft of birds in Kalitoko village.

Across these cases, I show how these misunderstandings are about asymmetrical notions of proper relations between people and nature. They are situations where different values come into conflict or do not align smoothly. The resolution of some conflicts indicates how differing normative concepts of what is correct – what ought to happen with nonhuman surrounds – can be analogous, while the impasse in other cases suggests underlying dissimilarities about ‘the good’.

In the concluding section, I evaluate the potential for diverse groups to identify equivalent values about resource protection. Across the dissertation, I describe instances where conservation and ecotourism have become key domains through which Melanesians are attempting to chart their own course ahead, at a time of socio-economic and ecological change.

Chapter 1. Fluid relations on West Papua's coastal fringe

"To me the sea is a continual miracle; The fishes that swim—the rocks—the motion of the waves—the ships, with men in them, What stranger miracles are there?" – Walt Whitman

Conversations have a way of taking their own course, particularly among those who make a living by the sea. During a discussion with Yohanes Gaman in the coastal town of Sorong in Indonesia's West Papua Province, we meandered from our initial focus on environmental NGOs and conservation to arrive at a discussion of origins. Yohanes said that stories of origin are important to Papuan's understanding of their roots and for making sense of strangers. But they have contemporary resonance: mythic histories provide heroic texts for imagining better futures.

With his stepfather Henky, a longtime informant of anthropologist Alex van der Leeden who recorded stories about Raja Ampat in the 1970s, we disentangled a legendary tale about the first human ancestors of the Ma'ya people. The tale is about the voyages of siblings who emerged from numinous eggs at a forested spot on Waigeo, one of the four main islands in the Raja Ampat, the islands of the four (Indo: *empat*) rajas. At one level, it is a story of migration and ethnogenesis of the island peoples of Raja Ampat, as well as their connections to empires of trade – from Moluccan Sultans and Dutch merchants to marauding raiders. But more broadly, versions of this epic tale also reveal hopes among West Papuans for rekindled relations with outsiders on their journey to improved fortunes against a backdrop of ongoing political and social marginalization.

The outlines of Raja Ampat's foundations are relatively straightforward: five brothers and one sister arose from mysterious eggs, each leaving their home for other islands elsewhere: Salawati, Ceram, Misool and Biak. The siblings' travels chart out kinship connections to islands

across the Banda sea, echoing histories of raid and trade in seas at the juncture of Austronesia and Melanesia (Ellen 2003). But these are not mere echoes: the last of the eggs, now a stone, remains at a purposely built shrine up the Wawage river at Kaliraja several hours journey into Waigeo's forested interior. Ma'ya elders from the village of Wauyai guard the Kaliraja shrine. Some say the place is associated with the grave of Gurabesi, a Biak vassal to the Sultan of Tidore. The intermingling of other heroes from the Biak islands far to the east of Raja Ampat is no accident: it points to the ways in which Raja Ampat's origins are in some sense about being from elsewhere.

As a moral tale, the story of Raja Ampat's origins relays ethical truths, and hope. Yohanes said that the remaining stone egg will one day break open, signaling the return of "riches and wealth and give it to my people." He said that the other ancestors will then return, along with their Western brothers, who will remember their Papuan roots. This will herald the end of the old world, which will be shed like the scabrous skin of Manarmakeri, a messianic Biak figure who some believe will reveal a new era when foreigners will come to live alongside the Papuan people.

Yohanes' account of Ma'ya origins highlights how human social relations in Raja Ampat and beyond – from New Guinea's Bird's Head Peninsula eastward to Cendrawasih Bay and west and south across Indonesia's Banda-Aru seas – are paradigmatically fluid. In coastal West Papua and many other maritime-oriented places, accounts of a people's origins, key events, and expectations are interlinked with interactions with 'strange' people and ideas. Slave raiding, inter-island marriage exchanges, emergent hierarchies, warfare and religious conversion have contributed to particular geographic, linguistic, material and ideological ways that people relate to one another in Raja Ampat. Such shifting patterns of interaction have long defined the

contours of kinship, mapped spaces of intersubjective belonging and challenged the opposition of stranger from local.

These historical antecedents have modern resonance. Since 1969, many West Papuans have suffered from economic deprivation and political subjugation by Indonesian authorities. Extractive benefits flowed to metropolitan centers while residents received little. In Raja Ampat, companies extracted nickel on Gag island, logged hardwoods on Waigeo, developed oil palm on Salawati and depleted anchovy and sardine stocks by the 1990s. Attempts to demand a fair share from commercial resource activities have been suppressed by police and military forces. Yet despite such challenges, many West Papuans speak hopefully of a future when they can have greater local control over reefs and forests. Since the 2000s, several villages have joined forces with environmental organizations to promote conservation, in part by adapting forms of seasonal resource prohibitions called *sasi*¹⁴ to marine protected areas or forest reserves initiated by international environmental groups or government agencies. Near Waigeo island, Ma'ya and Beteo communities hope to gain economic benefits from eco-tourism programs. By linking the story of the sacred eggs to contemporary struggles for recognition, Yohanes highlights how myth provides a map for the possibility of different relations for Raja Ampat's diverse peoples.

This chapter makes a basic claim about the importance of Raja Ampat's land and seascapes to peoples' sense of belonging. I argue that society in Raja Ampat has been shaped by encounter with others, and that such layers of encounter provide a basis for ethical interactions that entail sorting out different sets of values. I reveal how origin stories of the autochthonous Ma'ya people index the fundamentally relational character of their social lives – they map out a social cosmology of links with different groups, from far-away places. This other-oriented

¹⁴ All italicized words in this thesis refer to concepts or names for approximate English translations from Standard Indonesian or Papuan Malay, unless otherwise specified in the text.

sociality is not unique to Raja Ampat, but is a theme in ethnographic literature across the eastern half of Indonesia into Papua New Guinea (Stasch 2009, 2014, 2016; Timmer 2000; Slama and Munro 2015; Rutherford 2003, 2012).

This tendency to incorporate otherness as a paradigmatic feature of Raja Ampat's human communities is not only heard in old stories told by aging men but is echoed in the present in contemporary struggles among a new generation to make sense of transmigrant settlers from Java, conservation scientists and tourists. The recognition of difference across Raja Ampat can be linked to other narratives, such as the arrival of the gospel (*injil masuk*) near Manokwari in 1855. It is mirrored in ways Melanesian societies in other parts of Indonesian New Guinea have interpreted the arrival of charismatic outsiders as messianic figures in the hopes of bringing about new types of relations – whether with other West Papuan groups, long-lost Dutch kin or people sympathetic to aspirations of a free and independent West Papuan nation.

The islands of Raja Ampat at the crossroads of currents, a juncture of worlds

The Raja Ampat Islands are an archipelago within an archipelago, a region of islands and sea off the far northwestern coast of Indonesia's West Papua Province¹⁵ (Palomares et al. 2007; McKenna et al., 2002). The major islands are Waigeo, Salawati, Batanta and Misool, along with many smaller islets of limestone, coral and atolls.¹⁶ Raja Ampat is also a political unit or Regency (*kabupaten*), with seventeen subdistricts (*kecamatan*) and a population of around

¹⁵ <https://rajaampatkab.bps.go.id/linkTableDinamis/view/id/20>, Accessed 20 April 2018.

¹⁶ Palomares notes that “McKenna et al. (2002) define the Raja Ampat area as occurring between 0°20' N and 2°15' S latitude and 129°35' E and 131°20' E longitude. Erdmann and Pet (2002) noted that this boundary definition of the Raja Ampat islands includes the peripheral islands of Sayang in the north and Gag, Kofiau and the Bambu Islands to the west, but specifically excludes the Ayu and Asia Islands to the north and the Boo Islands to the west.”

50,000 living in 89 villages and the town of Waisai, with around 9,000 residents.¹⁷ The region has historically been sparsely populated but is experiencing a rapid influx of arrivals from Java and Sulawesi island. Outside of Waisai town most people live in villages of several dozen to a few hundred people, where they speak a Halmahera-West New Guinea language – Beser, Ambel, Ma'ya – alongside Papuan Malay (Kamholtz 2014).

The Raja Ampat islands are situated in between maritime Southeast Asia and Oceania at the meeting point of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.¹⁸ It is a zone with a long history of human settlement and contact. The islands are a biogeographical seascape of very high species diversity and endemism that arises from oceanographic, climatic and geological factors (Figure 5 below; see Polhemus 2007).

¹⁷ <https://rajaampatkab.bps.go.id/linkTableDinamis/view/id/44>, Accessed 20 April 2018.

¹⁸ The Bird's Head region is located at the northeastern entrance of the 'Indonesian Throughflow' that moves water from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean. There are variations in current flows from ENSO events and monsoons: from November to March, a northwestern monsoon brings warm sea surface temperatures, and from May to October, southern winds and swells predominate, with cooler sea temperatures (Mangubhai et al. 2012:2280).

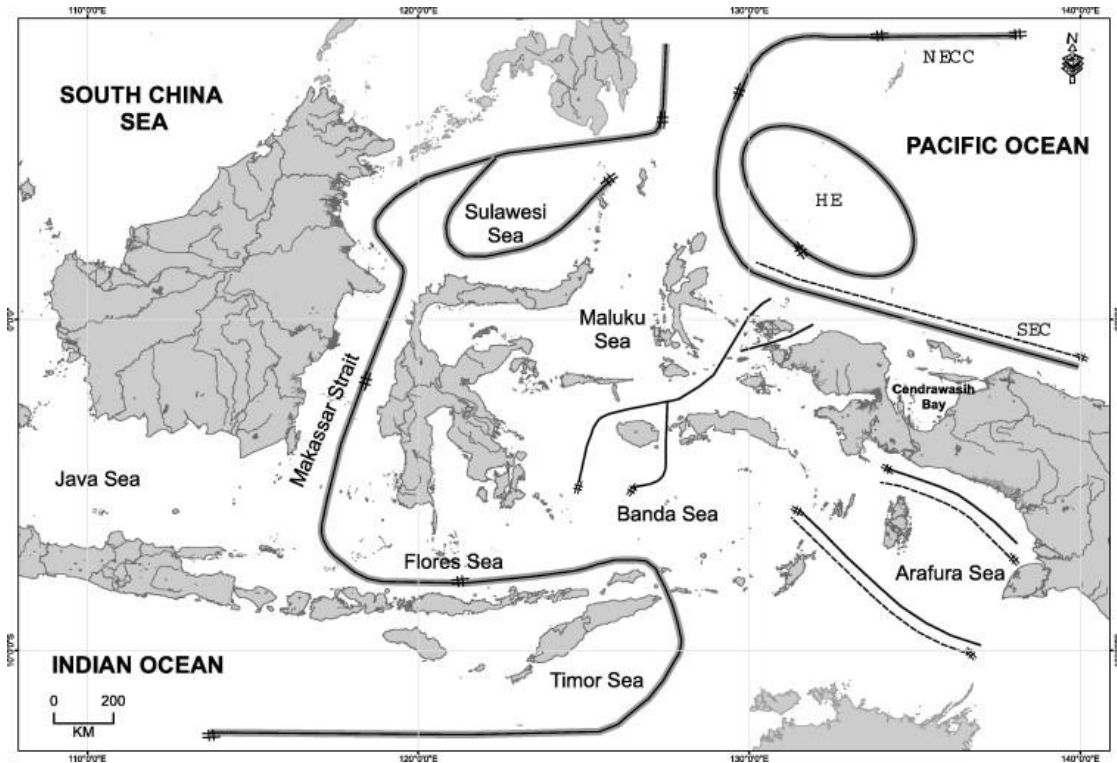


Figure 5 Main oceanographic currents during the monsoons in Eastern Indonesia. Source: Mangubhai et al. 2012

Raja Ampat's physical environment includes reef habitats, mangrove fringed coastlines, serrated karst hills, and deep channels that provide critical habitat to sea turtles, corals, sharks, manta rays, tropical birds and mammals (Mangubhai et al. 2012; Green and Mous 2008). The islands off western New Guinea are part of a Papuan microcontinent that broke off from Gondwana during the Mesozoic era (Hall 1998). Waigeo island – the largest island and the main fieldwork location – extends from 125 km east-west and 50 km north-south. The island is divided in the middle by a deep lagoon known as Ma'yalibit Bay that opens to the south.¹⁹ The long isolation of these islands from the New Guinea mainland may partially explain the high

¹⁹ Waigeo is comprised of tertiary oceanic basaltic rocks overlaid with limestones that forms part of the East Halmahera-Waigeo Ophiolite terrane (Webb 2002). The ultrabasic and limestone substrates are reflected in surface nickel deposits, mushroom-shaped karst islets, jagged craggy interior highlands of Samlor (1000m) and Nok (670m) mountains.

number of unique species such as the Waigeo maleo, red and Wilson's bird-of-paradise and the relative absence of cassowaries.



Figure 6 Karst islets near Misool, 2014

The ecological mosaics of Raja Ampat are mostly New Guinea lowland forest habitats, which include sub-montane, upland, lowland and alluvial forests, more clearly defined when encountering karst or volcanic soils (Takeguchi 2003). The most common forest ecosystem on Waigeo is lowland forest on acid volcanic and weathered soils characterized by primary forest species (Webb 2002). Lowland areas along rivers contain mangrove patches, sago swamps and beach forests.

Human settlement in Raja Ampat is a story of island voyaging and dispersal (Wright et al. 2013; Donohue and Dehman 2015; Wollstein et al 2010). Genetic and archeological studies describe how people traveled across the Sunda strait into Sahul (an area that encompasses New Guinea and Australia) between 32-40,000 years ago (O'Connell and Allen 2015).²⁰ Austronesian-speaking groups dispersed from Formosa (now Taiwan) sometime between 4,500-5,500 years ago (Blust 2013:750), heading south through the Philippines and then across the

²⁰ Researchers have proposed a southern and northern route for early settlement. The northern way to Sahul passed from Borneo to the Bird's Head Peninsula through Raja Ampat. Evidence from Gebe, an island to the west of Waigeo, identified human settlement at 32,000 BP, perhaps earlier (Bellwood 2007:187).

islands of Southeast Asia, west and east. Evidence suggests that Austronesian languages have been spoken in Raja Ampat for at least 3,500 years.

As origin stories reveal, people who call Raja Ampat home are at a crossroads of ocean currents, trade circuits and politics (Van der Leeden 1989; Kamma 1972:8). Over the last 500 years, regional interactions between island societies from the Moluccan Islands, Aru, the Raja Ampat, and coastal New Guinea have shaped a socio-political seascape marked by trade, alliance, and competition over controlling natural resources (Ellen 2003). Beginning in the 16th century, the search for luxury trade goods, especially gold, spices, Bird-of-paradise feathers, aromatic tree resins and marine products brought merchants from Java, the Middle East and Europe to develop commercial links and nascent empires with power brokers from the Moluccan Islands immediately west of Raja Ampat (Goodman 1998: 421,433,446; see also Andaya 1993:53-55). Eastern Indonesia's entrepreneurial past is still echoed today in local terms of address for eminent local leaders, such as *raja* (prince) and *orang kaya* (wealthy person) (Ellen 1986:55).²¹

European travelogues also emphasized the importance of commercial transactions to the formation of regional trading dynasties (Goodman 1998; Ploeg 2002). For instance, Portuguese explorer Miguel Roxo de Brito wrote of his travels with the Raja of Waigeo in 1581-2, the seas full of raiding parties on *kora-kora* war canoes and feuds with a piratical king on Misool. Other voyagers who passed through the area between included English captain Thomas Forrest, the naturalists Louis-Claude de Freycinet, Pieter Bleeker and Alfred Russel Wallace, who described a several month stay on Waigeo in *The Malay Archipelago* (Palomares et al. 2007).

²¹ Malay was the official and *de facto* colonial-era lingua franca across the Dutch East Indies.

The search for luxury trade goods – gold, plumes, aromatic tree barks and resins, spices, marine products – brought merchants from Java, the Middle East, and Europe to develop commercial links here. But most of the population originated from other places in what is today the easternmost provinces of Indonesia. From the 1960s to the present, Raja Ampat has experienced a demographic shift with the arrival of transmigrants from Java, Madura and Sulawesi, more heavily populated and economically intensified areas of central or western Indonesia.

Today, locally resident Ma'ya people recall historical tales that emphasize intercultural contact across boundaries of language and culture throughout West Papua's marine seascape, particularly with Biak Island in the east and to the Sultan of Tidore in the west (Heanen 1998; Kamma 1972:8).²² The few anthropologists who have conducted research in coastal West Papua have confirmed the importance of foreign adoption, spatial mobility and intercultural entanglement as common themes among seaward-oriented groups here, long after the tides of history have washed away connections to Moluccan Sultans or Dutch Regents (Ploeg 2002:89; Heanen 1998:338; Rutherford 2009:6).²³ For instance, the circulation of imported textiles known as *kain timur* (after their origin from Timor and surrounding islands) as marriage gifts and porcelain plates from China remain important to societies in the region (Timmer 2011). As

²² These distances are measured from the origin stone near the Ma'yalibit Bay on Waigeo Island (Van der Leeden 1987; Remijsen, personal communication).

²³ The reach of Austronesian languages to northwestern New Guinea is mirrored in the eastward drift of cultural values reflected in the origin stories and social stratification associated with people in other areas of Indonesia rather than New Guinea (compare Barnes 1962; Sahlins 1963). Societies throughout the region known as Maluku (seascape of islands from northwest New Guinea, the Moluccan Islands, and Seram and Aru in the Arafura Sea) emphasize the importance of foreign-born rulers, the social significance of the number four in origin stories, ancestors who interpreted signs from animals or other material things as possessing supernatural qualities that led to the emergence of distinct clans, complementary dualisms and patterns of marriage alliance with people from other places.

distinct from descriptions of Austronesian societies that highlighted “resilience towards foreign cultural influence” (Pouwer 1992:89), in this coastal New Guinea location “receptivity to and ritual appropriation of foreign culture elements” (Ploeg 2002:89) – such as textiles for bridewealth – was the norm (Miedema 1998:338).

Similar patterns have been reported among kin-based trade networks in east Seram (Ellen 2003) and among the Bandanese of Kei (Kaartinen 2014), which formed various ‘centers of cosmological mobility’ (Friedman 1994:33) associated with a type of relational governance called *sosolot*, “based on intense trade and migration among autonomous kin and trade friends” (Goodman 2006:10). Timo Kaartinen highlights how such pasts have had lasting effects on people’s appraisal of their place in the world. For instance, among the Bandanese of Kei southeast of Raja Ampat, “travelling is the means by which people of Banda Eli achieve a totalizing awareness of their social life,” particularly by providing a basis for the desire and disavowal of kin common among seafarers (Kaartinen 2014:233).

Given such a frame, it is perhaps unsurprising that ethnographic accounts have emphasized the importance of relations with strangers – both within and across social orders – for making sense of social relations in West Papua (Bubandt 2014; Rutherford 2012; Stasch 2009). In previous research with Ma’ya speakers in Raja Ampat, Alex Van der Leeden posited that “mythical personages and material objects” described in Ma’ya origin stories represent mediating figures for “establishing oversea connections between people living on islands” (Van der Leeden 1987:9). In a related way, Danilyn Rutherford (2003) describes how the maintenance of long-distance trade networks is central to Biak concepts of identity, achievement and value. We shall see how these themes are resonant in contemporary engagements with marine management and tourism.



Figure 7 Outrigger canoe, Waigeo Island, 2014

Myth as map: cosmogonic origins of raiding peoples

The myths of the Raja Ampat peoples are moral tales of voyages, and maps. They reveal moral coordinates that establish hierarchical relations of geographic places with spatial links emanating outward from places of cultural and historical significance to island communities elsewhere. For instance, one recurring story charts the origins of the four raja lineages of Raja Ampat. There are different versions of this foundational myth. Yet a comparison of several versions highlights similar themes, characters and outcomes that assist with mapping out the present-day relations between societies who live along New Guinea's western coast. Here is one version of the story reported by Leonard Andaya from a 16th century travel record:

Before the arrival of Islam, Ternate and Tidore were constantly at war with one another. The ruler of Tidore, Sultan Mansur, thus summoned the Sangaji Patani Sahmardan to ask him whether there was any man in his village or in neighboring areas who was brave, strong, and able to assist him against the Ternatens. Sahmardan promised to seek such a person, and so he traveled through the islands

and reached Waigeu. At a place called Kabu he met the Kapita Waigeu named Gurabesi. When Gurabesi was informed of the search and the prospects of the individual receiving from the Tidore ruler special clothes to mark the occasion of his new official position, he asked permission to hold the clothes for a few moments.

He took the clothes, kissed them, and raised them above his head as a sign of respect for the Sultan Tidore. Gurabesi then summoned his men and traveled to the Tidore court where they were greeted by the ruler and hosted to a feast in their honor. Gurabesi offered his services to the ruler and was rewarded with a suit of clothes. In battle Gurabesi distinguished himself and was given the ruler's daughter, Boki Taebah, for his wife. They later returned to Waigeu to live.

After ten years had passed, the ruler of Tidore began to wonder what had become of his child. At the time he was dissatisfied with the small size of his kingdom and the few subjects which he possessed. These two factors encouraged him to undertake an expedition to the east. He went to Patani, Gebe, and the Raja Ampat Islands. At Waigeu he again met Gurabesi and they, along with the Sangaji Patani and the large following which the ruler had gathered at each place, went to the New Guinea mainland. Wherever the ruler stopped, he selected individuals to be his officials with titles of sangaji, gimalaha, and so forth. On the return trip the expedition again stopped at Waigeu, where the ruler made his four male grandchildren the rulers of Waigeu, Salawati, Waigama, and Misool. [Andaya 1993:105-106].

In the excerpt above, Gurabesi, a warrior (*mambri*) from Biak, travels to Tidore island to the west where he becomes a vassal to the reigning sultan. The Sultan of Tidore gives Gurabesi special clothing which infuses him with spiritual qualities. Following successful war raids, he marries the Sultan's daughter Boki Taebah and they return to Waigeo Island where they raise four boys who become the rulers of Raja Ampat. The fragment above can be linked to two other narratives – one collected by Alex van der Leeden at Samate on Salawati island in the 1970s, and another I recorded in 2015 at Kaliraja on Waigeo Island. By comparing three variations of the origin story, I aim to highlight a few key themes that are important for mapping Raja Ampat's social world. Below is a fragment of an origin story, told to Alex van der Leeden by the Ma'ya Gaman family on Salawati Island in the late 1970s:

Once upon a time there was a man by the name of Alyab, who with his wife Boki Deni lived and kept a garden near the Wawage River and Wauyai in South

Waigeo. They had a bem tree in their garden. (Its bark is used for making bark clothes). The couple worked every day in the garden.

One day Boki Deni went alone to the garden. She found seven eggs lying on the ground under the bem tree. She told her husband about it. The two of them went back to the garden to collect the eggs. Alyab then suggested to eat the eggs but Boki Deni prevented this. The eggs were put on a plate (of old porcelain) and kept in a room, surrounded by a curtain.

One evening after a week the couple heard a noise coming from the room. One of the eggs had come out as a human being. One after the other five more eggs also came out as human beings. Only the seventh egg did not come out in this way. It became a stone and it still lies on its original place. The place is near the Wawage River.

The one who turned into a stone told his siblings that it was their destiny to leave their place of birth. He said, "I shall for ever stay here as the symbol of our place of birth."

From his human siblings who had come out of the six other eggs, the first one was to become Fun Giwar, raja of Waigeo. The second one, Fun Tusan, was destined to go to Salawati. The third one was Fun Mustari of South Misol. The fourth one was Fun Kilimuri who was to go to South Seram. The fifth one was Fun Sem, but it is not known where he went (for he became a spirit). The sixth one was the only woman, Pin Take.

Pin Take evoked the wrath of her brothers when she became pregnant (without being married). For this reason Pin Take was expelled, drifting at sea in a bem syu wak (a porcelain basin or tureen in the shape of a boat). Pin Take drifted by the sea current in the direction of Irian Jaya's Cenderawasih Bay. She landed at Numfor. There she was met by a man [known as Manarmakeri] who took Pin Take with him to stay in his house. After some time Pin Take gave birth to a son. He was given the name of Gurabesi.²⁴

One day, Gurabesi, already a grown man, told his mother "Mother, I want to go and see my uncles." Pin Take answered, "You have no uncles." But Gurabesi felt sure he still had uncles. He went to the beach and drew a picture of a boat with paddles in the sand. Then he returned to his mother and said, "Very soon there will be a boat to pick me up and bring me to Waigeo." And indeed, not long afterwards there was a boat waiting for him. Gurabesi departed and sailed to Waigeo, via Manokwari following the north coast of the Bird's Head. From Cape Cassowary he crossed the sea to Waigeo. At Waigeo he met his uncle Fun Giwar and the latter's son, Mereksopen.

However, Fun Giwar and Mereksopen were about to leave for Tidore. There was a war going on between Tidore and Ternate, and the sultan of Tidore needed assistance. Gurabesi, too, wanted to be of service to the sultan, so he joined Fun Giwar and Mereksopen. On Tidore he requested to be put in a cannon and to be

²⁴ Leeden notes here that "According to stories from Biak (often used as a general name for all islands in the Cenderawasih Bay), Gurabesi would be of Biak descent. This is incorrect, however, for Pin Take had left Waigeo in the state of pregnancy. Another story has it that Pin Take broke everything she got in her hands. This story tries to conceal the shameful event of Pin Take's pregnancy" (1987:10).

fired in the direction of Ternate. He landed right in the middle of Ternate's defense and defeated the enemy in a fight.

For winning the war the sultan of Tidore first offered Gurabesi a reward of gold and other goods of value, but these were not accepted by Gurabesi. The sultan then offered his sister Boki Taiba in marriage. Gurabesi accepted this offer. He returned to Waigeo with his newly married wife and stayed there forever.”

Van der Leeden writes that the symbolism of Boki Taiba breaking dishes may relate to breaking the incest taboo, which may have explained why she was sent away. The story provides an overview of inter-island connections, particularly though Gurabesi's birth in Biak and his voyage to Halmahera Island where he became a vassal to the Sultan of Tidore. He points out that this story, along with two other fragments, sketches out a mythological atlas that connects Biak to Raja Ampat and Tidore east to west. Additional tales provide coordinates north to south between Waigeo and Seram.

But this is also a tale of politics: Van der Leeden also interprets the strange birth of the Rajas from eggs as a sign of legitimation of the political authority of their descendants and Muslim Ma'ya representatives in far-flung coastal communities, reinforced by yearly tribute (see Van der Leeden 1987:6-8). He argues that the story plots a geographic axis in western Waigeo Island centered at the secluded shrine at Kaliraja where the last Raja – in the form of a large round stone – awaits a time of political rebirth. Both Van der Leeden and Andaya indicate that the Raja Ampat origin story can be traced beyond maritime Asia to India, where stories of divine kings born from serpents (or *naga*) feature prominently (Andaya 1993:108-109).

A third and final fragment of Raja Ampat's origins is an account I recorded during a visit to the Kaliraja shrine in September 2015. Along with the elected village head of Saporkren and his wife, two elder Ma'ya *adat* leaders from Wauyai village allowed access and guided us to the shrine of Kaliraja. The trip departed from Saporkren village, up through Kabui Bay past karst hills near Wauyai village to the Wawage river. We entered a mangrove forest on a motorized

wooden boat to a small creek opening deep in Waigeo's interior. Inside a small, wooden shrine, a large whitish stone lays wrapped in cloth (see Figure 9 below). This token is what the Ma'ya consider to be the physical embodiment of the last raja. During a downpour one of the elder men from Wauyai told his version of the story, which I have translated here from Papuan Malay:

This history begins here in Wauyai. Near here were two parents, a husband and wife. One day there were gardening, preparing and clearing the land. He later came across seven large eggs. He gathered them, as he did not see the bird who had laid them. They didn't see any bird, and later brought the eggs back to their house. They were placed inside a crevice like a cave where they remained. The next day, they heard a human voice inside. One had already hatched and had a human voice! One by one, others were born, on Tuesday, Wednesday until Saturday six eggs hatched in all. The seventh [egg] remained heavy and didn't hatch. It is it now here: it is the one who remained. So six eggs hatched, while the seventh didn't come out. These six eggs are not merely eggs – they were seven people who wanted to meet with their parents; they wanted to come out, but they were afraid.

They wanted to return to their earlier forms, so that none would be afraid. But the man and his wife took them and cared for them... Thus the six hatched eggs became people and they stayed there until they were all adults, when they left to establish villages. There is one village by the sea, a village of the rajas, over there in the sea.²⁵

They all lived there until one day a great argument occurred with the turtle people. The people gathered them in the wrong way. Someone speared a turtle without getting permission from the village head. They killed it wrongly, and so a conflict arose between them. There was a conflict there, and so they spread out. Some headed to Misool, some went to Salawati, while others went to Seram Kilimuri. There was one who was not seen, he was lost...

The first of the rajas to depart made his home in Maumes. He was known as Raja War, or in our language, "Kalara Giwar". He had a place in Maumes and he had power over Ma'yalibit Bay all the way to Salio [in West Waigeo]. The Raja Salawati had power in Waiwiyai all the way to Selpele [on Waigeo]. So we are four tribes among these Waigeo islands, though we have slightly different histories. And the four keys to the history of Raja Ampat are not here anymore. They were [originally] from here. It is like that. So they already spread out, they left and one went to Salawati, there is one in Misool, there is another in Seram Kilimuri, and also a woman who went to Biak. In our language we say 'panu syu'. 'Panu syu' means 'Biak is the ninth village.' She then lived there, Pin Take.

There were five young men who left from here with Raja Kilimuri. Raja Kilimuri left angrily remarking that after leaving: "I can no longer see Waigeo Island rising, it is no longer visible. I went voyaging far out until I could no longer see Waigeo, until reaching Seram Kilimuri." What came to pass was that the Raja

²⁵ This village is most likely Manyafun, a small populated island to the west of Waigeo Island.

could no longer return to Waigeo Island. They could no longer return to Waigeo safely. They would all be killed.

And the six people that I mentioned earlier, these six people who left from here had one village, one village amidst the sea. This place is called 'Tip Nokari'. There is a settlement I mentioned known as the raja's place. Over there they stayed, before a conflict scattered them all. Pin Take went all the way to Biak, to the ninth village. Suddenly she heard a voice, just over there. And Pin Take joined a man there, in a Biak village near the shore. And there she stayed until she gave birth to a son, Gurabesi.

After Gurabesi grew up, he wanted to find his mother's family. He said, 'mother, I want to go to find them, I want to return. I want to return to see them, I want to go and find my ancestor's place.' Pin Take said, 'Whew, we are really far away! You will see that they live in a place far from here! Do not leave from here. He said, "No no, I am still going, I'm going to find my people." His mother didn't want him to travel far, far from her... He searched for a way to leave, and finally departed, though she told him not to go. He set sail, until he reached a passage between two mountains. He looked until he saw the island of Peledi where he believed his kin would be found behind. To Peledi island he came from Biak, strait on until he spent a night on Mioskun Island. In the morning, he navigated well, then rested near Yempele island, where it is still said 'there was someone left behind.'²⁶

From there he traveled onward until he met with his relatives. He lingered for two days there. Afterward, he indeed met with other kinsmen. He said "My uncle I will not remain here long, I must head off again". Some went with him to the Sultan Tidore. He left and became acquainted with the kingdom of Tidore. Sultan Tidore was feuding with Sultan Jailolo, so after one afternoon, he put his anchor in the harbor. He docked at the harbor until the morning the Sultan had his deputy [kalolo] go to sea to make war... The Raja said to Gurabesi, "Go now and come back when I need you." Then Gurabesi met with the Raja and they spoke together until the Sultan entered into alliance with him.

"If you are able, you can help me when we head to war... "What is this that he asks of me. Should I remain besides the Sultan?" And the Sultan replied, "until it is completed" So after this meeting was over, he went up to his ship and prepared it to set sail. He prepared for war. He put everything needed inside, after hearing that a war had begun. So off he went. He heard that they ransacked the Raja's place, but Gurabesi was still waiting on his boat. He heard a voice from the land calling "hebo hebo" for him to land. He did not have much time to land... After he disembarked from his ship he sat on a cannon and a cannonball shot him to a place named Temuran. And there he fought until it was all over.

At the end, Raja Sultan rewarded Gurabesi with a seat at his side, but Gurabesi declined. "Then what should your reward be?" Gurabesi said, "Well there is a lot of space here, regardless of what you are offering"... He looked over his possessions until finally Raja Sultan gave his daughter named Boki Taiba. [These days, Boki Taiba is referred to as a seabird. Only Boki Taiba didn't have a child. Gurabesi had a great power, but it turns out that she did not.] Gurabesi and

²⁶ According to one informant, this may refer to Gag island.

Boki Taiba were married. Later, Gurabesi and Bok Taiba left from Sultan Tidore to Raja Ampat. Their grave is still here. She later died here. She didn't have a child because of Gurabesi's great spiritual power (Indo: *nikmat*).

So the history of the islands of Waigeo is a story of four historical keys from here. All speak of the collective, original history but the keys are mine to hold. They are here. There are two villages of the Kawe people – Saleo and Selpele, and several associated settlements. They also have histories that are there.

Each of these fragments, despite some notable differences, highlights themes important to how people from Raja Ampat think of themselves in relation to the wider world (Remiisen 2001:165). Firstly, the emergence of the four kings from eggs on Waigeo provides for a supernatural link between men and nonhuman beings of either the sky or earth. Many Austronesian origin stories begin this way, with other-than-human mediating figures providing individuals with legitimacy and power. Secondly, the hereditary titles for each of the rajadoms of Waigeo, Salawati, Misool and Waiagama (or Seram Kilimuri) linked to particular geographic sites. While dispersed across the archipelago, each raja lineage is connected to each another by marriage ties, anchored by the presence of the remaining stone egg at Kaliraja: a source of transcendent and absolute value to the Ma'ya people (compare Weiner 1992:8–12). As the Ma'ya elder later stated to me “there must be proof” of such stories, embodied in the landscapes, recognized by communities and upheld as historical truth.

provides a narrative frame for understanding the shifting tides bringing new forces and people to Waigeo's shores.



Figure 9 Shrine of Kaliraja, 2015

Accounts of prior voyages highlights the importance of these other places to their self-identification and for marking the contours of ethnic difference between them. Traces echo across the landscape: Manyafun – the place of the raja; Ma'yalibit Bay – the bay of the Ambel Ma'ya; Kaliraja – the raja's river, etc. Places such as Maumes, where the Waigeo raja settled and his chair remains, were called 'muar' settlements: strategic sites near sago and forest zones that become meeting places for different ethnic groups to trade.²⁷ Perhaps it is not inconsequential that both the Beteo and Ma'ya peoples tell similar tales of their origins.

In the Wauyai account above, Gurabesi, son of the exiled sister Pin Take, is born on Biak and later travels back through Raja Ampat to meet his relatives before becoming an advisor to the Sultan of Tidore. Gurabesi returns to Waigeo and later dies there, but his interactions with foreign leaders gains him status that he then brings back to his people. His travels fit with a

²⁷ Goodman (2006:52) also highlights other key *muar* sites: Sorong, Dom Island, Saonek near Waigeo island, and the Masiwang River delta on Seram Island southwest of Raja Ampat.

regional narrative in which successful leaders of the Moluccan *sosolot* exchange networks act as intermediaries of different places and peoples, in which trade and exchange extended social networks, bolstered fame and fostered competition (Goodman 2006:60). Gurabesi's story is also metonymic of a historical pattern of raid and trade among island peoples that became a template for gaining recognition. It indexes a lingering desire of sea-oriented societies in coastal West Papua to seek out connections with strangers in present times.

These stories are dense with ethical content, but also may reflect actual events that later became moral tales (Van der Leeden 1989:105-6). In any case, it is notable that characters like Gurabesi have emerged at different intervals up to the present, often during times of socio-economic transition. For instance, around 1780 prince (or *kaicil*) Nuku, a son of Sultan Jamaluddin of Tidore, began a rebellion against the Sultan of Patani in an alliance with the Raja of Salawati in to the east (Widjojo 2009). A combined fleet from Ternate, Tidore and the Dutch East India Company eventually defeated Nuku. Andaya argues that Nuku's rebellion was important in part because he had been associated with Koreri, a millenarian tale of prosperity and rejuvenation (Andaya 1993:245-46).

While the rebellion of Prince Nuku is not well known today among most Papuans of Raja Ampat, the concept of Koreri – a time of socio-political renewal – remains an essential feature of the ongoing struggle for political recognition among many in West Papua. In Raja Ampat, heroes such as Gurabesi are linked to messianic figures, particularly to the Biak Manarmakeri who some claim is Gurabesi's father. Manarmakeri, the itchy old man, is a pivotal character in 20th century cargo movements along West Papua's coast. He also is seen as an avatar of Jesus and of a coming age of grace for the region's Christian peoples.

The retelling of these stories is not only a matter of historical recollection. They communicate features of the social cosmology of Raja Ampat. Tales people tell about their origins are increasingly important to negotiating present-day disputes between Ma'ya and Beteo over who should be compensated for harvesting langsung fruit (*Lansium parasiticum*), gather sea cucumber, or whether a person can build a tourist homestay bungalow. Topogenic narratives that mark culturally meaningful places (or *topoi*) intersect with accounts of origins in important ways. The land and sea regions off Waigeo have become increasingly valued for their market value to sell as private property to tourism developers, rather than clan-managed zones of land and sea resource use (compare Fox 2006).

Ancestor stories are also critical to the contemporary appraisal of outsiders: are they friend or foe? Are they possible allies or enemies? The Wawage story fragments highlight how foreigners have also been seen as potential saviors. In the 1990s, several dozen Biak people from the villages of Yenbuba and Yenbekwan across from Gam Island in the Dampier Strait area thought that a Dutch dive resort owner named Max Ammer was an avatar of the messianic Manarmakeri.²⁸ Some people abandoned their affiliation with the Evangelical Church of West Papua (*Gereja Keristen Injili de Tanah Papua, GKI*) and their homes and became members of the Seventh-Day Adventist church (of which Ammer is a member) in a new settlement called Sawandarek, perhaps in the expectation of major change.

While this did not come to pass, the arrival of foreign divers to Raja Ampat in the past decade has transformed Waigeo's economy towards tourism. While many await Manarmakeri's return, they seek other self-made entrepreneurial exemplars. Moreover, most villages in the same

²⁸ Informants at Sawandarek village, Arborek island, Sawinggrai and Saporkren village recalled this event while I pursued fieldwork in 2012, 2014-2015. Max Ammer also discussed the situation during an interview in Aug. 2014.

area of this unexpected Koreri revival are at the center of an emerging local ecotourist economy, where Beteo villagers host European backpackers to dive and snorkel at nearby reefs. In important ways, the legends of exchange with outsiders continue to chart out the current course of relations among Papuan communities and new arrivals in Raja Ampat.

Recalling the past to chart the future

There are other ways that the stories people tell are indexes for orienting the present, as well as to navigate possible futures. One night in July 2012, a few dozen fishermen gathered in the village of Manyafun to participate in a survey about fishing practices. I had travelled to the island on a summer trip to collect information about marine harvest collection and conservation ideas. Amidst the accompanying whirr of the night's insects, the men spoke about the effects of overfishing sardines in the 1990s, about local *sasi* protections and the belief that God would punish transgressions. After cataloging the most common catch – trevally, snapper, mackerel, sea cucumber – an old man shifted the discussion to Gurabesi and how the Rajas spent time in the village here. Other men shared their thoughts. The rest of the night was not so much about fish, but a lot about legends. One said that Manyafun reflected the living proof of these tales: the small settlement is evenly split down the middle between Islamic and Christian inhabitants, with family connections to Tidore, Tobelo on Halmahera, Sulawesi and Biak.²⁹ It is a small island, yet big enough to be its own cosmos.

²⁹ On Manyafun island, half of the occupants are of Bugis, Butonese and Moluccan Islamic descent while the other half is more ethnically Beteo and Christian. The village as a whole is of mixed Moluccan and Umka descent. "Umka" is a name for a group of Beteo people who are intermarried and who recognize certain customs from Moluccan Muslims. The village (and island) of Saonek for instance is all Muslim and Beteo-speaking. This is different from the general pattern of these communities, which are typically Protestant. There are several Muslim Ma'ya villages in the region.

The sudden arrival of our host, a district *camat* (an elected official) from the Ma'ya Arfan clan, reinforced that this was dangerous talk. He became angry that we were talking about such things, which he later told me were dangerous because they linked to an ongoing political movement for West Papuan sovereignty. On the other side of Waigeo, Salman Wiyai – a man of Biak heritage who assisted Conservation International's marine management programs – emphasized that the stories of Biak, Raja Ampat and Ternate are all connected. He said that evidence in the form of kinship ties marks the stories' paths. Salman added that a Biak-speaking village on Ternate Island shows how mythic tales have real legacies.

The Islamic-oriented villages in Raja Ampat are legacies of former trade relations with islands further ashore such as Tidore and Seram. Today, a subset of Biak speakers known as Umka live on the small islet of Saonek near Waisai town, where the majority are Muslims. Beyond these traces, Salman said that to fully understand West Papuan pasts, it is necessary to return to the world-ending prophecies of Manarmakeri, also known as Mansren Manggundi – 'The Lord Himself' (see Thimme 1977).

The point is this: origin stories are a form of collective memory of West Papuan connections to the land and seascapes of Raja Ampat, for making sense of strangers, and a channel for imagining social relations that extend beyond a village's boundaries to encompass other times, places and peoples. They are also a clandestine way to talk about different futures.

Indeed, it is not inconsequential that Yohanes said that the last egg "will arise again," and like Manarmakeri, signal the shedding of the old world. A new world will arise, a time when Western kin return to an independent West Papua, full of feasting and commensality. In another furtive discussion in 2014 at Yayasan Nazaret in Sorong City on the New Guinea mainland, Yohanes said that Apat Nah, 'stone from the sky', will one day appear, signaling a time of

increased social exchange, where foreign wealth will be redistributed to the Papuan people. He says that this event will herald the appearance of the last raja, who will bring about a time ‘like Koreri.’

Most Ma’ya versions of the origin tale incorporate features from Biak stories. The interweaving of narrative threads such as the tale of Gurabesi and Manarmakeri suggests a social history of long-term exchanges and interactions among both peoples. One version told by Henky Gaman in Sorong provides additional clues, by expanding on the raja’s travels to Biak. Henky said that the first people – a Ma’yan version of the Biblical Adam and Eve – named Aliap Gaman and his wife Boki Dini Gamso discovered the numinous eggs on day while trekking in the words. He initially wanted to eat them but she stopped him. They agreed to watch over them as surrogate parents.

After a few months a first raja named Giwar emerged. He later moved to the village of Maumes near Ma’yalibit Bay on Waigeo.³⁰ From the second egg emerged Hun (or *Fun*) Arfan, raja of Salawati and Samate. Next came Fun Mustari, the raja of Misool. Raja Kilimuri of Seram followed. Henky said that a fifth egg is associated with white westerners. Lastly came Pin Take, the raja brothers’ only sister. When she later became pregnant her brothers sent her adrift until she reached the shores of Biak. A man from Numfor encountered Pin Take, joining him to settle in his natal village. She later gave birth to a son Gurabesi, who returned as an adult to Waigeo along with many Biak raiders (compare Mansoben 1995:237-239). Similar to other versions of the story, Henky said that all six ancestors will eventually return to Papua with their white brothers.

³⁰ On inquiring why the brothers had all departed from Waigeo, Henky said that they had fought over a turtle on Manyafun, which the eldest sibling said was prohibited there. This aligns with the account from Wauyai.

If the Ma'ya resided on Waigeo before the Beteo arrived, what can account for the recurring pattern of Biak-Beteo characters in their earliest stories about themselves? This seems an odd type of ethnogenesis. According to Wolter Lapon, an Ambel-speaking man from Warimak village deep in Waigeo's Ma'yalibit Bay, Gurabesi is a metonym for the migrations of the Biak people to Raja Ampat during a period of raiding with Tidore. It also signifies the kinship ties that bind both peoples to Raja Ampat and to Moluccan Sultans: Gurabesi, the Biak son of Ma'ya Pin Take, married Boki Leba – daughter of the Sultan of Tidore – and returned to Waigeo where he was buried. Gurabesi's uncle Raja Batu Langit (the King of the Skystone, or in Ambel: *Nuri Kapat Nalo*), also marks him as a *mambri*, a culture hero who connects the earth to the sky and underworld. Some said that Gurabesi's father Yawi Nushado later becomes Manarmakeri, a furtive symbol for Papuan's deferred dreams.

It is notable that several elderly Beteo informants confirmed the general features of these stories. In the village of Saporkren on Waigeo island, Om and Yosias Mambrasar agreed that the first raja was 'born' at Kaliraja and that a daughter left for Biak where she raised a son Gurabesi. They concurred that he fought abroad and returned to live his remaining years on Waigeo, gesturing eastward to his gravesite. Beteo speakers on Yenbuba, Saporkren, ManyaiFun, Sawinggrai and Arborek, and Ma'ya informants at Warimak, Kalitoko, and Warsambin all spoke of Kaliraja as a magical place (*tempat keramat*) where one can travel to become powerful. To do so, one must be escorted by a member of the Ma'ya Gaman family, who are the patrilineal decent group (Ambel: *gélet* or Indo: *marga*) with ownership claims on the lands there, along with offerings of coins and cloth. They must be 'pure' of heart and mind to travel, or natural disasters will prevent them from reaching their destination.

The issue of who is allowed to provide access to sacred places or to give permission to collect resources from a specific site will play a prominent role in subsequent discussions about marine tenure. For now, I seek to highlight that the origin myths not only map out the coordinates of Raja Ampat's social relations, but they reveal themes that have bearing on current disputes over controlling rights to land and sea. On Waigeo, those who arrived first get to claim ownership rights for their family and descendants. Knowing the history of settlements, clan lineages, and the ecology of an area is a precondition to establishing use rights as well as for requiring compensation from outsiders. We will see how fluid – and contentious – these situations can become in Chapter Five.

Ripples of values, waves of change

Back in Sorong, Yohanes stressed that the story of Raja Ampat's origins is a map for interpreting how its people are defined through their relations with outsiders. He said that the Wawage myth is a story whose end has not yet been written. He recalled that the last egg, Apat Nah, will awake during a time of great need. A few years later, I came to understand that Yohanes' mixing of ethnographic material with his passionate discussion about West Papuan freedom movements was no accident. To him, stories of the past are connected to Papuan aspirations for greater autonomy to determine their futures.

As much as I tried to comprehend the complex geography of clan names and origin stories, Yohanes insisted on talking Papuans political struggles. He spoke of a government in exile, the creation of new administrative structures, development plans and legal frameworks for a future polity. He spoke of his work with the Ma'ya customary council (*dewan adat*), and its cooperation with international non-governmental environmental groups such as Conservation International to prevent overfishing or logging. He spoke about how the Evangelical Church of

West Papua has linked with NGOs to expand church-overseen marine conservation zones (*sasi gereja*) in several locations throughout the islands. He spoke of efforts to treat West Papuans suffering from HIV at his charity, Yayasan Nazaret.³¹ Yohanes interwove a tale that emphasized a call for Papuan self-regard (*harga diri*) amidst a legacy of cultural erasure, political subjugation and economic marginalization. Our discussions about origins and his future hopes highlighted a search for common ground and common values with others.

The story of Raja Ampat's origins is a metonym of voyages forest to sea and back again. It indexes how a hunting and gathering people became kin with superhuman beings from abroad. Inter-marriage and alliance reoriented their social life seaward, from dispersed family groups to hierarchically organized lineages under the suzerainty of stranger kings. It highlights the importance of inter-island connections between Waigeo to societies further afield in Tidore, Seram and Biak, alongside new relations being forged with unexpected arrivals. While Tidore is conceived as a place of war, politics and bride-givers, Biak-Numfor is a realm of peace, supernatural power and bride-receivers (Ploeg 2002:91). In this morally heterogenous seascape, the Wawage-Gurabesi narrative is a type of charter that marks connections with others from elsewhere.

Today, people from across Raja Ampat are linking with outside environmentalist campaigns to support sustainable livelihoods. Several kin networks and villages have also clashed with people whom they feel have not given them their fair share for profiting from their lands and waters. There is good reason for hurt feelings: Raja Ampat is represented in tourism brochures and conservation program websites as an uninhabited and untrammelled island realm; a refuge for marine megafauna and an idyllic escape for overworked urban denizens. Many West

³¹ Yohanes sadly passed away in 2016 following a respiratory illness.

Papuan residents feel they have been edited out of view, their struggles silenced media portrayals of a natural paradise.

Representations of Raja Ampat as a biodiverse wilderness tend not to acknowledge the important ways that West Papuan stewardship of reefs and forests has contributed to nature's flourishing, though forms of local regulations to protect marine animals and key habitats. Today, church conservation (*sasi gereja*) and clan-management of spirit zones (*sasi mon*) exist alongside exogenous marine protected areas associated with international environment groups.

Environmental media also portray Papuans either as victims of resource destruction or people who would benefit from donor-funded environmental projects. Instead, Papuans in Raja Ampat actively seek to participate in the shared space and time of new market forces and rising political tides. Several Beteo families have built village-based homestays to attract foreign tourists to dive at nearby reefs. Several Ma'ya and Beteo authority figures have become advisers to NGOs. Ecotourism and conservation are two areas where people across Raja Ampat are drawing insight from past engagements to forge new links across thresholds of social difference.

Rather than reproduce stereotypic views of Raja Ampat as impoverished Melanesians, nearly all informants during my fieldwork reiterated their sense that despite ongoing challenges these islands are a seascape with great potential. They speak hopefully about tourism revenues for funding their children's education, weatherproofing homes, funding co-ops and better gardens – but also of hopes for nonhuman animals, plants and beings.

Moreover, people on Waigeo and nearby islands spoke of the importance of healthy reefs as habitats for marine animals: of the expected return of sardines, sea cucumbers and manta ray nurseries. They called for a place where the Red bird-of-paradise will be free from the sound of chainsaws; where the ancestral spirits will be at peace and crocodiles not angry with avaricious

men. They spoke longingly of a time when the Ma'ya and Beteo will lay aside their squabbles over who gets compensated for coconut stands and pray for forgiveness of others' transgressions in places marked off-limits. They gossiped about rascals who use tiger nets, raiders whose bombs leave craters in the branching coral. They praised others – including some outsiders – for their efforts with community patrols in village-managed marine protected zones or to prevent illegal logging.

Alongside remembering the old stories of the past, people from Waigeo's villages and family networks are reconfiguring the basic grounds of who they are as a society and who they would like to become. This is reflected in the emergence of a locally organized Raja Ampat Homestay Association in 2012, the capture of a speedboat by people of Saleo and Selpele to demand tourism revenues benefit Ma'ya kin-groups (Ambel: *gélet*) who have rights over the photogenic Wayag islands, initiatives to prevent the development of a paved ring road through sacred forests that will scare off birds and accelerate the loss of precious merbau trees (*Intsia bijuga*).

What are the prospects for overlapping values across the diverse island communities of Raja Ampat? What grounds exist for recognizing proportionate notions of appropriate actions for mutual benefits? To the Ambel, perhaps a basic value that effects everyday choices is a search for a balance between intimacy and strangeness – with other groups and nonhuman beings. Telling stories about the raja ancestors is a way of making claims about their rights to land and sea resources, and a call for cultural recognition of their place at the origin and intermediary for social relations on Waigeo and other islands in Raja Ampat. Among the Beteo, male striving for achieved status is in tension with Indonesian evangelical Protestant notions of submission, reflected in part by demands to redistribute worldly gains to kin and community. Young men

seek to built and operate a tourist homestay resort, find work in urban metropolises, date a foreigner, or make a name for themselves as fishermen. This desire for material wealth and individual renown has accelerated competition between families and villages over money, beneficiaries, and resources. Women's efforts to produce enduring forms of value through well-fed children and productive gardens reach their limits when faced with limited economic opportunity or jealous neighbors.

These tendencies are in tension with most Beteo village's association with the Evangelical Church of West Papua, in which village life is a metonym for Christian comportment: humility, sharing, sociability. Indonesian and expatriate staff of conservation organizations seek to protect biodiversity or enhance career prospects. Some seek to link ecosystem protection to economic opportunity for West Papuans, through ecosystem-based management, multilateral development aid, or interactions with Indonesian government officials. Individuals have their own interests, numerous and varied as Waigeo's karst hills. Yet despite a rugged ethical topography, the awareness of their homeland's vulnerability and the necessity to protect it has motivated a search for common ground.

This search for common ground related to conservation is not unique to Northwestern Papua. Biodiversity conservation and efforts to protect cultural heritage have called attention to the threat of loss. People living in wild places are increasingly acting on their own behalf. For instance, discussions about free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) among indigenous peoples affected by extractive projects and a focus on locally adaptive responses to environmental changes have challenged long-held views about marginal or so-called underdeveloped peoples' capacity to represent themselves when facing environmental challenges.

At larger scales, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species and Convention on Biological Diversity are regimes that reflect an emerging global consensus about the importance of protecting valuable ecosystems for the benefit of species, and to safeguard what is left for future generations. This refrain – for the sake of our children’s children – echoes across the waters of Waigeo as a justification for mutual cooperation between West Papuans and outsiders in support of environmentalist efforts, despite very different understandings about what environment means.

Many see their own futures at stake in campaigns to protect reef habitats and forest ecosystems. Given these stakes, some West Papuans appear willing to risk mistranslation. They may go along with environmentalist campaigns about Raja Ampat that sometimes represent them as indigenous ecological stewards, or powerless locals, as a means to gain attention to ongoing conflicts and challenges. Challenges include political subjugation, land rights disputes, competition over tourism revenues and realignments between clans and NGOs.

Notwithstanding such hazards, Raja Ampat residents and international actors have forged limited alliances to protect reefs and forest zones. Yet such linkages may not necessarily endure. Lasting bonds between locals and outsiders are not assured, especially given the wariness many have about making claims on other’s intentions (Rumsey 2013).

Perhaps recognition is key. According to Julie Connolly, recognition, as a cognitive and intersubjective process, “is central to the way that we think; thought would become impossible if we were unable to recognize its subject” (Connolly 2007:134). Connolly highlights how French philosopher Paul Ricoeur identified how the very possibility of recognizing similar capacities in another arises from a person’s awareness of being able to act freely, to be capable of taking

responsibility, in order to attest “I believe that I can” (Ricoeur 2004). The attestation of a person’s capacities to act creates the possibility for commensurability. It is no guarantee of course, and mistrust, misunderstanding or failure is sometimes inevitable. But the theory of recognition suggests that the ‘state of nature’ is not necessarily a zone of mutual distrust, even though others may have different views or unclear motivations.³² At a basic level, the possibility of engaging in ethical life across social boundaries, as between individuals, necessitates “acknowledging gratitude to a dissimilar other” (Connolly 2007:135).

Given the difficulty of knowing another’s mind or intentions, it is important to acknowledge asymmetries that may arise in the search for mutuality between oneself self and another, or in efforts to suture ethical grounds among communities such as in Raja Ampat (Robbins and Rumsey 2008). Nevertheless, the dialectic of recognition reckons that there may be a moral foundation to politics that is not reducible to self-interest: whether defined as individual flourishing, the survival of clan, or the reputation of a social group. Put another way, can Yohanes’ myth-dream of a wider social world be realized?

Raja Ampat is a seascape of dispersed but interlinked peoples connected to a history of inter-island voyaging and trade, raiding and marriage exchanges. It has been a place of mixtures of currents, languages, and traditions for millennia: from the first encounters between Melanesians from Sahul and the Austronesian-speaking arrivals, to the period of Islamic Sultanates and Christian missionaries, the birth of the Indonesian nation and annexation of West Papua. In more recent times, conservation and ecotourism have become key domains through which Melanesians across New Guinea’s Bird’s Head Peninsula and Raja Ampat are attempting to chart their own course ahead. Retelling origin stories provides people with a framework for

³² For Ricoeur, ceremonial gift exchange arises as a truce at the heart of recognition-misrecognition dialectic, “invoked as a special form of states of peace” (2004:259).

guiding contemporary interactions. By emphasizing the paradigmatic role of outsiders in establishing their roots, it suggests hope for future engagements within and across boundaries of difference.

Subsequent chapters will provide more focus on specific situations to examine to what extent different groups are able to enter into reciprocal ethical interactions or whether these are crosscurrents that foreshadow greater turbulence ahead. Chapter Two evaluates types of marine conservation, and Chapter Three highlights the promise and perils of eco-tourism. Chapter Four narrates a conservation film tour as an event that sought to stitch together island peoples with a thread of common concern for future generations. Chapter Five identifies how belief in cannibal witches and sorcery can be linked to doubts people have about one another. I show how alterity and recognition are paradigmatic to human social relations in Raja Ampat.

Chapter 2. Mixtures of conservation practice in Raja Ampat

Under the shade of a large banyan tree near the village of Deer on Kofiau, one of the main islands of the Raja Ampat archipelago, Elia Ambrau spoke about the Beteo people's obligation to protect their land and sea. "God has long prepared for us to conserve." He pointed to the ocean. "We are its protectors. Together we must safeguard it for the future of our children and future grandchildren." Elia lamented past failures: the loss of Moluccan ironwood (*merbau* or *Intsia bijuga*) trees in the 1980s to illegal logging; the continued threat of reef bombing to the area's coral and fish abundance; the negative effects such destruction has had to the livelihoods of fishing families here.

Elia spoke how residents of Deer and other Beteo-speaking villages in the area were hesitant to cooperate with The Nature Conservancy, who arrived with plans to fund community patrols and workshops on conservation initiatives in 2005. But over time, he said a spirit of 'togetherness' (*kebersamaan*) developed between Papuans and non-governmental organizations. Former shark fishermen joined weekly marine patrols. Others stopped using huge nets. Conservation groups provided funds for refurbished schools. Working together, people across Raja Ampat have started to turn the tide. They have witnessed an increasing number of reef fish, sea cucumber, clams, sharks and sea turtles. The manta rays have returned to sandy shoals near Arborek.

In recent years, the people of Kofiau have renewed a form of local resource protection called *sasi gereja* or "church sasi" supported by the Protestant Christian Church to ensure bountiful harvests of different marine animals. Farther south across the Halmahera Sea, Imam Kayidap Soltif of Fafanlap village on Misool Island said that people's love for nature and love

for their families has supported new fishing regulations. Northward at a community fishery workshop in Ma'yalibit Bay on Waigeo island, Meity Mongdong of Conservation International spoke about how marine protected areas will help Spanish Mackerel, shrimp, crabs and sea cucumber to flourish. She said that West Papuan use rights can be linked to species-focused protections in order to support biodiversity alongside resilience for the Ma'ya communities who live in Raja Ampat.

Dwindling numbers of sea cucumbers, sharks and sardines, population expansion, and weak government enforcement have led West Papuan indigenous communities to identify new ways to protect their island homes. Several communities have sought to work with – and not always against – outside groups. Yet can such apparently different types of environmental protection be linked? To what extent can religiously-motivated village harvest sanctions be aligned with marine and forest protections that prioritize biodiversity? Are the values that undergird conservation regimes in coastal West Papua commensurate or are they necessarily divergent? What do these practices suggest about ethical responsibilities of people to the environment?

This chapter describes the emergence of hybrid conservation practices in the Raja Ampat islands of Indonesian New Guinea in the context of significant socio-economic and ecological change. On West Papua's coast fringe, different values motivate different types of geographic resource management systems with varying stakes for the people who support them. Here, a patchwork of interlinked regimes of land and sea-based resource governance have contributed to a composite approach to adaptive governance, rather than an inherently conflicting set of practices or norms. In particular, I describe West Papuan engagements with an institution known as *sasi*, a type of seasonal harvest prohibition and gear restrictions observed in several maritime

societies in eastern Indonesia (Zerner 1994; McLeod et al. 2009). I describe how resident Beteo and Ma'ya people revived *sasi* to incorporate Christian ethics and the significance of ancestral sites of nonhuman spirits. Near Waigeo island, a center point of international conservation programs and ecotourism, *sasi* is a genre of locally-inflected conservation. It is also a discourse of 'traditional knowledge' that risks stereotyping indigenous people as ecological stewards by concealing the political-economic and historical complications that have led to its observance in coastal West Papua.

To mitigate the risks of stereotyping West Papuans as indigenous exemplars isolated from the outside world, I highlight two distinct forms of *sasi* currently practiced among the Beteo and Ma'ya people: *sasi gereja*, a type of Christian village-based resource protection common in Beteo areas and *sasi mon*, a set of clan-mediated rules and regulations common in Ambel territories associated with ancestors or nonhuman entities. In the past decade, the practices have become formalized through engagement of West Papuan communities with international non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Both types of local conservation practices have become interlinked with NGO-initiated protected areas throughout Raja Ampat.

While each may have quite different aims, increased engagement with *sasi* and NGO-supported environmental protection has catalyzed the emergence of a hybrid framework for cooperative environmental oversight. Despite frictions and misunderstanding, people across Raja Ampat seek to extend this patchwork of environmentalisms. The varieties of conservation practices in coastal West Papua reflect distinct but perhaps commensurable ethical norms and values. Engagements with valued places highlights how conservation in Raja Ampat is consequential to people's understanding of themselves and others, amidst ongoing resource degradation, the discrimination against West Papuan evangelical movements or economic

marginalization. This chapter presents how these institutions emerged, while also emphasizing how such endeavors are works in progress.

Marine conservation in northwestern New Guinea

The extreme northwestern corner of Indonesian New Guinea is a hub for global marine biodiversity, as well as a testing ground for interlinking species protection efforts with social development. Beginning in 2002, international environmental organizations including the World Wildlife Fund for Nature, (WWF) The Nature Conservancy (TNC) and Conservation International (CI) became focused on implementing environmental management projects along the coasts, bays and islands of New Guinea's Bird's Head Peninsula. A diverse set of donors, actors and agencies subsequently coordinated the establishment of twelve marine protected areas (MPAs) across 3.6 million hectares to safeguard the region's coral reef and mangrove habitats from destructive fishing and mining (Mangubhai et al. 2012). The MPAs include a national park in Cendrawasih Bay, seven reserves in Raja Ampat and another in Kaimana south and eastward along the New Guinea coast. These protected zones are situated at the geographic and ecological core of an intergovernmental Coral Triangle Initiative on Coral Reefs, Fisheries and Food Security (Figure 10 below) launched by several countries in the Asia-Pacific region to promote natural resource management as a means to economic development (Veron et al. 2009; Fidelman et al. 2012).

The Raja Ampat Islands, at the crossroads of oceans in the center of the Coral Triangle zone, contain an exceptional diversity of marine species. Marine surveys on coral reefs in Raja Ampat, Cenderawasih Bay, and the Fak Fak-Kaimana coastline (covering a combined area of more than 180,000 square kilometers), recorded over 1,635 species of reef fishes and 600 corals, approximately seventy five percent of the world's total of these taxa (McKenna 2002; Allen and

Erdmann 2009). These and other studies identified the region to be a global refuge for manta rays, dugongs, turtles, whale sharks and mangroves, including the most biodiverse coral reef habitats on earth. These studies provided evidence in support of international campaigns to protect Raja Ampat's species and habitats.

Non-governmental organizations, donors and researchers soon initiated programs to protect threatened species through ecosystem-based management, which sought to channel socio-economic benefits to local communities through their participation in different conservation efforts. Preliminary studies, socio-economic baseline surveys and other measurements followed. By 2015 the three international NGOs that initiated marine conservation programs handed over the management of Raja Ampat's MPA zones to Indonesian agencies, with mixed results.³³

Environmental management in Raja Ampat focuses on spatial planning, fisheries regulations and monitoring efforts, protection of threatened species, mitigating threats from climate change and plans for economic and social development of resident Papuan communities. Islanders have their own forms of resource management, which sometimes align with but also remain distinct from the conservation programs identified above.

Amidst these cross-currents, many Papuans in Raja Ampat increasingly viewed environmental projects as a means for asserting cultural rights to landownership. They also understood making themselves into – and representing themselves as – stewards of marine and terrestrial ecosystems as a means to attract tourism. Yet misunderstandings about environmental

³³ In 2006, the Regency of Raja Ampat (equivalent to a 'county' within Indonesia's West Papua Province) established a Technical Management Authority for MPA oversight (UPTD: Unit Pelaksana Teknis Daerah) within the Department of Marine and Fisheries to develop ways to increase marine patrols and monitoring efforts. In 2014, a Regional Public Service Agency (BLUD) began to collect funds generated from tourism access permits (PIN) that travelers paid on arrival by ferry to Waisai town.³³

protection have occasionally led to conflicts between local people and international organizations over ownership and access rights to coastal fishing locations and marine harvest sites (Pollnac et. al 2001; Christie et al. 2003).

Additionally, conservationists' goals for marine management do not always align with the desires of people who live in the targeted sites. In some instances, what some perceive to be traditional may be a more recent phenomenon that has arisen due to intervention (or pressure) from conservation groups. Local fishing practices may also be focused on optimizing harvests for yearly celebrations rather than being driven by an intrinsic interest in protecting turtles, sharks or rays (Foale and Manele 2004).

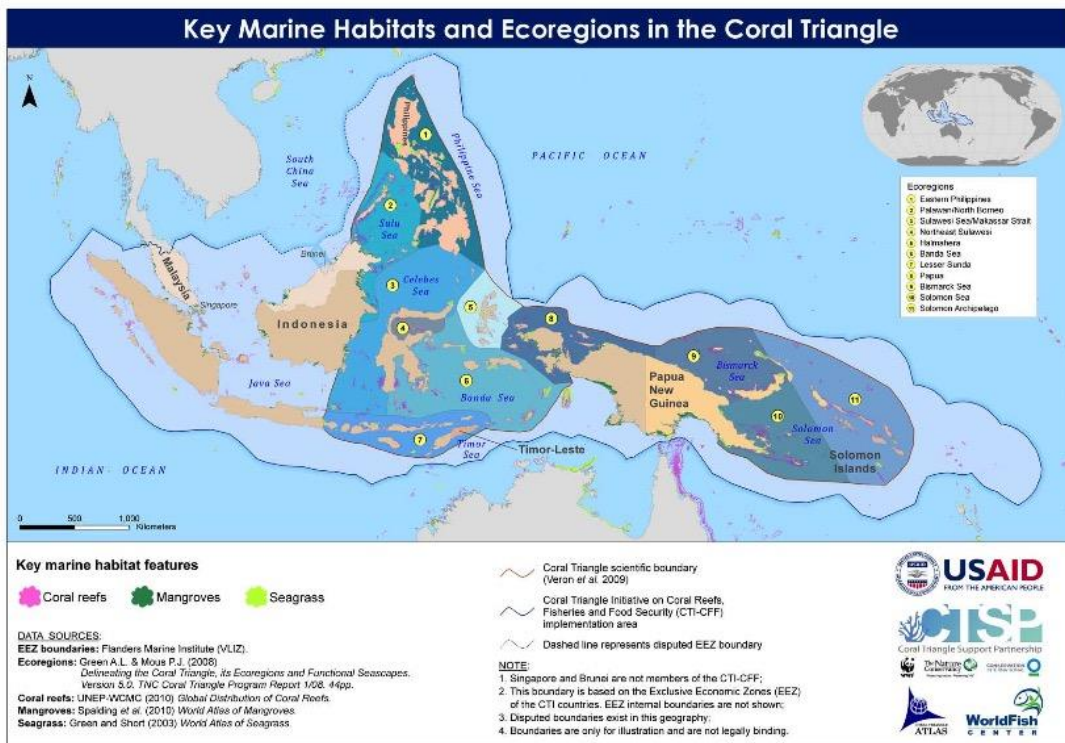


Figure 10 Coral Triangle Initiative. Source: CTI, 2015

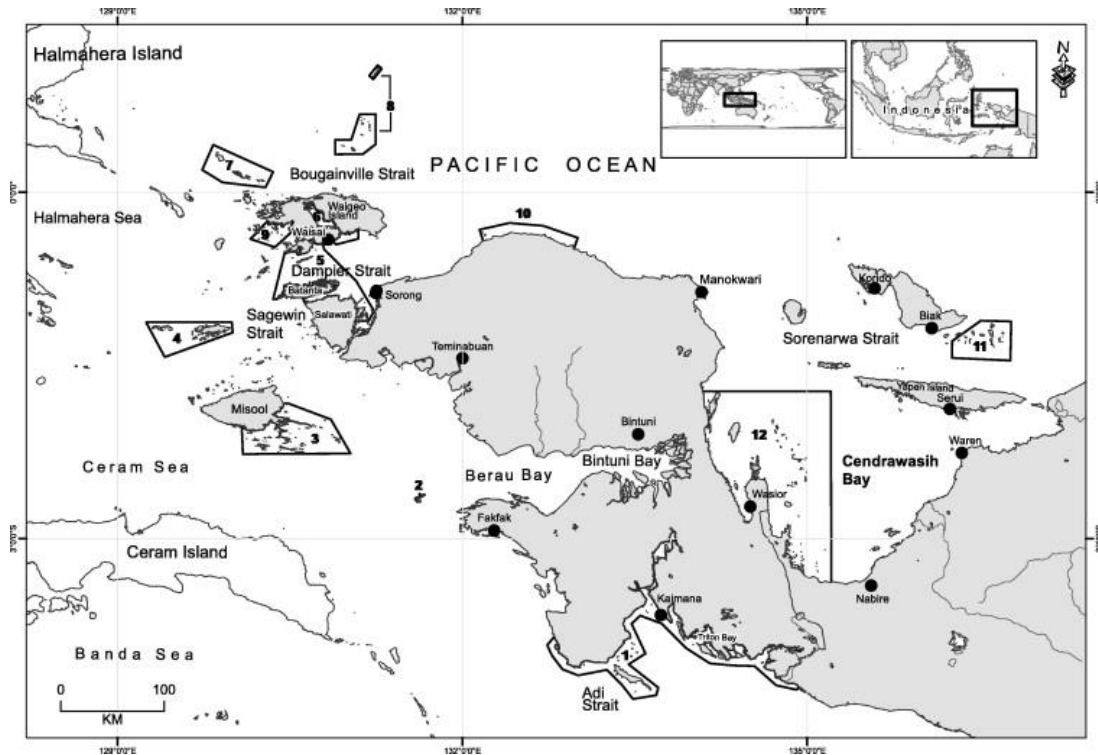


Figure 11 Map of the Bird's Head Seascape showing the location of major towns, islands, and marine protected area (MPA) boundaries. Source: Mangubhai et al. 2012

MPAs shown are: 1=Kaimana, 2=Sabuda Tataruga, 3=Southeast Misool, 4=Kofiau and Boo Islands, 5=Dampier Strait, 6=Ma'yalibit Bay, 7=Kawe, 8=Ayau-Asia Islands, 9=Panjang Islands (previously West Waigeo), 10=Abun, 11=Padaido, 12=Cendrawasih Bay.

The sea provides a main source of income and food security to people throughout the region. This sea-oriented dependency serves as a lifeline against a backdrop of administrative neglect and marginalization that generally characterizes West Papuan peoples' interactions with Indonesian government officials or agencies. For instance, primary and secondary education in Raja Ampat is poorly funded and insufficient. This reflects a legacy of inadequate investment and institutional neglect of Indonesia's Melanesian peoples. This tracks with disinvestment in other areas of human development, from access to health clinics, high maternal childhood mortality rates, insufficient treatment for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and tuberculosis, persistent malaria and child stunting.

Historically, the region's low population density provided a buffer to administrative coercion or to conflict between groups. Yet increased population density, settlement from Indonesians from other islands and shifting baselines in fisheries productivity have motivated increased government intervention (see Palomares et al. 2006:23-24). These days, West Papuans seek to claim rights to natural resources that they have long utilized, which have become contested by newcomers. Talk and active engagement about conservation practices has become a way that people in Raja Ampat articulate their own stakes in a changing, contested zone of environmental entanglement.

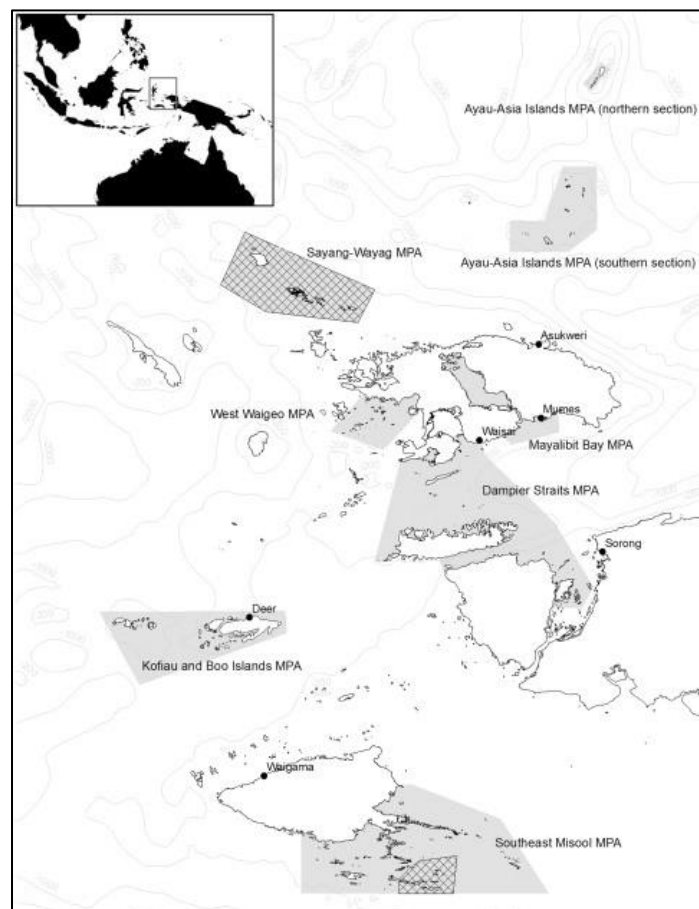


Figure 12 Marine Protected Areas in Raja Ampat, adapted from Grantham 2013

Across Raja Ampat, people interact with the sea in different ways. For instance, Biak-speaking villagers near Waigeo still fish in wooden outrigger canoes near shore or use handlines,

trident spears, or handmade scoop nets. In Waisai and the Sorong city fish market, Bugis and Butonese fishmongers from islands to the west sell mackerel, snapper, tuna, sea cucumber and seaweed. Farther afield in Waigeo's Aljui Bay, men work on pearl farms while others try their luck with a *bagan*, a syndicate of fishermen cooperating together on a wooden platform.

There are several distinct fisheries in the region including open water tuna and mackerel fishing as well as village-based harvesting of marine animals and reef fish (see Figure 13 below). For instance, the Islamic Ma'ya village of Lopintol focuses on scooping Spanish mackerel by kerosene lamplight during a new moon in Ma'yalibit Bay while the Christian Ambel people of Araway collect small shrimp for eating or trading. Women in Kalitoko village search for crabs and clams in muddy mangrove beds, while nearby in Muslim Beo, men trap lobsters in baited cages.

Several island communities have long-standing methods to promote the survival of valuable marine species including sea cucumber, anchovy, shark, sea turtle, abalone and sea snails (*Tectus niloticus*). The types of conservation practiced today range from the protection of particular tree or marine species to oversight of primary forest habitats, leaving garden sites fallow, managing ancestral coconut groves, avoiding burial grounds, restricting access to places where fish aggregate to spawn, or ensuring that lobsters grow fat enough to eat at Christmas feasts. West Papuan land and sea-based stewardship also encompasses avoiding no-go areas where witches dwell, or places inhabited by demonic beings and nonhuman nature entities. Finally, conservation can also include less formal village-based regulations designed to prohibit certain nets or harmful fishing gear. Such practices have attempted to reduce risks of overharvesting by commercial enterprises. But they also communicate values about human-environment relations as well as expectations of proper conduct.

In recent years, several new forms of conservation have emerged in Raja Ampat.³⁴ Below I introduce two seemingly ‘traditional’ forms of resource protection – *sasi gereja* and *sasi mon* – as recent adaptations to social, historical, ecological and economic factors that reflect interaction with strangers from off-island regions. My primary goal in this chapter is to document the innovative ways West Papuans near Waigeo island are adjusting conservation to their own needs, in ways that align with their ideas about people’s role in the natural world.



Figure 13 Preparing to sell fish at Waisai market, Saporkren, Aug 2015

The rationale for environmental protection can be seen a few meters offshore along the reef slope of most villages. On the edge of Yenbuba village on Mansuar Island it is possible to peer several dozen meters into the blue, past a metropolis of hard and soft corals, wavy sea fans and huge schools of fish. A few minutes peering along the reef reveals an astonishing array of

³⁴ <http://projects.worldbank.org/P127813/coral-reef-rehabilitation-management-program-phase-iii?lang=en>

marine vertebrate and invertebrate species – snapping shrimp, nudibranchs, clownfish among anemones, triggerfish, lobster, clams, sea cucumber, polychete worms, moray eels, among the millions of zooxanthellae and coral polyps that feed on microorganisms passing along the reef shelf.

A visitor can peer into an aqueous urban realm populated with parrotfish, giant pufferfish, lobster, giant clams, sea sponges, blue starfish, several anthias, grouper, dotted back of neon blue, monogrammed monocle bream, banded blue sea krait, spadefish (*platax pinnatus*), butterflyfish in large schools, coralfish, bannerfish, angelfish, damselfish in rock crevices, a bright blue chromis near the waterline, grey tuskfish, green-blue broomtail wrasses, green parrotfish excreting coral, blennys, gobys, a Moorish idol, clouds of yellow tang, surgeonfish, rabbitfish, triggerfish and large cowfish.

Several places along the reef appear to have suffered damage. Some areas appear bombed, with coral lying in pieces in crater-like formations. In some areas, algae, sea stars and small fish have reclaimed these graveyards to begin a new cycle. Such areas have noticeably less biodiversity compared with intact coral assemblages. Despite these casualties most reefs in Raja Ampat remain vibrant. They are a last refuge for many small animals as well as for oceangoing species such as sea turtles and oceanic manta rays.

With the handover of NGO-funded marine reserves to the Indonesian local government in 2015 many Papuans on Waigeo worry that the new marine protected areas will become ‘paper parks’ without adequate financial and administrative support. It is telling that on offshore islands such as Pam, the village secretary spoke enthusiastically about a locally managed protection effort (DPL, *Daerah Perairan Laut*) as a sign of his community’s desire to get involved. During a discussion with me in December 2014, he expressed hopes that new engagements can help

stave off the loss of Napoleon wrasse, mackerel and grouper, and the return of baitfish to sustain a multilayered trophic ecosystem.



Figure 14 Conservation International staff, Sorong West Papua, 2015

Management, morality and improvisation

The Coral Triangle Initiative is an example of a transnational program designed to support marine ecosystems through integrated conservation and social development. NGOs and residents promoted ecological sustainability through monitoring and enforcement of marine areas, educational training programs and tourism development projects. These efforts highlight how improving the external environment also entails an internal process that involves a moral reconfiguration of individuals and collectives to conform to specific ideals about the environment and peoples' place within it (Pandian 2008:164).

It is not only a matter of improving surfaces: economic projects and marine conservation efforts involve an internal process through which people become more rational, accountable citizens. The enthusiasm for extending marine protected areas by Indonesian officials in Raja Ampat is linked to West Papua's status as a frontier region marked by poverty, health disparities and crumbling infrastructure (see Agrawal 2005). It is because of such views that marine conservation projects are seen as a way to incorporate greater administrative oversight (Sievenan 2008). By managing natural resources through spatial control, people can become accounted for more easily by state officials (Scott 1998:2-8).



Figure 15 Dr. Dedi Adhuri marks clan fishing areas at Go village, Mayalibit Bay, 2014

Environmental projects also tend to involve multiple interests that provide opportunities for resident communities to engage with outsiders in unexpected ways (Li 2007; Rumsey 2001:20,38). Conservation scientists and government advisers sometimes view indigenous communities as static and unchanging, or as impediments to the flourishing of biodiversity (see Brosius 1999; Ferguson 1994). However, anthropologists including Andrew Mathews, Tania Li and Peter Brosius have highlighted how locals and outsiders with stakes in natural resources

occasionally form alliances to protect species or clash over the management plans for a specific site (Mathews 2008; Brosius 1999; Li 2007). These accounts show how interactions over conservation are more creative, messy and hopeful than might be expected from a distant vantage point. Other studies highlight the importance of moral and spiritual relations with nonhuman nature, as well as ways that a society's interactions with the surrounding environment change in relation to outside pressures, incentives or forces (Jacka 2010; Berkes 2008:11; Cruishank 2011).

The issue is not whether or not indigenous people are conservationists, but instead “what kinds of conservation are various groups and individuals claiming to represent?” (Alcord 1993 in Jacka 2010:29). Does an ethic of preserving wildness inevitably lead to human conflict? (Nadasady 2003; West, Igoe and Brockington 2006). Addressing the types of conservation people represent also avoids the question of whether a certain group is the authentic claimant for benefits or whether a customary management regime is or is not a model of sustainability. Instead, the focus would shift to how people communicate particular values, practices and norms about the environment to others.

Natural resource protection in Raja Ampat reflects changing social-ecological conditions

Throughout the Raja Ampat island zone, different communities have specific rules for overseeing socially important species of animals and plants harvested by a group for subsistence, sharing at large gatherings or for trade or sale elsewhere. Governed spaces include village marine zones and ritually closed zones known as *sasi*. Particular forms of *sasi* have emerged in Raja Ampat since the 1990s and have become intertwined with international efforts to promote biodiversity conservation in several areas. A unifying feature of this and other types of sea-oriented control in coastal West Papua is the importance of clan lineages and charismatic

individuals (compare McWilliam 2003:12). The issue of who controls access, has the power to enforce sanctions, and who is willing to recognize structures of authority is an important feature of these practices.

Sasi is an institution observed in several locations throughout Eastern Indonesia. The word derives either from a term for oath (Bartels 1977:65; Benda-Beckmann 1994:31) or witness (*saksi*) (Pannell 1997:292) indicating that an invocation of protection has been activated in a specific place for a limited time (Figure 16 below). It can be applied to particular clan-owned lands and ancestral sites (called *sasi mon* or *sasi adat*), as well as to taboo sites overseen by local Christian churches (*sasi gereja*). These days, *sasi* incorporates a set of social-environmental practices that communicate ethical values about peoples' ideal relations with their natural surrounds amidst a context of socio-political transformation.³⁵



Figure 16 Land-based sasi for coconuts, Kri Island, 2012

³⁵ Equivalent terms for 'sasi' in Indonesian, Ambel and Matlol are *tempat keramat* (sacred place), *zona inti* (a forbidden zone), *daerah yang dilarang* (a prohibited area), *tempat pamali* (hallowed site), *kábyo* (Ambel, ghost/malevolent spirit), *kabuis* (Matlol, spirit) and *saum samom* (Matlol, protected area).

Nils Bubandt (2005) identifies how *sasi* became a mechanism for promoting governance as well as evangelization in Eastern Indonesia. Initially connected to sorcery in protecting gardens in the central Moluccas during Indonesia's late colonial period, *sasi* became a way to manage natural resources and people (Benda-Beckmann 1994). Officials called *kewang* ('rangers') enforced *sasi* bans in forests and marine spaces by reporting to village heads (or *rajas*) (Zerner 1994:1092; Bubandt 2005:198). *Sasi* later became a vehicle for evangelization by Catholic and Protestant Moluccans under the moniker of Church *sasi* (Indo. *sasi gereja*), "in which the catechist became a substitute for the *kewang* and the Christian God replaced the ancestral spirits" (Bubandt 2005:205).

In this new version, God rather than local spirits would punish transgressions of protected sites. This shift coincided with a wave of conversion of Indonesian citizens to world religions, driven in part by a state-required disavowal of indigenous spiritual practices (Haire 1981:66; Kipp 1993:100). Indonesian government officials consequently viewed *sasi* as a successful example of environmental governance through a 'harmony ideology' in line with nationalist goals of creating a pliant multiculturalism (Li 2007:364).

In Raja Ampat today, *sasi* typically entails spatial boundaries and temporal restrictions on harvesting marine animals such as sea cucumbers and sea snails, or taking from coconut groves (Hviding 1996; Thorburn 2000). For example, a *sasi* zone may be closed to commercial fishing activities with the arrival of monsoon winds and opened the following year. On Misool Island, villagers present large gifts of cash and dried sea animals at special ceremonies held to open and close the protected areas (Figure 18). Bound coconut leaves, flowers and bamboo or marked signs signify places where a prohibition on exploitation is in effect (McLeod et al. 2009:665).



Figure 17 Offerings to the sea at a *sasi* ritual, Misool 2013. Source: TNC

The moral economy of *sasi* incorporates a set of rules for engaging in appropriate ethical action to protected areas or species. Breaking the rules will lead to sanctions. Besides illness or death, “other penalties can be imposed on *sasi* violators such as reprimands, monetary fines, confiscation of fishing gear and boats, and exile from the village” (Boli et al. 2014:137). In villages such as Deer on Kofiau island west of Waigeo, such risks of punishment have proven relatively effective at ensuring the Church *sasi* zones remain sacrosanct.

Sasi and other marine conservation practices in the Dampier straight off Waigeo Island where I spent the majority of my fieldwork are calibrated to different habitats (e.g. mangrove, reef slope, shoal, open sea) and target species.³⁶ Some ritually closed zones aim to ensure adequate supplies of prestige foods such as sea cucumber and commercial top shell for sale abroad (*Tectus niloticus*), while other areas are intended for subsistence fishing or gathering. Most harvest closures follow a seasonal pattern of winds, tides or ceremonial events. *Sasi*

³⁶ The Dampier Straits is also the zone of a 336,000-hectare marine area (462.4 km²) of powerful current flows between southern Waigeo and Batanta Islands home to 9,530 people living among 36 villages. The area is an aggregation site for manta rays, grouper, wrasse, barracuda and several shark species.

restrictions incorporate spatial and time-bound closures, but also prohibit the use of compressors, commercial-scale nets and large vessels while permitting wooden spears, hand nets, paddle canoes and diving glasses.

A 2014 survey of *sasi* in the area measured a five-fold increase in sea cucumber species, along with enthusiasm among Ma'ya and Beteo residents for expanding protected zones. Interaction with environmental NGOs led to additional changes: *sasi* zones became larger, people protected non-food species such as sharks and manta rays and villages formed mobile networks to monitor protected zones.³⁷ Raja Ampat District Regulation Number 27/2008 acknowledged *sasi* as an integral type of conservation management for food security and tourism (Boli et al. 2014:137). It seems that hybrid forms of co-management have succeeded. But there is more to *sasi* – and to human-environment relations in Raja Ampat – than the fit between local forms of species management and recently introduced conservation initiatives.

Among the Ambel of Ma'yalibit Bay on Waigeo Island each kin network (*gélet*) has its own forest or sea domain with its own name and social history. Within an Ambel *gélet*'s territorial zones, people hunt wild pigs, gather root crops and edible plants and fish. Certain places are sacred sites (Indo: *pamali*) of guardian spirits (Ambel: *mútum*), malevolent forces (Ambel: *kábyo*) and material objects such as imported gongs that are interpreted as physical indices of ancestral claims over a given territory. A *gélet* is responsible for managing its ecological resources, as well as the nonhuman forces that are intrinsic to nature's flourishing. Sacred sites throughout Ma'yalibit Bay are associated with a type of conservation called *sasi mon*. Ma'ya conservation adviser Yohanes Gaman said that such sites are “good in terms of

³⁷ For instance, in the past village *sasi* areas were on average less than 100 hectares. These days, many are larger: the Tapor Tamyam *sasi* area off Yenbuba village has grown to 2,500 ha. Some *sasi* areas are now permanently closed.

ecology, because people never go [there], so there are more animals, more fish there. Forest people leave those places alone.” If not, nature responds. For instance, Yohanes told me that if a person enters Kabui Bay near Kaliraja – a place the Ma’ya consider their origin source without giving adequate respect – “great winds will blow anyone who arrives off course.”

The various types of ecological stewardship currently practiced in Raja Ampat – from village-based regulations to *sasi* – could be seen as examples of traditional ecological knowledge: locally meaningful practices of environmental management maintained through stories and authority figures and memory (McWilliam 2003:20). Yet as I described above, if they are tokens of indigenous ecologies, such stewardship is perhaps better conceived as reinventions or adaptations of socio-ecological knowledge practices rather than examples of practices that are distinct from larger-scale initiatives overseen by NGOs or state agencies. And just like these other endeavors, Raja Ampat conservation practices involve political entanglements over land rights claims, access and control. For example, in the Kei Islands, sea territory is unevenly distributed: property rights are exclusive to particular kin-groupings (*fam*) in Dullah Laut village, but disagreements and political maneuvering show how tenure systems in Kei are everchanging and highly fractious (Adhuri 2013:190).

In the sections below, I present West Papuan accounts about *sasi gereja*, and describe key features of *mon* practices. In particular, I document individual appraisals of these practices as they relate to norms of responsibility, punishment and expected behavior. By doing so, I intent to highlight how conservation practices are examples of engaged ethical activity, but also sources of doubt and anxiety for people throughout the Raja Ampat islands.



Figure 18 Highly prized palolo worms (*Palola viridis*) on Ayau, 2014

Church Sasi as embodied Christian practice

Sometime in the 2000s, marine-oriented Church *sasi* zones expanded near Waigeo island. According to Salman Wiyai, a Biak adviser to Conservation International and Yayasan Nazaret – a Sorong-based Christian NGO involved in health and environmental issues – *sasi gereja* originated on Ambon Island in the Moluccas and spread eastward to the Papuan coast in the 1970s. Salman said that *sasi* was originally a way to mark off valued fruiting or palm trees (e.g. lansat, citrus, areca, coconut) or garden sites. Sometime later, it became a means to protect egg-laying fish at spawning aggregations on Ayau atoll. According Martin Makusi of Yenbeser village:

Sasi means this: now I have a coconut plantation, and on beaches away from villages, you can control whoever comes to collect coconut. So they make sasi, which means that they put a cross there, or they put leaves on tree branches near the beach [as a sign]. And then people say, oh yeah, you cannot go there. But if there is no sasi, people can go there to collect, because we have a relationship

with the owner - maybe our cousins – and so we can go and get maybe one, two or three young coconuts to drink, or to bring home.

Makusi emphasizes the ways *sasi* used to be associated with specific individuals who are owners of certain trees or territory.

In extending to the sea over the past decade, these types of seasonal closures broadened from family-managed to village-level oversight. Wooden signs or other markers – such as the cross Makusi refers to in the quote above – continue to identify closed zones. For instance, at the edge of the reef slope off Mansuar Island and jutting upwards from the sea, a wooden board signals *sasi* commitments made by Beteo residents of Arborek village in 2011. The sign conveys a message that conservation is not only about protecting marine creatures for their own sake, but is a signal of community virtue.

In Raja Ampat today, Christian *sasi* has become an index of West Papuan virtue in areas where people enforce its edicts. To Beteo people of Deer village off Kofiau island, *sasi gereja* signals that Raja Ampat's marine realm is an integral part of people's spiritual lives. It refracts their Christian virtue as well as their shortcomings. Manta rays, nudibranchs, and reef sharks are spoken of in an *idiom of love* in which care for species has become a way to communicate the importance of caring for their homeland. Young men mourn on seeing blast craters of dead elkhorn coral. They relate the destruction in personal terms: on their reef, at their home. For people living within the boundaries of the Dampier Straits MPA, *sasi* not only gives refuge to protected species, but creates a Christian topography where actions must reflect a commitment to values of sacrifice, community and charity.

In part, these commitments reflect ongoing efforts among West Papuans to demonstrate their commitment to Christian values. On Sunday, February 5, 1855, German missionaries Carl Ottow and Johann Geissler arrived to Mansinam Island near Manokwari. For many Beteo,

history began that day, heralding the arrival of the gospel to Papua (*injil masuk*). This was a social-historical event that provided for an epistemic break from an imagined past of hunting and gathering towards village life. It meant the end to tribal wars (*perang suku*), diurnal *suanggi* and demi-god heroes. The arrival of Christianity reconfigured basic social norms in which persons became collective members of a congregation (*jemaat*) in the Body of Christ versus a more independent life of hunting and fishing, competitive raiding and suspicion towards those of different clans.

On Waigeo today, moral responsibility for the land and sea is intimately connected to the desire to live a model Christian life. Most West Papuans are members of the Evangelical Christian Church (*Gereja Keristen Injili de Tanah Papua*, GKI), with some belonging to the Roman Catholic or Evangelical Tabernacle Church (*Gereja Kemah Injil di Indonesia*, GKII). Since the late 1990s, all three churches have promoted inter-faith dialogue to advocate for improved human rights for the West Papuan people (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008:377-80). It is perhaps not surprising that Christian *sasi* is represented as an endogenous response to environmental problems: it channels West Papuan norms of human-environment relations, religiosity, and virtue to others amidst increasing threats from resource degradation, economic marginalization and denial of Christian charity (compare Das 2012:140).



Figure 19 Sign of church *sasi* near Arborek village

It is important to clarify how Christianity became linked to marine conservation programs in Raja Ampat. In the 2000s, consultants from Jakarta and elsewhere held several workshops in different villages as part of a World Bank coral reef management initiative (COREMAP) that sought to promote conservation as a way to bring socio-economic development to marine-dependent communities in Indonesia. An adviser from the village of Yenbuba recalled how science teams visited and spoke to residents about the benefits of expanding *sasi* alongside marine protected areas to limit fishing activity. People in Yenbuba were initially skeptical: who would really benefit from such plans? After all, the village's small elementary school (*sekolah dasar*, SD) had been without a fulltime tutor and school fees were getting higher. Promised funds for metal roofs hadn't arrived. People had been promised development before but the results had often been disappointing.

Over several meetings Beteo-speaking villages near Waigeo island agreed to support the banning of tiger nets (*jaring harimau*), curtail shark fishing and to restrict hunting sea turtles. Residents participated with visiting survey teams who recorded household surveys and collected fisheries data. They participated in church discussions where pastors supported community

decrees to promote local regulations with the consent of main landowning clans. West Papuan churches, particularly the GKI, became involved by linking conservation to a theological claim that care for the environment provided a vehicle for redemption. Soon afterwards, Conservation International and The Nature Conservancy began working with Papuan church-affiliated advisors who encouraged *sasi gereja* alongside larger-scale marine zoning projects.

At some level, this intervention was practical: “It is easy to organize people through the church. The pastor has access to people to say stop. Everyone prays to stop people from harvesting sea cucumber...in certain places they say, ‘leave the *trepang* there.’” At Gethsemani church in Saporkren village in the summer of 2014, Pastor Anache Goram asked the congregants to thank Jesus for providing abundant fish and bountiful gardens. She said that threats from rascals who use chainsaws to cut valuable trees reflected the temptations of greed. She argued that only a prayerful, God-loving people could keep the covenant for Papua.



Figure 20 Collecting survey responses about *sasi*, Arborek Island, 2012

Priests, congregants, mothers, tribal advisers, young men and conservation staff commented how *sasi gereja* has become a way to act rightly towards nature and among others. Back on Kofiau, Yunus Mansoben said that his community was afraid to break the rules of

Church-sanctioned protection. People feared that taking animals from such places would cause illness to the trespasser and to family relatives: “For church *sasi*, it’s absolute. One cannot disturb or interfere with it because it is [in] the name of the church. One cannot disturb such a place.” Franz Membilong, pastor of a GKI congregation on Manyafun island to the west of Waigo said that “in the sea, God has a special economic power to help us.”

In a conversation at his church in July 2012, Pastor Membilong told me how people would bring dried sea animals inside the church as an offering on an altar table. “We bring it to the church so that the Lord protects them; so that the Lord guards our things.” People give money as an offering before opening *sasi* zones. They later return the offerings to the sea in order that they may be resurrected. “We are grateful for what God does, for the results that he provides us.” Membilong views *sasi* as an integral practice to his church. To him it is a form of engaged prayer, but also a way to prevent the destruction of the community’s livelihood.

Christianity and conservation are interlinked throughout the region, even to its furthest reach. For instance, at Ayau atoll north of Waigeo and near Palau, two *sasi* locations protect fish egg laying locations for grouper and napoleon wrasse, conserve lobster, yellow and white sea cucumber, top snails and giant clam. Soni Fakdawer said that in August 2014, a priest from Rutum village’s church opened up a nearshore reef *sasi* zone near Kofot Island to harvest reef fish, mollusks, sea cucumber, shark and sea turtle. The village congregation closed it again after a Christmas feast. In Ayau, *sasi gereja* is also observed on Mamorien, Reni and Miosbekwan islands. While sea turtles are not as commonly eaten these days, everyone looks forward to the autumn arrival of the palolo sea worms (Figure 19) (*cacing laut*, Indo; *insonem*, Beser, probably *Palola viridis*). Since initiating marine conservation zones in 2007 with Conservation International, the people of Ayau have expanded and sustained their church-designated zones.

On Ayau atoll's Rutum Island in November 2014, a marine ranger named Elvis Marino explained why people continue such practices (see Figure 21 below). "The purpose of *sasi* is primarily for protection of the marine environment and particularly to ensure that species that have decreased will be maintained for future generations." When asked about the difference between *sasi* and conservation-sponsored management, he shrugged, "Well, we all obey the edicts from the church, whereas conservation is a government thing." Though he recalled several instances of cooperative interaction, Elvis also noted that people in Ayau were not entirely sure about the government's intentions.

What would happen if someone enters a closed *sasi gereja* zone? "Someone who enters and violates a *sasi* place will be subject to punishment from God. The person will become sick or he will be a victim from nature – bitten by a fish, or a tree can fall on them." He also said that if a fisherman steals, his wife's body will become barren. By taking from a place whose abundance is a sign of divine grace, the resulting punishment would 'steal' his wife's life-giving fertility. Only until he confesses to the *sasi* overseer, Mr. Morino, will his wife be capable of giving birth. But overall a person must desire to give thanks to God for the bounty in their lives. "In Ayau, [the people] believe in God. Only certain people would take from a *sasi* place, of bad character, who think negative things in contrast with the mainstream who desire goodness."

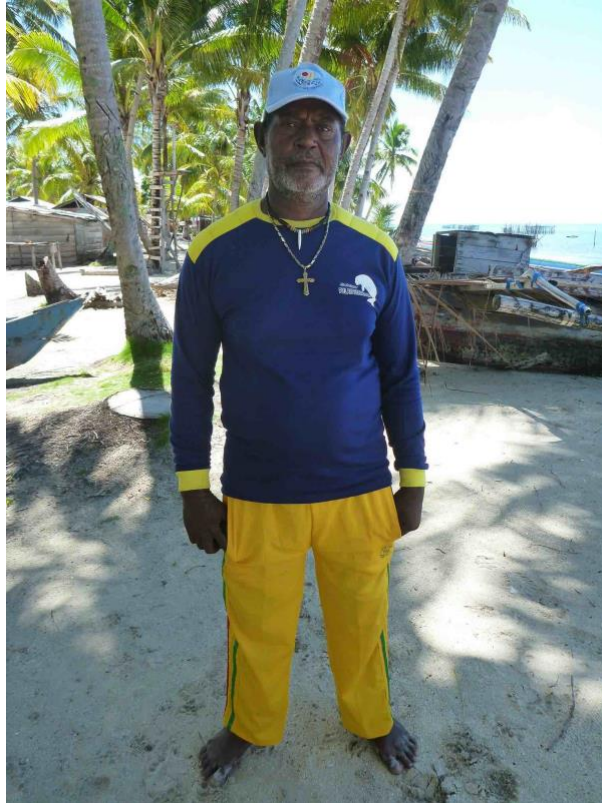


Figure 21 Elvis Marino, Rutum Island, Ayau atoll, November 2014

Beteo people from Ayau declared a conservation zone along with Indonesian officials from Javanese cities far to the west. Since closing areas off to large-scale fishing and restricting activities to occasional harvests, the lagoon has seen greater abundance and diversity of fish species. In August 2014, grouper gathered to spawn in huge aggregations – this was apparently a sign of something new. Elvis hoped that the fishing catch will increase even more, from five to eight tons per month. Alongside village regulations (*peraturan kampung*) and continued government support, he is hopeful for the future. “We respect *sasi* because of our faith in God...[w]e have faith to protect those places because as Christians we value them.” He ended our conservation with a prayer:

Let us unite our shining faith to signify God who bestows many blessings over a protected place. Because of our faith. Let us awaken: we have the faith so that God safeguards – meaning he gives so many blessings. We use *sasi* as a means for a place to be established for a common cause. Whatever species, wherever it is, is

that which God returns [to us]. Because all of us, all of this, is from God. This is our commitment.

Southward at Fafanlap village on Misool Island, Balif Wainsaf spoke about his work with The Nature Conservancy (TNC) where since 2012 he has coordinated monitoring and patrols throughout a marine protected zone of 366,000 hectares. A former lobster fisherman, Balif knows the best spots as well as how to spot outsiders. He described *sasi* zones in front of Tomolol and Kapacol villages. He said that these are separated into areas controlled and harvested by men, and another area where women are in charge. The areas encompass mangroves, seagrass and coral reef habitats. Species protected are similar to those in *sasi* areas elsewhere – Napoleon wrasse, grouper, lobster, five species of sea cucumber and green snail.³⁸



Figure 22 Yellu village, off Misool island, Dec 2014

³⁸ Prepared and dried sea cucumber is very valuable. Market prices as of Nov. 2014 varied depending on the species. For instance, in Ayau prices are: teripang gosok (*Actinopyga Mauritanica*) 750,000 rp/kg; teripang nenas (*Thekenota ananas*) 500,000 rp/kg; susu (*Holothuria (Microthele) fuscogilva*) 500,000rp/kg; kongkong (*Pearsonothuria graeffei*) 350,000 rp/kg; bitnik (*Bohadschia vitiensis*) 150,000 rp/kg. In comparison, lobster (*Panulirus Sp.*) fetches 120,000 rp/kg; green snail, 150,000rp/kg and sea snails are worth appx. 40,000 rp/kg.

Bailif said Fafanlap opens *sasi* is twice a year for a week at a time. Opening ceremonies follow monsoon cycles. Most areas are opened to harvest in later November or early December, after making offerings (*timai*) of flowers, live fish and prayers. Gifts are left by the shore while people fish with spears or scoop nets and collect marine animals by hand while navigating barefoot along the reef.

When asked about the differences between village regulations and church *sasi*, Ali Oherenan of Misool's Nature Conservancy office said that church *sasi* is considered to be the most effective. This is because people are afraid to enter closed *sasi gereja* zones: if someone transgresses, they will be cursed by God or publicly shamed in some way. A person must pay a fine (*denda*) to the village in recompense for their sin. Such fears have led some to recommend reducing the number of church *sasi* areas. They do not want to be cursed. People shared similar sentiments in many other areas of Raja Ampat, not only in zones encompassed by modern marine protected area zoning regulations. For instance, in 2004 a *sasi* zone was established in mangrove areas near the Tipin-speaking village of Solol on Salawati Island, remote from eco-tourism or conservationist engagement. World Bank staff had been involved in an initial meeting but Solol residents have kept it shut ever since, perhaps in part because they consider that several ancestral beings emerged from the sea nearby. In any case, these areas remain off limits.

On Sawinggrai village on Gam Island northwest of Salawati, an elderly man named Tete ('grandfather') Mayor said that he doesn't want anyone fishing in front of the village dock so he can hand feed schools of small fish. Nearby, a covered wooden hut is covered with moldering paraphernalia from past meetings with environmental groups, tattered maps of fishing areas and village locations fading. His son Niko Sauyai spoke of the importance of protecting coral, sharks, the beach from pollutions and trash. What for? Niko noted "We protect things from the sea in the

hopes that there will be money.” This would seem to be an instrumental approach to protection. But he later adds, but “among ourselves we also acknowledge *sasi*,” as good Christians and stewards.

At the jetty at nearby Yenbeser village, children, mothers and older men typically drop handlines with four-pronged hooks to snatch yellowstripe scad (*Selaroides sp.*) that pulse below. But not on Sundays – a day of rest for people and prey. A priest claimed that he can say a prayer and all the fish will go away if people dare to break this Sunday *sasi*. These are snapshots of how several people in Raja Ampat think about the role of *sasi* not only as a form of resource protection but also as a type of moral practice.

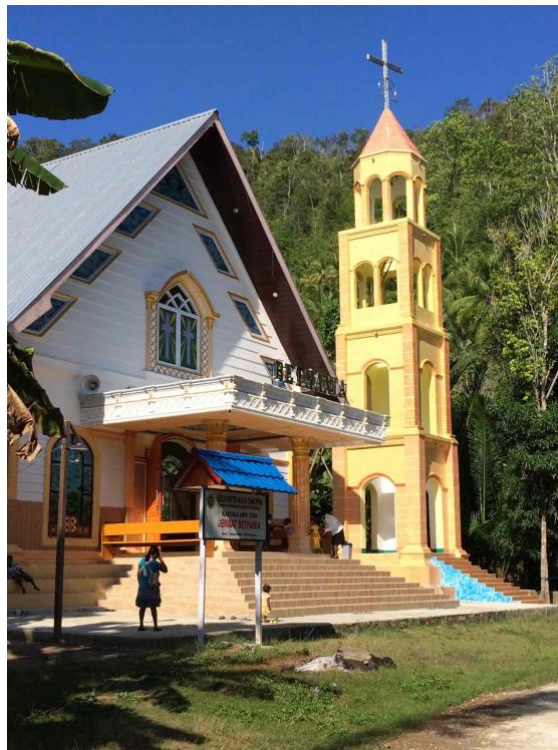


Figure 23 New GKI church built with eco-tourism revenue, Yenbuba village, Mansuar island, 2014

In parallel to other commentators, Yohanes Gaman said *sasi gereja* is powerful because people believe are fearful of punishment (*kutuk*) from God or forces of nature such as *roh-roh* or *djin*, nature spirits who inhabit big trees, bamboo groves, or underwater locations. He said that

West Papuans tend to think of the external environment as a place full of moral consequence. A crocodile, manta ray, reptile, or snake are not just animals, but are considered agents of a morally uncertain world that will bite, eat attack or harass those who upset a fragile balance.

Saltwater crocodiles killed several young men on Waigeo in 2014-15. In all but one case, their deaths are believed to have been caused by inappropriate actions with predictably unfortunate ends. For instance, a man in Saporkren recalled that in 2015, crocodiles attacked four men in Wauyai, Kalitoko and Araway because had trespassed into *sasi gereja* zones that were under protection. In one instance near Kalitoko in Ma'yalibit Bay, two young men went every night to dive for sea cucumber. The crocodile watched and waited. People say that crocs do not strike immediately, but learn the patterns of peoples' movements, and only attack after return visits to the same place. His is a moral tale: the crocodile acted to protect the sacred spaces from man's greed.

Other informants in several villages said similar things about the role of animals acting as agents of an enraged Lord or as physical manifestations of angry spirits seeking revenge. Speaking at a group discussion in the Ambel village of Warimak, people recalled three incidents: in 2011, a young man was killed and eaten near Araway village; in 2012, another person was killed near Beo village; in 2014, a man from Biak was eaten by a crocodile near Warimak village after he had gone searching inside a *sasi* area. At a fisheries discussion in the nearby settlement of Go, participants remarked that God would have animals – including crocodiles, wild boar, and certain venomous snakes – act to punish greedy people from taking too much without sharing. Winds and currents could also draw someone off course, or they could drown. To them, *sasi* is a divine law (*hukum dari Tuhan*).

To protect oneself from future retribution after trespassing into a protected *sasi* zone, a person must first apologize to the landowning clans or kin groups who are recognized to have management responsibility as ‘owners’ (*pemilik*). Most then pay a fee to the owners or church congregation of up to 10 million Indonesian Rupiah (appx 700 USD). Others give gifts of food such as processed sago as compensation.

Taken together, the comments from people on different islands show how *sasi gereja* provides for a set of moral prescriptions that ultimately seek to foster a sense of mutual responsibility and cooperative sharing in the benefits of a bountiful seascape. Those who transgress are punished not for taking one or two extra animals, but for negating the moral code of social solidarity that undergirds Christian practice against a backdrop of cultural erasure and economic uncertainty. *Sasi gereja* has become a mechanism for West Papuan communities of Raja Ampat to make their own ethical claims on the landscape in ways that go beyond the limitations of private property, state ownership or tourist motivations. It is a hybrid amalgam that broadcasts three interrelated values: a self-consciously West Papuan Evangelical Protestant identity, a desire for its recognition as a commensurate genre of conservation practice, and the good that arises from cooperative engagement with outsiders. By believing the good things *sasi gereja* provides, Beteo communities demonstrate their piety through renunciation and self-control. Conservation then is not only about protecting fish but is also a set of practices for demonstrating goodness. Below, I introduce *sasi mon*, a different type of resource management particular to Ambel-speaking settlements on Waigeo’s Mayalibit Bay, which has also become institutionalized as an analogous type of conservation practice alongside MPA zones and *sasi gereja*.

Sasi Mon: mediating the human and nonhuman

Among the Ambel settlements of Ma'yalibit Bay a different type of local conservation limits building houses, making gardens or fishing in areas where ancestral spirits or agents of the forest dwell. The Ambel and Ma'ya here and south in Misool refer to this type of local resource control as *sasi mon*. *Sasi mon* is the converse of modern management – its emphasis is not so much about ensuring biodiverse ecosystems or species survival but is a way to keep potentially malevolent forces at bay by ensuring that wild places stay wild. *Mon* places include caves, natural springs, uninhabited karst islands, inaccessible mountains, riparian zones and areas of primary rainforest. They also include burial sites of ancient dead, sites of remembered events and clan origins, as well as places associated with sorcerers and ambivalent nonhuman entities.³⁹

Mon places are artifacts of the intimate ways Ma'ya clans consider human-environment relations as unstable and requiring constant intervention: in words, offerings, safeguarding, and (when needed) placating. Natural features are often anthropomorphized. The craggy limestone peaks surrounding Ma'yalibit Bay are considered realms of dragons, certain natural features speak, have names and histories. Stories recall a past when people spoke with animals, became kin with sorcerers and lived alongside a short, ancient hominid species (Ambel: *man si baber*; Indo: *orang gi*). Even today in Waifoy, people speak of their kin ties to other-than human beings. For instance, Bin Kairom is a giant grouper whose mother has a house in the water. The Nok clan tell stories of Beten and Walimao, heroic titan brothers whose exploits shaped the surrounding hills.

Sasi Mon sites reveal how the Ambel perceive the landscape throughout Ma'yalibit Bay as a set of coordinates people use to trace their own pasts as well as to seek routes to the future.

³⁹ Discussions with Moritz Kafiar, FFI HQ, Waisai, Waigeo, Jan 2015; Yeheskiel Dawa, Warimak, Sept 2015; Nadus Nok, Wolter Lapon, Warimak/Waisai, Jan 2015, Aug-Sept 2015.

This future rests on forestalling the development of a ring road, nickel mining and logging for ironwood trees. It involves aspirations for forest trekking to view birds-of-paradise or the construction of homestay bungalows for visiting tourists. It also involves an emerging desire among the Ambel and Ma'ya to have greater leverage in negotiating terms over land rights. They also hope for greater partnership with environmentalist groups such as Flora and Fauna International.

Against this background, the representation of *sasi mon* by West Papuans as an analogous type of land and sea-based conservation on Waigeo indicates how, like *sasi gereja*, it has become linked to processes of value commensuration and differentiation. Translating *sasi* as a genre of conservation relies on recognition by different sides that the modern no-take zone approach can be put into relation with West Papuan evangelical norms of community or the importance placed on maintaining a social-spatial separation of human from nonhuman domains.

Yet misunderstandings and flashpoints have challenged easy alignment between goals of marine protected areas with West Papuan visions of human-nonhuman relations. For instance, in 2014 the mostly Ambel community of Kalitoko evicted a Dutch bird conservationist after rumors spread that his group, along with mysterious international actors, conspired to put radio transmitters in the area's birds so they would fly to cities far away. People were also upset that promised benefits from supporting a large forest reserve had not yielded material benefits. These examples underscore a general wariness of the Ambel to outsiders.

Despite such ambivalence about strangers here and elsewhere in Raja Ampat, *sasi mon* is a vehicle for how people living in Ma'yalibit Bay communicate their views about appropriate conduct with the environment to others. *Mon* stories and prohibitions express specific place and space-based norms of the right way to interact with nonhuman surrounds alongside other

regulations overseen by the Bay's Christian and Muslim villages. Most *mon* areas have names – *Wailukum* in Waigeo, the caves on *Waikor* island, *Malai Yef*, *Jakani* – all of which reflect particular events in the past or indicators of a noteworthy being who dwells there.

Mon areas are liminal spaces where humans should tread carefully; they are off-limits (*kabus*) without special intermediaries. Offerings (*kakes*) are essential and permission required before entering a nonhuman realm. A person must state their intentions honestly or risk disaster. Harvesting wood, hunting, or food gathering is generally prohibited. Signs such as red clothing, shells, or dried sea cucumber mark gateways to nonhuman realms. Each Ambel clan has specific rules that proscribe where people can sit or rest, laugh or even walk. When the Beteo came to Ma'yalibit Bay to trade with Ambel people for sago near Kalitoko, they warned them not to go to certain places, “because an ancestor's spirit is still there and they don't want us to disturb them” according to Martin Makusi. Today, young children or infants are not allowed to travel near certain lagoons or places associated with spirits lest people become ill.

Mon places are also refuge for important species. In the sea, they encompass habitats of the Indonesian speckled carpetshark (*Hemiscyllium freycineti*), juvenile blacktip reef sharks, eels, mangroves and saltwater crocodiles. On land, *mon* areas include primary stands of New Guinea lowland forest mosaics with stands of threatened Indonesian eaglewood (*Aquilaria Sp.*), Moluccan ironwood (*Intsia bijuga*, *I. palembanica*) and sub-montane forest stands on karst peaks (Webb 2005; Widyatmoko 2017). Indeed, *sasi mon* areas appear to have positive ecological spillover effects for certain habitats and species, even if this was not the intended goal. In this sense it aligns with forms of species and habitat prohibitions such as *tapu* (Tonga) and *fady* (Madagascar) (Colding and Folke 2001; Cinner 2007; Jones et al. 2008).

At a large gathering at the conservation outpost of Warkabu towards the entry of the Bay in August 2012, people discussed a declaration of *mon* areas that occurred a year before in conjunction with Conservation International, the Raja Ampat government and members of the Ma'ya customary council (*dewan adat*) (Figure 24). Participants led a ritual procession to the sea where they left food offerings, and placed tree branches, cigarettes, areca nut, and yellow rice in secret places. Clan elders chanted special prayers and expressed their desire to safeguard their lands. Each village's elected representative was present as were representatives from the fisheries office and all of CI's Sorong staff.⁴⁰ What motivated such an event, and for what purpose?



Figure 24 Sign indicating *sasi mon* zone near Warsambin village, Ma'yalibit Bay, 2012

One clue is that some Ambel informants consider *mon* to be a way of creating mutual benefits (*manfaat*) between human and nonhuman beings. Before missionaries brought Christianity to the Bay in the 1930s, Ambel people would play the drums (*tifa*), dance, make offerings, and speak with their ancestors. They would give offerings in two sets: for the people of

⁴⁰ Discussion with Dian Oktaviani and Kris Thebu, August 7, 2012, Warkabu conservation post, Waigeo.

the forest and ancestral beings and to those gathered for the feast. Doing so secured a social bond with the forest beings, “so that they know the person and are protected from any harm that may occur to them when travelling in their places.” Speaking before beginning a journey, opening a garden site, or hunting pigs appeases the spirits and helps to ensure a bountiful harvest.

In part, *sasi mon* practices are a way of showing peoples’ embeddedness in an ecological setting where knowing where to hunt, fish, and gather, and how is reflected in the careful ways they treat their surroundings. Besides rules for where and how one can travel, they encompass botanical knowledge for treating illnesses, rules for when and where to cultivate land and the circumstances when a person can take things from the sea. Ceremonies are performed as a way of giving thanks to the ancestral spirits for all the prosperity they provide over time, or as a sign of gratitude for healing someone from illness (Mansoben 1995:228).

As with stories of stranger kings from elsewhere, *mon* practices show how power is structurally distant. The *mon* represent forces from outside or elsewhere. To the Ambel, the *mon* are a conceptual category of alterity. Animal spirits, and the moral edicts they represent, must be incorporated into the social order as recognizable forms of abstract ethical norms into something meaningful so that people can live well and with conscious awareness of the consequences of their actions. For example, Ma’ya council member Kris Thebu recalled how his great-grandfather believed strongly in the Great Mother from Kalibiru who is still present in their clan lands. She implored him to “please care for this area. It is your life. If it is destroyed you will be too.” These stories indicate how the landscape can be read as a moral map.

Ambel people believe that nature has power in *mon* areas a similar way to how Beteo perceive that God has power in *sasi gereja* zones. For instance, Kaliraja – the raja’s creek – is a place on Waigeo Island where people of Raja Ampat say the first rulers emerged from eggs.

Today, people make pilgrimages there to gain insight and power. They must be guided by a member of the Gaman clan, have good intentions, and bring offerings of coins, cigarettes, bracelets or other precious items. Behind Warsambin village, men of the Ansan clan travel to the Manibron River to spend a few nights in the forest developing ‘inner strength’ from interaction with the natural world. Near the village of Go, there is a special cave associated with spiritual power.

Mon sites, as protected zones, are not only nature preserves but are anthropomorphized sites of collective memory. For example, behind Kalitoko village the Dawa and Nok families speak about a place along the Kakit river which is a repository of stories and a refuge for nonhuman entities (Figure 25). Kakit contains a set of cultural waypoints. These waypoints include a large stone anchor of Monsam, what is believed to be the remnants of a giant stone ship (Ambel: *bat ranu*) that provided shelter for people and animals during a world destroying flood, a giant rock that was once a speedboat, Jacob’s well, and a stone jetty where spirits dwell. Ambel informants noted that after the large ship was anchored with a huge string, ancestors descended to the ground to dig a large well. At first everything tasted salty, but later they reached freshwater. The people soon settled nearby.

Despite the lifegiving and sustaining properties associated with this place, Kakit is also a place of warning. In one story, two sisters, Lorena and Dubul, became blind after *djin* spirits became angry that they ate a pig hunted from the wrong side of the river (and without permission). People from Warimak say the sisters remain in large boulders by the river, peering out from crevices and reminding them to pay proper respects to the forest spirits.



Figure 25 Nadus Nok at Kakit mon site, Ma'yalibit Bay, Waigeo Sept 2015

Kakit is a *mon* site along the Wenok creek a few several hours walk into the forest behind Warimak village. You walk along narrow trails down steep slopes and into a thicker and thicker understory, from secondary growth and old garden sites to older, denser habitat representative of Vogelkop-Aru Lowland Rain Forest.⁴¹ Nadus Nok, a guide on a 2015 trip, said that this area was once home to the Wanma people.

Kakit is a place of many birds and animals with sheer walls beneath a large opening in the forest canopy. One of our companions caught an eel in the river which we ate at our camp under a large cliff. In the morning, a large Papuan black snake (*Pseudechis papuanus*)⁴² appeared slithering along the river bank while I sat a foot or two away. Nadus said the snake was a *mon* coming to inspect the strangers who had come to his place. He spoke to the snake, telling it that we meant no harm. He later claimed that because we spoke rightly to the snake spirit, he was able to go in peace. So the snake slipped off into the water. Later on asking about his

⁴¹ <https://www.worldwildlife.org/ecoregions/aa0128>, Accessed 20 June 2018.

⁴² Discussion with herpetologist Dan Mulleary 16 Sept. 2016.

interpretation of the snake's arrival that day, Yeheskiel Dawa said such creatures are common signs of *mon* places such like Kakit. He argued that having a Nok clan member intercede likely saved our lives.

Mosaics of protection

The descriptions of *sasi gereja* and *mon* areas highlight how they are two different but analogous types of culturally-meaningful resource management. People observe prohibitions in each type of area for different reasons. But in recent years, both have been put into relation with newly introduced forms of environmental governance. Moreover, neither Church *sasi* or *sasi mon* would have become institutionalized into their present forms in the absence of scientists and donors who actively promoted environmental programs in Raja Ampat through visits, workshops, surveys and decrees. *Sasi gereja* likely would not have developed into its current form without advocacy from environmentalists. *Sasi mon* would not have become a justification for Ambel people to forestall new logging projects. In the absence of external pressure, it is possible that West Papuans across Raja Ampat would have continued to engage with their nonhuman surrounds as zones of ancestral spirits or cannibal witches. They would have continued to recognize different clan territories, read the landscape's signs for no-go zones, and perhaps come to terms with encroaching changes to private control of land and sea areas.

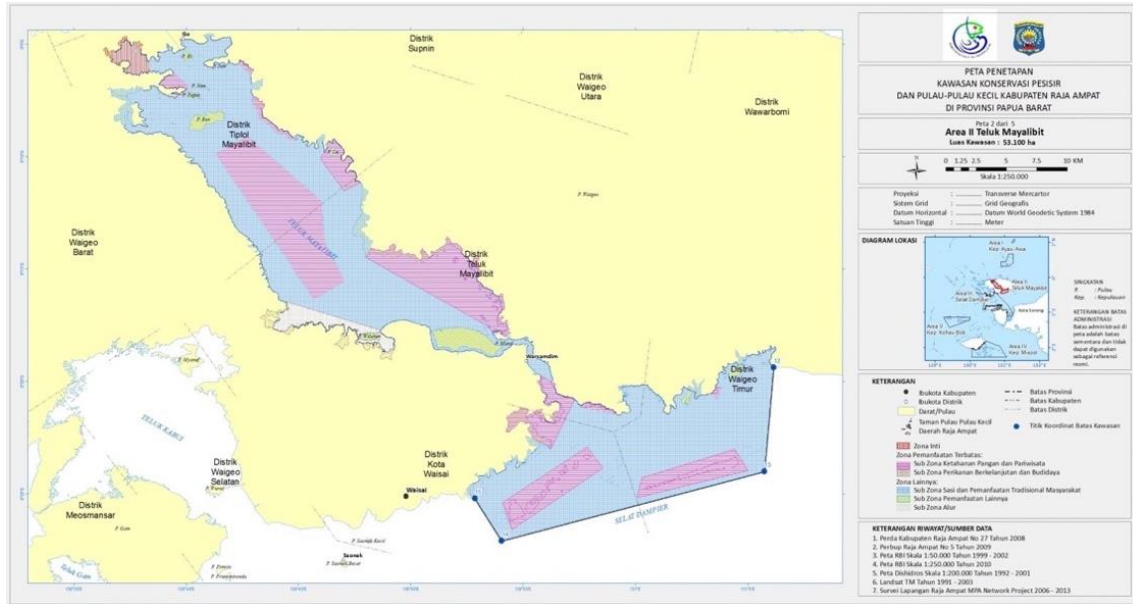


Figure 26 Ma'yalibit Bay MPA zone, Waigeo Island. Source: Raja Ampat Regency

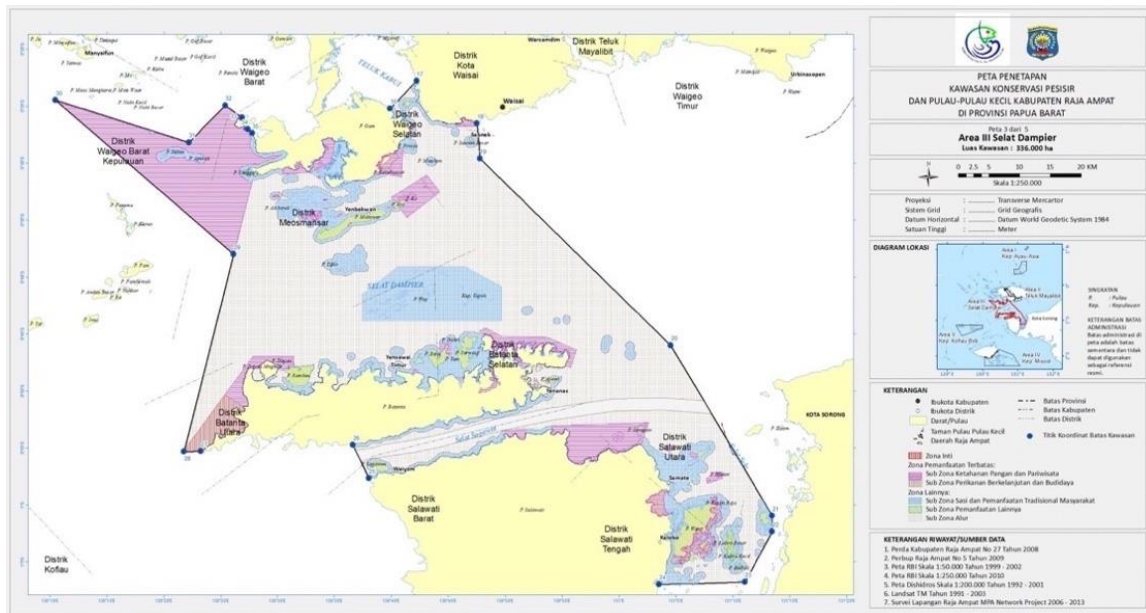


Figure 27 Dampier Straits MPA zone. Source: Raja Ampat Regency

Standing back and gazing at maps of the region, a composite mosaic of protection emerges. Figures 26 and 27 above are official government maps of the Ma'yalibit Bay and the Dampier Straits MPA zones. Each present differently shaded zones of no-take marine protected

areas, areas of human use, *sasi*, tourism area and village-managed areas. They provide a visual index for how several types of environmental practices have become incorporated into a mosaics of interlinked conservation areas, each of which reflects specific human-environment values and goals. Each of Raja Ampat's six regional marine conservation areas (*KKLD*, *Kawasan Konservasi Laut Daerah*) encompasses a different set of conservation types within a larger cultural and geospatial grid. Below I zoom in on examples from three marine conservation areas in the region: Ma'yalibit Bay, Dampier Straits and Misool.

During a group discussion with Indonesian scientists from the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (LIPI) and RARE – a conservation organization – at Warsambin village in Ma'yalibit Bay in August 2014, Beteo and Ambel villagers discussed how in previous years people would bomb reefs to gather fish in unclaimed waters. Others would use compressors and long hoses to gather shells and sea cucumber from the seabed, and large nets to gather anything they could. As recently as 2012 people from the same village protested the presence of international conservationists as they believed they would limit their ability to move freely to fish, hunt or make gardens. In one instance, a few men from the Ansan family in Warsambin took possession of a patrol boat at the Warkabu post used by CI for weekly monitoring trips.

Warkabu is a conservation outpost sitting across a narrow, turbid strait from Warsambin village at the foot of a steep karst ridges. Conservation International financed and operated the station until 2015, when it was transferred to the Regency of Raja Ampat's fisheries office. For several years, Warkabu hosted meetings with local fishermen and villagers from across Waigeo. Tattered maps and banners from past gatherings are still affixed to the station's wooden plank walls. It is still a launching area for fishing patrols and hosts visiting research teams.

In August 2012, I participated at a three-day MPA workshop at Warkabu. Over one hundred men and women arrived from several nearby villages to discuss biodiversity. The participants spoke about their daily activities and made lists of catch rates. They discussed perceived changes to the ecosystems: threats from logging, nickel mining and overfishing. A Balinese conservation trainer and several West Papuan staff from Conservation International's office in Sorong city led an group activity where Ambel men became interlinked as a web of life – a turtle, the sun, seagrass, a fish (Figure 28). People held string and became entangled together, erupting in laughter at the joy of this strange choreography.



Figure 28 Performing ecosystem interactions, Warkabu post, Ma'yalibit Bay, 2012

The walls Warkabu are still painted with turtles, islands, lobster, tuna, shark, bird of paradise – a reminder and an aspiration for their efforts, even if they are a bit tattered today. Such signs parallel a logo for the KKPD Ma'yalibit: *Biarkan bertelur penuhi laut* – 'Let's allow the sea dwellers to spawn'. Two hands enclose a tuna who is laying eggs – a reminder of the human role to ensure nature's fertility. On one wall, a Papuan man dressed in a traditional grass skirt calls out in Papuan Malay:

Mari kitorang jaga kitorang punya daerah sasi supaya ikan ada trus untuk kitorang punya anak cucu.

Together let's protect our place, our sasi place so that there will be fish for our children and grandchildren.

The call to protect the bay for sake of their future children is echoed on other walls:

Mari bapa mama kaka dana de, kitorang sauna jaga alam teluk Ma'yalibit dengan baik demi masa depan anak cucu kita.

Jngat..Ingat! Sabtu dan Minggu kitorang libut balobe supaya lema bebas bertelur dan jadi tambah banyak.

Mothers and fathers and elders let's all guard the wilds of Ma'yalibit Bay well for our future generation

Remember...remember! Saturday and Sunday we refrain from taking in order for mackerel to freely lay eggs so there will be plenty.

While there are still disagreements between some families about the long-term benefits of working with governmental institutions and NGOs here, many say that attention from outsiders has generally helped to sooth inter-village rivalries over fishing rights, boundaries, and to ensure better harvests. Besides workshops with CI at Warkabu, a few Indonesian organizations have supported cooperative activities, including solar-powered lights, volunteer student mentoring at the village's primary school and a women-led crafts cooperative.

While many such efforts routinely failed to address underlying socio-economic disparities, people said that such projects have facilitated trust by working together. For instance, in Muslim Lopintol village nearby, cooperation to manage local fisheries have led to increases in the number of Spanish mackerel (*Rastrelliger brachysoma*, *R. kanagunta*), the village's main economic livelihood. The village's elected official claimed that a Javanese Muslim researcher lived in Lopintol for a year studying and working to develop new management approaches. He said that her presence has helped to build mutual understanding.

On small, round Arborek Island in the middle of the Dampier Straits MPA, Beteo residents view different types of conservation areas working together to support fishing and tourism. Today, the village's Beteo residents live amidst four conservation zones: a no-take zone off the village to a manta aggregation site; *sasi gereja* areas near Mansuar island, village gear restrictions all of which are encompassed within a much larger Dampier Straits MPA zone. A group of men and women weaving hats near the village dock said that most folks recognize and respect the rules of *sasi* and community patrols (Figure 29). For instance, a conservation post on Gam island nearby has been critical to the return of reef sharks. NGO funds for fuel oil have increased marine patrols which have reduced fishing raids from gangsters coming from Sorong city.

While increasing numbers of tourist visitors have created some tensions over trash, fishermen reported that they now catch much closer to shore than ten years ago. Funds from larger *sasi* harvest revenues have also supported church construction and big holiday feasts. As a token of cooperation between Beteo residents and other partners, in February 2017 nine Papuans from villages in the area were recognized as Manta Guardians to protect pregnant females from harassment by over-eager tourists at a mating and feeding site on a shoal near Arborek village.⁴³ Such actions are meant to bolster regulations protecting important species throughout the region. They also reinforce links forged over the past decade.

⁴³ 9 Raja Ampat Community Members Trained as Manta Guardians, 12 June 2017, <http://kkpr4.net/en/index.php?page=news&id=11>, accessed 11 Nov 2019.



Figure 29 Fishing for bait, Saporkren village, Waigeo, 2012

Back on Deer village on Kofiau island where this chapter began, Otis Mambrasar spoke of his work with The Nature Conservancy to protect the Kofiau and Boo MPA zone. Otis said that Beteo residents participate in conservation activities by supporting *sasi* and accompanying local marine patrols. With the introduction of *sasi* areas in 2011, around 75% of the entire MPA zone is considered to be a traditional use area that allows for small-scale hand line fishing by paddle canoe. The remaining 25% is an off-limits no-take zone (Figure 30).



Figure 30 *Sasi* sign, Deer village, Kofiau Island 2014

In November, people from Deer village open *sasi* zones for one week to collect sea cucumber: mollusks and lobster, which they eat and sell in Sorong markets a day's journey from the village by longboat. Otis told me that before The Nature Conservancy and Conservation International entered Raja Ampat, conservation was limited to land-based *sasi* for coconuts and areca palms. The Evangelical Church of West Papua (GKI) encouraged praying for the sea's protection so that God protects all the sea resources over Kofiau and Boo, transforming a biodiversity refuge into a Christian seascape.

South of Kofiau, among a cluster of villages in southeastern Misool, Islamic forms of *sasi* overlap with no-take marine protected zones overseen by non-governmental organizations and Misool Eco Resort, a private enterprise on nearby Batbitim island. On the Islamic village of Yellu in December 2014, Mohammad Loje, a community coordinator for Misool Eco Resort and village secretary, noted that the area's Matlol and Matbat people used to catch fish with huge trawling nets.⁴⁴ The influx of commercial activity significantly reduced sardine catch: over time

⁴⁴ Most residents on Yellu refer to themselves as Matlol, sea-oriented Ma'ya people of Misool, as opposed to the Matbat, who lived in the mountainous interior and who are mostly Christian.

it took longer and farther to get anything. Mohammed said that the establishment of Misool Eco Resort coincided with a reintroduction of *sasi* practices, which together with the KKLD patrols, have led to increases in catch and return of sharks, coral cover and other keystone species such as manta rays.

Almost everyone living in Yellu makes a living from the sea: whether as subsistence fisherman, working for a nearby work for a pearl farm or as contract staff with the Misool Eco Resort. While some were initially suspicious of foreign dive operations nearby, the presence of conservationists, and nearby operations of The Nature Conservancy, seems to have catalyzed local efforts to prevent destructive reef bombing by outsiders. For instance, Mr. Mohammad Atabas Loje, a Yellu man who works at the resort, commented that people used to use many nets and trawls and the fish catch decreased noticeably. The establishment of Misool Eco Resort coincided with a reintroduction of *sasi* practices, which together with funds for community marine patrols, have led to increases in catch and return, protection of, coral cover and an increase in smaller fish. On the day after my meeting with Mohammed, several people led a *sasi* opening ceremony at Yellu.



Figure 31 Imam Soltif with author, Fafanlap village, Misool, Dec 2014

At nearby Fafanlap village, Imam Kayidap Soltif (above, left) says that he is happy to have witnessed several changes since The Nature Conservancy began conservation programs in 2007. As the Kapitan Laut of many generations of sea guardians, he says it is a responsibility to love nature. From the Koran we are forbidden to ‘burn the money trees.’ Putting his hand on his heart while sitting on his floor dressed in white, Imam Soltif says we “love our fellow human beings anyway, our human family, we have relationships to one another:”

I see the beauty of nature so I thank Allah ... who created me as his servant who was born in this beautiful place. The sight that I see of the islands that are so beautiful is visible as well if I am from the sea looking at the mountainous land that forms its like a saw blade, then [I have] the feeling that ... well, we give thanks for being here.

Soltif said that *sasi* and conservation have different time cycles, with *sasi* occurring for six to nine months during the season of southern winds. On Misool, *sasi* begins by making signs that a place is off-limits (*kabuis lid*), usually by placing a wooden cross on the ground or crossing coconut palm fronds. Signs that a *sasi* zone has been opened for harvest (*lent samsom*) include a tree tied with colorful pieces of clothing, along with a diamond shaped leave-wrapped of sticky rice (*ketupat*), dried fish, cigarettes and betel nut bundles. When an area is opened it is permissible for people to collect marine animals such as sea cucumbers, lobsters or clams. *Sasi* areas are open for a few days or weeks.⁴⁵

In the past people would dive to gather what they could find. The introduction of compressor hoses extended dives, allowing many to overharvest sea creatures. Reef bombing had become a critical threat to reefs and livelihoods. “[T]hese activities are not something we want. We want to go back to the time of abundance like in the past.... Among us the people of

⁴⁵ <https://batanme.tumblr.com/post/63817136630/sasi-sebagai-kearifan-lokal-masyarakat-misool>

southern Misool, if we are aware of ourselves, we [should] prevent it, for our happiness, our future children and grandchildren. This is our heart's desire."

But the imam said that despite these feelings there are competing voices in the community, gossip and jealousy. He added "I don't want mischief that violates morality." He spoke of the importance of maintaining customs, traditional institutions such as clan-managed use rights (*hak ulayat*), "so we can deal with people everywhere." He drew from his position as hereditary Kapitan Laut (*sea captain*) of Fafanlap and from Islamic texts as a source of his environmental ethics:

Actually, it's a great guarantee when we think of it within religion. It was told to the believers to love nature that's created by Allah - if we hate it how are we going to be an enemy with God? We give prayer and thanks without asking for more, it's all completely up to us to develop for our fleeting lives in this world...the world is temporary...so we love the creations of Allah that are so beautiful for us, everything completely for our lives while we are in this world - the seas, the lands and everything within - what's contained within the land, what's contained within the sea. It's like that: religion calls us to forbid destruction, [to] do good, avoid the bad. The message of religion is to be thankful like this.⁴⁶

The moral grounds of protection in contemporary Raja Ampat draw from several sources - from conservation biology's emphasis on species inherent worth, Christian ideals of right or wrong action and respect for nonhuman forces. Below I present excerpts from conversations with a few key informants as indices for how West Papuans identify what one ought to do regarding the environment and tourism. These conversations took place during formal interviews, while witnessing church events, on fishing trips and forest walks. People talked about their efforts to close off village fishing grounds and debated the fairness of marine protected areas. They shared their fears about transgressing sacred interior zones of the ancestral spirits.

⁴⁶ Transcription of recorded conversation with Imam Soltif, 2014, with permission from John Weller.

Conversations about conservation

I now turn to four West Papuan informants in order to highlight excerpts of conversations about conservation from recordings between 2012-2015 in order to show the potential overlaps or incongruities when talking about people and the environment, as well as different perspectives on the role of outsiders. My point is to indicate how talk about and reflection on the environment in Raja Ampat is also a dialogue about values. Each person has a different take on what is at stake when talking about conservation, particularly regarding the motivations and objectives of cooperation with outsiders, who benefits, and to what end. By presenting a few individual perspectives, I also seek to highlight how the circulation of narratives about conservation is also a form of ethical self-formation, through which West Papuans represent themselves in particular ways to others, whether NGO staff, government officials, or interloping anthropologists. More concretely, by engaging with talk about environmentalism, each person wrestles with the ethical implications of conservation practices.

Yohanes Goram Gaman: leader of Yayasan Nazaret, Ma'ya storyteller, and conservation advisor (he passed away in 2016)



Figure 32 Yohanes Goram Gaman and Abraham Gaman, Sorong, 2012

Yohanes was born and raised on Waigeo island in Ma'yalibit Bay. His mother later remarried Henky Gaman, a clan elder and key informant to anthropologist Alex Van der Leeden. Yohanes had a home in Sorong city, where he led Yayasan Nazaret, a Christian NGO focused on environmental conservation and health care services. Yohanes worked as an advisor to Conservation International and was active in the movement for West Papuan independence. He died after a long illness in 2016.

Yohanes said that customary councils (*dewan adat*) across Raja Ampat initially welcomed the arrival of international non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Yet after a while some folks harbored doubts about their presence. In 2010, Ma'ya people from Kawe village captured a speedboat used by Conservation International for patrols, and in 2012, took another speedboat in Warsambin. These vessels became leverage for Papuans to demand compensation and recognition before they would be returned. The disputes were resolved by representatives from the Ma'ya council who interceded along with government officials and conservation staff.

Yohanes argued that these days most West Papuans support the goals of conservation. He added that villagers have seen the results of increased fish, coral cover, mangroves, better yields of grouper, lobster, sea cucumber and top snails. He said that Papuans have learned of the importance of protecting ecosystems as a responsibility that humans have to the environment as well as to each other. He argued that some initially were unclear what benefit would arise from establishing no-take zones (*bank ikan*), but that over time, people have come to understand the importance of protecting nature (*melestarikan alam*).

I asked Yohanes about his perspective of the Ma'ya and Biak towards changes brought about by conservation projects and increased interaction with tourists. He said that in the past Biak people arrived to Ma'ya areas. The Ma'ya elders said, "Oh, you can live there, you can live

there, you can eat fish or hunt for pigs. But now because of Indonesia, the new rules they say the land and coral belongs, is owned, by the government.” Yohanes lamented the ways the Indonesian government has claimed the rights to develop land, often by expropriating traditional lands, or by denying claims to customary ownership. He noted that some younger West Papuans have adopted similar views. He says that traditional values are under threat: “Even the Papuan people come from Wamena, come from Marauke, they go to Raja Ampat and they will say, ‘This is owned by the government, so we can have land here’ not only [in] Raja Ampat, people from Manokwari will go to Timika and say ‘No, this is our land because this is owned by the government.”

Towards the end of one discussion Yohanes spoke about his hopes for the future. He hoped that the people of Raja Ampat do not give away their natural heritage to outsiders and that people protect (Indo. *menjaga*) their environment. He said that he envisions this as a three-part process: in the short-term, it will require close coordination with NGOs and outside experts to sustain the conservation programs established in the 2000s. In the medium term, he hopes that the Papuan Customary Council (*Dewan Adat Papua*) will receive financial support from international donors and expand efforts to socialize the importance of protection, “to convince them to be strong.”

Longer term, he hoped to gain increased support for the Free Papua movement. He said this only a few days after five students died in Pedalama, Nabire district in Papua after they were suspected of gathering in support of the West Papuan freedom movement when in fact they were only preparing for Christmas. Yohanes’ saw conservation as a struggle for political recognition, in which people’s interactions with NGOs coincide with efforts to mobilize people to build a

new political order in opposition to the Indonesian state. He viewed efforts to protect reefs or forests as a process of reclaiming Papuan heritage.

Kris Thebu: head of the Ma'ya Dewan Adat and adviser to Conservation International



Figure 33 Kris Thebu overseeing a new conservation agreement in 2018

Originally from Kabire village on Waigeo Island, Kris Thebu has been an adviser to environmental organizations and a mediator with the government of Raja Ampat Regency. He emphasizes the importance of having West Papuans have a say in management of the land and sea around them, particularly the role of kin networks for controlling access and use of territory. But he also believes in allying with Western NGOs, scientists and foreigners – not only to promote stewardship, but to bolster West Papuan economic opportunity, and to forge links in support of long-held dreams for greater political autonomy.

At a conversation at CI's office in Sorong in September 2015, Kris said that Raja Ampat has immense natural potential. He said “we are very much in tune with the NGOs” in safeguarding natural resources. He recalled that the Ma'ya *adat* council desires to manage natural resources so that they will provide a long-term source of wealth and livelihood. He spoke

approvingly about MPAs and no-take zones that “exist for the benefit of indigenous peoples, and to ensure the sustainability of fisheries.” He didn’t see a tradeoff between fishing restrictions and promoting indigenous issues. “This can’t be accomplished alone. We cannot walk alone – [we must work] with NGOs and the community.” Kris argued that the best way to ensure conservation in Raja Ampat is to align the interests of clans with NGOs, especially because at some point the project funds will end and foreigners will leave. “Indeed, the Ma’ya indigenous people remain, continuing this program because of the way we protect nature... That’s the way.”

Kris spoke of forming an alliance of “all native people including those who have lived here for a long time”, including Biak-descended communities. He spoke of unified efforts to protect forests and sea zones, and of a future when the Biak-Ma’ya people will become one:

Our aspiration is that we strive to demonstrate that the sea is important for their livelihoods. Indeed, so that the sea cannot be bombed; it cannot be destroyed; it cannot be free to exploit. People feel a sense of sadness. Because the sea is good. Even the land must be maintained so that it can benefit [us] from generation to generation... What we have is our sea.

The emotional attachment people have to the sea and land is connected to the ways *sasi gereja* and *mon* areas are places associated with strong feelings. Kris highlighted how the values and beliefs associated with *mon* – respect for non-human spirits, an ethic of responsibility to ensure species and beings in such zones can flourish – is not at odds with the types of underlying norms that NGOs or scientists engage when speaking about MPAs or no-take zones. “We are talking to folks again using the language of conservation – conservation is indeed the same as sacred places. This means that conservation is regulated in similar ways.”

Kris later spoke of his concern for the development of a paved ring road that will encircle the forests of Waigeo. He feared the road will accelerate logging, lead to exploitation of animals, and the arrival of more non-Melanesian people to the area. “In developing Raja Ampat, we must

protect the environment. The coral reefs are a living environment because there are still indigenous people who care for them.” He spoke of nature as the wealth (*kekayaan*) of the Ma’ya people. “Our people who have been guarding it have to talk about [the risks of] dissolution.” Awareness of hazards has motivated Kris and others to seek alliances with outside groups.

He hopes that the government will be as involved as NGOs in financially supporting marine patrols, because “if Raja Ampat’s sea is damaged, tourism will no longer be possible. Fishing won’t be good anymore – and the government will not receive money from visiting tourists. So they have to really be able to maintain this system.” This pragmatism extended to his efforts as an intermediary in disputes over compensation from tourism revenue, and as a leader respected by West Papuans and conservation scientists. It is also reflected in his work with church groups, and efforts to extend homestay tourism to Ma’yalibit bay. As such, Kris not only talks about value commensuration, but has become an ethical exemplar whose humility, optimism and dedication highlight a hopeful path forwards amidst continued uncertainty.

Reuben Sauyai: Beteo homestay entrepreneur based on Kri Island

Reuben Sauyai is a Beteo man from Yenbuba village, and one of the pioneers of village-based ecotourism on the islands off Waigeo Island. Since 2006, he has built several bungalows and thatched roof houses for rent to visitors who come to Kri island to explore the reefs and forests in the Dampier Straits marine protected area, home to over a dozen Beteo-speaking Protestant Christian settlements. Reuben originally worked as a guide with Papua Diving before becoming an entrepreneur.



Figure 34 Reuben Sauyai, 2012

Since 2012 he has also been a leader of a cooperative association of indigenous homestay owners around Raja Ampat. He is seen as an emerging leader among his kin group, and among Beteo families. Reuben feels that conservation and tourism must be managed by and for West Papuans. While he acknowledges the role of conservation NGOs in promoting ecosystem management and new species protections, he also criticizes such groups for promoting their own agendas over the needs of local people.

During a conversation in August 2015 at his homestay site on Kri island, I asked Reuben if he thought conservation foundations helped or hindered Beteo goals. Reuben said he thought that Conservation International could be beneficial but they “are not yet effective”– “They talk of conservation, but they don’t know what conservation is.” He said that the Beteo have long protected the sea and forests, and that if we are to speak about conservation “the community must also be conserved.” Reuben argued that locally-run tourist homestays have increased awareness of the value of conservation, but that such values have emerged through discussions and debates within families. “We built a homestay and we realized we had to protect the sea and

forest territories – including managing trash. Because if we don't take care it means that tourists are not arriving, or no one wants to come to a bankrupt place. There will be no benefit.”

Reuben contrasted these processes from how Conservation International and The Nature Conservancy represent themselves as champions of biodiversity as “very far [from ideal]. It is not good in the sense that they only speak of this or that, but there is no evidence that CI works to manage trash. The [private] resorts also do not know conservation well.” His comments reveal a self-awareness of the importance of positioning about who speaks for nature. He specifically referred to blogs, videos, and public events in which conservation groups display their ethical cred. As a young entrepreneur, Reuben is keen to broadcast an alternative narrative. He is also self aware of the importance of media to tourism success. He emphasizes the role of websites, cellphone connections for making bookings as vectors to broadcast tourism opportunities.

I then asked him whether practices such as *sasi gereja* could be a model for how homestay owners protect reef and forest areas. Reuben argued that if *sasi* refers to periodic closures of fisheries that ultimately support community feasts, it is worth preserving. But he argues that Papuan-managed homestays are more effective way to promote environmental protection: “We have helped the people to become conservationists. Many people have a homestay; the community have many homestays. If we want Raja Ampat's nature to be protected we have to assist Raja Ampat's own people to manage their own economy...without *sasi*, without CI rules, without TNC conservation rules without the rules of the government.” He pointed across the water to Mansuar island. He said that around Yenbuba village, no one fishes near the reef anymore. They all go farther out beyond the marine protected zones “because they know the economy will strengthen when our nature is protected.” Reuben argues that these days,

sasi “is now driven by the government and pushed by conservation agencies.” It has lost its authenticity. It has become associated with control and external oversight.

I then asked Reuben what he considered to be key challenges to manage to ensure ongoing environmental protection. He identified trash as a particular issue – both the trash that has accumulated from visiting tourists to homestays off fragile Kri island, water quality, and waste from Sorong and Waisai that often washes plastic bottles and packaging onto the sandy shores. Trash has become a signifier of economic success as well as a source of anxiety. Revenues from homestays often gets exchanged for packaged snacks, noodles, or other prestige foods that are associated with cosmopolitanism. So in some sense Beteo homestay owners desire trash, and to create the conditions for its accumulation, while also disavowing its negative effects on the ecosystem, as well as its role in destabilizing the image of Kri as a natural paradise.

I then asked what Reuben’s hopes are for the future; what is his vision for the future of Raja Ampat:

My hope for the next fifty years our children and grandchildren will continue our efforts by preserving the natural environment as it is now and the nature of Raja Ampat while still reviving the people of Raja Ampat – not reviving people from the outside but reviving the people of Raja Ampat itself. I hope that our sea will remain. I am hopeful about our efforts to help the new generation of children to learn about the nature of Raja Ampat – the sea and the forest – by fishing with traditional tools, and building or doing gardening with gardens that do not cause harm, meaning that the natural environment is still maintained; [so that it is] still alive. People come and go home and they only take memories but do not fully appreciate nature. But those of us who are left behind will reap the benefits and value the future for those who come after us.

In a similar way to Yohanes Gaman, Reuben views efforts to protect the natural environment as a means to ‘revive the people of Raja Ampat.’ He is doubtful about the Indonesian government, and is less sanguine about the role of conservation NGOs. His advocacy for local eco-tourism as a route to self-reliance and conservation values reflects his view of

himself as an influential Beteo man who traveled abroad and brought back the stranger's wealth to Raja Ampat, planting the seeds of a new economy.

Yeheskiel Dawa: Ma'ya storyteller and guide from Warimak village



Figure 35 Yeheskiel Dawa, Warimak village, 2015

Yeheskiel Dawa is an Ambel-speaking man who lives in Warimak along the shores of Ma'yalibit Bay. He is a liaison to Flora and Fauna International, where he has assisted as a guide and advisor on agricultural extension programs and forest trekking developments. He is also an intermediary among Ma'ya people for speaking with nonhuman *mon* spirits who dwell in the forest. Yeheskiel is recognized for his botanical and medicinal knowledge of plants, animals and the history of tribal relations in Waigeo. He recently built a small homestay bungalow near the shore, where we often spoke.

Yeheskiel emphasized the importance of showing respect to nonhuman beings. He said this is vital to ensure safe passage through the wilds. It is also a means of remembering the past and to ensure fertility or avoiding hazards (including disease, sorcery and untimely death). He says Papuans continue to maintain close connections with the places they inhabit. At the same time, Yeheskiel longs for diversified economic opportunities for his village, particularly when compared with the wealth of foreign visitors, and the rapid growth of tourism in other parts of Raja Ampat. He often would ask me for help booking tourists, or whether I could help him access cell phone credits. His comments speak to a tension between a desire to maintain tradition while adapting to the future.

During a discussion at his home in Warimak village in 2015, Yeheskiel expressed sadness about resource extraction near his village. He said that near Wauwiyai the ironwood is mostly gone. He said that people do not want a paved road through the forest from Kabare to Warimak. He said that NGOs such as Flora and Fauna can support nature tourism which can help to “protects birds of paradise, prevent losing all the pigs and snakes...because the forest is still good and still useful. It is still valuable to have birds. It is still good to have plants, still good to have hardwood trees.” Yet, while he is proud of the Ambel people’s continued stewardship of ancestral zones and *mon* places, he spoke with shame about their poverty compared with residents of Waisai town.

The Ma’ya people here still use their paddle canoes. They still search for fish with spears and traditional tools. We are all half dead, the people who have the right of land in Raja Ampat. We’re all half-dead. We still suffer. Whereas we have a desire that Americans can still remember us Papuans, so that we may be connected with America... But this is hard for us Ma’ya people. We heard that there was a plane and said “Oh, yes, you’re a rich man. You can fly by plane.” We are still living hard to [be able to] drink coffee. It’s tough. We want to eat rice, but life can still be difficult. From when I was young until now, Pak Yeheskiel’s life is unchanged. My house is the same, my Johnson motor is

damaged, but I keep going to the sea. Fortunately, because of our nature we can collect sago, fish and veggies. For now.

Yehekiel's lament is a cry for recognition, as he feels the Ambel people of Ma'yalibit Bay have not benefitted from conservation programs or tourism in the same way as others. They are all 'half dead' and suffering, desiring to drink coffee and eat rice like others. By identifying things he lacks, Yehekiel brings to the surface shared feelings that the Ma'ya people's efforts have gone unrewarded. His comments suggest that others have not adequately valued their role in protecting nature. His motor is damaged but he can still go to sea.

Similarity or dissonance of conservation regimes

There are clearly different motivations for engaging in conservation across Raja Ampat. Yohanes sees cooperation between Papuans and outside groups as a way to promote political autonomy, but is wary of Indonesian government involvement. Kris argues government, *adat* and religion should be involved “[b]ecause all three have the power to make decisions, to protect the people and natural resources.” Like Yohanes, he harbors hopes for future political freedom, but also for a rejuvenated indigenous governance through the *Ma'ya Dewan Adat*. Reuben Sauyai acknowledges that NGOs have provided some benefits, but he also argues that “they don't know what conservation is.” He says conservation must first arise from West Papuan communities, who he claims have long safeguarded their resources, “without *sasi*, without CI rules, without TNC conservation rules without the rules of the government.” Yehekiel is proud that Ambel continue to maintain the forested spaces but says these efforts remain underacknowledged, while his people are all 'half dead'. Kris, Reuben and Yehekiel all view ecotourism as a route to better economic circumstances. Their talk also entails a sorting out of values – whether conservation norms are in sync with village-based homestay goals; whether the

present form of *sasi* or a market-oriented focus is best suited to protect reef habitats; how safeguarding spirit domains is necessary but perhaps not sufficient to survival in Waigeo today amidst a development and tourist boom.

For conservationists, Raja Ampat represents a model refuge for important marine and terrestrial species whose habitats should be protected for their own sake. The region is a buffer against global degradation of tropical ecosystems from anthropogenic change. The stakes are high to demonstrate success here, at a time when coral bleaching events from higher water temperatures (in turn caused by higher concentrations of greenhouse gases) threaten global reef biodiversity and food security. On islands such as Arborek, Beteo children speak about *konservasi* at home with their parents following visits by educators who lead environment-focused workshops. They are aware that there is something special about their homeland. For many Papuans who live on Waigeo and among its nearby island, *sasi gereja* has become a mechanism for enacting Christian virtues of communal harmony while showcasing their conservation values.

Such practices are modern hybrids: they fuse a particular vision of evangelical Protestant Christianity associated with West Papuan political autonomy with the arrival of development-focused environmental groups and expert scientists to produce a bundle of shame, hope and fear. Among the Ma'ya, *sasi mon* is a type of spiritual wilderness ethic for respecting places where nature spirits dwell, as well as a way to map clan-managed territory at a time of increased competition over resources. What had been clan-based human-environment relations connected to particular habitats or kin networks have been repackaged as an institutional form analogous to *sasi*. In this way, *mon* beliefs and practices take shape as a commensurate vehicle for conservation values alongside other genres. The self-conscious representation of Ambel

engagements with non-human beings as environmentalism suggests that West Papuans are actively striving to put their values in relation to the new forms of nature-oriented ethics such as MPA no-take zones or forest reserves.

Yet the plurality of environmentalisms in Raja Ampat appears unworkable. There are certainly misunderstandings about the objectives and intended outcomes of spatial protection. For instance, in 2012 Ma'ya people from Saleo and Selpele villages closed the Wayag islands to tourism because they were upset that visitors did not acknowledge their long-term ownership claims over the area, and their role in protecting species. The dispute centered around different views about who could claim to protecting an area, and who should benefit. Kris Thebu, who I briefly introduced above, played a key role negotiating this conflict. In Chapter five, I focus more intensively on the dispute over Wayag along with other examples of misunderstanding over human-environment interaction in the region.

The residents of Raja Ampat likely have several reasons for engaging with outsiders. Some fear that cooperation may undermine the role of clans in negotiating access and use of land and relations to ancestral origins. Many think the Indonesian government will use conservation programs in order to assert greater control over people and territory throughout West Papua. In other cases, misunderstandings about what type of 'good' environmental protection provides have led to conflicts between local people and international organizations over ownership and access rights. Some conflicts have led to inter-village rivalries that risk violence. Ecological studies of *sasi* suggest that seasonal harvest taboos can be effective for protecting certain reef dwelling or nearshore species, but perhaps less so for marine animals who roam widely.

Interactions over natural resources often lead locally resident communities to improvise in unexpected ways. Some Biak and Ma'ya villages play the role of indigenous ecological

stewards in exchange for homestay visits by ecotourists. Conservationists may seek to present themselves as sympathetic to the interests of local clans. It is perhaps no coincidence that some of Conservation International's closest advisers in Raja Ampat are also Ma'ya and Biak clan elders.

Through talking about and interacting with nature local people as well as environmental NGOs communicate moral values to each other. Fishing communities point to their stewardship of closed harvest sites important for religious or landholding rights as signs of their conservation ethos. To resident populations of Raja Ampat, conservation is valuable in as much as it facilitates social bonds mediated through land and sea-based forms of stewardship. Conservationists may begrudgingly support eco-tourism as a means to protect the intrinsic value of an animal or plant species. Table 1 below compares differences and overlaps between three types of conservation: marine protected areas, *sasi gereja* and *mon* zones. I highlight the actors involved in the expansion of these resource practices, origins within Eastern Indonesia or from afar, the approximate dates of their institutionalization and their primary value orientation.

Table 1. Comparison of environmental protection in Raja Ampat

Protection type	Marine protected area (MPA)	<i>Sasi gereja</i>	<i>Mon</i> zones
Key social actor	Environmental NGOs	Beteo	Ma'ya
Origin	Exogenous	Hybrid	Endogenous
When introduced?	2004-2010 (7 new Raja Ampat MPAs)	1970s (land-based); 2004-2010 (sea-based)	<i>Mon</i> (unknown); <i>Sasi mon</i> in 2010
Value orientation	Intrinsic value of species protection	Instrumental value for species Intrinsic for Christian morality	Intrinsic value of nonhuman spirits and places Instrumental value to protect against logging, overfishing, clan conflicts
Purpose	Biodiversity conservation	Christian ethics; better catch	Prevent entropy; maintain balanced human-spirit relations
Restrictions	Permanently off-limits no-take area	Season-based or time specific (6-9 months)	Permanently off limits to certain activities; limited foraging and subsistence use
Value overlaps?	Yes, promotes tourism, linked to <i>sasi</i>	Sometimes – protects spawning aggregations, species protection	Yes, supports biodiversity, ecosystem services
Mechanism	Government; fines, gear restrictions	Church and village-level oversight	Clan oversight
Mode of enforcement	Marine patrols, community sanction	Church sanction, community ostracism, fear of divine retribution	Belief in causal response from nature if disrespected; clans
Cultural benefit	Tourism potential, better fishing	Community solidarity	Maintains traditional environmental knowledge
Ecological benefit	Spillover effects; buffer, return of key species	Protection of reef, mangrove and lagoon ecosystems; coconut, sago and fruit trees	Positive externalities; protects threatened habitats
Conflicts	User fee revenues; private tourism resorts; illegal fishing	Illegal fishing, reef bombing, individual trespassing	Trespassing, illness or death, sorcery accusations, illegal logging
Dispute mechanism	Government fisheries office, indigenous science advisers, customary counsel	Elected village head, church leaders	Customary indigenous counsel, landowning clans

Identifying similar or competing values of nature protection requires us to confront the role of rules versus practical actions in conservation types. Conservation is a bundle of things one can and cannot do in a protected zone as well as the specific costs for rule-breaking. Yet as a set of social relations, conservation entails practices – individual actions, improvisations, negotiations – that go deeper: they are forms of ethical subjectivation, modes of embodied disposition, ways of being in the world.

Moreover, conservation is not only series of representations but a field of practical action. In some sense, conservation is metapragmatic: its focus is “not on the content or formal structure of representations, but on the actions they perform, and within which they are embedded” (Keane 2003:181). Webb Keane discusses how Anakalang talk about rules (*pata*) is a way to “of talking about how participants are to evaluate each other’s actions” (2003:182). This appears to also be the case when evaluating talk about *sasi* and other rule-governed forms of environmental care in Raja Ampat. Such talk is also an inherently reflexive enterprise shaped by encounter with strangers. At some level, conservation discourse in coastal West Papua represents a search for common ground. I will return to the theme of common grounds for conservation discourse in Chapter Four.

Sasi and modern marine management reflected in MPAs may draw from different moral foundations but they are both about spatial control of places. For instance, marine protected areas are designed to safeguard biodiversity for its own sake. As zones to curtail human harm, they reflect a presumption that animals and plants have intrinsic value: the right to flourish independent of human actions or desires. Village-based regulations represent instrumental efforts by West Papuans to demonstrate their capacity as citizen stewards to effectively manage trash. Church *sasi* represents efforts to live according to Christian values in which an ever-present and

omnipotent deity provides benefits to believers, and punishes those who defy. *Mon* sites reflect Ambel people's conviction that human and nonhuman realms are interanimated. Their intermingling as an equivalent form of conservation practice recognized as such by conservation NGOs and the Indonesian state suggests it is also a channel for Ambel people to communicate values they consider important about nature and human responsibility.

As conservation practices, MPAs and *sasi* represent ethical systems because they rely on meaningful symbols, values and practices. They are implemented through performances – an MPA signing ceremonies, a traditional feast with dancing, offerings, a *sasi* promise – enacted by recognized authority figures (an official, priest, clan leader, NGO partner, etc.) They are also sites for enacting values with other analogous value systems.



Figure 36 Church service, Saporkren village, Waigeo, 2015

Customary marine tenure such as *sasi* – while initially supported by Dutch colonial officials, Ambonese Protestant pastors and then the Indonesian government – has become a way for communities living in Raja Ampat to highlight their way of doing things. In the case of *sasi gereja*, traditional harvest taboos are now interlinked with Christianity, while rooted in spatial ownership and control of coconut groves and fishing sites.

Sasi has also become a political-economic lever: it supports claims by Biak and Ma'ya villages for official Indonesian government recognition. It has effectively channeled claims for increased material support from conservation organizations to Papuan villages keen to adapt new closure zones. Relatedly, in Ma'yalibit Bay, *sasi mon* areas have become important sites for negotiating access and control of valued patches of primary forest or fish aggregation sites. Talk about *mon* entities or places is also another way that people are hashing out contemporary disputes over clan landownership claims amidst a transformation of land and sea to market-oriented modes of exchange.

Sandra Pannell suggests that *sasi* practices are anthropologically relevant not because of their potential fit with contemporary marine management regimes, but because they express local understandings about what is sacred, about ownership and about spatial differentiation (Pannell 1997:298). To Nils Bubandt, *sasi* is a dialectic between local cultural values and outside political forces, “characterized more by irony, contradiction, productive misrecognition and unintended consequences than by clear-cut divisions of power” (Bubandt 2005:225). They show how local environmental management is not merely a practical method of ensuring bountiful harvests but is also a mechanism for ensuring the continuity of values about people and nature, dispute resolution and territorial control.

Marine seascape practices such as *sasi*, guardianship, and patterns of rotating harvest are important to making sense of people's place within a changing world. Raja Ampat's seascape encompasses reefs, coasts, karst islands, fish, human villages, places of the ancestral dead, haunts of cannibal witches, places protected by God and nature spirits. It is also a social and environmental system in constant flux. Some fisheries have collapsed while certain species of marine megafauna have returned. Increased population density and in-migration is leading to more heterogenous community structures, trash accumulation, decreased water quality, and the search for alternative employment. Nickel mining, road construction, and logging is changing the terrestrial landscape, with changes to the chemistry of the coastal zones from runoff. Tourism's rise for the moment seems to be mitigating commercial exploitation of reef ecosystems. For now, *sasi* and other conservation regimes provide ways to limit resource degradation, as well as an institutional structure for transmitting cultural values about people and the places they cherish.

Chapter 2, in part, contains material published in Parker, Ian N. (2021) "For Kin, God and Other Beings: Mixtures of Conservation Practice in Raja Ampat, West Papua" *In* Johannes M. Luetz and Patrick D. Nunn, eds. *Beyond Belief: Opportunities for Faith-Engaged Approaches to Climate-Change Adaptation in the Pacific Islands*. Pp.267-285. Springer Nature Switzerland AG. The dissertation author was the primary investigator and author of this paper.

Chapter 3. Ecotourism on Waigeo and hopes for future wellbeing

Misplaced Hopes

He was a prophet of a different kind. Sometime in the mid 1990s, several Beteo villagers living on Mansuar Island off Waigeo interpreted the arrival of Dutch entrepreneur Max Ammer as the return of Manarmakeri, heralding the coming of Koreri: a time when foreigners and locals will become one (Rutherford 2012:1–3). It was perhaps an understandable misunderstanding: a stranger had arrived to Raja Ampat, established a residence and lived among local people, built a successful eco-tourism resort in 1993 and hired several local men. He brought Biak craftsman to build traditional Biak palm-thatched houses on Yensawai, gave gifts to many families and introduced several men to diving. He “slept on money” one said to me in Arborek in 2014. “He recently met with Manarmaker” said another on Yenbuba.

This was after Max’s earlier effort on Wai island had been burned to the ground while tourists watched, due to claims of inadequate compensation from members of a land-owning clan from Arefi village on Batanta Island. Led initially by a religious teacher named Domingus Krey, several Beteo people from Yenbekwan and Yenbuba village also began to believe that Max Ammer was an avatar of a Papuan messiah. As Max Ammer and his wife were members of the Seventh Day Adventist church, those who considered him to be Manarmakeri converted as well. A group relocated to a new settlement called Sawandarek on the uninhabited south side of Mansuar (*Beser*: Cassowary) Island.

Rumors circulated that residents living in other places throughout Raja Ampat’s Dampier Straits region believed in the millenarian cycle of Koreri. But it had been many decades since the

last cargo movement.⁴⁷ Not since 1998 had West Papuans dared to speak about “the itchy old man,” given his associations with West Papua independence and political violence that occurred when the Morning Star flag was raised at Biak city that July (Rutherford 2003, 2012). In addition, most Beteo people professed belief in Protestant Christianity since the 1930s. The Evangelical Church of Indonesia (*GKI, Gereja Keristen Injili di Tanah Papua*) was not pleased with these developments.

Residents of newly-built Sawandarek village worshiped on Saturday instead of Sunday, observed prohibitions against betel nut and smoking and avoided certain foods. Ammer himself found the spontaneity of such religious fervor perplexing: “They leaned to the ground and kissed my hand” he recalled. “I thought it weird...a remnant from the colonial era.”⁴⁸ While some later reconsidered associating Ammer with a world-breaking myth, the arrival of tourism has already transformed the lives of people living in Raja Ampat. It has already brought foreigners back to West Papuan shores as eco-tourists staying at village homestays. Tourism has also ushered an economic shift from gifts to goods, from communal land to private property. It has differentiated winners from losers, profit from dispossession.

The promise of eco-tourism in Raja Ampat, as with the promise of Koreri, is not only about better livelihoods. It is also about a more hopeful future when West Papuans will garner greater respect for their ways of living as citizens of a more inclusive Indonesian state, or alternatively, of an independent Melanesian nation (Rutherford 2012). Besides satisfying a practical need to acquire cash to pay for school fees, zinc roofs and mobile phones, tourism’s

⁴⁷ Specifically, a few people from the predominantly Beser-speaking villages of Arefi and Yensawai on Batanta Island.

⁴⁸ Author’s translation from a German-language interview: “‘Sie beugten sich zu Boden und küssten meine Hand,’ erzählt Ammer. Ich fand es sonderbar...es sei ein Überbleibsel aus der Kolonialzeit.” Source: <http://www.florian-sanktjohanser.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Raja-Ampat-SZ.pdf>

arrival near Waigeo Island highlights ways that West Papuans grapple with competing sets of values about how to interact with strangers, the costs or benefits of curtailing fishing, and whether to support different environmental initiatives.

Perhaps the scale of village-based development is not merely a response to economic demands, but is also a way for Beteo communities to foster the creation of new social relations within and across their society. Eco-tourism is transforming the physical seascape through Papuan managed homestay sites, as well as through internal processes that are consequential to Beteo people's self-actualization and social recognition.

This chapter examines how eco-tourism in Raja Ampat is changing peoples' livelihoods and values from trade in local products to village-based, nature-oriented tourism. While tourism has been present in Raja Ampat since 1990s, in the last few years a Papuan-led ecotourism network has emerged and expanded to the extent that in some areas it has overtaken trade in local resource products as the primary mode of production for several Beteo villages.

Tourism is a context through which West Papuans are engaging with new ideas and values – about money, time and sociality. Perhaps the spontaneity by which so many men and women have prioritized tourism as a livelihood indicates its potential as an opportunity for positive self-regard that contrasts with a legacy of shame and guilt from the past. On the other hand, the emergence of village-based eco-tourism may represent a survival strategy for West Papuans amidst the encroachment of private business, foreign capital and pressure to relinquish control over clan-managed land and seascapes to outsiders.

Residents of Sawandarek eventually acknowledged that Max wasn't actually the avatar they were seeking. When I asked people about these events between 2012-2015, people tended to shrug, or look downward. In Beteo settlements on Mansuar and Kri Islands, people recalled the

story with a mixture of shame and amusement, as if it was all a big misunderstanding. Other nearby residents on Arborek island acknowledged that Max was not the person they were seeking, but that he had revived feelings of hope that had remained concealed. Yet perhaps his arrival, as with the long-hoped for return of Manarmakeri, indexes a cultural mechanism for grappling with socio-economic change. Several West Papuans from nearby settlements work for Ammer's Kri Eco Resort. Others maintain steadfast Adventist beliefs. This case of mistaken identity highlights how making sense of outsiders like Max Ammer risks misunderstanding. It provides one example for how cross-cultural encounters are subject to hazards of misrecognition.

Encounters with strangers provide an opportunity for reflexive appraisals of who people are in relation to others. Such interactions may lead to a cultural shift in attitudes, behaviors or expectations. For instance, while Ammer is no longer viewed in terms of Biak legends, he has arguably become an exemplar of tourist entrepreneurship – a model for a certain type of ethical self-formation (see Faubion 2011:51-52; Humphrey 1997). Ammer has promoted awareness of professional standards for diving certification. He has also encouraged West Papuans to expand no-take zones including *sasi*. On the other hand, several clan members are upset that nonlocals have been able to profit from their forests and reefs without providing adequate compensation or recognition of their stewardship over patches of clan territories.

Near Waigeo island, people and things have become exemplars for the emergence of a new economy. In addition to perceiving individuals as models of successful tourist entrepreneurship, new types of physical structures have become prototypes for Raja Ampat's eco-tourism marketplace. The design of Ammer's Kri Eco Resort appears to have inspired the reemergence of traditional Biak houses (Biak: *rum*) constructed of woven sago palm thatched

guest houses resembling a canoe. Such houses represent values about commensality and signify how Beteo are repositioning themselves as participants in the region's tourism boom.

These West Papuan 'homestay' bungalows have become a standard structure for tourists who visit Gam, Kri, Arborek and Manyafun islands. They are visual and spatially distinct reference points for homestay tourism sites across Raja Ampat when compared to villages, which tend to be close to but separate from the zones of village tourism activity. Homestays are also physically and socially distinct from hotels or resorts, due to their proximity to villages and associated with particular family networks. Alongside pictures of reef and limestone islets, homestays are metonyms for eco-tourism throughout the archipelago. They package ideals, values, and desires in a single frame that communicates messages of wildness, pristine, untrammled nature, 'traditional' cultures unencumbered by cosmopolitanism, remoteness and authenticity. But homestay sites are also value hybrids: they both extend and refract Melanesian norms of social sharing, but are also spaces of cross-cultural interaction with foreign others, performative grounds for communicating with and receiving new ideas.

In an important way, the rise of tourism near Waigeo Island is a story of kin networks. Eco-tourism near Raja Ampat's island villages is a family affair. Young men from the Beteo Sauyai family built the first homestay bungalows for foreign tourists. The Mambrasar and Dimara families soon joined the effort. Conflicts around access to dive sites, visitors, and the distribution of revenue became new flashpoints between families. People quarreled about the proper ways to respect obligations among families to share wealth, the desire of young Beteo men to accumulate prestige by accumulating wealth from abroad and converting acquired status into more durable forms of value through transference to marriageable sisters (and their offspring in subsequent generations).

Besides the intimate ways tourism is shaping inter-clan relations, is environmental tourism in West Papua a context for the formation of new social relations with strangers from abroad? In what ways is ecotourism a setting for understanding the effects of interactions between groups with apparently different values about nature and society?

Tourism's importance to West Papuans has increased in the past decade with the growing recognition of Raja Ampat as the center of global marine biodiversity, as well as its representation as a wild refuge in nature documentaries or online magazine articles. Such media have relayed scientific findings of coral numbers, reef fish and habitats and have fueled a desire among travelers to visit coastal West Papua to experience immersion in a wild seascape. For many, a trip to Raja Ampat is not only a chance to see flourishing seascapes is also a journey of self-transformation.

In order to become a tourist destination, the Raja Ampat area has changed itself by becoming a metonym of wildness. The regional government administration, tourist enterprises and conservation organizations have edited out problems with municipal waste in Sorong city, Papua's HIV and tuberculosis crisis, longstanding economic inequality and political disenfranchisement. Zooming closer in to the specific geographic and social context of Waigeo Island's near abroad, several Beteo families have constructed homestay bungalows to fit tourist imaginaries of indigenous life (compare Stasch 2012, 2014). While nearby, these sites are not in full view of the concrete houses, TVs, generators or material needs of inhabitants. But most Beteo are aware of these divergent sensibilities and willingly sustain the conceit.

The reasons for doing so are instrumental – in order to accumulate money – and relational – the curiosity and joy of associating with Westerners. It is perhaps not a coincidence that many families have relocated to homestay sites. They report them to be more comfortable

and open to breezes than concrete; they are less gossipy than the close-packed Indonesian-funded village agglomerations. As new social arrangements, homestays have also afforded West Papuans a chance to reconnect with other family members. For instance, at Warimpurem homestay near Saporkren, Mama Enggelina Dimara oversees three generations of Sauyai with ebullient laughter and stern control. She and her husband Heret Sauyai have formed their own clan settlement (*mnu*), a common social arrangement prior to the construction of government-sponsored villages which generally shelter parents with consanguineal offspring and not uncles, aunts, cousins or in-laws.

In this and other ways, eco-tourism near Waigeo island has facilitated a return to previous ways of living, while also adapting to new forces. It is both an ‘economy of appearances’ as well as a reinvigorated set of material conditions. It is also a set of representations – media images, stereotypes, tropes – and possibilities. West Papuans and visitors have been shaped by these representations. In an important way, eco-tourism in Raja Ampat is also a channel for ethics: it draws from norms of environmentalism and relies on certain assumptions about conservation and sustainable use. Tourism also creates conditions in which participants, from Papuan proprietors to non-local visitors, have experienced a shift in their appraisals of themselves and others, including their nonhuman surroundings.

By examining how tourists and locals talk and imagine across one another’s expectations, I seek to understand tourism as a set of social relations as well as a set of possibilities for living in a world. But first I return to the enigma of foreigners being interpreted as messianic saviors through a re-telling of a Biak millenarian hero, and a case of mistaken identity.

Millenarian echoes in an eco-tourism marketplace

At a meeting of Yayasan Nazaret and Flora and Fauna International in Warimak on Waigeo Island in Jan 2015, people spoke about Manarmakeri, and whether West Papuans still believed in millenarian tales. According to several participants, the German missionaries Carl Ottow and Johann Geissler who were active in the 1850-70s presented a vision of Christianity that accorded with Biak peoples' belief in Koreri. They drew from Biak stories to explain Christian teachings, including the miraculous birth of Jesus; the fulfillment of prophecy by way of signs of wonder; the role of miracles in conforming his divinity – particularly the sharing of food, saving others, healing sickness; the importance of voyaging to other places as central to his ministry; banishment, betrayal and resurrection.

The story of Manarmakeri contains similar elements, including: an immaculate conception; signs of wonder in which the Morning Star came down to earth; magical acts in which Manarmakeri creates and shares food, manifests a sailing ship after tracing it in the sand; a peripatetic ministry after being sent away, and how transformations – especially the shedding of his former self – are a precondition for resurrection and redemption in the world to come.

Christianity arrived to Melanesia in several waves between the 16th and 19th centuries. A striking feature of Christianity in coastal West Papua is its ongoing association with millenarian revivals:

[I]t is possible that casual visits and information about Christianity since the early sixteenth century, through trading contacts, led to the emergence or transformation of local myths. Biak, Raja Ampat and large areas of the Cenderawasih Bay have myths about a self sacrificing Saviour, who left or died, but promised to return, when he would establish a kind of a millennium. The Biak people call this millennium Koreri. This is announced by a forerunner of the messiah, a prophet, the konor. The messianic figure itself is called in Biak and Numfor the Manseren Mangundi. The Me of Paniai, South-East of Nabire, have a similar myth of the return of Koyeidaba, who gave his life to create new life to help humankind in a concrete way, with new food crops. According to the Me

anthropologist and church leader Dr Benny Giay, the Me of Paniai themselves perceived the close similarities of their religious myths with the Gospel. They even thought that the missionaries had come from America not to bring the Gospel, but 'to steal' the Me myths by giving cues about traditional Me religion. [Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008:348]

Near the present city of Manokwari, Ottow and Geissler drew from Koreri to explain Christian ethics, especially the commandments not to kill or steal and to seek intersocial harmony beyond tribal solidarity. Today, several elderly Beteo informants living on Waigeo island remember Manarmakeri's story, which they connect to the hoped-for return of a messiah who will liberate Papuans. One informant said such tales shows how Papuans and Westerners share a common bond. He that after sailing from Biak to Raja Ampat, Manarmakeri travelled far to the West to the Netherlands where he lived without want or hunger among Western kin, who, like Manarmaker, were originally from Papua. He said that one day he would return, bringing people and valuable things back to New Guinea.

After the inauguration of the Evangelical Christian Church (*Gereja Kristen Injili di Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea*) in 1956, independent missions across Papua drew from Papuan millenarian myth-dreams to spread a gospel of hope amidst an increasing political and economic marginalization of Melanesian communities (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008:360). This marginalization accelerated after Indonesia annexed West Papua in a controversial UN-coordinated 'Act of Free Choice' in 1969. In the 1990s, interfaith church councils across New Guinea began promoting human rights and advocated non-violent ways to foster political and social change. It was against this background that an Ambel woman's quiet remark "we are all waiting for his return" during an evening conversation in Warimak village in February 2015

speaks to an intergenerational longing for better futures.⁴⁹ Others present nodded and mumbled in agreement. It is against this background that local tourism has taken center stage.

While Christianity and tourism seem distinct spheres of life, in Raja Ampat making a living and striving to live a Christian life are congealed. Environmental conservation has become a domain of Christian practice. This can be seen in the rise of Christian-inflected prohibitions on harvesting marine and terrestrial products (*sasi gereja*) and in discussions of how best to distribute revenues from tourism as a form of Christian charity. In the village of Saporkren on Waigeo's southwestern tip the Gethsemani congregation shared their desire to be good Christian stewards of their communities and reef habitats. Across the region – in church sermons, at meetings over betel nut, or workshops with NGOs – eco-tourism has become an issue not only of money but also of ethics. And like the millenarian cargo movements, it is a context through which people from very different societies are encountering each other. The zones of tourist activity have become settings for clashing ideals and unexpected conflicts.

During fieldwork trips to Raja Ampat between July 2012 and September 2015, I became intrigued by the regularity that Beteo people would bring up stories of Manarmakeri and Koreri. In some ways, the intensity of hopes for tourism and scale of homestay construction without much consideration of business plans or the remote locations of some thatched guest houses suggested something else was at stake. I spoke with several elders who relayed their version of Manarmakeri stories and compared these accounts to other accounts from homestay tourist operators. Even to those who disavowed any link between their homestay plans with messianic hopes, both phenomena draw from the same source: a desire for stronger social relations, better livelihoods, with less want and greater abundance.

⁴⁹ Discussion with Yeheskiel Dawa, Salman Fiyai, Wolter Gaman, Warimak village, Ma'yalibit Bay, Feb. 1, 2015.

In a discussion in Saporkren village on Waigeo Island in October 2014, Yosias Mambrasar and Luther Mambrasar retold a version of Manarmakeri's travels, which I narrate below.

One day Manarmakeri was making a drink called *sagoer*, when the Morning Star (*bintang fajar*)⁵⁰ began gathering sago. Manarmakeri said "who is that collecting sago." He then captured Morning Star, who took the form of a human. The star said he wanted to return to the sky. Manarmakeri responded: "I'll free you, but you must do something for me." He then gave him a fruit, and said "you must throw the fruit at a young girl."

Later Manarmakeri saw a beautiful woman named Insorak who was bathing. He threw a fruit at her, and noticed that milk suddenly flowed from her breasts. She soon became pregnant as a result of the fruit provided by the morning star. Insorak's father became angry. "Who got you pregnant?" he demand. He gathered all the young men from the village to ask who did this to his daughter. Soon Insorak gave birth to a boy Manarbeo, who said forlornly, 'no one is my father'. He then noticed Manarmakeri who was standing behind. "That's my father!" he said. He discovered him there. Drums were then played and everyone else left. Insorak did not love Manarmakeri; he was scabby and not attractive to her. But after becoming pregnant, the village told her to leave as they were ashamed.

Manarmakeri, Insorak and the young child, (along with some people from the community), later prepared to leave together. Insorak wanted to leave by boat with her parents, but they were still upset with her and didn't come along. They wanted to leave but there was no boat. Manarmakeri drew a perahu in the sand. He stomped his foot and then a boat appeared. Later the child cried, "mama, I'm hungry." Insorak told him "Eat your father's wounded skin." The child went to his father. His father said, "Look inside the room, there is food there." His wife was surprised (*kaget*) and said, "how did this food get here?" They then entered the house and ate together. "How is this possible," she asked? She still disbelieved the miracles and her husband. They wanted to go to "Kwawi" near Manokwari, but Insorak was reluctant to go by sea to that place. The boat headed elsewhere, to Yenbekaki, near Arefi. From near Kwawi to the island of Salawati, the boat travelled onward.

Once, they spotted someone on a nearby islet, but they couldn't see them. They took some wood from the tree of isolation (*pohon cawat*) as a token of their visit to Yenbekaki. In other places, they planted coconuts trees; the groves can still be seen today as evidence of their path. From Yenbekaki, to Yenbekwan they sailed to Western Europe, to the country of the Dutch (*Negara Belanda*) as there were people who didn't want them to live in Raja Ampat. Manarmakeri wanted to disembark to the beach, but Insorak did not. Bring the ship onto land, to beach it. Before travelling to the Netherlands, they stopped over at Numfor Island. "Ayo, let's go" said Manarmakeri to the young child who didn't want to stop playing on

⁵⁰ The Morning Star may either refer to Polaris or to the mythical Creator Being or to Lucifer (as "הילל" (Hêlêl), see Isaiah 14:12).

the beach. Manarmakeri thought “What can I do to get the child to come aboard the ship?” He took a piece of wood and transformed it into a serpent. For this reason, there are many snakes in Numfor.

Manarmakeri wanted to clean his scaly (*kudis*) bad skin, covered with lesions. He looked at his reflection in the water: all his scabby, weathered skin. Then he bathed and cleaned, and shed his old crust (Literally, ‘he peeled away his old skin’: *Dia kupas, diganti kulitnya*) in the water. His wife was very happy as he became very handsome. It is said that people don’t eat shrimp or crabs here, because like Manarmakeri they change their skins.⁵¹ They then embarked on a great journey to the Netherlands. But the mother and child stayed on the ship. When Manarmakeri arrived in the Netherlands he offered gifts of shrimp, crabs or white cloths. They chose the cloth, which is why they are white today. It is said that the many ships in the Netherlands are a sign of Manarmakeri, a trace of these meetings. According to the story, the Dutch are the same as Papuans. They make sago and have gardens. But after they became white, they forgot their past. They forgot how to garden and make sago.

I asked the men about what might happen if Manarmakeri returned. They recalled that Beteo people living in Yenbekwan village had believed that Max Ammer was Manarmaker. “Do you still believe in Manarmaker?” “Yes”, said Yosias Mambrasar. “It is our history; many believe it.” However, he stressed that people’s belief in God today is different from these tales. But such stories clearly echo into the present.

⁵¹ In Saporkren people eat lobster and sometimes crabs, but in other places this is taboo. In Arefi on Batanta, people are prohibited from seeing, eating or killing snakes.



Figure 37 Yosias Mambrasar talks about Manarmakeri, Waigeo 2014

Along the shores of nearby Arborek island in October 2014, two women wove colorful shell-shaped hats made of a local palm for sale to visitors. Near the village's main dock under a shady tree, the Arborek women waited for the next arrival of homestay visitors. A younger man sat nearby cutting up strips of palm as bait (*umpang*) for catching snapper (*tengiri*: *Scomberomorus spp.*) in open fishing zones nearby. A recent transplant from Biak Island sat with him on a bench near the shore. Both shared with me their views about the story of Max Ammer as Manarmakeri:

So like this, they look at it, they can't call him Mr. Max, they call him brother. We are Biak people if we say that brother means Jesus. That's Manarmaker. So they view that they finally said he was the Lord Jesus already, indeed.

They say that Manarmakeri has returned to this place, to Raja Ampat, to Papua. So they were told by Adventists, who prayed every Saturday. They were the ones who said that the Lord had joined him. So they joined him. They were not forced, but they followed them ... because they themselves were not forced to do it, they

were not forced, but they had their own willingness to join because they did not want them to call him Mr. Max, they called him brother, “so look at our brother: oh that is Jesus!” So he was Manarmaker. Like that.

Both men stressed that the people who converted to Seventh-Day Adventism following these events are no longer ostracized. Few still think of him as the messiah but look to him as a guide for tourism. Fishing, trading and family visits have resumed between Sawandarek and other Beteo-dominated villages in the area. In contrast, the dynamics of tourism are more complex and somewhat less tranquil. They have pitted villages against each other as rival competitors for visitors. At the same time, while some Papuans do not seem to mind foreign resort owners, others have become upset that outsiders have benefitted from their reef and mountain seascapes without employing many locals or without providing adequate compensation. Jealousy and competing visions about what tourism should be have led to conflicts within villages and families, as well as between church congregations and private resorts. People whisper that cannibal witches lurk in the shadows beyond the village, ready to eat unsuspected victims.

Across the Raja Ampat archipelago, tourism has become a source of great hope but also of anxiety for the future. The Koreri movement in West Papua from 1939-43 was one of several uprisings in which Papuans turned to messianic figures promising better futures (Rutherford 2003:24). The contemporary movement for West Papuan sovereignty continues to draw inspiration from millenarian tales. For instance, the white and blue-striped Morning Star Flag hails the Manarmakeri mythos: it was the morning star who stole his palm wine leading to the bestowal of his magical powers as well as his transformation into Manseren Mangundi (Mansoben 2003; Kamma 1972). Rutherford notes that the power and authority of a 1998 uprising relied on West Papuan’s “fetishization of the foreign” (2003:20), connecting political

activism with messianic movements. Drawing from Freud ([1922] 1963, [1938] 1963) she highlights how the fetish represents an ambivalent site of knowledge of an uncertain and potentially incommensurate value (Derrida 1986: 211). The allure of foreign things – whether stranger kings, the *mana* of precious goods, the visiting Western tourist – are congealed in a contradictory mix of desire and disavowal.

Koreri, a vehicle for a particularly West Papuan form of fetishism, permits an analysis of contradictions while leaving room for the potential of overlapping moral spheres. Among the Biak and their Beteo relatives, foreigners represent a promise of empowerment, transformation but also of danger. In a similar way, the Koreri story represents “an imagined state of pleasure and perfection” reflected in the Biak phrase ‘K’an do mob oser’ which Rutherford translates as ‘We eat in one place’ (compare Tuzin 1997).

Rutherford argues that Koreri expresses a framework for making sense of Biak social actions, as well as a vision of the world. It is a particular myth-dream that “reveal[s] the validity of moral principles” (Burridge 1970:27,150); it is a model for movement between moral worlds. “The myth of Manarmakeri offers an origin and endpoint for differences; instituting the inequalities that divide Biaks from outsiders, the hero provides the measure of value, space and time” (Rutherford 2003:159-16.) On the other hand, talk and imagery of Koreri is also risky. It relies on media that can be misunderstood or misinterpreted, as with the case of Max Ammer (compare Keane 1997). It also remains a politically charged discourse that clandestinely echoes dreams for greater autonomy.

As West Papuans have been represented as backward, tribal, and underdeveloped peoples, millenarian tales and tourist activities reflect counter-narratives to racist tropes or justifications for continued subjugation. In a parallel way, eco-tourism has become a new myth-

dream with great promise and peril for West Papuans. Koreri provides people with a framework of meaning for dealing with the effects of socio-economic upheaval. Perhaps it was not mistaken to associate Max Ammer with epic changes after all: even if he was not the right avatar, his arrival fits within a larger metanarrative in which outsiders bring about major changes to Melanesian worlds.

Raja Ampat as ecotourist exemplar

From a certain vantage point Raja Ampat conforms to stereotypes of a natural paradise. It is remote, has a complex assemblage of marine and terrestrial habitats and a relatively low human population. A commonly-photographed vantage point from the Wayag Island group northwest of Waigeo Island is representative of many visitors' views of the region as a whole (Figure 39). When people think of Raja Ampat they imagine a remote tropical refuge.



Figure 38 Wayag Islands, Raja Ampat. Source: TNC photo

The photo above frames Raja Ampat as a mostly uninhabited natural realm. Media including newspaper articles, blog posts, conservation campaign websites, and travel

documentaries reinforce the narrative of coastal West Papua as a biodiverse out-of-the-way-place.⁵² Media also tend to represent the human residents of the region as living in synergy with the natural landscape, situated in timeless artisanal fishing activities, hunting or gardening with simple technologies such as hand-built wooden outrigger canoes. The flotsam and jetsam of everyday struggles, particularly of West Papuans against economic and political marginalization, have been edited out of view. In tourist zones, Papuans have learned to censor themselves. Most do not speak with outsiders about their hopes for political autonomy, or how tourism is a means to greater self-reliance and autonomy from the Indonesian state.

From time to time unresolved tensions in places such as Manokwari (the capital city of Indonesia's West Papua Province) leads to political violence that splinters illusions of Raja Ampat as a harmonious natural wonderland. For instance, in August 2019 student protests against racist remarks in Jayapura led to mass demonstrations in cities across the region, from Sorong to Wamena.⁵³ Residents suddenly lost the ability to communicate via internet.

A Ma'ya informant contacted me by WhatsApp one night during the protests from an NGO in Sorong, a regional hub of 200,000 on the Papuan mainland across from Waigeo. He said that internet had been down for more than a week, and that he had been followed. He shared pictures and video of mobile brigades of Indonesian paramilitary officers controlling streets while buildings burned. He said that the Indonesian government had suppressed media coverage of the protests. Major Indonesian newspapers, including Jakarta Post and Tempo published supportive opinion editorials about the government's response. But furtive text messages, videos

⁵² New York Times, "Underwater Paradise at a Pacific Eco-Resort", Orville Schell September 7, 2012: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/09/travel/sharing-paradise-with-the-barracuda.html?_r=0

⁵³ The Guardian, "'An earthquake': racism, rage and rising calls for freedom in Papua", Kate Lamb, August 31, 2019: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/aug/31/an-earthquake-racism-rage-and-rising-calls-for-freedom-in-papua>

and images shared among Papuan friends told a different story of violent repression and anti-democratic control. While visitors seek picturesque seascapes in an out-of-the-way place West Papuans seek alliances with international partners to pursue political autonomy. Such contradictions are commonplace in these borderlands of desire.

Environmental organizations and tourist companies have represented Raja Ampat as one of Earth's last wild places. Just as the photos of iconic images such as of Wayag crop out the presence of mining, commercial fishing or anti-racist protest, tourism companies and Indonesian government tourism officials cut out and edit their own representations of the area as a place of indigenous stewards living harmoniously among wild seascapes. Images of student protest or the slums of Sorong city are cropped from view. The photographic stereotype of harmonious nature or culture in Raja Ampat blur daily negotiations and occasionally fraught relations between communities where tourism projects are promoted. For instance, staff of Indonesian-based environmental organizations sometimes view local people in negative terms by pointing to destructive fishing practices or their ignorance of biodiversity conservation or need for social development.

Narratives of harmonious partnerships often belie more complex rivalries over who acts and speaks for the surrounding environment. An example of this is heard in rumors about foreign-owned dive resorts which emphasize environmental sustainability yet are viewed somewhat skeptically among Beteo families for not providing tangible benefits to their villages. Perhaps recognizing the power of internet media for shaping perception of a place, in 2010 people in Waigeo posted on the world wide web a documentary about the negative ecological and social effects of nickel mining titled "Waigeo the Lost Paradise" in protest of what they view

as corrupt interactions between companies and local government officials.⁵⁴ Despite the dissonance between the most widely circulated representation of Raja Ampat and the finer grained complexities that residents face, hopes for tourism are still shared among many West Papuans.

Ecotourism takes different forms across the region. These include luxury dive resorts such as Misool Eco Resort, the Raja Ampat Diving Lodge and Kri Eco Resort that cater primarily to European or American guests. Chartered yachts are an alternative for dive-focused tourism. These experiences contrast to a growing market for dive lodges or budget travel hotels (*penginapan*) that cater primarily to Indonesian visitors from metropolitan areas on Java or Sulawesi Islands. Budget and Asian-oriented tourism has expanded with government support for Waisai town, increased ferry routes and the opening of an airstrip on Waigeo Island. The last type of tourism and the focus of this chapter is local-run ‘homestay’ guesthouses that draw adventurous eco-tourists for diving, bird trekking and village immersion.

On my first visit to West Papua in 2012, I was struck by the appearance of new structures being built for tourists across several villages in the Raja Ampat islands. For instance, in the Biak-speaking community of Sawinggrai on Gam Island, men had just finished laying hand-sawed planks of hardwood over a bamboo scaffold of an airy platform house that stretched out over the water. The house was taller and broader than typical homes clustered farther inland and away from the beach. This was a different type of place built for a different group of people. Was this construction boom driven by economic reasons alone or were there other factors that could explain the widely shared desire to host foreigners in villages on Raja Ampat’s islands?

⁵⁴ “Waigeo the Lost Paradise” August 2010, <http://vimeo.com/14193833>; Last accessed 20 November 2018.

At a meeting of village leaders to discuss ways of protecting shark species, I was surprised to learn that those gathered were not only interested in talking about conservation but also were keen to talk about the Papuan Freedom Movement (OPM, *Organisasi Papua Merdeka*). One man who led the meeting that night said that “we are all OPM here. Freedom is coming our way.” He said that an angel was protecting Raja Ampat and that people were preparing for a constitutional referendum.

Since that night, it became clearer that in Raja Ampat, conservation, tourism and hopes for political change have become interlinked. They are a topic of fervent hope for many young people. Conservation and eco-tourism are an idiom for West Papuans’ capacity to aspire to a more hopeful future. But tourism is also a source of confusion, misunderstanding and potential loss. During two subsequent research trips to Raja Ampat in 2014 and 2015, I spoke with dozens of homestay tour operators and visitors, attended workshops of a newly formed Raja Ampat Homestay Association and documented several conflicts between rival entrepreneurs.

In a quest to chart the rise of homestays among particular families, I learned that the first homestay was called Ranswor built sometime in 2006 on a small islet in between Yenbuba and Kri Island by three young Beteo men, one of whom had previously worked with Max Ammer on Kri Eco Resort. The men later got into an argument and went separate ways. One subsequently built a guesthouse called Mankur Kodon at the eastern tip of Kri Island. A few years later a set of small bungalows called Koryanu Fyak arose on Kri Island. It soon became a family affair: Reuben Sauyai, who had built Ranswor and Koranu Fyak, later worked with his aunt to build a more substantial house at Yenkoranu and a wooden jetty for boats (Figure 40). Reuben’s brother built another guesthouse on Sawinggrai called Nudibranch. His aunt’s family later relocated to Kri and arranged for weekly deliveries of food and supplies from Waisai.



Figure 39 Koranu Fyak homestay, Kri Island, 2014

By 2014, several Beteo families had developed several homestays on islands throughout the Dampier marine protected zone. Names such as Lumba-lumba, Mambrasar Guest House, Mambetron, Warimpurem, Kordiris and Dore Atri became currency among travelers for alternative destinations, each traveler sharing his or her own personal tale of how they came to visit such places – after getting a cell phone number, through social contacts or a colleague at an environmental group. Some homestays emerged as joint ventures. For example, at Kordiris homestay on Gam Island, a West Papuan entrepreneur and her Italian husband offered PADI⁵⁵ certified dive tours with rental gear and sub-contracted trips to nearby destinations such as the Pam islands. Some places such as ManyaiFun island or hidden bays on Gam island offered relative solitude. Other places – such as Martin Makusi’s Dore Atri at Raswon near Yenbeser village – offered a room in a small hut next to a family home situated along a village path.

⁵⁵ <https://www.padi.com/>

Between 2006 and 2014 the local tourism economy diversified from simple bungalows to a multitiered portfolio of sites coordinated by online booking and customer feedback. Local homestay owners hired an outside consulting firm based in Jakarta and Singapore, 73 Plc., to provide quarterly training workshops on business practices and community capacity development. Many came to see homestay tourism as a central focus. They saw the rise of a dozen foreign-owned resorts nearby and hoped to benefit from influx of visitors on their own terms.⁵⁶

As an example of the rapid pace of change, in 2012 the homestay of Yenkoranu on Kri Island consisted of two bunkhouses, a small eating area and dock with an overwater covered platform where people would string up hammocks. The few travelers who made the journey to Yenkoranu could be generally characterized as adventurous backpackers with previous experience venturing to remote locations. By 2014, Yenkoranu had transformed into a resort with four tile-covered bungalows, a large concrete dining area and separate kitchen, a long wooden dock jutting past the reef slope and the regular sound of chainsaws and buzzing longboats shuttling groups of travelers to hidden depths. A more diverse range of tourists have arrived by ferry, longboat, private yacht or plane. They included retirees, Indonesian and other Asian visitors, families with young children, scientific divers and government officials.

West Papuan homestays have become local products linked to international value-chains. They have become commodities disaggregated into discreet units with online customer ratings,

⁵⁶ As of September 2015, major foreign-owned and operated resorts in the region included: 1) Raja Ampat Dive Lodge on Mansuar Island; 2) Max Ammer's Kri Eco resort and Sorido Bay; 3) Raja 4 Divers near Mutus and Arborek; 4) 'The Cove' on Yenben Island; 5) Papua Explorers, a Turkish-run resort at Yenwapnor hamlet; 6) Agusta Eco-resort, an Italian/Indonesian venture on Wai island; 7) Papua Paradise on Birie Island near Batanta; 8) Raja Ampat Doberi Eco Resort on Urai Island; 9) Marley Dive Resort near Saporkren on Waigeo Island; 10) Raja Ampat Dive Resort at Waiwo Station; 10) Wai Island Eco Resort; 11) Misool Eco Resort; 12) Raja Ampat Biodiversity Lodge at Yenbeser Village, Gam Island.

diversified by location, services and aesthetics. The rise of a Papuan-managed eco-tourist marketplace has facilitated the emergence of new exemplars of value represented by entrepreneurial managers. Gres Sauyai, owner of Yenkoranu and a local government official in Waisai, embodies a new type of entrepreneurship among Beteo homestay owners. Between 2012 and 2014 she hired two professional divemasters who lead two to three trips a day. At least twenty people work and live at Yenkoranu during the high season from October to January. In nearby Yenbuba village, young men no longer seek careers as fishermen or in government service. Instead they desire to become tourist entrepreneurs like Max Ammer or Ibu Gres.

On any given night in Yenkoranu, tourists sit for meals with Papuans, conversing in English, Spanish, and occasionally Indonesian. Over powdered coffee with condensed milk they talk about the creatures they saw during the day, comparing photos they took or stories of their adventures. The close connections and intermingling between West Papuans with extralocal visitors are not common elsewhere but are a feature of all homestay sites. It suggests that more than the extraction of money and spectacle, homestay locations are sites for the creation of new imaginaries – not only among visitors, but sites where West Papuans see themselves through different eyes in ways that are re-framing their social and moral horizon.



Figure 40 Kri shoreline with homestays in background, 2015

Where Kri used to be a burial ground for Beteo ancestors and a fishing and coconut reserve for the nearby village of Yenbuba, it is now developing into a satellite village of several family groupings, all of whom have shifted from fishing and harvesting to running homestays (Figure 40). These families are the vanguard of a movement from a gift-based economy to a service-oriented economy focused around tourism. With little to no larger-scale fishing activity in the waters around Yenbuba village, most people focus their time and labor building and expanding guesthouses, working in homestays, transporting guests, burning and clearing sites, funding new church construction and engaging with visitors.⁵⁷

Warimpurem Homestay near Saporkren village on Waigeo Island's southwestern tip reflects larger-scale trends in the emergence of Raja Ampat's local tourism economy. Built in 2013 by Beteo inhabitants from an adjacent village on family lands, it has hosted guests from

⁵⁷ Most fishing activity near Yenbuba is restricted as the area is encompassed within a vast marine zone. Apparently, there were some 43 fishermen in the village of some 450, but now many young men focus exclusively on homestay enterprises. As of 2015 there were around 32 full-time fishermen left in Yenbuba village.

Belgium, Sorong City, Jakarta, Australia, Germany, Wales, Poland, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Brazil, and the United States. People travel here to catch a glimpse of the endemic Wilson's bird of paradise (*Diphyllodes respublica*) or Red Bird of Paradise (*Paradisaea rubra*), snorkel along the village's reef slope, kayak and visit with Beteo inhabitants.

Warimpurem is a collection of thatched roof guest houses built around a larger family dwelling where three generations of the Sauyai-Dimara family live (Figure 41). The homestay is managed by Engelina Dimara, a boisterous, warm hearted mother and keen business woman (Figure 43). With her husband Heret Sauyai, she rents cottages to visitors alongside managing a women's led vegetable cooperative, subsistence farming and fishing, and coordinating with other villagers who run kayaking or bird watching trips.



Figure 41 Warimpurem homestay, August 2014

Warimpurem is emblematic of the larger trends in Raja Ampat: it is positioned at the axis of two worlds – physically apart from Saporkren village but next to a path heading into a residential zone. Like many other homestay sites, Warimpurem is a business but also a family dwelling. Warimpurem is the home of a Beteo family with close links to the first homestay

developed on nearby Kri island in 2006. It is a tourist site that beckons travelers, but is also a neo-traditional Biak *mnu* – an extended family settlement and social unit. It is a space for Sunday male prayer groups and a cool respite under the trees from the hot gossip and openness of the village. It is also a particularly West Papuan type of place that sits apart from the Indonesian government-funded village site.

As such, Warimpurem is not just a template for a certain business model but a model for a new type of ethical development managed by Papuan people. For around 400,000 rupiah per night (\$27 USD at 2018 prices), visitors stay in a small cottage with occasional electricity and three meals of rice, fish and veggies prepared by Mama Enggelina Dimara. They are immersed in the everyday intimacy of a family's life: the sounds of chickens and dogs, scampering children and tears, practical jokes and high-pitched laughs, halting conversations and quiet moments.

An ecotourist aesthetic is reflected the design of Warimpurem and its position at the edge of the Beteo village of Saporkren – in a zone where traditional fishing and gardening are allowed, but where no commercial-scale activities are permitted. Saporkren's residents established a set of village regulations (*peraturan kampung*) that limit fishing and marine harvesting from the reef slope and outwards a few hundred meters offshore. They also limit fishing at aggregation sites and during spawning seasons.⁵⁸ These rules are site specific, but both Saporkren and homestays like Warimpurem are situated within the Dampier straits marine protected area. Several sasi zones are scattered nearby. Embedded within a composite seascape of protected zones, West Papuan homestays are places for translating the ideals of conservation into material values that can be shared among kin.

⁵⁸ For instance, snapper spawn in the Kabui Bay twice a year. The area is closed to all fishing activity during these times. Interview with Luther Mambrasar, Saporkren, 31 Aug 2015.



Figure 42 Enggelina Dimara Mandosir, owner of Warimpurem Homestay, 2014

Homestays like Warimpurem have become an important source of revenue for West Papuan villages living within designated marine protected areas. The village of Saporkren is connected by a winding road to the booming town of Waisai an hour or so to the east. The mostly Beser-speaking residents make a living selling fish, gathering wood and cutting stone for building construction, selling garden produce, working in government jobs as teachers or administrators and managing a cooperative fish farm.

The 600 inhabitants of Saporkren have lived at the western edge of Waigeo island since 1947 after relocating from an island in the middle of Kabui Bay. Most consider themselves Beteo with family connections to Biak and Numfor, along with other West Papuan communities (Ma'ya, Moi) who have married into resident families. Almost all adhere to the Evangelical Church of West Papua (GKI) and the village is seen as a place for aspiring to live Christian values of charity, community, humility and submission. The settlement is defined by a collection of tidy homes built along a crushed coral walkway, with two jetties, an elementary school and a

Protestant church. Several homestays have been built since 2012. On weekends, Indonesian civil servants visit beaches nearby or bring guests to trek for tropical birds, particularly the endemic Red bird-of-paradise (*Paradisaea rubra*). For now, the rhythms of other work continue alongside homestay tourism. During the day, men head out on small paddle outrigger canoes (*perahu dayung*) or motorized canoe (*ketinting*) to fish for grouper, mackerel or other reef fish. Children scamper by in white and red uniforms, and mothers tend to children, or head out to garden plots. Women also gather marine products such as large clams (*bia gaharu*, probably *Tridacna gigas*) for sale from Yenwapnor village.

Tourism has become the mainstay for several people. For instance, Demas Dimara leads hikes into the forested hills behind Saporkren to scout for charismatic birds. Trips leave from Warimpurem homestay by lamplight before dawn to seek out particular trees where the Red bird-of-paradise dances and calls in the morning light. If the weather is not too cloudy or rainy you will see flashes of red and yellow feather and hear the mewing of the birds as they swing on branches in an acrobatic swirl for discerning females. Their choreographed routine is repeated at night as the sun sets. Along the way, one may spot a Blyth's hornbill (*Rhyticeros plicatus*) or other large bird take to the sky.⁵⁹

While many residents of Saporkren feel that eco-tourism has been beneficial, others have become jealous. Tourism has led to major disputes about landownership between Beteo families, and between the Beteo and Ma'ya of nearby villages. On the other hand, it has also catalyzed cooperative efforts led by church congregations, a homestay association and NGOs to promote conservation and fight infrastructure projects that threaten the area's natural and human habitats.

⁵⁹ For a recent checklist of avifauna identified on Waigeo Island, see: <https://avibase.bsc-eoc.org/checklist.jsp?region=IDijwg> , Accessed 18 Aug 2018.

Consociality in homestays: creating a shared spacetime

What are the effects of this new economy among West Papuans living amidst such transformations? The rise of eco-tourism in Raja Ampat suggests that local communities are willing to comport themselves as indigenous stewards in an unchanging seascape, because these stereotypes align with visitor's expectations. People willingly become a commodity to generate value in the form of money. This presupposition would fit with explanations that see the alienating effects of capitalism as inherently destructive on local lifeways or to the authenticity of human experience. In this rendering, all value is converted from vessels of meaning and history to tradable goods that become mechanisms for the accumulation of capital.

On the surface it would appear that tourism in Raja Ampat is having negative effects on local lifeways. Along with communities in ecotourist zones such as the Galapagos Islands, Zanzibar, Costa Rica's Osa Peninsula, or Sumatra's Mentawai islands, the West Papuans involved represent themselves as indigenous ecological stewards as a means to attract finance capital. This would presumably lead to the dissolution of a pre-contact cultural authenticity. But this perspective would reproduce an oft-treaded ethnographic stance. It would reproduce a perspective in which locals are not capable of determining their own relations with others.

Such a gaze tends to position anthropologists as recorders of threatened societies or as advocates on behalf of people unable to speak for themselves. The first issue is often empirically wrong, while the second is ethically problematic. On Waigeo, Beteo and Ma'ya people are actively striving to make their voices and positions known to the outside world by willfully participating with outsiders. There is more than money at stake. Ecotourism has become a moral economy as well as a coeval spacetime of sharing, conflict and negotiation. Like the hoped-for return of Manarmakeri, tourism's promise in coastal New Guinea is for a time of intersocial

relations where cultural signifiers, differences of race, class or condition fall away, like the shedding of one's skin.

In many homestay locations near Waigeo island, Melanesians are not merely instrumental in their dealings with outsiders but seek to become like them. Whole families are adapting their residence patterns, use of technology, and food preferences. Whether taking part in group snorkeling, sharing meals, partaking in gossip, homestays are performative grounds for the enactment of a different type of West Papuan selfhood in which residents imagine a more cosmopolitan world of diverse things and far-off places.

The Biak people have a history of adapting foreign ideas and making them their own. For instance, a man's reputation is importantly linked to his ability to expand networks of trade partners: socially beneficial relations that assist in the circulation of wealth and productivity back through family lines to marriageable sisters. From another vantage point, ecotourism and encounters with foreign visitors are the most recent space for the realization of a culturally specific and gendered norms of sociability and sharing. Across Melanesia, interactions with different people may have lasting effects because in several societies a person not usually perceived as an autonomous individual but more of a bundle of relations (and potential relations) with others.

Conversations with ecotourists

What motivates foreigners to visit Raja Ampat? What do they hope to gain from coming to coastal West Papua? I asked several visitors at Yenkoranu on Kri Island in August 2014. Many had seen pictures in magazines of the Wayag islands and heard from other travelers about the area's extraordinary biodiversity. Several stated their desire to visit a relatively 'unspoiled' or 'wild' place, away from cities, less exposed and more 'authentic.'

Most visitors to Kri island had previously traveled to more accessible tourist destinations in Southeast Asia, particularly in Thailand, Bali or Komodo in Indonesia, or Malaysia. They considered Raja Ampat an ultimate expedition, akin to an ultramarine Everest. For instance, a brother and sister from Spain liked its remoteness. A graduate student from Copenhagen wanted to study waste management practices in small islands. An eccentric elderly Swiss pensioner desired to get away from grey cities in Europe. A Japanese photographer wanted to photograph banded sea kraits and manta rays. An Indonesian couple from Bogor had heard about Wilson's bird-of-paradise (*Diphyllodes respublica*) and wanted to see it dance in its native habitat.

The core period for tourism in Raja Ampat is between October and February when it is colder in northern latitudes and when the waves are generally much calmer than in windier seasons. Most visitors arrive by aircraft to the city of Sorong in West Papua before taking a 90-minute ferry to the port at Waisai town on Waigeo islands. From there, homestay operators transport them by motorized longboat to destinations at several island locations within the Dampier Strait. This is a general pattern with some variation. Tourists who stay at more exclusive commercial properties are picked up by speedboat in Sorong or charter yachts for multi-day voyages. In contrast, a typical homestay visitor will organize their own travel and coordinate by cell phone with a Papuan host to get to a homestay. At Yenkoranu on Kri Island, a small boat typically embarks on two to three trips per day. A divemaster first briefs participants on a site's profile and potential hazards beforehand. Beteo families from several villages in the Dampier Straits MPA zone are involved in dive operations. They are guides, boat drivers, aids to divemasters, owners of dive shops and homestays, local intermediaries or contacts at different dive sites, and occasionally divemasters themselves.

Those drawn to the underwater realm talk about different species of coral, of species aggregations, lunar cycles, tidal flows, bathymetric features – walls, shoals, atolls, fringing reefs, reef passes and nutrient upwellings. They seek to observe and interact with several species: small brightly colored slug-like nudibranchs; fan corals waving back and forth in their lacy brightness; manta rays, their huge bat wings and graceful swooping arms like a giant apocalyptic bird swirling, observing and moving on; sharks who dart about and patrol the coral slope; turtles shyly and diffidently swimming by.

These shared interests and stories create an aqueous consociality among divers. It is an affinity that shapes their sense of belonging in a maritime realm (see Embree 2004). This affinity is manifested in diving's technical language. Divers speak of down currents, buoyancy control devices, weights (in kilos; the fewer the sign of a more advanced diver), pressure bars (expressed in pounds per square inch), dive depth and profile, nitrogen narcosis, O-ring gaskets and surface intervals. They shed their skin and become marine-like, transformed by large rubberized fins, glass masks, buoyancy devices and tanks.

As with other watersports, diving has its own language, codes and social subgroups. Some are free divers who focus on breath control. Others are current or 'muck divers' who visit sunken ships or archaeological sites. Some focus on underwater photography while others seek deep dives using mixed gas solutions. Still others seek the darkness to witness moray eels, octopus, sharks and coral polyps spreading their fan-like appendages to grasp floating meals. Long-term divers have even changed their physiology to adapt to the water world: some have trained their bodies to maximize oxygen while others have developed especially keen eyesight (see Overgaard et al. 2006; Gislén et al. 2003).

At a communal dinner table over stewed water spinach (*Ipomoea aquatica*) and mackerel (*Rastrelliger spp.*) in January 2015, visitors at one of Kri's homestays reflected on their experiences. I had returned to Kri on the invitation of the village secretary of Yenbuba who had recently built his own homestay. The visitors described their most memorable dives, as well as the need to better conserve the Raja Ampat environment, the problem of trash and services here. They talked about the dangers of currents, religion and evangelism, free speech and gun violence, and whether *salak* (snake fruit: *Salacca zalacca*) is really edible. Across such conversational flotsam conversations always eventually return to the sea.

The days have a certain rhythm at a Beteo homestay: early morning dive trips and fishing expeditions, fetching visitors who arrive by ferry to Waisai, afternoons waiting around, chatting with locals as they build new bungalows and finding shelter in a passing squall. Beteo children play in the sand in the adjacent dwellings. Slightly older children assist their fathers with boats, spotting debris while travelling or accompanying their parents to other gatherings. The teenagers and twenty-somethings are mostly in school or working at jobs in Sorong. Others work as fishermen, in gardens or in homestays, building new structures, manning the compressors or bringing supplies. They listen to digital recordings of Indonesian pop and reggae underneath shady trees in the hot sun in the intervals between trips out to sea.

Several ecotourists have become longer-term residents. Several have made repeat trips to stay with the same families. Others aspire to become renowned dive owners like Max Ammer. For instance, Florian and Johanna from Innsbruck, Austria first visited Raja Ampat in 2012 for two months and returned several times since with plans to build their own dive resort in the area. Another woman from Slovenia with similar goals expressed frustration at the increased costs to travelers at Yenkoranu and other homestays. She also rejected the expensive, exclusive luxury

resorts for their 'eco' labels. While preferring to stay with Papuan families, she also decried the lack of waste disposal, infrastructure and inefficiencies across the region. As with Florian and Joanna, she wanted to establish her own eco-resort modeled on environmental principles.

Such conversations suggest that some visitors hope to become part or fulltime residents or to move beyond the category of tourist to cultural intermediary or informed adventurer, by accumulating authenticity through primitivist tourism experiences (compare Stasch 2019). In their engagements with strange others, such travelers seek a commensality – a sense of sharedness – manifested through acts of exchange, long-term visits, and participation in what they perceive to be daily activities. In a parallel way, many Beteo and Ma'ya people desire to be seen as entrepreneurs and businessowners like their visitors. They aspire to transcend the ethnic and local categories ascribed to them by outsiders. In this way the human dynamics of Raja Ampat mirror its current flows, drawing from Indo-Pacific and far-away places, mixing, changing and passing through to new destinations abroad.

Diving in Raja Ampat evokes a sense of awe among people who come here. The area is known for its strong currents, complex dive profiles, basic infrastructure and lack of emergency facilities (such as a decompression chamber). Yet for many people the opportunity to dive among the society of the sea is worth the risks.



Figure 43 Divers are briefed by local divemasters, Kri Island, 2014

On one occasion, I accompanied a few guests on a trip to Arborek Island. We sped along Kri's northern shore in a small fiberglass hulled speedboat onward to Mansuar Island nearby. Along the way we passed the Beteo villages of Yenbuba, Kapisawar, Kurkapa then to Arborek Island, a flat round place with an important village encompassing its surface. Just off the village in the sea one encounters a giant greenish purple clam agape, a clown fish, needlefish, trumpetfish, schools of trevally a lionfish, barracuda, nudibranchs, and coral polyps swaying in the moving waters. Farther down we had to anchor ourselves to the reef to keep from being swept away. A huge green-striped Napoleon wrasse swam by as manta rays pulsed in the cobalt distance. It is hard to adequately describe this alien world: azure, impossible, multichromatic, swirling. It is a complex assemblage of interspecies connections, drama, betrayal and assistance mirroring a world above.

Innovation and change in the village homestay economy

While Max Ammer did not ultimately fulfill people's hopes for the return of Manarmakeri, he did foreshadow a new era in Raja Ampat where foreign visitors, money and credit are bringing about a transformation in West Papuan community's relations to the environment and to each other. The discovery of Raja Ampat's value as a haven of marine biodiversity in the early 2000s garnered significant global attention that created a demand for tourism in unexpected ways. Non-governmental organizations and conservation biologists likely did not anticipate the rise of an endogenous network of locally-run tourist bungalows or the development of a Papuan-run Raja Ampat Homestay Association.

The scale of development is evident in the intensity of efforts to mobilize families and social networks. It can be heard in increased talk about services, credit, ratings, and investment. These topics appear to echo a transition from gifts to goods, where money, rent and property have become vital in areas of tourism interactions. In places outside of marine protected zones or areas of nature tourism, socially-mediated exchanges still predominate. But in certain areas tourism is reframing values about gifts and goods. For instance, near Arborek village Beteo people have abandoned certain fishing techniques and fostered new feelings about animals (such as manta rays and sharks) following interactions with Conservation International, a World Bank-led coral reef mapping initiative, and increased efforts to protect these species. These days, the village economy's survival depends on the continued appearance of manta rays to sandy shoals nearby to mate and feed. These marine creatures have become tokens of value creation and means of eliciting exchange.

One could argue that Waigeo's homestay tourism market is a Papuan response to the perceived threat of foreign-owned dive resorts. Most of the dive resorts are foreign owned and operated with either a few Papuan staff or staff from abroad. Major shareholders are almost

exclusively outside investors. The prices to stay at these properties is high. They market weeklong packages with dives, lodging and meals, between USD \$300-600 per night. Some boat drivers charge extra for fuel costs. While Max Ammer was the first arrival, he now competes with Swiss, Italian, German, Turkish, Balinese, Javanese, Dutch, French, Spanish and British operators. Jealousy about outsiders 'eating the money from our lands' has motivated rapid developments. Homestays offer an alternative: most homestays charge between USD \$25-45 with meals included, and electricity by generator. They market to those on a modest budget who seek immersion in a tourist imaginary with authentic people who live amidst intact ecosystems.

These developments rely on mimesis as well as innovation. Papuan bungalow designs initially borrowed from Max Ammer's Kri Eco Resort. But the design aesthetic of Kri Eco Resort had itself been modeled on traditional Biak house designs. Over the past few years, homestay owners have improved construction techniques for larger structures (Figures 44-45). They have built docks, led dive courses, hired specialized staff for bird expeditions subcontracted to outer-island kin for trips to other islands. Almost all homestays coordinate booking through a centralized website (<https://www.stayrajaampat.com/>) that accepts credit card payment. Each homestay is rated for the quality of services with international visitors providing comments similar to an online business.



Figure 44 Mambetron Homestay, Kri Island, Aug 2014

Yakob Sauyai, Secretary of Yenbuba village sat with two young children, chewing betel nut as we spoke about the changes to village life and his impressions about the homestay phenomenon.⁶⁰ He said that in the past, most people in Yenbuba prepared salted fish they caught for sale in Sorong, a three-day journey by hand powered canoe. The first village of Yenbuba was on Kri. A cemetery and coconut groves are visible traces of this past. He said that these days the entire village economy runs on homestays. Yakob said that the homestays have helped Yenbuba become more visible than before. Revenues have funded the construction of new homes as well as a large church. Most in the village are supportive of limits to fishing nearby but still catch food to share among families.

At the same time, Yakob worried that tourism is eroding Protestant values among young men. He said several men who work in homestays have foreign girlfriends, new mobile phones, clothes, and strange tastes. Several men from Yenbuba expressed anxiety about population

⁶⁰ Discussion with Yakob Sauyai, Yenbuba village, Mansuar Island, September 10th 2014.

density and resource degradation particularly related to water quality and the accumulation of trash. They did not always approve of rich foreigners treating their family lands as a recreational zone. Additionally, some pointed to an increase in illegal logging of valuable hardwoods for construction, and feuding between families over guests.



Figure 45 Beteo men construct a new homestay, Kri Island, 2012

Tensions between Beteo families have increased disputes over use rights, compensation, land access and control. Competition between homestays for guests is often mitigated by ensuring that all homestays in a given area have some occupants. This is the approach used on Kri where different owners try to distribute guests to minimize risks of jealousy and inter-family or village conflicts. One flashpoint has been between places that offer diving services, especially the larger homestay sites at Yenkoranu (Kri), Nudibranch (Gam), Lumba Lumba (Kri), Mankur Kodon (Kri), Kordiris (near Gam), versus those that cater to birding or village tourism in Sawinggrai, Warimpurem on Waigeo, Manyafun and on Mansuar Island near the village of Yenbuba.

Part of this dispute centers on what a homestay should be. To Martin Makusi, a homestay should be an attachment to a family house in its original setting in a village. He believes the goal is to provide visitors with an improved cultural understanding of West Papuan life rather than pure recreation. His homestay at Dore Atri in Raswon at Yenbeser village is one model. To Paulus Sauyai, Nudibranch Homestay immerses visitors in a setting apart of Sawinggrai village. Some places cater specifically to divers, while others market cultural tourism, trekking or solitude in isolated huts built on remote islands, or clan-owned lands apart from village spaces.

It became apparent that residents involved in tourism had to get organized. In 2012, several managers of homestays created a Raja Ampat Homestay Association, now called the Association of Business Development and Livelihood of the Indigenous People of Raja Ampat (Indo. *Perkumpulan Penggerak Usaha Dan Penghidupan Masyarakat Asli Raja Ampat (PERJAMPAT)*). Martin Makusi said that it is good for Papuans to have their own businesses “so they can have a bit of income for their life.” He said that tourism has created challenges and benefits: “The problem they face is how to manage it. How to get to a standard, to serve people from outside – other foreigners (Indo: *bule*). The *bule* want to see the difference between their lives, from their place in Europe or America, and different customs, different things.” In meeting this desire, “the good thing is that [local] people realize that instead of fishing those [sea] animals and turtles we leave them there so our guests from other places come to see them. When they snorkel they can still see them there.”⁶¹

Over the past few years, the association has become a center point of West Papuan efforts to carve out a unique market for dive and nature-oriented tourism. It has developed a structure of committees, with democratically elected executives, and representatives from homestays

⁶¹ Discussion with Makusi, September 3, 2015, Waisai, Waigeo Island.

throughout the archipelago. Volunteers from abroad have assisted with the development of a website. By 2014 there were over thirty homestays in the predominantly Beser-speaking island zone south and west of Waigeo Island. Since 2006, residents have hosted over 4,000 guests. Over 150 households depended exclusively on homestay income for their livelihood.⁶²

To provide a more concrete sense of how local tourism is effecting changes in peoples' ethical sensibilities, below I describe a four-day homestay workshop held on Kri Island from September 16-19, 2014 attended by several dozen homestay owners. The workshop represents one of a series of encounters between outside groups and West Papuans involving conservation and tourism. It was a gathering point for several families to sort out their stake in a burgeoning tourism economy. But doing so would require adopting new values about money and time that led some to feel shame and others to doubt whether this new market would really benefit them after all.

Getting organized: A meeting of the Raja Ampat Homestay Association

The workshop was led by a group of consultants and facilitators from a private consultancy called 73 Ltd, based in Singapore.⁶³ 73 Ltd. received funding from the Walton Foundation with a five-year contract to support community economic and financial development in Wamena in the Papuan highlands, Sulawesi and now Raja Ampat. According to CEO Dominic and workshop facilitator Maria, the workshop intended to promote Papuan economic self-sufficiency (Indo: *peningkatan ekonomi*) through leadership training, brand development and

⁶² Presentation of survey results, Karel Wawafma, "Kontribusi Homestay dalam Peningkatan Pendapatan Ekonomi Masyarakat & Dampaknya Bagi Kondisi Lingkungan di 9 Kampung di Raja Ampat" ("Increasing Community Economic Income from Homestay Contributions & The Impact on Environmental Conditions in 9 Kampung in Raja Ampat"), Survey Report, September 2014.

⁶³ <https://www.73-ltd.com/> For more specific results of 73 Ltd. Involvement with the Raja Ampat Homestay Association, see: <https://www.73-ltd.com/seventythree-and-the-raja-ampat-homestay-association-how-communities-in-raja-ampat-are-shaping-their-world/> Accessed 18 November 2018.

strategic planning. Maria pointed out a corollary goal of promoting of environmental stewardship.

Several members of 73 showed a video of a speech given a young girl at the 1992 Rio Summit on the Environment in which she said “I am fighting for my future. (...) I am here to speak for all generations to come. (...) In my life, I have dreamt of seeing the great herds of wild animals, jungles and rainforests full of birds and butterflies, but now I wonder if they will even exist for my children to see.”⁶⁴ By opening the workshop with this clip, the consultants signaled the value of conservation as an intrinsic component of the homestay association’s work. Papuan attendees later shared their feelings. Martin Makusi said “we are the caretakers of future generations.” Another man, Karel, stood to speak and cried. He implored people to not only talk (*jangan hanya bicara*). “People must also act.” Enggelina Dimara, one of the homestay association leaders, said “[W]e need to follow the advice of the young girl in the speech.”

Throughout the four-day workshop, 73 Ltd and members of the homestay association returned to themes of collective responsibility to support future generations. Such talk demonstrated various ‘technologies of the self’ in their appraisals, self-criticisms and shaming of one another. It was a particular type of discursive ethical projection. In a circle of plastic chairs, participants gathered over raked sand under oval leafed trees to talk about gender and labor (Figure 46). Maria wrote on a white paper on a wooden board for people to describe their everyday activities. At several points, participants broke into groups to discuss individual verses group-oriented work by gender and occupation. It became clear that many women worked many more hours per day than men caring for children and maintaining a home, while men tended to be off making homestays, lounging around or fishing.

⁶⁴ “The Girl Who Silenced the World for 5 Minutes,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bfbqWG88Ems>



Figure 46 Homestay owners discuss gender, labor and values, Sept 2014

One afternoon, the organizers printed a summary of each homestay’s website link with comments and bookings below them on white printed paper pasted vertically to the side of a longhouse (Figure 47). The posted columns revealed differences between popular and instead of from less visited homestays. Longer columns meant more guests with more comments. Quantity became commensurate with quality – a higher number of guest comments became linked to greater accumulation of money and prestige. The comment board also provided a visual index for differentiating more valuable from less valuable spaces through public display.

Homestay owners found the board a source of laughter and anxiety. Attendees identified reasons why some homestays appeared to receive more guest bookings and comments than others: proximity to transport links, diving services, cell phone network, business acumen, facility in English and a place’s reputation. Guests commented positively on the scenery, the affordability and the pleasure of “seeing the community care about the environment.” On the other hand, others decried the issue of trash accumulation, problems of communication, transport costs, the proliferation of homestays, boring food and maintenance issues. The discussion highlighted different values people placed on different homestays – quantified by the number of

guests and comments, qualified by positive or negative appraisals of services offered at different sites.



Figure 47 Raja Ampat Homestay Assn members compare online reviews

A member of 73 Ltd. then discussed the importance of cooperatives by attempting to translate a model from Spain to West Papua. Attendees watched a 1990 documentary film called “The Mondragon Experiment”⁶⁵ about the development of Spanish social investment cooperatives in Spain’s Basque region. From time to time, trainers would stop the film to emphasize certain points. For example, they stopped to discuss how the Basque people experienced discrimination, arrest and prevented from speaking their own language by the Spanish government. The Papuan audience understood the connection. Jose Maria Mondragon did not fight or make demands, he ‘chose another way’ (*pilihan cara lain*). “Isn’t this like the

⁶⁵ <https://www.cinemapolitica.org/film/mondragon-experiment>, Accessed 18 Nov 2018.

situation in Papua”? Such talk reinforced a sense that ecotourist homestays have become way for West Papuans to envision a different future.

The workshop featured two ways of talking about value. First, it revealed a moment where Beteo homestay owners talked about their hopes for tourism as a source of household revenue arising from conservation. Second, the workshop provided an instance to witness how homestays were being transformed into different ‘regimes of value’ in which owners expressed desire and interest in the exchangeability of homestay sites as objects of a different kind from everyday village structures or family dwellings. Appadurai (1986:4-5) argued that in seeking to identify regimes of value, anthropologists should “follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, and their trajectories” (see Crossley and Picard 2014). Homestay owners identified tourism’s value as providing an opportunity for economic self-reliance through commoditized conservation, but also as a vector for actualizing a different relation-to-self.

Homestay sites, marine protected areas, *sasi mon* zones, villages and protected forests are all components of an increasingly heterogeneous spatial topography of values across the Raja Ampat islands. Where Kri has become an island of capitalist exchange, other islands situated outside zones of conservation management remain anchored to older forms of kin and trade-based values in which commensality and sharing create durable bonds of affection and obligation. Appadurai stresses that not “every act of commodity exchange presupposes a complete cultural sharing of assumptions, but rather that the degree of value coherence may be highly variable from situation to situation” (Appadurai 1986:15). In a similar way, Melissa McCarthy describes how Australian tourists and Trobriand islanders have “incommensurate understandings of the nature of exchange, and this often makes their actual interactions perilous

and morally uncertain” (2013:463). Both groups use money as a medium of exchange, but their understanding of its role varies widely. One could say that homestays are places for the enactment of a particularly capitalist form of value coherence but that other places are sites for realizing different ideals.

Homestays represent an experiment where West Papuans engage in a spacetime of market value, where neo-traditional Biak dwellings have become storehouses for the accumulation of money. This appears to be an inversion of social relations in which the ultimate end is cash. However, perhaps money’s circulation outwards follows routes of kin-mediated distribution. As objects, homestays have becoming fetishized, alienated from their pasts, re-created anew. They are built as material representations of a tourist imaginary where people and nature join together seamlessly. Moreover, by quantifying the number of guests, comments and revenues across different homestay locations they become places removed from history and abstracted in a process where “qualitatively different objects of irreducibly distinct use-values become comparable in quantitative terms in the domain of exchange value” (Eiss and Pedersen 2002:284).

The following morning, Maria asked homestay owners to find an object that represented their homeland. One man chose a feather, another tree bark, while others presented seeds, fruit, trash, shells, a piece of palm tree, a piece of paper, a fallen leaf and a piece of plastic. Two dozen people stood and presented their chosen object. Coral signified the need to stop destructive practices and ensure coral is alive for future generation. Cigarette butts and plastic represented the need to address trash. A leaf from the cassowary plum (*Cerbera floribunda*) stood for treating cuts and abrasions and traditional knowledge. Discussing their chosen objects provided a way for participants to discuss problems they hoped to solve collectively without shame. Some

said there was disunity. Others pointed to a lackluster commitment to collective efforts, perhaps reflecting a general ambivalence about cooperation as an ethical practice.

The appointed leaders stressed a need for a unifying vision. Reuben Sauyai said that the community must develop standard village regulations, sanctions for bad actors, and socialize principles of protecting reefs, marine animals and trees throughout the islands. Other people identified a need to provide clean drinking water facilities, markets for fresh fruit and vegetables, oil recycling, construction of a school to teach Beteo children cultural values and a training program for tourism management. Some wanted to offer kayaking to compete with luxury resorts across the strait. Many expressed a desire for training to fix outboard motors, repair boats or dive equipment locally. Others mumbled assent but looked furtively away.

Taken as a whole, the Beteo attendees to the homestay workshop expressed a desire for eco-tourism to be a source of improvement for their lives. They spoke about their desire for cell phones, better healthcare and better schools. They desired qualified teachers at village schools who showed up. These are tokens of a broader desire among West Papuan communities across Raja Ampat for self-respect, self-sufficiency or political recognition. Despite such yearnings, communities outside tourist zones still depend primarily on sea and forest resources for their livelihoods.

Tourism's sudden arrival, like the arrival of missionaries or stranger-kings, is an event through which local people utilize emic categories to make sense of change. People here are talking about how their seascapes have become sites of value by extralocals in different ways from which they had been accustomed. The Raja Ampat homestay workshop is one of many instances where West Papuans talk about their choices going forward.

What are some of the risks to achieving their dream? People at the workshop identified weak safety standards, inadequate equipment such as life preservers, motor parts, communications systems, boats and compressors. They spoke about opposition from larger resorts and government officials. What they hope for instead is ‘healthy competition’ (*persaingan sehat*), more of a moral than political economy. They also hoped to find better ways of managing arguments over compensation between villages and within kin networks.

Ongoing issues have broken relations between Beteo of Saporkren village and Ma’ya of Wauwiyai over a planned resort. It has fractured trust among the Gaman family with young rivals in Yenbeser village to claimed they were the rightful owners of old coconut stands who should be compensated by any newcomers who wish to build a resort or homestay nearby. Some recalled how Max Ammer’s first resort on Wai Island was burned to the ground. In 2013, Spanish couple of Biodiversity lodge paid land rights claims to its customary titleholder (*milik tahan*) but others later demanded compensation for underwater resources. They stole a speedboat as ransom. Other tensions continue to smolder. One man highlighted how Saporkren village is a place composed of people from different places and clans. “We are all Papuan people!” Gesturing to the sea he said “God gives all of this for us.”

Onis Sauyai, a leader of the homestay association, reflected on his people’s dreams: “We want to float. But we still don’t know how. It is something we are attempting to do. It is like requesting fish for the people.” He said that people tended to get along with nonlocals, but that some disagreements have created difficult situations. He said that Max Ammer has considered leaving Raja Ampat following frequent requests for additional compensation. Rivalries continue to divide Beteo homestay owners.

These ongoing struggles reflect longstanding Biak male efforts to collect symbolic capital translated as value through the distribution of goods and services to kin. Others enhance their reputations by associating with conservation organizations or foreign-owned resorts. Many proudly wear clothing with insignia from Conservation International or Papua Diving as signs of such relations. Maria said that it is up to the Beteo and Ma'ya to take ownership for organizing themselves for the future. She said that Raja Ampat communities face challenges from generations of top-down control from the church, schools and government.

One could argue that the efforts of Beteo homestay owners to cooperate could provide an example of 'positive liberty' – the struggle to break free from historic constraints. Isaiah Berlin (1969) distinguished between negative liberty – the freedom to act without interference, from positive liberty – the capacity to be free from sources of control, constraint or limitation. In the case of the homestay association, collective action expresses Beteo people's desire to articulate their own goals.

For the time being, Beteo involvement in tourism is a way to lay claim to their future in their own terms. It calls for an equal footing with outsiders on a level ground in which interlocutors are not forces of chaos but perhaps are opportunities to enact new regimes of value. Like the hoped for return of Manarmakeri, eco-tourism represents the potential for a better future. It represents an attempt to break free of constraints through the development of new capabilities as entrepreneurs as a means to live with dignity as Melanesian people (Nussbaum 2011). For many West Papuans, tourism ultimately affords an opportunity to dream of co-equal relations with strangers against a generational background of unfreedom, lack, and dispossession.

Taken as a whole, we could say that ecotourism produces a set of quantifiable material conditions or outputs but also a series of qualities and ethical presuppositions. The projection of

Raja Ampat as an untrammled wilderness requires editing out of messy realities. It relies on oversimplification and the transposition of desire. Yet despite these hazards, in Raja Ampat ecotourism has also provided an opening for new hopes and dreams alongside ongoing conflicts and tragedies.

West Papuans draw from myth-dreams such as the story of Koreri to make sense of the changes taking place in their seascape. While Dutch entrepreneur Max Ammer was not the hoped-for avatar of change, his arrival, and the advent of tourism, has become translated in ways that portend a more hopeful future in which increased engagement with strangers provides resources and recognition for Raja Ampat communities. In one example of these concatenated desires, members of the homestay association developed their own vision about what they value through tourism. The statement below is one example of how people here are articulating their hopes for how tourism is seen as an important vehicle for ethical life, as well as a future they seek for themselves.

Perkumpulan Penggerak Usaha Dan Penghidupan Masyarakat Asli Raja Ampat
“Vision for life in Raja Ampat”

Fifty years into the future, we the people of Raja Ampat will have achieved the highest possible quality of life. We will have become wise. The homestay businesses that we are pioneering will have given us enough to live on. We will have passed the responsibility of leadership to our children, as our heirs, and we will have created opportunities for others in our villages.

Our people will be healthy and intelligent, with schools and hospitals in our villages. Our people will be able to meet all their needs for food, grown naturally and in our own gardens; for healthy homes built with local materials; for clothing; and for sufficient energy that we will produce ourselves and from renewable sources. Our people will continue to cultivate our gardens with care and only with organic fertilizers.

Our children, our families and other community members will live in support and care of each other, in peace, order and unity. We and other community members are aware that we can achieve a high quality of life because of the very rich, intact and beautiful environment in which we live.

Our forests will be protected so that there is no uncontrolled logging or poaching of wildlife. Our forests will continue to provide us with enough wood,

clean water and other goods to meet our needs for free, so that we will not have to buy these things. So it shall be with our marine resources. We will only catch fish sustainably and with environmentally friendly technology. There will be no environmental destruction and our environment will be free from waste.

Our environment is our identity as the people of Raja Ampat and we are proud to be from Raja Ampat. We, and all our people, will use our environment only to meet our needs and not wastefully. We will build with local and natural materials. Our settlements will be laid out according to our traditions. Our lives will be sustainable. Our environment will be secure, guaranteeing that all our future generations will enjoy a high quality of life, forever.

Chapter 4. Reflective voyage: a conservation film tour

In the previous chapter, I identified how village tourism among the Beteo is a context for hope but also for jealousy and misunderstanding. The story of Sawandarek village shows how Beteo people living on Mansuar Island interpreted dive tourism operations as an index of the end of times, in which Dutch entrepreneur Max Ammer became linked to the millenarian myth-dream of Koreri. I described a few ways that eco-tourism is changing people's orientations to themselves and to their surroundings in and around Waigeo Island through the emergence of West Papuan-led 'homestay' tourism.

By presenting accounts of visitors' motivations for travel to Raja Ampat alongside Beteo peoples' reasons for engaging in tourism I sought to compare different expectations and aspirations. The story of Sawandarek highlights how tourism's social effects are not only reflected in increased talk about money, business, profit and material possessions. The ultimately misplaced hope in Max Ammer suggests an alternate interpretation: that tourism encounters do not represent a fundamental change to West Papuan's social cosmos because they draw from an enduring narrative for how people in coastal New Guinea deal with difference (Burrige 1970; Kamma 1972; Rutherford 2003).

Beteo peoples' efforts to foster eco-tourism in the Dampier Straits marine protection zone is not only about transforming nature into economic value and its associated logics of labor, time and production. It is also about the potential for value transformation. Interactions with Western dive tourists, bird watchers and environmentalists have led people to re-appraise who they are and who they want to be. This chapter builds from my discussion about homestay dive tourism by expanding my unit of analysis from the specific geographic space of the islands and villages

in the Dampier Straits marine protected area (Indo. *kawasan konservasi perairan daerah*, KKPD) to the entire Raja Ampat archipelago. I focus on the theme of circulation of values and representations about conservation through an ethnographic description of a two-week voyage that I joined from November 21 to December 9 2014. This trip's purpose was to show a high-definition documentary film, "Guardians of Raja Ampat" (Indo: *Pelindung Raja Ampat*)⁶⁶, a 78-minute documentary film produced by wildlife photographers Shawn Henrichs and John Weller, with support from international environmental organizations and philanthropies, to over a dozen West Papuan villages as a way to encourage greater local participation in environmental conservation projects.

The tour also intended to celebrate the achievements of marine protection initiatives since 2004 by recognizing the actions of Raja Ampat people to support protection efforts. These efforts include rotating marine patrols of local reefs and community declarations of conservation zones. The tour also was designed to broadcast a set of specific messages about why biodiversity is relevant to their lives. It projected the importance of taking care of reefs, managing waste and preventing destructive fishing. A Sorong-based environmental education foundation called *Yayasan Kalabia* organized the film tour along with the documentary filmmakers. Two other Americans accompanied them to record the filmmakers' interactions with Raja Ampat people.

I argue that the Kalabia conservation tour is a way to understand how human-environment relations are represented, produced and refracted. Through presenting human-ecological dialogues in circulation, I seek to identify a few elements of "socially distributed polysemy" (Stasch 2014:38) produced in the mode of an inter-island conversation about

⁶⁶ Guardians of Raja Ampat, Subtitled Version", Published Mar 4, 2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bSEILd6tJaM>, Accessed 10 August 2016. See also, "Guardians of Raja Ampat Film and Concert Tour", Mar 4, 2015. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DOzjD0Nyg-s&t=3s>, Accessed 10 August 2016.

practices of environmental protection. By attending to the specific media of contact between participants' conservation encounters, I intend to sketch out, following Stasch, "the larger structural conditions at stake in those media for the different participants" (2014:438). I evaluate the receptivity of conservationist messages among audiences who gathered to watch evening screenings of *Guardians of Raja Ampat*, by evaluating talk from post-show discussions, individual interviews and group interactions. Given the public nature of these events, I focus on patterns of public speech – the self-conscious communication of specific messages, for different purposes – rather than uncovering covert or hidden gossip about environmentalism.



Figure 48 Kalabia education ship during the Guardians tour, Ayau atoll

The Kalabia conservation tour

Every day or two, the *Kalabia* – a retrofitted wooden tuna boat that travels to Raja Ampat villages to teach children about conservation – would stop at a different island or village community in a grand counterclockwise journey throughout the archipelago (Figure 48 above; see Figure 51 on page 214 for a map of the trip). Beginning on Waigeo Island on November 20, it traveled to Ayau atoll near the border of Palau to small islands off the northwest coast of

Waigeo, Kofiau, Misool, Salawati Island. The *Kalabia* then sailed to Sorong City on the New Guinea mainland, arriving on December 7, 2014.

The trip involved the participation of several thousand people. Every night, a crew of Papuans and Americans set up an eight-meter wide screen with heavy rigging, lighting, generators, and a giant inflatable manta ray. At each place the *Kalabia* visited the entire village – elders, village officials, children – gathered to watch the film. Afterwards, village officials, teachers or others would be invited to make speeches or comment on their impressions of the film. The atmosphere would become more festive, as Edo Kondologit, a well-regarded West Papuan singer from Sorong, led a nightly performance of singing, dancing and reflection.⁶⁷

The *Kalabia* tour is an ethnographic context for making sense of the social dynamics of marine resource protection in Raja Ampat. The journey, and the film itself, provide a medium for communicating ideals about who people should be through idealized representations of human-environment relations: marine protection, sustainable tourism, awareness and behavior change. The voyage was not only an opportunity for conservationists to show to locals what had been achieved after implementing large-scale marine protection initiatives. The tour also afforded opportunities for people to reflect on their diverse interactions with environmentalism. This included odd alliances and often fraught relations with partners such as the Regency of Raja Ampat's marine police (*polair*), nonlocal staff working with Conservation International and The Nature Conservancy, consultants with a World Bank coral reef management project, and others.

⁶⁷ I joined the film tour serendipitously after watching the opening event in Waisai town in Waigeo Island in Raja Ampat on November 20th 2014. After speaking with the *Kalabia* team and the filmmakers, I was invited to accompany the tour before they departed from Warsambin village the following day. I assisted with setting up and breaking down the film every day, participated in meetings with village officials, evening performances and other events between Nov 22-Dec 9, 2014.

The Kalabia tour also afforded a moment for people to aspire to more hopeful futures – both West Papuans and the international crew. Together, they projected different ways of living with nonhuman species. They envisioned a politics in which nature had a greater say. After each night’s screening, people would stand, take a microphone and speak publicly about their responsibility to support conservation goals together with outsiders for sake of their children and grandchildren. While such statements, as public speech acts, are necessarily performative, they sustained for a moment the possibility of mutual engagement to protect.

The nightly show and performances represent intersocial events that produced a shared feeling that everyone had a stake in biodiversity conservation. At the same time, it seems that such events produced different effects on Beteo and Ma’ya peoples’ sense of self, particularly in terms of the potential for recognition or shame. In this chapter, I focus on the semiotic forms that led people to see themselves as aligned with outsiders: in their quest for greater local control over natural resources, to curtail ongoing resource exploitation by illegal fishermen and corrupt government officials. I identify how particular images, statements, and representations led people to imagine themselves to be active agents in conservation in ways that allowed the possibility of shared values with foreigners. The possibility of a shared frame of view relied on the creation of a spatio-temporal narrative frame in which talk about protection, the future, roles, responsibility and transgression was even possible. I focus on patterns of speech about caring for future generations as a means to locate value creation in the positioning of a person in relation to a destructive past and a protected future. Such future-oriented ethical talk is consequential to any evaluation of commensurability. Attending to patterns of talk also helps us identify whether recognition, performance or some other pragmatics is at stake in such encounters.

The Kalabia conservation tour provided a concrete way for West Papuans to enact their values, to project for a single night a holographic version of themselves, to reflect on their engagement with conservation programs. People saw places they recognized in the film and often laughed when they recognized faces of friends or people they knew. They marveled at underwater shots of trevally, sharks, and multi-chromatic corals. By interweaving stories about conservationist programs and local forms of care such as *sasi*, village regulations, and hopes the film reproduced a sense that outsiders and locals worked together. Yet the film also depicted harm in the form of shark finning, craters of dead coral following reef bombing, plastic and urban sewage.

But underlying the nightly performance was also a sense of freedom. Why else would the song “Aku Papua” (‘I am Papua’), an anthem of self-love for the West Papuan people, become a nightly refrain? Why else did the performances end with *yospan*, a Biak line dance associated with cargo? Why did residents of Mutus Island invite the Kalabia participants to the funeral of a young girl that had just died? Why did men and women in Solol dance the *cakalele*, a Moluccan war dance, for the first time in decades? What other messages did the film and the presence of outsiders communicate?

Synopsis of the Film

Pelindung Raja Ampat (Guardians of Raja Ampat) is a 78-minute documentary film produced by noted wildlife photographers Shawn Henrichs and John Weller, with support from international environmental organizations and philanthropies including Conservation International, The Nature Conservancy, Blue Sphere Foundation, Walton Family Foundation and Packard Foundation, in association with Indonesian Regency of Raja Ampat. The film intends to celebrate “a proud history of conservation, connecting communities and government in the

continuing fight for protection committed to preserving our birthright for future generations.”⁴ The film juxtaposes high-quality images of marine seascapes with interviews of conservation staff, religious leaders, government officials, and customary authorities to broadcast a story of alliances to protect the region from degradation.

Guardians of Raja Ampat communicates its message through a combination of interview clips and images of people juxtaposed with underwater and landscape scenes primarily in the Indonesian language, interspersed with English audio clips and subtitles. Its intention to be a showcase film with a teaching message is foreshadowed with its initial shot, a group of Beteo children running down the dock of Arborek, followed by a time-lapse of night scene at a dock. This establishes the focus on children’s futures linked to a representation of time passing. Marcus Wanma, Bupati of Raja Ampat, recalls efforts to create a marine region of over a million hectares. Kristian (‘Kris’) Thebu, a Ma’ya elder, speaks about the importance of watching over Raja Ampat, “so it will still be amazing, still beautiful, and still valuable for all people.” Mark Erdmann, Senior Adviser to Conservation International, speaks of efforts in 2000s to understand the needs of people and to adapt conservation efforts accordingly. “[T]here isn’t any place in the world that has the variety of lifeforms found in Raja Ampat”, such as 1500 fish and 600 coral species. By introducing perspectives from an Indonesian government official, Ma’ya *adat* leader and foreign conservation adviser, the film conveys a message of alliance, while perhaps eliding instances of conflict or miscommunication in the development of marine protection initiatives. Without a direct narrator, the film stitches individual stories in a montage that speaks directly to its audience.



Figure 49 Poster advertising an evening film screening of Guardians of Raja Ampat

The film also suggests that biodiversity transcends local claims. Mark Erdmann says that “people of Raja Ampat own not only the land but the sea also, and coral reefs, and all other available ocean natural resources...and are firmly willing to protect it for their benefit and that of their descendants.” He reflects how in 2003-2004, people said they were suffering from food insecurity, due to illegal fishing, and “feeling the loss of control over their own natural resources with the presence of so many outsiders.” In response, Erdmann described how conservation organizations and local communities jointly designed a series of designated marine protected areas, many of which included declarations of *sasi*. Erdmann identifies the importance of cooperation with government partners and commercial dive resorts, but stresses that the local

people are the real guardians. Kris Thebu and Erdmann stress that the biodiversity of Raja Ampat does not belong only to people living here, or to Indonesia alone. It “belongs to all people – all of Indonesia, all of the world.”

The layering of messages begins to communicate an ethical imperative to protect nature and culture. Tahir Arfan, a local authority on customary law (*tokoh adat*) from Salawati Island, argues that Raja Ampat has been a well-known place since the 13th century, as far away at Java’s Majapahit kingdom. He speaks about the role of customary norms or *adat*, how such mechanisms of law “existed before formal government and it forms a nation”, but also that *adat* is akin to “guidance, like a philosophy of life from every tribe.”

While he speaks, viewers see a *sasi* opening ritual at Sawinggrai village on Gam Island. Women in white stand solemnly behind a pastor wearing a black suit in a line on an outrigger canoe as it is paddled over a reef near the shore. Children and villagers watch along the beach, establishing the public and shared importance of *sasi* events. “Before there was conservation, we already knew conservation. The *sasi* tradition has goals that are everlasting, to sustain the existing habitats.” A pastor returns live grouper to the sea.

Arfan, a descendant of the last remaining hereditary raja family of Salawati island, describes *sasi* as a type of commitment to protect valuable species and resources such as a mangrove forest. He connects *sasi* to recent marine programs: “We agree with the conservation principle and agree to put it into action in the Raja Ampat region.” The next interview clip adds to this sense of correspondences. Kris Thebu states that he had been involved in conservation work for a long time as part of the *adat* council – combating illegal logging, working to ban potassium cyanide: “Conservation is important because it means order. The sea needs to be well-

managed so that it will produce continually from now until our future children and grandchildren, because Raja Ampat is a gift from God that must be well cared for.”

Religious iconography and clips from talks with religious leaders underscore the multiple ways that resources are valued in which people are called to engage in conservation. In one example, a shot of a green-domed mosque at Yellu village near Misool is followed by a shot of a small wooden Evangelical Christian Church of Papua. Yessy Leimena, pastor of a GKI church in Samate village, argues that conservation is a part of the churches’ mission because humans have a ‘responsibility of care’ demonstrated by “people coming together to protect the natural world:”

We have to watch over it, not to just have power over it, but to nurture it. As in the Bible, Genesis 2, chapter 15-16, we have to take care. So the task of conservation is also the task of the church, because it is God’s order. And because if we care for it, we are actually caring for our own selves. When I take care of the natural world, I’m already taking care of myself because I live in this natural world. So for my own benefit I am doing conservation.

While the pastor speaks, images of religious life circulate: mothers, daughters together, men praying in church, women singing Nasrani gospel songs, of Papuan and non-Papuan people together. This transitions to the image of Haji Kaidat Soltif, Imam of Fafanlap, far to the south on Misool Island. Soltif, a Matbat elder with a long white beard says “when I look from sea towards the land to see mountains like the teeth of a saw I feel blessed that we are here, we, the children of customary law (*adat*).” The imam emphasizes his love for the creations of Allah the way the environment provides, “while we are in this world, the seas, the lands and everything within.” He notes that “religion prohibits destruction, we must do good, avoid the bad.” He longs for a return to prosperity and abundance as in times past. These scenes seem oriented for local consumption: they communicate a message of interfaith commitment to nature protection, beyond purely economic motivations.

The film presents several examples of ways that West Papuan people engage with environmental protection as a means to communicate the sense that NGO goals and local needs are intertwined. For instance, we are told that Ma'ya people living in the narrow strait in Ma'yalibit Bay decided to limit catching mackerel (Indo. *ikan lemah: Rastrelliger kanagurta*) by kerosene lanterns, giving the fish time to rest. We hear Nomensen Mambraku, a fisherman from Arborek, reflect how no-take zones near his village are a type of fish bank that 'supplies fish big and small,' spillovers that align with marine management goals. We view men on community marine patrols watching for trespassers. We learn of a recycling center in Sorong to deal with the city's ever growing refuse problem. We are told about the importance of protecting keystone species such as sharks and manta rays.

These scenes are pedagogical as well as ideological: they interweave people's accounts as a way of reflecting trans-regional NGO objectives. As such, *Guardians of Raja Ampat* is at some level an effort to translate conservation values into an idiom that is recognizable to a West Papuan audience.

One argument being made is that strategic alliances can be profitable. One man speaks of bountiful wildness as a type of "gold that stays that people come and pay to see;" that "this gold is giving life and a bright future." Tourism is heralding new human-environment relations as well as intra-community dynamics: men in Arborek began swimming with mantas only after seeing foreign divers swim with what had been demons; families are competing for visitors, leading to rivalries and tensions. Nico Mambrasar, a guide from Yenwapnor village, speaks of how eco-tourism is motivating people to take care of "all the animals." Maria Fakdawer of Arborek island says that women have revived traditional weaving to sell colorful hats and baskets to tourists in exchange for money to pay for their children's school uniforms. This

message is also reinforced when viewers are introduced to Andrew Miners who developed Misool Eco Resort in consultation with local leaders, and who has hired many locals as employees.

Tribal elders such as Kris Thebu and Markus Yelfom call for increased support of locals for conservation, perhaps recognizing that some still do not understand or agree with environmental protection. Perhaps recalling the pitch to local audiences, the film ends with an exhortation by Tahir Arfan, *tokoh adat* of Salawati, to remember and to strengthen traditional conservation mechanisms such as *sasi*:

It comes back to our faith. We as faithful human beings must give thanks. We are thankful for what Allah has created for us, the tribes of Raja Ampat. We must be thankful. Not only to so give thanks but we must also be vigilant, so these well-known riches of the sea can be preserved for generations of our grandchildren.

As he speaks, Beteo people bedecked in traditional grass skirts, headdresses and painted, re-enact a welcoming dance. Kris Thebu cautions that rumors and misunderstandings still exist, so it is still important “to explain and engage with communities about the importance of conservation.”

Given such messages I now turn from a review of the film to an ethnographic description of peoples’ responses throughout the fifteen-day tour, as a way of assessing to what extent the medium and its message, produced a sense of togetherness – of a coeval moral horizon, even if for a brief moment in space and time. In describing people’s engagements, I seek to identify limits to the translatability of values about nature protection and the meaning making processes of intersocial dialogue (Bauman 2005; Gal 2015; Hankins and Yeh 2016). If cross-cultural mutually recognizable ethical dialogue about environmental themes is possible, then perhaps ethnographic accounts of human-nature interactions can evaluate the extent to which these type

of engagements occur alongside anthropological accounts of instrumentalist linkages, natural resource conflicts, or case studies of dispossession due to the encroachment of external actors.

Environmental protection as a route to self-regard for West Papuans

Although each village the *Kalabia* visited during its two-week film voyage had its own idiosyncratic response to environmental conservation, I noticed a pattern in people's talk about the importance of protecting the land and sea around them as a means to provide their children and grandchildren with a better future. For instance, in a late November discussion on Yellu, a Muslim village on Misool island, Imam Soltif of Fafanlap told me "hopefully, regarding conservation, it will bring us happiness together in the present moment, and hopefully longer term for the children of our grandchildren, who will follow the precedent we have currently established." The imam spoke about his reverence for the unique lands of Misool, and about how his ancestors had protected fishing grounds through *sasi*, as well as his stewardship as Kapitan Laut, a title reflecting a history of trade links with Portuguese and later Dutch administrators (Ellen 1986; Ploeg 2002). During an on-camera interview I witnessed, Edo Kondologit spoke of his childhood memories in Sorong, of drinking water from a vine and how easy it was to catch fish, now scarce due to pollution and overdevelopment:

What is clear is that my expectations for the future, for the people of Papua, especially young Papua children should be encouraged to go forward... And they need to be successful so, throughout the land of Papua, it's my hope, that the children of Papua develop a sense of pride, pride in being Papuan.

He says that this sense of pride can untangle a legacy in which West Papuans have been disrespected. To him respecting the land through recycling and waste management is essential to the development of self-regard.



Figure 50 Artist Edo Kondologit in hat with village welcome committee, Solol, Salawati

To Edo, the desire to promote Papuan self-respect is connected to protecting the land and seascapes. It draws from his experiences preparing sago, spearing fish, eating fruits grown in productive soils in his earlier life while growing up near Sorong on Indonesian New Guinea. Though now based in Jakarta, he speaks longingly of his home in a particular idiom: of longing, of aesthetic joy of the wind blowing in the *merbau* trees, at how being Papuan is knowing how to live within a particular landscape; to remember. In an interview at Warsambin village, he spoke of his excitement about the tour. He had asked to join in to protect “this small part of paradise that we must guard together”. Edo connected the care of the land and sea to the capacity for West Papuans to love themselves, reflected in his song, “I am Papua.”

“Aku Papua”, Edo Kondologit

Tanah Papua tanah yang kaya
surga kecil jatuh ke bumi
Seluas tanah sebanyak madu
adalah harta harapan

Tanah papua tanah leluhur
Disana aku lahir
Bersama angin bersama daun
Aku di besarkan

Hitam kulit keriting rambut aku papua
Hitam kulit keriting rambut aku papua
Biar nanti langit terbelah aku papua

*The Land of Papua is a land of great wealth
A small heaven fell to earth
The entire land full with honey
It is a treasure of hope*

*Land of Papua, the country of our ancestors
There I was born
Along with the wind along with the leaves
I was raised*

*Black skin, curly hair, I am Papua
Black skin, curly hair, I am Papua
Even if the sky later splits apart, I am Papua*

Pointing to his heart, and speaking to a camera, Edo said that that Papuans should be proud of their curly black hair and black skin as much as their birthplace. He dreamed of a time when Papuans in Indonesia can direct the course of their own affairs. He stressed that foreign resort owners and the regional Indonesian government must have responsibility for the local population by providing financial support and training alongside more active roles of churches and mosques to work together.

Edo's desire to promote West Papuan dignity was reflected in evening conversations with Shawn Henrichs and John Weller, producers of *Guardians of Raja Ampat* who also organized the tour. Both spoke about the fragile beauty of Raja Ampat and its majestic people, as well as their experiences filming and supporting conservation efforts in the region since 2008. Both mentioned a desire to give something back. They hoped that this tour would be a gift for the communities they had visited. These are glimpses of the type of remarks that the tour elicited from its audience.

Interdiscursivity and translation: creating a polity of care

I suggest that the film tour is a type of dialogical interaction in the sense described by Mikael Bakhtin (1981) where different actors participated for an evening in a multivocal conversation about people and nature that projected stereotypic ideals about actors involved, but which may also have achieved something unexpected and enduring. Bakhtin discusses how ideas are shaped through interaction and dialogue with others (1984:87–88):

[An] idea lives not in one person's isolated individual consciousness; if it remains there only, it degenerates and dies. The idea begins to live, that is, to take shape, to develop, to find and renew its verbal expression, to give birth to new ideas, only when it enters into genuine dialogic relationships with other ideas, with the ideas of others. Human thought becomes genuine thought, that is, an idea, only under conditions of living contact with another and alien thought, a thought embodied in someone else's voice, that is, in someone else's consciousness expressed in discourse.

This notion of how thinking 'becomes genuine' through contact with others "in someone else's consciousness expressed in discourse" is concretely illustrated in the film as well as through discussions at each village afterwards. The evening performances at villages throughout Raja Ampat interpellated people as local stakeholders in a complex dance with global implications. Each night, people's everyday lives were suspended for a brief moment. Outsiders

and locals imagined each other as co-presences in a virtual spacetime signified by the film's representation of identical struggles to conserve nature. This performing of shared values arose through a call and response where people would speak over a loud amplifier to a diverse crowd of agitated children, elderly men and women, gawkers, rascals, sober elders, fishermen, and startled others. It was sustained through acts of collective singing and dancing, feasts and celebration.

The arrival of this strange carnival was celebrated by many and reviled by others. But the drama was channeled through a series of mediated representations in which everyone became actors, adopting designated roles (see Goffman 1959; Hymes 1971) projecting their hopes and dreams towards a future imaginary. Only weeks after the tour did it become apparent to me that people in different islands, speaking different languages, and with their own situations seemed to say strikingly similar things throughout the tour. For instance, many expressed a belief that conservation actions were critical as a way of demonstrating proper conduct to one another, as well as for the sake of future generations' ability to make a living from the sea.

The repetition of such comments was in part generated by the film itself, which presented a delimited range of legitimate modes of ethical comportment as well as expressing the necessity to protect for the sake of future generations. Autonomous, unreflective adoption of such messages could be problematic, unless placed within a larger context of regular misunderstandings and strangeness which characterizes social relations in Raja Ampat. That is, by weaving together a narrative of conservation as mutual engagement, the Kalabia tour circulated the value of commensality amidst crosscurrents of dissonance. It attempted to harmonize, select and enhance particular types of messages while removing others. The tour transposed the message of *Guardians of Raja Ampat* from two dimensions to four: from a glossy

flat screen outward, from a virtual to physical embodiment in which conservationists and Raja Ampat indigenous communities enacted a *polity of care* – a regime of ethically-oriented nature protection.

In making sense of how the *Guardians of Raja Ampat* film tour circulated representations of care for nature and people, I seek to apply insights from linguistic anthropology into how discourse gets repackaged. My focus here is how the documentary film and nightly performances motivated reflection about environmentalism and calls to action by audience members. I draw from anthropological discussions about commensurability, translation and interdiscursivity (Gal 2015; Hankins and Yeh 2016) to evaluate how the film projected norms of conservation, and how these images were adopted or rejected by people who watched. For instance, Susan Gal (2015:231) draws from a semiotic approach to symbolic processes developed by Charles Sanders Peirce to identify how images and people's responses to them are interlinked in any interdiscursive semiotic process: "It is not words that move; it is speakers who take them up as signs by interpreting them, each from his/her own perspective, and reframing them in open-ended series" (Gal 2015:231).

Webb Keane argues that objectification – how ideas become actions – is not necessarily an unreflective or purely functional process, but is oftentimes produced in events through interactions with others (see Keane 2003:12-13). I seek to draw attention here to ways West Papuans take up messages expressed in the film and make them their own. Before doing so I need to say a few things about the process by which the film achieves its illocutionary force of representing the reality of conservation in Raja Ampat.

Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs (1990) developed an approach for evaluating social speech acts by arguing that bits of discourse are often taken out of context and repackaged.

Through processes of entextualization, decontextualization and recontextualization, utterances are removed from specific socio-historical moments and stitched in documentaries to make truth-claims about a world indexically represented by persons and places on a screen. Entextualization is a process of “rendering discourses extractable” from particular moments, in ways that also “carry elements of its historic use within it” (Malitsky 2013:167). Joshua Malitsky further argues that an ethnographic analysis of entextualization should examine the experiences of viewers and film together at the moment of projection, as well as describe relations between the film and its context. This links to Pierce’s notion of indexicality as a trace to the past: just as photographs are indexes of physical realities, documentary films are photos in motion that presuppose a semiotic relation to physical realities reflected in a film projected on screen.

By extracting a selection of an interview and splicing it into a montage of other elements, bits of dialogue can stand for something larger. By removing discourse from a particular context, it can “bend back upon itself, to become an object to itself, to refer to itself” (Bauman and Briggs 1990:73). The reflexive capacity of discourse to become ‘its own topic’ is reflected in the Kalabia film tour by people talking about how others talked about conservation. The implications of such talk for future action became a main focus of the nightly social performances. The decontextualization and recontextualization of discourse is a form of control.

While linguistic anthropologists have identified various ways that these processes work in speech acts or cross-cultural dialogue, few have adapted a dialogical or inter-discursive lens to film, particularly to genres such as documentaries. In one notable exception, Michael Chanan (2000) discusses documentary films as a different type of representational genre from narrative fictional films. He argues that documentaries are different from feature-length films because they

tend to package information to craft an argument rather than narrative. Fictional films present alternative worlds: actors rarely look directly into the camera or speak directly to their audience.

In documentary films, speaking directly to an audience creates a sense of veracity in which the camera becomes a type of witness. Chanan highlights the Western as a film genre that projects stereotypic representations of frontier America in the latter decades of the 19th century. But a Western is made of a specific set of character types, locations, morals and plot conventions. Like Westerns, documentaries have specific conventions, space-time relations, and moral stakes. What is relevant to the use of these terms for my analysis is Chanan's argument that "a genre's character does not so much derive from its formal characteristics as from its external orientation, toward both the audience that it addresses and the tradition to which it belongs and from within which it speaks" (2000:60).

Bakhtin wrote how artistic genres are akin to complex utterances that depend on speaker and recipient. In a similar way, a film's message relies on an audience's attention, reception and reaction.⁶⁸ For instance, whereas Ken Burns' 2009 film series *National Parks: America's Best Idea* strings found footage and artefacts with a single narrative voice-over to tell the story of the history of establishment of iconic national preserves, others prefer unmediated sets of images or conservations based on different concepts of film as a medium of democratic speech. In the case of *Guardians of Raja Ampat*, viewers are presented with a heterotopic montage in which scenes of people and places that are at once incommensurable are put into alignment with one another,

⁶⁸ Gershon and Malitsky (2011:54-60) identify the roles that language ideologies play in film genres, in which entextualization, and recontextualization can be useful tools for how they craft their messages differently. They identify how documentary ideologies tend to assume "that every engagement with a documentary is a recursive one, that people's understandings of how representations and reality are linked (that is, how indexicality functions) informs the ways they make and interpret documentaries" (2011:60). Put differently, Chanan notes that "people's ideologies of entextualisation here become as important as their ideologies about filmic images."

“joined in a continuous argument that links together quite disparate elements of the historical world in a kind of analogical affinity that generates signification” (Chanan 2000).

Documentaries seek to establish truth-claims through testimonials in which individuals often look directly at the camera to the viewer. This technique works against a general prohibition to speak to people looking into camera, or ‘breaking the fourth wall.’ When that happens, in *Ferris Bueller’s Day Off*, or *Goodfellas*, protagonists share insights into other character’s motivations, or reveal personal feelings. Documentaries create a sense of real life through testimony, montage, and linking footage of people and places in the concreteness of an assumed time and space that viewers recognize as real, in which the camera becomes a witness in the same space as the events unfolding.

The Kalabia film tour provided an interdiscursive space for the creation and consolidation of social relations that facilitated a sense of sharedness across boundaries of language and culture in which conflicts were smoothed and dissonances edited out in ways that somehow felt true to many participants (see Irvine 2005; Silverstein 2005). This sense of sharing draws from a theoretical stance in which language use is a form of social action and not just a means of reflection (Baumann and Briggs 1990:62). It also presupposes that an intersocial poetics emerges in the interplay of audience responses to the film, through peoples’ engagement with themes, issues and concerns in ways that “draw attention to the status of speech as social action” (Baumann and Briggs 1990:65; see Durranti 1983).

It is important to note that none of this would be possible without translating external concepts about biodiversity into locally meaningful terms – material benefits for school fees, locally salient religious norms, etc. Gal argues that translation involves a process of interpreting the moral codes of others, by placing into alignment other people’s voices along with one’s own

(Hill and Irvine 1993:6–7).⁶⁹ The Kalabia tour provided moments where people reflected about how to fit environmentalist notions of biodiversity by translating local concepts of sacred space, marine protection to *sasi*, resource protection with clan ownership, economic value for tourism and flourishing wildness with West Papuan notions of values of place.

Given the distortions of language translation and interpretation, the possibility of commensurability is a kind of radical act. What may seem to be an obvious instrumental adoption of conservationist norms could be what Donald Davidson calls ‘radical translation’ based on a *principle of charity*, in which “speakers and listeners assume that the other is acting according to a set of rational linguistic conventions like their own” (Davidson 1984:27, in Povinelli 2001:321).⁷⁰ Putting into relation two very different sets of assumptions about people’s responsibilities towards the nonhuman recalls debates in the 1980s among feminist anthropologist about whether nature, culture and supposedly universal categories such as ‘women’ were in fact so (Strathern 1988; Gal 2003).

If ‘nature’ is akin to ‘woman,’ its needs, capacities and desires are multiple, not singular. What conservationists desire is to motivate people to engage in environmental protection: the stakes are about mobilizing action. Gal draws attention to how nongovernmental organizations “arrange communicative events aimed at social change” (Gal 2015:232). This aligns with the apparent goal of the Kalabia tour to get people to reflect on their history of interactions with

⁶⁹ Gal notes that Bruno Latour (1988) emphasized how “[a]n idea [or practice] never moves of its own accord. It requires a force to fetch it, seize upon it for its own motives, move it, and often transform it” (Latour 1988:15-16; see also Latour 2005:108).

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Povinelli (2001:321) highlights the ongoing philosophical puzzle of dealing with “distortion in translations (and interpretations) across incommensurate semantic fields; about the risk of assigning and acting on these translations in ordinary life; and about the social productivity of foregrounding indeterminacy/undecidability as a progressive social ideal.”

NGOs, view them as essentially beneficial, and to mobilize communities to continue marine protection efforts into the future.



Figure 51 Guardians of Raja Ampat film tour route, November-December 2014. Source: National Geographic.

A Storyline of the Film and Concert tour

In this section I describe the Kalabia film conservation tour as it traveled to over a dozen villages on islands across Raja Ampat (Figure 51 above). In narrating the journey and interactions of participants, I highlight the ideals, as well as frustrations encountered in attempting to create a shared vision of conservation between foreigners and West Papuans, as well as the reactions of audience members who attended nightly film screenings. The larger point I seek to address is how the Kalabia film tour created a shared spacetime in which different people communicated their views about what conservation means, what protection is all about, and to what end.

In a pattern that would repeat every evening, the Kalabia film tour team moved aluminum scaffolding, rigging, camera, generators, wires and connectors, a huge vinyl screen and boxes of other gear to a chosen spot near the village's center. A white drone flashed green and red above us filming the commotion below with an insect like whirr. Around sunset, Edo Kondologit asked children to join him in singing 'Aku Papua'. Later, they danced around in a shuffle with some of the Kalabia team. A slideshow of photos taken that day were projected a luminous screen, a diesel generator humming behind. The filmmakers spoke of their travels from Antarctica to the north pole. They said Raja Ampat stood out because it remained a place protected by local communities, which stood as a hopeful case of conservation success amidst failures in other places. The filmmakers ended by saying the film is their way of saying thanks to West Papuans. Edo added by imploring people to maintain vigilance for managing trash as a way to preserve the sea.

After the film ended Berta and Markus of the Kalabia team led a question and answer session with several hundred attendees who traveled to the event from Ayau's villages. Men spoke of their impressions of the film, about their hopes for the future, as well as perceptions of conservation in general. One politely thanked the team for showing the film. Another spoke about his feelings that Westerners usually bothered people and created misunderstandings. He implored CI's Papuan staff to act as mediators to facilitate communication to prevent continued mix-ups. Following the forum, Edo took the microphone and sang several songs. People began to shuffle, moving in circles around the performance ground. Children later returned home, and about thirty people disassembled scaffolding and ferried equipment back to the ship under a starlit sky.

It was a motley crew of about thirty – West Papuan conservation staff, sailors, two honeymooners, several Americans and a Canadian. The team included several foreigners: Hunter, a recent college graduate and camera operator; Candice, a filmmaker and social media expert based in Denver, Colorado, who with Hunter filmed a documentary about the film tour. Shawn and John, documentarians and wildlife advocates, led the trip; Ben, an American expatriate living and working in Tonga; and Angela, the *Kalabia's* education manager and negotiator for the tour.

Before the day's performance, the team gathered around a wooden table covered with laptop computers, hard drives, cameras, notebooks and cables. Shawn later recalled travelling and campaigning for conservation throughout the region. He highlighted his efforts to establish a protected zone for dolphins, mantas and sharks. He said he didn't want to visit villages when his camera could capture images of marine life. Each had their own reasons for participating on this voyage, but all shared a belief that environmental protection was a moral good that transcended people or places, but also that Raja Ampat was a uniquely important place for communicating conservation goals.

While the immediate goal was to communicate the importance of conservation to Raja Ampat residents, they also intended to document and share their tour with their own audience through international media (blogs, documentaries, photo exhibitions). So Shawn's comment about getting the right shot to motivate conservation action reflects a larger theme of ethical framing. I will return to this issue below as it relates to the possibilities and limits of communicating conservation values.

Following the film screening at Rutum in the Ayau atoll, the *Kalabia* voyaged to Saleo, a small village of approximately a few hundred people set in a sheltered cove off western Waigeo.

Along with Selvele, Saleo is one of two predominantly Ma'ya villages in Western Waigeo notable for marriage residence patterns that are the reverse of the predominant pattern in Beteo areas: namely, matrilocality over patrilocality.⁷¹ Both places are also known as having customary access rights in the uninhabited and iconic Wayag islands to the west. In 2013, a dispute arose over Wayag and conservation because villagers were upset with a decision by the Regency of Raja Ampat not to share tourism user fees collected in Wayag, based on the justification that the villages were not included in the boundaries of the zone. Consequently, Saleo and Selvele closed Wayag to tourism until the situation could be resolved. An agreement was reached in late 2014.

After the film at Saleo we travelled to Arborek Island, a small, round islet encompassed by a village of Beteo-speaking people. While small, Arborek is a center of conservation activity and a political center for the Beteo communities in and around this part of Waigeo. Much of the footage from *Guardians of Raja Ampat* is from Arborek. John and Shawn made Arborek a strategic hub for their work. They often visited the village and reported to have worked closely with several Beteo intermediaries. This is not surprising given the island's location in the middle of Dampier Strait between Mansuar and Gam Island. There are several active *sasi* zones nearby, and the villagers have welcomed tourists to dive with manta rays who gather at sandy shoals. Other places had been less receptive to foreign visitors. John recalled that in Sawinggrai and Yenwapnor, women demanded large fees in exchange for photographs. People seemed suspicious of the arrival of strangers.

⁷¹ One consequence of this residence pattern has been the gradual introduction of people with different ancestries into the village, from Biak, the Moluccas and Java. This has apparently led to confusion over inheritance and landownership for compensation from a nickel mine, since men from elsewhere might sometimes claim rights to use land and sea resources.



Figure 52 Kalabia team with school children, Selvepe village, Waigeo

Before the evening performance at Arborek, Edo and others took a motorboat to a manta ray aggregation spot. We arrived to see a ten or more manta rays swimming in circular motions. Two inflatable boats with divers hovered above, as cameramen filmed Edo snorkeling on the reef.

A burst of rain halted the film as villagers gathered around a sandy spot near the jetty. The routine followed a pattern similar to previous nights, with Angela of the Kalabia organization introducing Shaun and John who followed by giving remarks about their film. Edo then sang ‘Aku Papua’ as children joined in. The film had been dubbed in English for the benefit of several Europeans who had volunteered with Barefoot Conservation, a dubious enterprise relocated after being forced out of a different location. Several volunteers sat and watched the film with villagers, who later participated in Papuan line-dancing.

On the fifth day Shaun filmed Edo as he spoke about his impressions of the tour. Edo recalled his joy at seeing children shout, “Aku Papua!” hailing the message of self-regard. He spoke of their innocence, lack of skepticism and honesty. He said that if children are able to understand the message of the film it will bear fruit in the future. Shawn asked him how he

would feel if conservationists encouraged others in Indonesia to adopt local forms of resource protection. He said that other people beyond Indonesia should heed the ‘wisdom of people who live on islands.’ What can the rest of the world learn from this? Edo said that there is a larger responsibility to care for Raja Ampat, because ‘if Raja Ampat is destroyed, the entire world will feel as well.’

What is happening in the northern horizon...the increased heating and melting [of the Arctic] sea will have a global impact. So, if we’re going back to the local wisdom of the indigenous community tradition today in Raja Ampat, the tradition of *sasi*, where they have awareness for example that mangrove forests should not be cut again, should be allowed to flourish, its roots will help small fish so that the sea is able to support life, places for crabs, shrimp and others, continue to provide fresh air, produce oxygen...applied to the world, [this thinking] would have a significant effect.

Edo’s comment links the responsibility to protect Raja Ampat to risks from climate change in places far away from New Guinea. He indicates how the local institutions such as *sasi* place a role in mitigating the larger-scale forces unleashed by anthropogenic climate change. He indicates the moral imperative to manage Raja Ampat for Papuans and others.

From Arborek the ship travelled a short distance to the Pam islands, site of a government-sponsored village. From above, the Pam Islands is a string of steep karst islets carpeted in green. Turquoise lagoons, reef shoals and sandy beaches of coconut palms extend southward. The village has a broad concrete pier that hosts monthly visits of a Perintis ship stopping over from Sorong on its way to Ternate. It has a largish village of several hundred people, mostly Beteo and Christian, but with some people from elsewhere who married into families. Most people who live on Pam are fishermen, though there are a few farmers too. Others make their living from selling copra – dried, baked coconut husks used for producing oil and soap and woven mats (Indo. *senat*) to people from the Moluccan Islands in long-established exchanges.

People living here feel at a loss about how to curtail destructive fishing by outsiders, particularly after the conservation programs left. A man named Elia Usubasa said that Butonese men bomb reefs regularly for fish which has led to permanent damage of the nearby reefs and lower numbers of reef-based fish. The raiders knew the schedules of the marine patrols: they would often sneak in under the cover of darkness. Elia lamented that the people on Pam wanted to protect their sea but could not do so effectively without outside help. He said more regular sea patrols and a working conservation post would help. Yakob Mambrasar, secretary of Pam village, echoed these remarks. He thanked the *Kalabia* team for coming to show the film, which provided “a motivation to remind people abroad to help save the richness of their home.” He said that funding for patrols to prevent destructive fishing is important to protect reefs as well as to encourage tourists, “so that our people will not be left behind again.”

This sense of being left behind from the economic potential of tourism is compounded by the feeling many West Papuans have of being underdeveloped, isolated, or backwards. Several people expressed such feelings when we visited the large Beteo village of Deer on Kofiau Island. The *Kalabia* arrived under the cover of night. Deer is one of five villages on Kofiau, a set of islands off the western coast of Waigeo between the Moluccan Islands and the West Papuan mainland. There are several churches in town organized in a grid paved with crushed coral concrete. Many homes are built in a traditional Raja Ampat style of palm rooves over hand-milled planks cut from nearby trees. Many homes are perched on stilts over the sea. A trapezoid-shaped marine zone encloses Kofiau and Boo islands.

A sign at the village’s dock indicated that a form of community *sasi* was in force. In 2011 or so, *adat* leaders in conjunction with the Evangelical Christian Church of Papua (GKI, *Gereja Keristen Injili di Tanah Papua*) enacted *sasi* protections for sea cucumber, clams, and fish

species in different places, including in front of the village. The Nature Conservancy maintained a small post on the island. Yet reef bombing remained a major challenge. Villagers said they were afraid to confront the bombers – some said they were witches without heads and would eat people who dared to stand up to them while they slept. Others feared gangsters from Crocodile Island near Sorong and the complicity of local police. There were many specters about, real and imagined. These fears help show that despite having values about protecting reefs, many people feel helpless in the face of exogenous forces and seek help in their efforts to care for their land and sea resources.

Yunus Mansoben, *kepala kampung* of Deer village, spoke under a sacred banyan tree about the obligations of people to protect the trees and sea. He said that the current situation with illegal fishing is akin to the cutting of *merbau* trees (*Intsia bijuga*). The village realized that so many of the slow growing, valuable hardwoods were disappearing that they had to make an agreement that each family is responsible for caring for particular trees, “so that our children have some resources to make houses, or longboats. The people should understand this. It is the same with the sea – we all must protect it. Not to exploit it until it’s gone, in order that our progeny are not displaced.” To Mr. Mansoben, this was not merely mimicry of extralocal conservation norms or only about managing natural resources, but represented a solemn duty to God:

[It’s our] obligation and our responsibility as a community that has responsibility to this place that God has long prepared for us to maintain. So with the NGOs of CI and TNC can help the people of Raja Ampat so it has nature of sea and land, we are its protectors, together we manage it for the future of our children and future grandchildren.

Yunus said that some residents didn’t initially accept or understand the purposes of the environmentalists when they arrived. And some still doubt the presence or benefits of hosting

Indonesian staff at a small conservation post on the village. While the tangible benefits of NGOs on Deer village are unclear to some, Yunus said that TNC's presence has continued to an increase in the abundance and variety of creatures living in the sea off Kofiau. He said that in the past, some men used compressors and bombs, but the NGOs have promoted a sense of togetherness (Indo. *kebersamaan*) which has forced the local government to act. He said that TNC had also provided the community with some protections against the gangsters (who often arrive during church services on Sunday) by their presence, and funds for fuel and boats for weekly marine patrols.

Outside of efforts by non-governmental organizations to promote conservation, Yunis said that the Beteo of Kofiau observe church *sasi* as a reflection of their sincere religious beliefs. On Deer, residents are afraid to transgress areas protected by the village's church, because they believe that transgressions would lead to sickness or death for the trespasser's entire family. This sense of conservation as religious act was reinforced that evening, as Yusuf became angry after the film screening and evening performance.

During a post-show music event he abruptly cut off the sound and stormed off to his house. He said that it was late and that he felt that the *goyang goyang* (a dance form connected to a popular music genre called *dangdut* associated with promiscuity and vice) was inappropriate this late on Saturday evening before church the next day, and because the activities took place in front of the church building (See Weintraub 2010). A meeting between the Kalabia team resolved the dispute the following day. But it reminded everyone not to assume that everyone agrees with, or understands, the different reasons why people value environmental protection.

Leaving Deer village on Kofiau Island, the Kalabia went southwards to Misool Island for screenings on Yellu, Fafanlap and Misool Eco Resort on Batbitim island. To the Kalabia's

starboard side and in front of its bow, Misool's strange saw-tooth horizon could be seen from offshore in the Arafura Sea. The *Kalabia* charted its course carefully in order to avoid wrecking on a shallow reef pass as it entered a bay of small islands on the way to the Muslim villages of Yellu and Fafanlap.

Yellu is a small Muslim village built of wooden stilt homes on a small rocky island in the middle of a seascape of jagged limestone cliffs and green hills. A green-domed mosque rose above a dense cluster of wood plank homes built above water on long poles. As in other places, the *Kalabia* team had sent announcements via radio, fliers and calls about their visit, but the team still needed to request permission in person.

Imam Kaidat Soltif, a man featured in *Guardians of Raja Ampat*, had the final word. The old man wore a white tunic and sat on a mat on the floor of a wooden house across from the village's coral path near the mosque. Mr. Soltif spoke of his family's connections to the old Raja families as well as to more far-flung polities. He lamented a decrease in shrimp and fish numbers due to the presence of *bagan* platforms that rapaciously scooped up fish for sale to commercial operations northwards. He emphasized that the Matlol and Matbat people indigenous to Misool would be vigilant in protecting their home by working with TNC and sustaining *sasi* (Matlol: *saum samóm*). He said that TNC's efforts had helped to increase number of rockfish and grouper in the reefs near Fafanlap.

Later that evening after the film ended in Yellu village, several people spoke about their impressions and feelings. One man from Halmahera said that he was thankful to village officials for prohibiting people from bombing reefs, which he said would have stopped fish from spawning and aggregating. He expressed gratitude at seeing such beauty on the screen. Ali Orenang, a local staff with TNC in Harapan Jaya, said that "there is hope for all of us who are

here”. He said that Raja Ampat is a beautiful refuge, and that the whole world is “waiting for us to guard it.”

Salman Wiyai from Biak spoke about devoting the last eight years to work on conservation programs. He said that the film showed “many beautiful coral, fish, many things. Yet if we do not protect them, they will be memorable stories only. Would our younger brothers benefit from this or not? No. So all our younger sisters have to protect the sea here, right? Indeed so.” He said that his message is from the “father of our fathers:”

Let us give the fish as a lesson to our children, how we maintain them, that we have the sea, how we keep our forest. If not us, who else?...The film showed us that the importance of the sea to the lives of our people. We should be proud of Raja Ampat, it was not people from outside in Raja Ampat [that did it] no! That’s right! So we have to keep our seas, our place.

A man from Waigama extolled children to protect the sea, stressing “we have to protect each other.” He noted that people come here to dive with beautiful coral “because the sea is lovely. If it’s already destroyed ... people will not come here. They will go to Wakatobi, Manado. What will we do if the coral is destroyed here?” Another man said that “plastic waste plastic that I see is actually breaking my heart”, calling for local regulations in nearby Harapan Jaya and Yellu villages to protect against pollution’s negative effects on marine life in the area.

In Fafanlap the following night a member of the Kalabia team said that the purpose of *Guardians of Raja Ampat* was to enjoin people to protect the environment together so that it is not destroyed by people who want to ‘destroy our ecology’: “We continue to believe our lives will be better. People who live in the coastal suburb or right here also depend on the sea. Therefore, let us keep our wilds intact for the sake of children and grandchildren still ahead of us.” Later, Imam Soltif stood up to speak. He said that together, the audience saw a Christian pastor moved to tears:

For the love of our surroundings in Raja Ampat did this. So for that, let us do it, our whole society, especially in the southern Misool. Let us come together to support this program, and keep our environment as it exists – as we see it presented in the film.

The imam said that his parents used to tell stories of easily getting clams as large as stones; “Now it is difficult for us to. So let us keep our environment for our grandchildren so that they know where the rockfish are, where the clam and coral thrive. Let us keep what was shown to us by these foreigners.” A Christian priest said similar things. He entreated people to stop throwing homemade bombs over the reefs.

Another participant said that he was grateful for the work of conservation near Misool island because coral cover had visibly increased compared with previous years. Another said that “this film has opened [our] eyes and hearts to hear what has been a hurdle to challenges we face.” He recalled how initially, people from The Nature Conservancy were rejected in Fafanlap. They were not welcomed, and their motives misunderstood. But now people are taking greater responsibility and have accepted their presence, because everyone in Misool depends on the sea: “Where the life of the sea is destroyed, our lives will be destroyed too.”

Dialogue about conservation continued in other places throughout the Kalabia’s counterclockwise voyage throughout Raja Ampat. From a wider-angle view, the film tour provided a vantage point for understanding processes of value commensuration and value difference about different people’s relationships with and responsibilities to the environment. It provided a moment of encounter where strangers shared their feelings, hopes and fears about the risks to their seascape. But it also afforded an opportunity to produce a set of analogous understandings about the reasons and values for protecting the environment. Through dialogue, sharing, misunderstanding, different actors translated the moral imperative to protect into an idiom they understood – a process I will discuss in more detail below.

After Fafanlap the ship set a course for Batbitim island to a stopover at Misool Eco Resort. The ship neared the island early in the morning. Nearby a *sasi* ceremony could be seen taking place: men and women stood on wooden longboats throwing offerings into the sea, boats festooned with white ribbons. A man blew from a conch shell across the water. The *sasi* ceremony concretely reminded everyone how residents still observed customary forms of resource control amidst cross-currents of rapid change. In the end, the planned film screening at Misool Eco Resort failed, after the metal rigging toppled over in a gale. Late in the evening, John, Shawn and a few others presented the film on a small television screen to people gathered from Misool Basefin, a conservation arm of the resort, and a few guests. The rest of the crew remained on the starry beach, talking about tempestuous seas.

The Kalabia then voyaged to Salawati Island, a day's journey northwards from Misool Eco Resort on Batbitim Island. After a rolling, rainy passage the ship arrived to Solol village on Salawati Island in the early morning, after passing by a pearl farm and church *sasi* zone. Solol is a mixed community of Ma'ya people who refer to themselves as Tepin who speak Tiplol, a distinct and unstudied Ma'ya dialect. Unlike Fafanlap and Yellu, there were few stilt houses in Solol. Instead, a large church steeple rose above the forest canopy to the left of the dock. A few men sat on wooden benches beneath a hand-painted sign 'Selamat Datang': *Welcome*. Several stands of tall trees and gardens were visible in the surrounding steep hills, with durian, coconut, mango trees interspersed among houses.

Motoring up to the dock in a light mist, the team was greeted by several men standing on a longboat playing loudly on drums – one broad and wide, another tapering slightly in the middle, with wooden sticks (Indo. *suling tambur*) while another played a flute. The boat guided them into the village, and then circled the boat a few times as we came to dock. Children came

out to stare and mingle. Soon, the entire village of Solol came up the jetty to greet the visitors. Children arrived wearing white and crimson school uniforms, with older women wearing Papuan-style batik shirts of blue and green. They women presented us with sarongs and shell necklaces while they sang greeting songs. We then stopped at the entry of the village where two women washed our feet in a large wide porcelain plate and children danced in grass skirts. We then danced with Solol villagers arm-in-arm throughout the village.

The rains returned, so the evening's film screening and performance took place in Solol's small village school. After the show many audience members spoke, followed by a karaoke sing-along. There was not enough space in the one-roomed building for *yospan* dances or *goyang goyang* that night. Markus from the Kalabia team began the evening's remarks to a crowd of curious spectators sitting in plastic chairs and standing outside peering through wooden shutters. A man stood and took up the microphone and asked "What will the environment be like next year? He became emotional and shouted that "this film is not about somewhere else, but about us here in this place. It is for the future of our children, generations before us, for our children who are still green." He said that it shows "[that] we can change for the better." A teacher next rose to speak about his concerns about cutting down trees:

In the city or in the village before there was nice wooden timber, still good. So, let us in here Solol also recall what we've heard. Brother Kondologit says, 'let's protect the forest'. Now we see almost the entire village Solol chainsaws can cut down all [the forest]. Yes. If we want to talk about our care for Raja Ampat, first let's ensure that there are still merbau trees here. Do not say 'ah it was for the sea, alone.' No. Earlier the head of the village in Yellu father said, 'debts we owe to the mountains too.' But now we see it's bald, same as asphalt. Because the timber was already sold out!

Markus of the Kalabia team spoke reproachingly: "If [use] chainsaws all the forest will be gone. You must find water wells elsewhere. We used to get fresh water from springs, when trees kept the soil fertile." A woman from Waibon village called for action: "Tonight we watched

and smiled. But starting from tomorrow, we have to work together.” A man from Solol’s church assembly then rose and spoke of the need to maintain forests for future posterity, and not to dispose of waste into the sea. “We used to say the bomb was damaging marine fish. But, we unconsciously also damaged the sea by dumping garbage there.” Markus then became upset, “Why should we not love our own land? True or false? Others come from far away love Raja Ampat why we degrade the area by cutting trees, cyanide, bomb: where else, where, where?” While Edo enlivened the mood with popular songs, such as “Sio ade Monika” a song by Emooz, and “Macarena”, people seemed chastened by the messages from the evening’s discussion.

Around 11:30 that evening people gathered around a large wet field. Two men carried out a large oil drum. Several people dressed in grass skirts leaped into an open space, jostling spears and shields. The performers danced a *cakalele*, a Moluccan war dance, which had been banned in Indonesia for many years. An elder, Barnabas Sawoy, narrated by loudspeaker while several men and women and a young child danced around. One man was soon symbolically speared to death. He lay on the grass before being carried offstage. The narrator later told me that the story was a moral tale about a man who stole from the forest and was killed, so that the people would have good things to eat and fertile land to live on.

Chronotopes of love and self-regard

In making sense of the messages from the film and people’s responses I draw from Mikael Bakhtin’s concept of chronotope – how space and time are expressed differently in artistic works – as a way to assess how the film and audience comments produced a context in which conservationists and West Papuans could see themselves as involved together in a joint effort to preserve the sea. In “Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel,” Bakhtin

traces how chronotopes are constitutive elements of all art and literature, whether a Greek novel (adventure-time in abstract space), Chivalric romance (miraculous worlds, subjective playing with time), or modern novels (often reflecting linear narratives of ‘the road’ or of an individual’s journey in time and space (Bakhtin 1981:84; see Valverde 2015: Ch1).



Figure 53 Participants dance following an evening film screening and conversation, Arborek Island

While people in Raja Ampat have several narrative frames for making sense of people’s connections to the environment – a modernist form, in which individual choice as important, cosmogonic myth in which epic heroes dominate and fate looms, apocalyptic stories of the end of days and new beginnings, tragedy of the continued suffering of West Papuans caused by the Indonesian state – the power of the film and audience participation relies on the layering of what Bakhtin calls ‘idyllic’ chronotopes, which emphasize love, stages of life, family (1981:224-236). Importantly, Bakhtin emphasizes how the idyll is reflected in “the conjoining of human life with the life of nature, the unity of their rhythm, the common language used to describe phenomena of nature and the events of human life” (ibid, 226). So when Imam Soltif of Yellu village speaks metaphorically of his love for Misool’s jagged peaks and blue seas, he is also speaking of his

love for his people, for an idyllic vision of intersocial relations, of religious values, of a harmony of people in their natural surrounds.

Here, and elsewhere, people echo this sense of idyll, a timeless analogical mode of being, in which what helps protect fish and trees is inherently also a way of talking about West Papuan's social responsibility to care for one another. That said, idyllic chronotopes do not capture the full range of experiences in the film, or issues pertinent to marine conservation in Raja Ampat: there is also conflict (with NGOs and government officials), misunderstanding (interclan disputes over landownership), journeys of transformation (eco-tourism), and occasionally, romance (among tourists).

Guardians of Raja Ampat, as a documentary film, does not tell its story through a plot-driven narrative, but presents an argument based on idyllic chronotopes of human-environment relations to convince West Papuans, donors, and Indonesian government officials of the importance of protecting marine life in Raja Ampat. It is constructed through argument rather than narrative, but also contains sets of stories within. What is striking about the film and evening performances is how the types of things people said are determined by the limited range of dispositions, utterances, and aspirations they saw on the film. Perhaps life imitated art, by filtering out dissonant messages people had about marine conservation. What was broadcast (on screen and in call-and-response post show dialogue) tended towards idyllic senses of people and nature in synchrony, even if only as hope.

The chronotope provides a frame for the possibilities of characters' actions, plot devices, and geographic settings. But it limits the range of options, as "a structural constraint on a particular course of narrated events, beyond the will or control of any agent in the narrative" (Lawson 2011:395) in a way that creates "a 'material' and 'produced' space-time." French

(2012:346) further argues that an analysis of chonotopic figures in artistic works and dialogue “can be mobilized to show how temporality is indexically presupposed and created in narratives that circulate and are then recognized as collective memories.”

It is striking how so much of what people reflected on during evening events involved public speaking about one’s memories of the past, concerns about the present, and hopes for the future. In a form of ethical deixis, West Papuans located themselves in particular times and places as agents of action, or, conversely, lamented their inability to prevent the degradation of the forests or reefs that surrounded them. Just as the film weaves diverse narrative threads, the Kalabia tour itself connects different places, different ethnolinguistic communities with their own histories. It presented a series of moments for integrating island communities into a larger-scale imaginary in which forms of resource protection become a basis for making social relations.

Out of frame, out of view

The persuasiveness of a documentary, journal article or other form of media relies on strategic use of relevant examples, representations, and voices but also on depends importantly on what is edited out. *Guardians of Raja Ampat* conveys a hopeful message of cooperation, rather than conflict. It avoids direct criticism of the Indonesian government and does not mention conflicts between villagers and conservationists in the early 2000s. It does not highlight the frictions between families who are setting up homestays, nor the tensions between private dive resorts run by foreigners and the emerging locally-run homestays.

People here know that these issues are unresolved. For instance, it is widely known that elements of the police in Sorong city provide protection for illegal logging in Waigeo, a live-reef fish trade, and other practices. Powerful business interests appear to be supporting new dive

resorts around Waigeo Island managed by Jakartans, or other people not from the region; ongoing resource extraction and corruption threatens the idyllic representation of cooperative environmental management, and many are cynical about the lasting benefits of engagement. In chapter five, I develop an analysis of misunderstandings between different groups in relation to environmentalism.

What I want to discuss here are a few examples of misalignments that occurred during the tour. By identifying misfires and examples of misrecognition, I draw attention to the ways people also engaged in processes of self-editing in their quest to perceive the Kalabia tour as necessarily successful, a victory tour of sorts, rather than an ongoing persuasive case to convince a more neutral audience about why they should join environmental programs. Webb Keane argued that all social performances are risk-laden endeavors: their efficacy derives in part from people's recognition of the very real possibility of failure (Levi-Strauss [1949]1969:48; Keane 2003:27).

During the tour a few things couldn't be smoothed over: in Salio village the Kalabia team learned that locals had closed tourism for over a year and captured a speedboat of conservationists in protest against lack of benefits in the iconic Wayag islands, a place claimed by local Ma'ya clans. On arrival to Mutus island, a young girl had just died and the event there was cancelled in order to join in mourning with the village. On Deer Island, the village headman abruptly cancelled the evening's performance, as he was enraged at salubrious dancing on sacred ground. At a visit to Pam island they learned of widespread bombing, possibly in collusion with government officials. Additionally, out at sea the Kalabia ship broke an axle, ran aground on a reef, and everyone became ill during the voyage. Below, I describe one example of an

unexpected event that required a quick change of plans, and a different type of ethical response when the Kalabia team arrived to Mutus Island.

At around two in the afternoon, the Kalabia team was invited to pay respects to the grieving family of a deceased child. They walked together along a crushed coral concrete path. Beneath a blue tarp, rows of plastic chairs had been set out in front of a stoop. Inside, an old woman sat crouched in the doorway. In front, the body of the child lay on a bier of blankets. Across from her, an older man sat looking over the child's body.

We all sat down in front, as people gathered behind and around us. Elder men from the family of the deceased child sat to the left of us. Maki, the Kalabia's village coordinator, stood up and said a few words. Angela then spoke, a bit quietly but with grace. Finally, John asked if he could say something. He stood up and spoke in English, which Angela translated. He said "[W]e are very sorry, but grateful to come here today. We completely understand that family comes first. The way you care for each other in Raja Ampat shows us how to live better. Take care of one another..." These words were well received with nods from the elder men. The grandmother of the child looked over at John as he spoke, and appeared to perceive the truth of his feeling.

A village representative then stood up and gave a long speech as we sat beneath the tarp. He spoke of how God's will intervened and that he regretted the cancellation of the film event. He said that the congregation expressed their desire to respect the family's grieving. He then said he wanted to get a cassette of songs from Edo (the Papuan singer). This finished, we were invited to enter the house and to console the family. When we finally left the house together, the entire village greeted us with handshakes. They accompanied us back to the *Kalabia* together, and sent

us off. It was a different kind of feeling, as if the categories of visitors and locals dissolved, categories blended and layers of difference were peeled away, if just for a moment. We were united together in grief, not as Papuans, Americans, foreigners or locals, but as humans sharing the grieving for a lost child together.

None of these issues would be written about or shared in stories in recollections of the trip. Such issues would also be elided from celebratory blog posts of fund-raising media events for future conservation work. Perhaps part of the elision of the Mutus funeral arises from the pressures of conservationists to present a story arc that fits preconceived notions about what happens in far flung wild places. Anthropologists including James Igoe have written about how conservation programs tend to reproduce stereotypes of local people amidst wild places, in part due to pressures to raise funds from corporate donors who are presumed to also be necessary for protecting threatened ecosystems (Igoe 2010). In such a context, local peoples' experiences tend to be streamlined in ways that avoid attention to local disputes over control of natural resources, aspirations for economic development, or unintended consequences of environmentalist intervention.

Just like a documentary film edits and stitches together images and sounds into a coherent message, conservationists piece together vignettes and personalities and place them into a recognizable frame that other NGOs, donors and environmentalist both expect and validate. An effect of this tendency of conservation programs to represent indigenous people as ciphers for larger-scale campaigns: they become advertisements, in which 'remote' or 'tribal' people live in homogeneous timelessness amidst untrammelled nature, or in situations that demand intervention by better-equipped outsiders (see Stasch 2014, 2016).

But as Shawn mentioned during the trip, if the campaign achieves a legislative goal such as protecting manta rays in Indonesia or bringing attention to destructive shark finning, then to him the ends justify the means: the truth of a place and its inhabitants is necessarily inflected to fit with larger political-environmental arcs in which local people sometimes unwittingly become enmeshed in endeavors they never intended to be part of.

The Guardians of Raja Ampat tour as a metasemiotic and metapragmatic journey

Environmental media, such as the *Guardians of Raja Ampat*, are metasemiotic and metapragmatic, in the sense that they communicate signs about ideal human and environment relations. They signal mechanisms for interethnic cooperation to protect marine places, support for eco-tourism, for avoiding destructive fishing and logging. The media provide a vector for West Papuans to look forwards to a better future for their children as justification for their acquiescence to conservationist goals as well as their participation as tokens in environmentalist campaigns. In a way, the entire Kalabia trip, if considered a type of utterance or speech act, is subjunctive – an ‘ought’ or ‘should’, whether for sake of children and grandchildren, as a way of acting rightly as a Christian, to be good stewards and managers, to act like Westerners do, or to hope for bountiful revenues from eco-tourism.

All the repetitions of phrases heard during nightly events about why protection is necessary are a type of hopeful utterance for a future that might be, rather than one that already is. The social effects of such talk and its repetitions express intentions that highlight how the film and tour created conditions for West Papuans to place themselves in relation to conservation and see themselves as a part of the larger story in which biodiversity programs really do benefit local livelihoods (regarding spoken intentions, see Durranti 2015). As previously mentioned, this

conceit requires a fair amount of editing out of ongoing misalignments, rumor, jealousies, conflicts, and political sensitivities.

The subjunctive mood of the Kalabia tour can make sense if we consider environmentalism as a form of ‘virtualism’ (Carrier 1998): “it projects a vision of the world that is assumed to be the actual, really existing world, and requires the world to conform to this vision” (Argyrou 2009:24 in Carrier and West 2009). Argyrou argues that environmentalism emerges from concerns about human’s destructive actions in nature. Biodiversity conservation, such as efforts to protect the reefs of Waigeo in Raja Ampat, entails a form of ‘world making’ through film, blogs, photos, and narratives of interchangeable parts that fit together “so that each story feels like it fits with the others” (Jenkins 2006:294). Perhaps this sense of déjà vu is reflected in the repeated statements of people in different villages throughout the tour.

The repetition of phrases about protecting reefs for sake of one’s children wasn’t accidental, but an intentional outcome of an idyllic chronotope projected by *Guardians of Raja Ampat*, which was received, embodied and performed by village respondents at every place where the film was shown. The notion of idyllic relations of people and nature can be heard in Hadir Soltif’s paeon to Misool, in Edo Kondologit’s expression of love for his boyhood forests as a route to self – respect for his West Papuan roots, in Markus’ lament to keep from cutting merbau trees in Solol. It is also heard in comments by John Weller and Shaun Heinrich, who made the film from images they had captured, who organized the tour as a way of giving back something to people with whom they have developed bonds of affection.

The ways that environmentalist media portray local people – either working alongside international environmental groups or cut entirely out of view – seems connected to what Anna Tsing (2005) has called the ‘global economy of appearances’ where social relations are mediated

through visual media that sets conditions for engagement, subjectivity is channeled through pre-given concepts of nature and culture, and possibilities for social performance are focused to achieve particular results (Igoe 2010:377).

To the extent that the *Kalabia* tour can be framed in terms of a larger economy of appearances it is also a journey that entreats people to participate in a politics of care, in which messages express the importance of desiring to protect the sea and land for ethical, economic or other reasons. One of the interesting features of Tsing's notion of environmental friction is that peoples' participation in environmental conservation, resource exploitation or other interactions often leads to unexpected, often messy entanglements: people who go to a wild place are often transformed by the experience in ways they may not have intended.

Tsing's emphasis on unexpected interactions in wild places coincides with recent ethnographic studies into environmentalism that critiques the anthropological tendency to focus on conflicts between local people and extralocal forces to speak on behalf of one side in their struggle against larger political-economic processes. While it is clearly important for anthropologists to describe how people in places such as West Papua have been dispossessed of land and marginalized by the Government of Indonesia, this is one part of what environmental interactions entail.

Recent scholarship about the diverse ways that societies think about and engage with nonhuman beings shows that the ontological is also political: that people's perception of the social life of nature is not false consciousness but has important consequences for the struggles, aims, and outcomes of environmentalist interactions. Commensuration of local and NGO ways of protecting reefs is not necessarily impossible or a neoliberal conceit (West 2016). Such alignments may be the only pathway for successful conservation efforts.

Studies that identify unequal power dynamics have been important for understanding how the creation of national parks and reserves can often have detrimental effects on local residents. Whitehouse (2015) points out a potential bias to biodiversity conservation, in which they take the view that non-Western peoples have the most suitable approaches while Western outsiders impose, misunderstand, erode, dispossess, or extract: “While this criticism is important, it rests on rather vague and perhaps unduly homogeneous notions of what conservation involves and what conservationists themselves think and do” (Whitehouse 2015:96). There are alternatives: to cite one example, Satterfield (2004) identifies how loggers and environmentalists in Oregon developed approaches to land management that provided for continued logging and protection of keystone species.

Some may see the anthropologist’s role as advocating on behalf of marginalized peoples against the power of a nation state’s institutional apparatus (particularly in the form of police and government development agencies), neoliberal economic policies or bad actors. One can certainly see the destructive power of these forces around Waigeo. However, what I have attempted to show in this chapter is that despite a range of misunderstandings, it is sometimes possible for different groups to represent their values in idyllic ways that elicit more hopeful prospects for intersocial cooperation.

The Kalabia conservation tour provided an opportunity for reflection about conservation, *sasi* and misunderstandings. It also was a situation of recursive mirroring – where, in addition to the film itself, the tour included a US-based film group that filmed the Western filmmakers about their work. The second film crew emphasized the somewhat messianic way that the American conservationists ‘saved’ Raja Ampat: bringing the good news of conservation to the people, etc. Talk emphasized also a set of morality stories, prohibitions, ways of acting rightly towards the

reefs, animals, etc. The potential of commensurability in all of its public, stereotyped and performative sense is actually a vital part of creating a shared moral world.

The Kalabia tour involved the signaling and creation of a shared moral horizon; of values that at some point do overlap, even with their clearly culturally mediated content. In a situation of conflict over land rights, anxieties about belonging, concern about dispossession, and the future, the *Kalabia* event celebrates for a moment the potential for a cosmopolitan vision of Raja Ampat. It is ethnographically significant by providing an example of how Raja Ampat people are sorting out how to live with others throughout their seascape, as well as the opportunities and consequences of conservation practices.

Chapter 5. Cannibal witches, environmental mix-ups: doubts about others in Raja Ampat

They arrived at Urai – a small rocky place in the middle of Kabui Bay in between Waigeo and Gam islands – in silence with a sense of purpose. A few dozen Beteo people from the nearby village of Saporkren gathered on the sandy shore. Nearby, timbered buildings and concrete foundations lay half built. Blue plastic tarps flapped in the wind as waves lapped behind them. A few men dug a circular hole about two feet deep while others kneeled and prayed. A church elder from the Moluccas asked for God’s help in returning Urai to Saporkren, as congregants buried a wide blue and white porcelain plate covered with a white cloth. Many sobbed and cried aloud.

Urai island is the site of an ongoing dispute over land rights, tourism and ethics between two West Papuan communities of the Raja Ampat islands. Around 2010, a Ma’ya man from Wauyai sold rights to develop a resort on Urai to a woman from Jakarta. She gave money to primary families (Indo: *marga*) in both villages, but many felt this wasn’t a joint decision.⁷² Misgivings about this transaction initiated a major dispute that fractured longstanding alliances between ethnic groups and among families.⁷³ On one hand, the Beteo people of Saporkren village claimed that Urai is the site of relative’s graves and one of the first Christian communities in Raja Ampat. Conversely, the Ma’ya of Wauyai village argue they are the first people to settle the region, which gives them an ultimate say over who uses lands. They also believe that the Beteo have recognized their claims.

⁷² Discussion with Elias Mambrasar, Oct. 2014, Saporkren. She apparently gave Rp. 1,500,000,000 (appx USD \$106,000) to four *tuan tanah* of Saporkren: Mr. Mesias Mambrasar, Matteus Mambrasar, Luther Mambrasar and Lefinus Dimara (*kepala kampung*).

⁷³ Discussion with Dennis Sauyai at Saporkren, Sept 2, 2014.

The dispute over Urai has brought into focus conflicts between communities that have increased in intensity and stakes with the arrival of tourism since the 2000s. For generations, the Beteo and Ma'ya peoples have lived together in relative peace, ever since Beteo arrived from Biak on *hong*i raids, planted coconuts and raised families. The Beteo would give fish and trade goods to the more interior-oriented Ma'ya in exchange for processed sago, damar resin, feathers and other goods. Ma'ya clans (*gélet*) allowed Biak raiders to settle on uninhabited karst islets or coastal facing zones.

In the last few years, the issue of who has rights to develop lands for gardens and marine resources rights (*hak ulayat*) has become an ethical dilemma. Outsiders have pressured Papuan residents on Waigeo to sell property in order to construct resorts or other developments in the Dampier Straits marine protected area. In response, several Beteo families have built homestays to host visitors from abroad who want to see Birds of Paradise, nudibranchs or feeding manta rays. But outside of these tourist-focused areas, the Ma'ya and Ambel have been left out of the tourist boom. The dispute over Urai island is an example of intersocial tension arising from conservation and tourism in Eastern Indonesia. People say that this is a new type of tradeoff. Many are anxious about what such quarrels signify for future relations among the region's communities.

Following the creation of several interlinked marine protected areas and conservation initiatives in the 2000s the islands have become a focus of biodiversity protection, and increasingly, a major destination for dive-focused and nature-oriented tourism. Several West Papuan villages have been affected by these developments. This is particularly the case in coastal facing settlements of Beteo and Ma'ya speaking peoples who live within zoned marine areas on Waigeo Island in the northern part of the Raja Ampat Regency, an Indonesian sub-provincial

political-administrative unit with a center in Waisai. The benefits from this new conservation economy have been unevenly distributed among the region's peoples.

Efforts to protect the seas and forests in Raja Ampat have facilitated the fusing of different values into hybrids. Such engagements have also provoked conflict within and between groups with a stake in the region's conservation zones. In chapters two and three, I discussed instances where West Papuan communities sought to engage with nonlocal conservationists and tourists. In my discussion of *sasi* and ecotourism, I highlighted situations where locally resident communities sought to align normative expectations and behaviors about the environment in their own terms with externally-introduced ideals about biodiversity as an intrinsic good for the survival of animals and plants. I then discussed how tourism projects idealized relations of people and nature as imagined zones of enchantment, purification and wildness in ways that have psychological and material effects. Marine conservation programs have catalyzed emergent hybrids – church *sasi* or heterogeneous conservation zones – in which different aims for environmental protection have become interlinked in ways that have mostly benefitted those with a stake in natural resource management.

Yet such engagements have led to unexpected developments. For example, the desire for money and interaction with foreign tourists has motivated Beteo people living within designated marine zones to construct eco-tourist homestays. These places have been transformed into sites for capital accumulation in which value is quantified in ways that have untethered historically dense connections between island peoples. Such new arrangements have led people to doubt whether such transformations will ultimately be for good or ill. The nutrient-rich currents of New Guinea's coastal fringe are a navigational challenge: they move swiftly and change course violently. Analogously, the human social dynamics of these islands are not unidirectional.

Prospects for mutually beneficial intersocial relations is counterbalanced by a general wariness of Melanesians towards one another, or to assume a person can know another's intentions. There is an intrinsic, unspoken caution underneath the surface of most social interactions. For instance, it was several months before a man at Saporkren village was willing to express his longing for sandals like mine. A few days after I gave them to him, he brought me several large snapper and later invited me to join him at his garden plot. At first, he didn't know whether I was a mere visitor or someone worth asking something of in order to solidify our friendship.

Besides wariness about entering into exchange as a means to foster reciprocal debt obligations, West Papuans often doubt if strangers are friend or foe. Another man from the same village had been rumored to be a cannibal witch due to his nighttime lurking and penchant for using a chainsaw after dark. He would sometimes show up at my house and anyone present tended to stiffen. The Ma'ya are generally wary towards outsiders, but become especially diffident when Indonesian officials, particularly uniformed police or administrators, arrive to drop off subsidized rice or check-in on unannounced visits. Such interactions tend to reinforce a sense of separateness in places that never really desired such oversight.

People doubt whether self-actualization is possible: can they achieve their dreams, or will they always be out of reach? Caution and doubt about oneself and others are reflected in perceptions that the environment is a zone of enchantment and risk. Eastern Indonesia's nonhuman surrounds are not only zones of affordances but are also places of danger and moral transgression. They are the domain of witches, other-than-human spirits and Satan. People often disclaim the existence of malevolent forces: they will speak about spirits elliptically, 'what we believed in the past' before Christianity, or with some embarrassment. But the persistence of talk

about nature as dangerous suggests these forces continue to lurk as manifestations of the doubts people have about others. Transgressive beings could be interpreted as cognitive indices of West Papuan doubts about social relations generally. They remain as nagging anxieties about the capacity for the world to provide. Such cultural symbolizations of hazard are apparent in intergroup interactions over natural resources.

I should clarify that not all West Papuan communities want the same thing when dealing with environmental protection or tourism. Within communities, landowning families (*marga*) with use rights may have different interests than non-landowning families. In some ways, changes brought about by conservation in Raja Ampat have exacerbated simmering tensions between families and across villages. At a wider angle, others with a stake in the region – from commercial tourism ventures, fishing and mining enterprises, environmental foundations to Indonesian government administrators – each operate with their own normative understanding of what is appropriate or what is at stake. Such varied interests demonstrate how Raja Ampat is both a moral and a political economy.

In this chapter, I focus on conflict, misunderstanding and moral transgression that arose from conservation and tourism initiatives in northern Raja Ampat over a five-year period from 2010-2015. I first identify islanders' emic categories of immoral or transgressive forces through an examination of nonhuman entities that reflect anxieties people have about social relations. I discuss how figures of alterity – cannibal witches, sorcerers, demi-gods and ambivalent spirits – reveal uncertainty about prospects for social interaction in a context where strangers are regularly coming and going. These beings of ambivalent value are associated with specific places. I argue that the juxtaposition of human from nonhuman domains has implications for

cross-cultural ethical engagements over resources (compare van Oosterhout (1994, 1998:135; 2001:45) on *suanggi* among the Inanwatan).⁷⁴

I then turn to etic or external instances of moral breakdown. I highlight misunderstandings about conservation and tourism between different groups to argue that failures can reveal values in conflict. I return to the Urai island dispute to make sense of disharmony between West Papuans over who has the right to claim resources. I examine a selection of human-environment conflicts between resident communities and nonlocal actors: a dispute over compensation from tourist revenues in Wayag; the ransom of a speedboat in exchange for compensation from conservationists on Waigeo; disputes about illegal logging and mining activities; and rumors of theft in Kalitoko. Across these cases, I show how these misunderstandings are about asymmetrical notions of proper relations between people and nature. They are situations where different values come into conflict or do not align smoothly. The resolution of some conflicts indicates how differing normative concepts of what is correct, of what ought to happen with nonhuman surrounds, can be analogous, while the impasse in other cases suggests underlying dissimilarities about ‘the good’.

⁷⁴ Diane van Oosterhout (1994, 1998) notes that among the Inanwatan of New Guinea there are three different domains of exchange: between people, people and ancestor spirits, and those between people and “Opido” – the beings of the forest. She distinguishes these domains as oppositions between ‘wilderness’ (autochthonous groups) and ‘cultivated domain’ (allochthonous immigrants) (van Oosterhout 1998:135 in Miedema et al 1998; compare Schefold 1994:818-819). Oosterhout notes elsewhere (2001:45) that Inawantan believe that an increase in *suanggi* reflects “the rotting of society: “the consumption of the intestines of society” due to the loss of secret knowledge (*iware*) by greed for personal accumulation, and the inability of Christianity to replace it: “The increase in *suanggi* is thus primarily associated with the loss of indigenous values or morals without proper replacements, and with body substances out of place.” People hope for a great flood to wash away the dirt, smell and sweat.

Witchcraft and sorcery reflect an ethics of caution in Raja Ampat

“In Papua, there is a surface that you can see but there is much else besides that remains obscured” Martin Makusi told me one day in 2014 while visiting his home on Renswor on Gam island. Later that year at a meeting of the Raja Ampat Homestay association, he said that Beteo sometimes conceal their true feelings from others. On first meeting a Papuan person in Raja Ampat they will usually tell you they are from a particular island or village and tell you something about their relatives. Almost all will tell you whether they are married or single, Christian or Muslim and how they make a living. Most will acknowledge they are citizens of Indonesia, even if tenuously so.

These presentations of self fit with a paradigm of citizen-subjects in a multicultural nation-state. From this vantage point, collaborations between indigenous people and non-state environmental groups are a type of citizen engagement. Local populations interact with extralocal civil society organizations to advocate for benefits not provided by state institutions due to a lack of adequate representation or social capital. This positioning makes some sense in the context of Indonesian nationhood. But most Papuans have relations with nonhuman forces that remain concealed. What is surprising is how often what is hidden beneath the surface is revealed in unexpected moments: domestic conflicts, jealous neighbors, finger pointing following a sudden illness or hushed murmurs.

The cross-cultural engagements with environmental actors I described in previous chapters can be viewed as a practical means for Papuans to redress historic inequalities arising from exclusions of Melanesians by the Indonesian state. While these struggles are real – and the stakes are important for West Papuans to achieve dreams of respect and inclusion – they are a surface on which claims to democratic participation and intersubjective belonging are made. These processes rely on an assumed ontological character of citizen to state, periphery to capital,

ethnic group to imagined community. My point here is to argue that occluded forces also make claims on the consciousness of West Papuan selves that shape a person's moral horizons that have implications for a viable assessment of ethical life. By drawing out this material, I want to suggest that the stuff of ethics is not only a matter of public intentional acts but should also encompass the hidden dimensions of social life.

There is a sense that alterity – a sense of estrangement and otherness – is inherent in social interactions in ways that are not just a matter of indigenous dispossession or marginalization from politico-economic institutions. Among the Korowai of West Papua, Rupert Stasch described how everyday alterity is evident in patterns of avoidance between married men and their mothers-in-law, cross-sibling relations, residential dispersal and in the notion that infant children are monsters before socialized as persons (Stasch 2009). In Beteo and Ambel society, foreign things are alluring but also troubling. The two-sidedness of the value of foreign things is mirrored in different moral domains people inhabit. For instance, despite the best efforts of Christian evangelism and Indonesian nationalism, people throughout Raja Ampat still speak about witches (*suanggi*), sorcerers (*dukun, mawi*), spirits (*djin*), devils (*setan*) and malevolent forces (*kabyo*).

People live in a world suffused with opposing forces that do not always cohere. These forces are rarely observed directly but are nonetheless commonly spoken of throughout the region. Witches and spirits still have a strong hold on peoples' imagination. These beings tend to invert moral edicts and ethical actions of how people ought to do things. A man in Saporkren in 2014 said "While we believe in God now, almost all Papuans believe in other forces" (Indo: *ilmu sendiri*). He said that the Ma'ya people on Waigeo continue guard sacred places (Indo: *tempat*

keramat), the spaces of forest beings (*mon*) or ancestral spirits (Ambel: *mambri*). He also said that sorcery (or what he called ‘the way of nature’) is commonly practiced.

Most people have opinions about sorcerers, either to chastise belief in them or consider their counsel beneficial. Beteo children tease each other about demonic birds (*burung setan*) who live in forested areas behind the village (Figure 54 below). Waisai traders speak about the many *djin* who live in caves and along rivers. It is not uncommon to hear stories about alleged poisonings due to jealousy or as retribution from a perceived slight. How can a person identify a sorcerer? While at a fishing co-op one evening, a man from Saporkren village said that sorcerers and witches tend to “act strangely, but its often hard to tell.” Moreover, you don’t really know whether you are yourself a witch.



Figure 54 Two trees signal ‘beware of demons’ (Indo: *awas setan*) in the forest behind Saporkren, 2014

Transgressive Beings

Cannibal witches (Papuan Malay: *suanggi*; Beser: *manwen*) are key mediating figures of transgressive actions in Raja Ampat. *Suanggi* can take human or nonhuman forms. They can be a man or animal – typically a crocodile, wild pig, flying fox or nightjar. More commonly, the *suanggi* are associated with traces or indices: they are a ‘shadow’, a light, a vapor, a whistling in

the wood, animals appearing in the wrong place or time. At Yenbeser village on Gam island, Beteo people speak guardedly about flying foxes because witches take similar forms at night, swooping overhead. Others believe that witches can fly as detached heads. Telltale signs that a person may be a *suanggi* are that they wander around at night aimlessly, glare at people and generally act 'off.' A man from Serui, a town on Yapen Island far to the east, fits this description. He had previously worked with logging companies in Waisai some years ago before settling in Saporkren village. He would occasionally come unannounced to my house late in the evening, eyes wide, with a chainsaw. Of course, this is probably just a coincidence, but sometimes culturally-mediated lifeworlds become embodied by those who temporarily inhabit them.

Ambel people in Ma'yalibit Bay on Waigeo island believe *suanggi* eat others clandestinely. A person will not know they have been eaten at first. They will have a bad dream followed by an illness or conditions that causes them to waste away. It is believed that this is a sign that a *suanggi* has eaten their livers, eaten from their essence in a way that leads to their eventual demise. In Warimak village, Ambel residents say that their ancestors used to live alongside *suanggi* and speak with them. These days cannibal witches live in uninhabited forest zones. They can cast curses and kill but can also heal (*menyembuh*). One man said that *suanggi* talk may be a way of talking about cannibalism, which he said sometimes took place before Christianity arrived to the area. While there are different ways of experiencing and talking about *suanggi* in Raja Ampat, they continue to haunt the minds and bodies of West Papuans. There is a sense that the *suanggi* is the symbolization of an ethics of doubt about the world and its inhabitants.

Before I say more about the claim that *suanggi* can be interpreted in terms of ethics, it is important to briefly review how a few anthropologists have grappled with how witchcraft reflects cultural values. E.E. Evans-Pritchard argued (1972:18-19) that witchcraft beliefs (*mangu*) among the Azande of north central Africa “embrace a system of values which regulate human conduct.” Instead of providing evidence of irrational belief, Evans-Pritchard illustrated how “witchcraft participates in all misfortunes and is the idiom in which Azande speak about them and in which they explain them.”

The notion that witchcraft comprises a system of values and an idiom for speaking about and explaining misfortunes is a critical analytical move. It shifts the focus to ways that other-than-human forces provide a culturally meaningful way of accounting for key social norms, and the inability for people to fully realize them. Among people of Gawa, an island society in the Milne Bay area of Papua New Guinea, Nancy Munn (1986) noted that witches (*bwagaw*) are a “hidden construction of the Gawan self latent in the overt world of Gawan everyday life.” Witches are “the source of a covert reality and spacetime that subverts Gawan value production” (Munn 1986:215). Witchcraft in Azande and Gawa is a discourse for bringing covert issues into public view. It is a means for people to account for strange happenings, misfortune and anxiety about others. Munn argues that witches represent a negative potentiality that exceeds accepted boundaries of moral life: they fly too fast, consume too much and steal bodies in stealthy canoes (1986:220-224). Instead of sharing food witches foreclose the potential for intersocial ethics by making others into food.

The notion that witches represent unethical behavior occurs elsewhere in Eastern Indonesia (Winn 2002:285).⁷⁵ Do witches essentially represent a type of sociological value inversion? In the examples above, witches appear to be manifestations of rule-breaking behavior or tokens for the instability of social cohesion. But when comparing accounts of witchcraft across cultures, it remains unclear to what extent nonhuman forces – from demonic beings to climate change – are essentially extra-social phenomena: forces that stand outside of what is intrinsically social.

Some anthropologists have argued that the re-emergence of witchcraft beliefs (particularly in Africa) in the context of globalization can be interpreted as a response to people's anxieties about the material consequences of capitalism in resource-dependent peripheries (Comaroff and Comaroff 1999; Geschire 1997). Schram (2010:729) argues instead that witchcraft is neither a vehicle for economically-dislocated societies to account for their marginalization or a remnant of traditional belief systems but a conceptual apparatus for societies to conceive a schema of values: It is “an apperception of the fact of being in society itself.”

In truth, it may not be possible to fully account for the cultural salience of witches or nonhuman forces. But the continuing association with these entities suggests they have something to do with the daily work to make life worth living. Their presence in many societies is certainly quite commonplace, even taken for granted as sources of annoyance rather than awe (Evans-Pritchard (1976 [1937]:19). Bruce Kapferer (2002:4) likewise highlights the everyday ordinariness of witches: “There is nothing remarkable about a witch – you may be one yourself, and certainly many of your closest neighbors are witches.” Nils Bubandt (2014) argues that Buli

⁷⁵ Phillip Winn (2002:285) discusses how envy (Indo: *iri hati*) threatens community relations. He notes how envy may lead people to utilize black magic, steal others' things, and be manifested in the *suanggi* “who exists as the ultimate antithesis of communal relations throughout Maluku.”

people living in Indonesia's Moluccan islands are concerned with witches (*gua*) but do not know what to make of them. They don't necessarily explain anything. Rather, they are "a phenomenon around which doubt is being reproduced in a continuously failed attempt to understand and manage it" (Bubandt 2014:19); they are a 'blind spot' (2014:36), an index of reflexivity about the world. But *gua* also bring talk about ethical expectations and engagements out of the shadows (see Keane 2016:506).

As cultural manifestations of doubt (*aporia*), the *gua* show "the fragility of corporeal existence, the opacity of the human mind, the impossibility of exchange and conviviality, the lies of the Christian church, the failures of state promises, and the witchcraft nature of technology" (Bubandt 2014:241). Analogously, as conceptual categories of doubt, cannibal witches' continuous presence in the places and minds of Waigeo's inhabitants provides a frame to make sense of failures over value relations, misunderstandings without resolution, fears of future clashes over tourism benefits, and forestalled alignments over environmentalism. In the sections below, I describe a few cases of conflict over resources that, like witchcraft, indicate that there are limits to mutual recognition or overlaps regarding environmental values in Raja Ampat.

Witches signify the limits of interpersonal ethics in Raja Ampat

Considered from this vantage point, sorcery and witchcraft are phantasmagoric – they are subjects and phenomena that are irreducible to externalities. They are shadowy images of our fears (Kapferer 2002:23), failed signifiers: necessarily uncanny, aporetic and indeterminate (Siegel 2006:21; Bubandt 2014:54). Schram notes that for the Auhelawa of Normanby Island in Papua New Guinea, witchcraft is improbable because witches are always invisible. Traces of light or fire are their only clues (Schram 2010:733). Schram discusses how women's confessional talk brings witchcraft into the open. Such discourse illuminates how it is "the

invisible force that arises from bad feelings.” Bringing accusations, jealousy, and bad feelings into public view is especially important in societies where knowing other’s aims is often obscured (Robbins and Rumsey 2008). Several of the examples cited above suggest that talk about witches and nonhuman forces is a way that some societies work through norms and limits of appropriate action. But witches also suggest the limits of interpersonal ethics because they embody a denial of recognition. This denial extends to a person’s capacity for self-actualization (Bubandt 2014:182).

Ambel people said that in the past witches and people would speak with each other but after the Gospel arrived they realized they were connected to the realm of Satan: “We began to interpret these former things according to Christian morality, and the *suanggi* began to disappear. They became inscrutable. They didn’t appear again as they once did.”⁷⁶ These days, witches on Waigeo are said to take the form of faceless disembodied heads, flying about aimlessly, eating others wantonly. They are the horrid form of intersubjective denial. They foreclose the potential for ethical relations because they forestall signification in general – they are the ultimate disavowal of Lévinas’ notion of face-to-face relations as a key basis of ethics and transcendence.

One may wonder if all this talk is archeological – historic traces of a cultural imaginary – or part of contemporary lived experience for West Papuans. Are there still *suanggi* in Waigeo? Yeheskiel Dawa, an Ambel man from Warimak village, argued that “yes, the *suanggi* are still there (pointing to the forest).” If you walk past an estuary on the outskirts of Warimak village up a hill, “the cave is very close – the *suanggi* cave, the cave of *seitan*.” Yeheskiel recounts a story which recounted how human-witch relations became estranged:

⁷⁶ Conservation with Yeheskiel Dawa (and Wolter Gaman), Warimak village, Sept 11, 2015.

One day a granddaughter heard whistling sound in the forest. They became scared and didn't sleep.⁷⁷ They heard the sound from night until morning. It was raining outside, and the pair did not return to the village. Back home, she told others about the sound. So people said, "where is this place?" "It is on land over there; there are other [witches] there if you want to take a look." So the people gathered said "Let's go!"

Soon a few accompanied the grandmother and her granddaughter to the *suanggi* cave of Abiap Tamolo. They came across meat smoking with a wonderful smell. Abiap Tamolo gave a small crying child some meat. The others didn't take any. Abiap Tamolo asked the visitors, "Why is the child still crying?" And some said, "Oh, it is because he wants to wash in the river." They wanted to purify themselves in the waters [as a form of ritual cleansing]. They said this because everyone realized 'the people' at the cave were in fact witches in human form. So they ran. They ran over the hills and back to where they came from. "Oh, we are finished, we are doomed, because of those who are over there!" Because they witnessed pieces of smoked people – body parts – everything!

So people [later] made war there – they carried machetes, spears, and came to the *suanggi* place to destroy them. They made war on the *suanggi* until all were killed. They became perpetual enemies. People said, "we will cut you up!" The *suanggi* replied, "If you want to cut me up, I will become a stone!" Since that time, we have not been able to see them again.

So, finally all the witch-men had turned to stone. But there were still more *suanggi* – wandering, wandering the land. But following the arrival of the Gospel they retreated to the realm of nature, while the other ancestors of the Ma'ya people here decided to live as ordinary people. Now the people have religion. This is how it is.

Yeheskiel recalled that in the past the Ambel and *suanggi* used to be "mixed up with one another." But after revealing the murderous truth of their actions, people unmasked the lie of the *suanggi* and they retreated deep into primary forest. But their presence is still felt. Talk of *suanggi* tends to increase during times of village strife, jealousy and misunderstanding. Yeheskiel added that the arrival of tourism may "give the *suanggi* food, feed them with the liver of new victims" with the increase of envy between villages of those who appear to profit from foreign arrivals over others.

⁷⁷ Discussions with Yeheskiel Dawa, Wolter Gaman, and Nadius Nok, January and August-September 2015. Warimak village, Ma'yalibit Bay.

Such sentiments imply that immoral traces continue to haunt the minds, bodies and spaces of Raja Ampat. In sum, through their grotesque actions often manifested as illness or social discomfort, cannibal witches appear to be signs for how West Papuans in Raja Ampat sort out proper relations between each other. By talking about them and the reasons for their transgressive actions they bring under-articulated aspects of human ethical life into public view.

Dealing with sorcerers and nature spirits

Besides cannibal witches, sorcerers and nature spirits are other classes of beings that reveal how Raja Ampat's land and seascapes are saturated terrain of moral norms. Whether or not such forces are epistemologically verifiable is not so important. What is important is how they are tokens for making sense of proper and improper conduct throughout Raja Ampat. These beings are both intimate and strange. For example, among the Ambel super-human giants called *mambri* are clan heroes. Every kin network can recall stories of their deeds on mountains or along rivers. The Nok clan knows how their *mambri* once spoke with dragons and fought *suanggi* and invaders long ago. On Kofiau island, the elected village head (*kepala kampung*) of Deer village said *roh-roh* (ghosts) and *suanggi* inhabit certain banyan trees so that Beteo who live nearby leave them to stand alone in large fields. Ma'ya informants at Harapan Jaya village on Misool Island will tell you about the many *djin* who inhabit karst caves nearby, manifesting as foreign people at irregular intervals. People with customary land title to a particular area (Indo. *tuan tanah*) are said to have special *mataráa* (North Moluccan Malay: incantation) and ability to speak with *djin* but not to photograph them (Taylor 1988). As with *suanggi* they are often invisible to the human eye.

Others claim to have knowledge of special herbs or plants in guarding against curses from malevolent forces or black magic (Indo: *ilmu hitam*). This knowledge is generally maintained by specialists called *dukun* or ‘soothsayers’ (Beser: *snon mon* or *bin mon*).⁷⁸ Most villages have such specialists. Many people, despite their Christian beliefs, still consult with them. In Yenbeser, diviners (Papuan Malay: *mawi*) can foretell the future or can diagnose prior curses. They can also be contracted to harm others. One man said, “Before there were cellphones, people would ask the *mawi* to determine travel plans if people hadn’t arrived to a place.” Papuan singer Edo Kondologit recalled to me at an evening discussion that once as a young boy he encountered a crocodile while bathing in a stream near Sorong City. He was very afraid and thought he was going to die. But his uncle spoke to the crocodile, saying “Go, go away my friend. You need not bother my relative today.” And the crocodile left.

Mawi can also diagnose sickness especially whether another person has been cursed by someone who has something against them. For instance, a self-identified *mawi* from Yenbeser village told me how he identified a woman from Maybrat who used poisons against a member of her family who would not give her a car to sell. She placed a poison in a young man’s shoe made of dirt from a graveyard. In confessing her actions, she brought out her jealous feelings which were assuaged a bit by having a relative of the accursed bring her prepared food. In instances like this, or when a person becomes ill a second time following initial treatment, it is assumed he or she has been cursed by a sorcerer or ‘eaten’ by a cannibal witch and at risk of an unsettled death.

The sick patient would then be brought to a sorcerer who would make offerings to clan ancestors and engage in specific treatments. The afflicted would often be cleaned with bark and leaves from particular trees and plants. One in particular, a red-leaved palm-liked plant known as

⁷⁸ Other names for for sorcerers and healers: *yal* (Ambel), *ikintor* (Beser).

'*daun suanggi*' or sorcerer's leaf (Ti plant; *Cordyline fruticosa*) is used to scrub the patient's body and then be partially eaten (Figure 55 below).

On other occasions blood from a white chicken is sprinkled onto a patient. Some healers will introduce a small crab shell. The crustacean then inhabits a *suanggi*'s body like a hermit crab in a new shell. Since cannibal witches' heads only fly at night they cannot re-attach to their bodies at dawn and perish. Treatment also involves dreams where healers travel to sacred places to gain insight into the source of a patient's sickness.

Other healers give people amulets called *anti* as protection. As with belief in *suanggi*, the allopathic efficacy of treatments is perhaps less relevant than a persistent collective sense that people can get psychosomatic relief from such consultations. It is as if the real treatment is sucking out the poisons of intractable social ills, giving them names, bringing them to light.

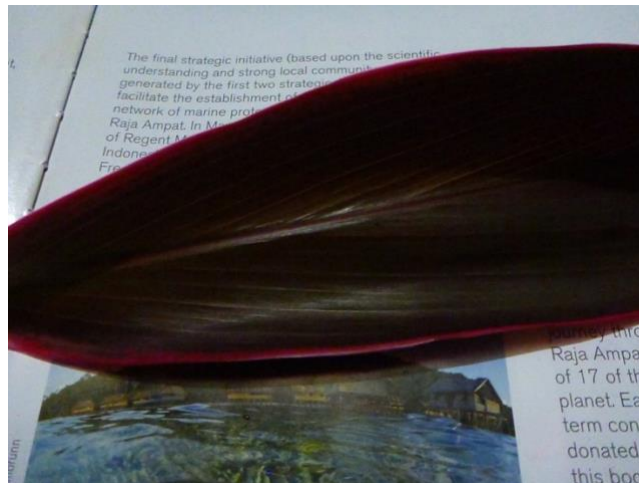


Figure 55 *Suanggi* leaf (*Cordyline fruticosa*), Harapan Jaya village Misool, 2014

Besides cannibal witches or sorcerers, Ambel nature spirits known as *mon* have ethical implications. As described in chapter two, the *mon* are entities associated with particular habitats and sacred places at some distance from village locations. The places *mon* inhabit are generally off-limits (*kabus*) to economic activity. *Mon* are ambivalent towards human affairs and

aspirations. If they reflect an ethical stance it is an ethics of caution towards nonhuman nature. This is partially due to their inscrutability. If provided offerings (*kakes*) and spoken to appropriately they are considered to help ensure the fertility of the surrounding land and sea for human use. However, *mon kairi* are places of malevolence such as a dangerous shoal below Mansuar island.

Entering a *mon* zone without proper permission typically leads to sanction in the form of a natural disaster or animal attack. Ritual actions can mitigate the dangers of *mon*, *suanggi*, *setan* or other potentially harmful things. People give offerings, ask permission and recite ritual speech. Offerings usually take the form of betel leaf, cigarettes and ritual speech. An Ambel person whose clan has usufruct rights to an area will ask for protection before entering their turf. They will first explain their intentions. Before large celebrations, people must first ask permission from the *djin* or *mon* that reside in the area. Being recognized by such spirits is important to ward off sickness or other dangers.

An Ambel informant claims that *mon* can be invisible or take the form of an animal. They can manifest as venomous spiders who bite presumptuous wanderers or snakes. “For example, in Kakit, we can see snakes, snakes that come near us. They are called *mon*.” He pointed out that *mon* and *suanggi* are different: they live in different places and have different intentions. He retold how he recently encountered a *mon* while leading a trek when a friend was bitten by a spider (*laba-laba*, possibly a species of *Macrothele*). His friend became dizzy and couldn’t drink or sleep. They realized they had not requested permission from the *mon* in the area through which they had transited. One man said it was essential to not talk dissolutely but only speak of ‘good things’ that might benefit the area. They rushed back to the village to seek

help. Once back to Warimak village, an Ambel man from the Gaman clan made an offering to the nature guardians so that the bitten man would heal.



Figure 56 Papuan blacksnake (*Pseudechis papuanus*) at Kakit creek, Waigeo, Sept 2015

The need to placate *mon* can be linked to a broadly Melanesian view that the natural world is a limited resource whose fertility must be renewed through ritual action (Harrison 1985; Tuzin 1998). The identification of bad omens (*tanda buruk*) signifies that “nature doesn’t agree or is unappeased.” Heavy rains or winds and disease follow. When a person or village experiences epidemic illness on Waigeo it is interpreted as a sign that “nature does not want companies to do things, or take resources from an area.”

Intermediaries who can intercede with nonhuman forces are key. Ancestors recognize those persons who are endowed or who have traditional kin-based rights to a particular area and are the guardians of the forest. Unlike *suanggi* then the *mon* are not inherently destructive to human relations nor do they foreclose the possibility of ethical relations. However, they represent a type of warning not to exceed socially acceptable and commonly understood boundaries of human striving.

Despite these differences, cannibal witches and nature spirits reflect values about human-to-human and human-to-environment relations. They are a communicative idiom that brings into

the open doubts, fears and uncertainty about other people's intentions, the dangers of avaricious resource extraction and social disharmony. These are emic categories that shape the moral horizons of West Papuan communities despite conversion to Christianity or Islam, the advent of an ecotourist economy, or articulation as a periphery of the Indonesian administrative state. Cannibal witches continue to be relevant as a cultural grammar to comprehend rapid social and ecological change. People have adapted to the new tourism economy as best they can, through cooperation, negotiation, obstinance, and challenge. External forces occasionally exceed the boundaries of what seems proper to many West Papuan communities.

I now turn to a few cases of misunderstanding between groups over environmental issues in the region. My purpose is to show that people from different social orders do not necessarily share the same values, which at times can lead to intractable ethical dilemmas.

Instances of ethical or moral breakdown in Raja Ampat

Since becoming an internationally recognized destination for eco-tourism the Raja Ampat islands have experienced a rapid economic boom that has benefitted some but left others behind. It has made some residents prosperous by providing them with access to foreign goods or opportunities to interact with visitors from abroad. Migrants from Java and Sulawesi islands to the east have expanded businesses that cater to Indonesian visitors alongside official tourist campaigns that market the region as a biodiverse and culturally rich setting.

In this new economy, the Beteo have largely benefitted while the Ma'ya have mostly been left behind. This is an accident of geography but also a legacy of divergent approaches to interacting with outsiders. Beteo tend to be entrepreneurial while the Ma'ya are somewhat diffident in their engagements, willing to trade but preferring to keep to themselves. In years past Beteo received permission to settle on uninhabited outer islands. Limestone islands and coral

atolls tended to be marginal for gardens but quite good for fishing. In a twist of fate, these formerly marginal areas also happened to be very scenic locations for tourism; reefy islets like Kri have become central zones of desire and conflict over Raja Ampat's environment.

Disagreements over conservation and tourism activities in recent years have exacerbated conflicts in Raja Ampat over defining and using resources among kin networks, villages, government officials, private companies and foreign investors. Such disagreements are often about who has ultimate authority to claim rights to a land or sea area. In the past, people gave money or produce to clan owners in exchange for permission to make a living on their lands. An increase in tourism demand has inflated the perceived value of sea facing patches. Speculation and contest over ownership by mavericks claiming genealogical descent from landowning clans is a sign of competition to sell forest plots, islands or sea areas to nonlocals in exchange for cash or material goods.

In recent years, Waigeo island has become a site for several contentious development projects.⁷⁹ In the Kawe-speaking Ma'ya village of Wauyai the government removed the original overwater village to temporary settlements on land but without road access to other sites. In contrast, Beteo-dominated Saporkren has become a weekend haunt for civil servants from Sorong city at the end of a paved road from the booming regional town of Waisai, a short ferry ride from the Papuan mainland. Rumors circulated that the site for Waisai was developed in the mid 2000s to cover up an illegal logging operation. Nearby several people feared that a government-planned ring road to transect Waigeo island would accelerate logging of tropical hardwoods such as the Moluccan ironwood tree (*kayu besi: Intsia bijuga*) in several protected forest zones. Additionally, while environmental conservation groups such as Conservation

⁷⁹ Discussion with Ririn Fitriawati, Flora and Fauna International, Waisai, Sept 2015.

International and other environmental non-governmental organizations (Flora and Fauna International, RARE) have had some presence in the Ma'yalibit Bay area since 2002, the benefits of cooperation have not translated to improved economic prospects for several Ma'ya communities.

Such situations have intensified rival claims for recognition of landownership: some Beteo families believe they should have just as much recognition for land rights claims as Ma'ya on Gam, Waigeo and nearby places. "People need too much permission" (*izin banyak*) to do anything one man complained. Tall stands of coconut trees, like graveyards, are interpreted as visible traces of long-term activity in an area. Clan histories and memories of past traces across the land and seascape are oral tales and precedent for establishing rightful guardianship. Today, descendants of first settlers demand payment for harvesting coconuts in their family's place.

In the past relations between the Ma'ya and Beteo communities were considered like family – *bersaudara* ('like siblings') – while these days, fractures have widened a gulf of jealousy and misunderstanding between both groups (see Remijsen 2001:180). What is clear at this point is that negotiation and ownership of customary lands in Raja Ampat remain muddled. There seem to be many competing accounts of who really controls a place, who belongs and who is a stranger. Below I highlight a few instances of conflicts over the proper use of natural resources, and the beneficiaries of tourism-focused activities. While the circumstances that led to each dispute differs, each case represents a clash of values about human-environment relations.

The proof is in concrete, or would have been. Urai, a small rocky island at the entrance of Waigeo's Kabui Bay, had become a centerpiece of dissention between two villages that risked violent outcomes. A few years back, a Ma'ya man from Wauyai apparently sold rights to develop a private eco-tourist resort to a Jakarta-based investor on Urai island. In return, she

distributed a drum of diesel oil to both villages and distributed cash to the Mambrasar and Dimara clans.⁸⁰ Rumors spread on nearby Saporkren village that the Sauyai clan had assented to the sale. People from Wauyai argued that they were the original and true owners of the whole island. A majority of Beteo families in Saporkren disagreed by claiming that their ancestors were allowed to develop coconut groves and to fish and hunt there.⁸¹

The standoff over Urai islands soon became critical. Construction halted over rival claims and demands for compensation. In October 2014, members of Saporkren's evangelical Protestant congregation traveled to Urai to plead for God's guidance in returning the land peacefully and without violence. As the priest spoke, he began shaking then sobbed loudly, testifying to the hurt he personally felt, and channeled at an evening prayer session. Together, the congregation prayed that a joint meeting between villages could resolve the dispute and built a monument to their elders. On a windy, somber afternoon at Urai, elders sang and buried a large heirloom plate with their sorrows along the sandy shore, hoping for a miracle (Figure 57).

⁸⁰ Discussion with Elias Mambrasar, Oct. 2014, Saporkren.

⁸¹ Discussion with Dennis Sauyai at Saporkren, 2 Sept 2014; Bram Goram, Saporkren, December 2014.



Figure 57 Saporkren parishioners pray for a resolution to the Urai conflict, 2014

According to GKI resident pastor Anache Goram, the impasse over Urai island is a dispute between two villages and a disagreement within communities over the destiny of people and land. It is both a rivalry between West Papuan neighbors, and dispute within each community about who has the right to make decisions about resources. She asked herself “What is the right thing to do?” Should it become a religious site or a tourist resort? The fate of Urai, as with Waigeo generally, is unclear.

What is clear is that the impasse between the two communities represents the incommensurability of values, as well as confusion over who has the right to make claims about them. The tensions over the ultimate fate of Urai island are not merely a tussle over landrights between two rival villages, but are a conflict over what the land represents – a hallowed site of Christian origins or a locus for a joint tourism venture. It is an example of incommensurability in which plural goods are not aligned, whether from misrecognition, power struggles, or other misunderstandings. The clash of values at Urai is a conflict between the importance of

Christianity to Saporkren's foundation verses the potential for a private tourism resort to bring money and status to the Ma'ya village of Wauwiyai, cut off from the economic boom associated with homestays or dive resorts. On the surface, a clash between use verses exchange value, at a deeper level the dispute over Urai reveals unresolved tensions about Raja Ampat's future.

The case is illustrative of larger struggles: Wauyai is jealous that people in Saporkren have gotten government funding for business ventures, from a fish co-op, to bird trekking, homestays, NGO visits and tourists. Saporkren's families fear that the Ma'ya from Wauyai will sell their village's land because they claim 'hak' or ownership rights to the land and resources there from long ago. "However, this *hak* regime is more fine-grained: the people of Wauyai have customary land rights (*hak tanah adat*) whereas the people of Saporkren have the right to cultivate (*hak garapan*)."⁸² Disputes over ownership rights have not been resolved. Rival claims appear to have increased as land is seen as equity for investment, able to be sold to extralocals for massive profits. The conflict over Urai is a metonym of larger-scale tensions coursing through the region. At stake is whether heterogeneous West Papuan communities see their struggles and values as shared or whether they are inherently working at cross-purposes.

It is said that before the advent of tourism people moved freely about to build gardens or plant coconut groves or picnic with relatives. The Ma'ya allowed the Biak to develop coconut groves and settlements in exchange for valuable trade goods. A relative lack of overt inter-ethnic

⁸² Discussion with Luther Mambrasar, Saporkren, Sept-Oct 2015. The legal status of customary landownership in Indonesia is described in the Decree of the Head of the National Land Agency (BPN) Number 2 of 2003 concerning the Norms and Standards for the Mechanism of Management of Government Authority in the Field of Land Implemented by Regency/City Government (*Keputusan Kepala Badan Pertanahan Nasional (BPN) Nomor 2 Tahun 2003 tentang Norma dan Standar Mekanisme Ketatalaksanaan Kewenangan Pemerintah di Bidang Pertanahan yang Dilaksanakan oleh Pemerintah Kabupaten/Kota*). Uncertainty persists about legal status of this type of right: http://hukum.unsrat.ac.id/men/surat_bpn_2_03.htm

conflict between West Papuans on Waigeo could be attributed to the region's relatively dispersed population density (Palomares et al. 2007:50; McKenna et al. 2002).

In prior decades, the only way to travel to Waigeo Island was by hand-powered canoe or outboard watercraft. In the 1960s and 1970s, artisanal mining, pearl farming and logging was intermittent while in nearshore waters an Indonesian commercial enterprise, PT⁸³ Usaha Mina, trawled for sardines. Since then, Waigeo island has experienced a rapid influx of migrant settlers, tourists and entrepreneurs. An influx of people has transformed the view of land from a common-pool resource to a finite quantity, from something to be shared to a means to acquire money. More visitors arrive everyday: in the fall of 2015, a ferry traveled twice daily from the harbor in Sorong city on New Guinea's northwestern coast to a concrete jetty outside of the burgeoning town of Waisai to the east. An asphalt paved airstrip cut into the woods will soon accommodate jet travel from Jakarta.

Such developments have only increased suspicions of others' motives. It does not seem that all is for the benefit of communities or environment, especially the closer one gets to urban areas. Many Papuans doubt the government or environmentalists are really on their side. Reuben Sauyai of Yenbuba island recalled that NGOs "talk of conservation, but they don't know what conservation is." Onis Sauyai says no one really trusts the Raja Ampat Regency government. He said that Papuans know how to care for their sea and land, while the government only exploits natural resources. He pointed to the lack of teachers at village schools, the many closed health clinics, lack of medicines, the small number of Papuans staffing official posts as evidence of intentional neglect. While the office of marine and fisheries affairs and marine police have

⁸³ *Perseroan terbatas* (PT): an incorporated company

supported community marine patrols, such joint efforts are undermined by negative encounters between Papuans and Indonesian officials.

Below I present one example of a misunderstanding between two Ma'ya communities and administrators with the Regency of Raja Ampat over the management of the Wayag islands, a widely photographed site west of Waigeo. The conflict in this case illustrates a value clash between clan and village-based oversight of fishing grounds and government officials' desire for Wayag to be a lucrative driver for foreign eco-tourism to Raja Ampat. Each side perceived the Wayag islands as symbols of different kinds: on one hand, as proof of the legitimacy of customary stewardship, deserving of recognition and compensation; on the other, as a desirable location for dive and snorkel trips, a site for extracting value as money.

Upset feelings over tourism fees on Wayag Islands

The uninhabited Wayag island group northwest of Waigeo island is the most photographed site in Raja Ampat. Its turquoise lagoons and jagged peaks are a metonym of traveler's idea of this place – remote, pristine and untrammled. While uninhabited, the islands are important fishing grounds for the Ma'ya people from two nearby villages of Saleo (pop. 520) and Selpele (pop. 550) who also manage the area through seasonal harvest closures in the form of *sasi adat* and *sasi gereja*.⁸⁴ In 2008, the Indonesian government designated a marine protected area encircling the island group.⁸⁵ Conservation International operated a small conservation post in the area, later turned over to a government fisheries department (*Dinas Perikanan dan Kelautan*). Competing uses and claims on Wayag eventually led to a confrontation between

⁸⁴ In October 2012, Saleo and Selpele convened a large *sasi* ceremony in Wayag to open up a closed fishery for invertebrates (lobster, trepang, clams) and reef associated fish assemblages that has been off-limits since 2009. Such *sasi* harvests are often timed to coincide with Christmas feasts.

⁸⁵ KKPD Waigeo Barat (271,630 hectares). See: <http://www.kkpr4.net/index.php?page=page&id=20>

Ma'ya people, conservationists and the Indonesian government.⁸⁶ Like Urai, what took place at Wayag sheds light on undercurrents of tension around human-environment relations across Raja Ampat.

In February 2013 residents from on Saleo and Selpele closed Wayag to tourism to express their outrage for not having received funds from a government-instituted tourist entrance fee (PIN) levied on all visitors (see Atmodjo, Lamers and Mol 2017).⁸⁷ Residents claimed that revenues from the Raja Ampat tourism entry fee were not shared with the villages as they were located outside of the boundaries of the Waigeo Barat MPA zone. They pointed out that the Wayag islands are traditional fishing grounds of landowning Ma'ya clans who had long guarded them. So leaders from Saleo and Selpele demanded compensation. Their request was not only a matter of money, but of ethics: locals interpreted outsiders' disregard for their claims as a denial of their role in protecting Wayag. They argued that the photogenic islands' tourist appeal as a refuge for marine megafauna is largely due to their stewardship.

In important ways Wayag's biodiversity is attributable to human efforts prior to the initiation of modern marine zoning efforts, combined with monitoring against overharvesting different species. The request for compensation was a means of gaining recognition of their integral role as a partner in conservation. The closing of Wayag signaled dissatisfaction of Ma'ya residents of Western Waigeo about what they perceived to be unequal distribution of benefits from tourism. They protested their feelings of being left out of the economic boom. Saleo and Selpele closed all access to the iconic rocky islands.

⁸⁶ Saleo is a place with several Ma'ya kin networks and a complex pattern residence that reflects centuries of interaction with the Moluccas and other island communities. The 10 Kawe-speaking Ma'ya *suku* of Saleo have equal access to usufruct rights or (*milik tanah*) in the area. This is different from other Ma'ya villages in the Ma'yalibit Bay region.

⁸⁷ <https://www.stayrajaampat.com/ultimate-raja-ampat-guide/information/raja-ampat-marine-park-entry-permit/>

A resolution to Wayag's closure was reached with the help of mediators such as Kris Thebu of the Ma'ya Customary Council and an adviser to Conservation International, along with staff from Sorong and Indonesian government officials. This heterogeneous group traveled to meet with community members in Saleo and Selpele in February 2014. The delegation heard from customary leaders Korianus Ayello from Selpele and Ellie Dimalao of Saleo. In the end all sides agreed to provide fee revenues to the villages. They recognized both settlement's rights of traditional use and management in Wayag. By October 2014, the islands reopened to tourists. The conflict over Wayag shows how an increasingly monetized economy is forcing people to reconcile values about the use of natural resources, habitat and heritage in Raja Ampat. Unlike Urai, overlapping values on Wayag seem to have aligned over the importance to maintain healthy reef ecosystems. The intervention by mediators such as Kris Thebu assisted in translating Ma'ya ethical stances about stewardship of Wayag in a way that the Indonesian officials both understood and accepted.

The Wayag dispute centered on the distribution of monetary benefits, but a larger issue was a lack of recognition. The acknowledgement of mutual goals to promote ecosystems through tourism is a shared desire among power brokers, clan elders and the younger generation. Conversely, the standoff over Urai represents a clash over unequal benefits from tourism where dissonant values – Christian pilgrimage site or private dive resort – could not be aligned. On the surface, both cases can be read as disputes over the power to exploit, transform or control nature. But what is at stake is also the moral politics of recognition: the capacity to define the context and possibilities of freedom; the hope that conservation and tourism encounters are sites of reciprocal recognition, rather than disenchantment (Williams 1997:10-12).

Captive speedboats in Warsambin

While most villages initially welcomed the arrival of international NGOs in the early 2000s, some families became wary about their intentions. In 2012, a group of men from Warsambin village – a mixed Ambel and Beser-speaking place at the entrance of Waigeo's Ma'yalibit Bay – captured a speedboat used by Conservation International to patrol waters in the bay. The raiders demanded 100 million rupiah (or appx. \$10,000) and another 100 million rupiah for their relatives on Kawe island to the northwest. In this case, the dispute was settled through discussions with Ansan family members and representatives from the Ma'ya Customary Council (*Dewan Adat*), in conjunction with Conservation International staff from the nearby station. Conservation representatives agreed to provide payment to soothe bad feelings in return for the captive watercraft.

In a similar way, speedboats have also been ransomed by aggrieved Melanesians over conservation in Kaimana on New Guinea's Onin coast southeast of Raja Ampat (Parker 2013). In both instances, the patrol boats were not useful in themselves, but were taken as a means to demand acknowledgment of their role in managing their seascapes. The speedboats are tokens of foreign wealth, the power of surveillance and mobility. By removing them from circulation in the waters, Papuans communicate their feelings of disrespect; a sense that their values have not been adequately considered. The return of watercraft as a return gift in exchange for compensation (in words and money) signals how disputes over environmental issues along New Guinea's western fringe is about more than power or money. Disputes over resources also communicates a desire for social recognition.

Back at Warsambin, residents allowed a conservation post to remain a stone's throw from their docks. While some still grumble about the presence of conservationists, most have good things to say about the presence of environmental NGOs in Ma'yalibit Bay. For instance, at a

community meeting to discuss marine protection efforts in September 2014, several of Warsambin's residents pointed to higher numbers of Indian mackerel schooling, the return of seagrass, lobster and fatter sea cucumbers. While some were initially skeptical about the goals of no-take zones or 'fish banks' (*bank ikan*), nearly all Ambel villages in Ma'yalibit Bay nowadays value protecting nature (*melestarikan alam*) as integral to protecting their cultural rights.

On the other hand, it is obvious that not all conservation initiatives or eco-tourism ventures have the same goals in mind. Some outsiders work to gain the trust of local communities or provide training or other benefits. Others talk about such stuff while concealing more profit-oriented intentions. In this sense they are like *suanggi* – difficult to detect; thieving; feasting on one's essence. On small Arborek island to the southwest of Ma'yalibit, people took more drastic measures when sometime in 2015 they exiled a tourist venture called Barefoot Conservation for presenting themselves as a conservation and research organization. A European man claimed he wanted to set up a cooperative manta ray conservation project with volunteer students. After a while it became apparent that his conservation group was in fact a private venture with little environmental aims and doubtful benefits to Arborek's residents.

Martin Makusi said that locals have 'uncovered their masks' to reveal the underlying rapacious desires of many would-be conservationists in Raja Ampat. He said that there are several other examples of unmasked operators in the area, from a Spanish-run resort on Yenanas island, Turkish-owned Papua Explorer and a Balinese-managed Raja Ampat Dive Lodge on Mansuar island. Each of these resorts restricts access of local villagers from guests at their luxury properties. Several informants said these resorts misled Beteo communities about the prospects for shared stakes in their futures. It is perhaps not surprising that Beteo communities developed

homestays as an alternative mode of ethically-oriented tourism from private resorts, which extract value (as revenue) from Raja Ampat and invest it elsewhere.

Resource Extraction and dispossession on Waigeo Island

Upland and away from the main tourist paths the Ambel remain ambivalent about the encroachment of tourism and development projects. Many see the arrival of outsiders as a threat which risks upsetting already complex relations between kin groups. For instance, logging and mining ventures have exacerbated intraclan disputes across several villages. Some families have claimed the right to exploit the forest for their own needs. They have allowed outsiders to enter forests where they harvested trees to be sold elsewhere. Such actions have challenged longstanding notions that an Ambel *gélet* has a collective responsibility to determine the best uses for its territories. It has also challenged the status of kin-based land claims as a means to challenge encroaching development.

Instead of legally enforceable contracts, Ambel land rights are often identified in named rivers, hills and peninsulas that delineate boundaries between territories managed by groups of hereditary and marriage-affiliated kin clusters. Oral accounts of a clan's activities in a place are topogenic narratives that are forms of collectively recognized 'proof' for claims on land and sea areas. In a time of rapid change more entrepreneurial residents have exploited shifting expectations about landrights. The rapid spread of private property, contracts or logging concessions, like private tourism resorts, represents a value clash with most Papuans' understanding of land and sea as domains of clan-defined and kin managed zones. Mining or large-scale forest conversion programs scar more than New Guinea's landscape: they are open wounds to societies for whom legal land title or contracts are leading to complex negotiations over ownership and collective action.

Consequently, illegal logging represents a major threat to intersocial relations on Waigeo. In Kalitoko village, a man from the Siam clan claimed he had the right to give permission to logging operations behind the village. While he knew that the activities he promoted contravened rules within a protected Nature Reserve (*Cagar Alam*), he claimed that such logging would provide needed money for school repairs. Besides, he claimed, the area had been logged before. Environmentalists report that such activity is prohibited in Indonesia's nature reserves. Ririn Fitriawati, former manager of Flora and Fauna International's office in Waisai, suggested that permission had been granted to certain men connected to prominent clans. She argued that the persistence of illegal logging has underscored internal conflicts between Ambel kin groups that have not yet been fully resolved.



Figure 58 Illegal logging camp behind Kalitoko village, Ma'yalibit Bay, 2015

Ririn mentioned that staff from FFI convened a community meeting in Kalitoko to address concerns about illegal logging. Members from the Lapon family confronted the extent of tree cutting taking place in their clan territories. They saw wooden planked paths winding through the forest, with many valued hardwood trees felled along the path. On a few occasions I

accompanied them. On one visit in 2014, we encountered a logging camp deep in the woods behind Kalitoko village. We saw a wooden shelter covered with blue plastic tarps and littered with abandoned trash (see Figure 58 above). Warm ashes indicated that people had been there the night before. Within a few days of our discovery, leaders from Kalitoko halted all logging activities. They sanctioned a chainsaw operator and required him to purchase solar lamps for the whole village. But the scars remained. Ririn said that the revelation of concealed logging activity has wounded people's trust in one another. This mistrust has extended to interactions with local government officials:

They say that the government is not taking sufficiently strong action to counter illegal logging. Villagers want to protect their lands but don't know how to voice their concerns especially since the elected headman is on the take. 100% of the villagers are unhappy with the status quo. Beteo people share anxieties about forest exploitation.

Back near Saporkren, Demas Dimara, a local guide for scouting Red-bird-of Paradise said that the situation on Waigeo is “not so good, because many people use chainsaws and the development of Waisai is creating problems for us and for the forest animals. The birds are upset with the sounds – they are afraid, they do not want to play. They are uncomfortable” (*tidak nyaman*). There is evidence of increased extraction on Waigeo every day: limestone quarries along forest roads, rumbling trucks hauling huge logs; small brick-making operations along recently opened dirt roads; a sky turned red from fires to open forests; the expansion of construction into the frontier.

A large concrete soccer stadium, towering green-domed Saudi-financed mosque, and more dive resorts reveal Waigeo's rapidly changing landscape. Most long-term inhabitants are not opposed to development as long as it accords with the value they place on maintaining family

networks and the freedom to maintain their livelihoods their way. But like the *suanggi*, the ghosts of the past continue to haunt people's minds, who harbor doubts about the future.

Environmental degradation has already made its mark on human settlement patterns across the island. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, representatives from an Indonesian logging firm named PT Planet 2000 surveyed lands in the upper eastern part of Ma'yalibit Bay where valuable tropical hardwoods grow in large stands behind villages. The company promised to build houses and give money in exchange for the right to cut trees on Ambel lands. The Nok family along with members of the Dawa, Mangaprouw and Kolom clans gave their assent. By 2002 the company had taken out many ironwood and agarwood trees without fulfilling their promises to build everyone homes. Moldering buildings, some roofless, are all that remain. In 2003, German zoologist Thomas Schultze-Westrum produced a documentary "Waigeo Insel der Magier" about how several Ambel people traveled to the cave of Abiap Tamolo to ask ancestral humans (called *orang gi*) for help to stave off illegal logging.⁸⁸

Ambel people later occupied the abandoned logging camp. In 2008, the Indonesian government bestowed official recognition of Warimak as an official village (*kampung resmi*), important for receiving financial assistance.⁸⁹ But rumors and mistrust underlie its development, and there is a forlorn quality to the place. Unresolved issues over who should have been given funds from logging revenues have encouraged rumors, and have led to sorcery accusations.

⁸⁸ Waigeo, Insel de Magier (*Waigeo, Island of the Magicians*). ZDF/Arte films, 2003, 52 min. Available: <https://programm.ard.de/TV/Themenschwerpunkte/Dokus--Reportagen/Alle-Dokumentationen/Startseite/?sendung=2872416951393400> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QR260hyKIVM>, Accessed 10 January 2019.

⁸⁹ In a given year, the government will disburse funds twice. The village elected leader (*kepala kampung*) travels to the Dinas Pembangunan (the local Regency office of Development), receiving between 100-500 million rupiah (10-50,000 USD). Other official funds for village development include: 1) APBD: *Angaran pendapatan belanja daerah*; 2) APBN: *Angaran pendapatan belena negara*; 3) PMPM Mandiri; 4) *Otsus: Otonomi Khusus Papua*; 5) a general infrastructure development fund.

There is a sense of loss here – the trees are gone; communities have been left behind. Few tourists visit here despite a remarkable rainforest setting surrounded by massive karst cliffs.

To Yohanes Gaman, Ma'ya advisor to Conservation International and former head Sorong-based Christian NGO Yayasan Nazaret, the paradox of West Papua is that multinational corporations such as Freeport-McMoRan and Newmont Mining reap huge profits from minerals extraction while the majority of Papuans remain poor. “It’s like we eat bone while those from Jakarta eat meat” he told me. He cited figures from Indonesia’s statistical agency (*Badan Pusat Statistik*) to point out that Papua and West Papua Provinces are among the most marginalized parts of Indonesia despite scientific reports of the region’s abundant mining, forest, and sea resources. He spoke of Papuan’s growing concerns about illegal fishing conducted by rascals from islands to the east (Indo: *orang jahat*), particularly among islands outside of MPA zones to the east of Waigeo.

Yohanes said that in the early 2000s Tobelo people (from Halmahera Island in the Moluccan archipelago to the west of Raja Ampat) came to Ma'yalibit Bay to hunt for sharks leading to tensions with Ambel people. Elsewhere across the Raja Ampat islands, Butonese from Sulawesi Island bombed coral reefs for fish or stunned large wrasse and grouper for Asian markets. The Pam island, Kofiau and Misool are considered vulnerable to illegal fishing activity – including the use of large drift nets, potassium cyanide and underreported catch of large reef fish, shark, turtle, lobster and sea snails. Close to Sorong city, a gang of pirates controls small Buaya (crocodile) island, with widespread rumors of collusion between former members of the Indonesian Provincial Police of West Papua involved in logging, fishing and oil-pricing schemes.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/3907721/balada-labora-sitorus-polisi-pemilik-rekening-gendut-yang-kabur-dari-bui>, Accessed 10 March 2019.

But despite their doubts, West Papuans also have reason for hope. A more encouraging example concerns nickel mining on Gag Island. Between 1996-2008 BHP Billiton and an Indonesian subsidiary PT Gag Nickel made extensive surveys and took various samples.⁹¹ A previous nickel operation, Pacific Nickel Mine, closed in 1969 after the Indonesian government accused it of supporting the Papuan independence movement. In November 2008 BHP withdrew its company following a successful grassroots campaign by Melanesians against extractive industry operations in the region. They mobilized a media campaign on radio and television as well as through petitions to the Indonesian government. Such successes are hard won, but demonstrate how Raja Ampat's communities have mobilized to confront what they perceive to be threats to their way of life.

Rumors of using radio transmitters to steal birds from Kalitoko

A final example of an environmental mix-up shows how good intentions can be mistaken for clandestine motives. In this case, Ambel people living in Warsambin and Kalitoko villages became concerned that foreigners who came to Waigeo with the apparent goals of forest protection were actually out to steal birds or block off access to traditional hunting and gathering areas. A few years beforehand, a Belgian entrepreneur negotiated a fifteen-year lease with members of the Ansan clan to create a semi-private forest bird reserve for tourist expeditions along the eastern shore of Ma'yalibit Bay near the village of Warsambin. People soon became jealous and questioned his motives. They decided not to allow him access after all. Around the same time, environmental NGO Flora and Fauna International (FFI) had negotiated land from the Lapon clan in nearby Kalitoko village.

⁹¹ Discussion with Yohanes Goram Gaman, August 2014, Sorong City, West Papua.

FFI staff had discussed an agricultural extension project along with plans for future forest trekking excursions. Some believed that FFI had plans to exploit the natural resources and heritage of the area's communities without giving sufficient compensation in return. On one trip to the village in May 2015, staff members shared information on traditional community mapping. They played a simulation on a screen that projected a satellite view of the surrounding forest in advocating for ecotourism as a means to promote economic development and forest conservation. Several Kalitoko residents interpreted the presentation as a signal that the environmentalists were preparing to control their lands with nefarious technology.

Others said that the arrival of FFI heralded the entry of more outsiders to the area. A few men in Kalitoko told me that they feared that the foreigners had plans to insert radio transmitters inside local bird species so that they would fly abroad. A man from the Lapon clan accused the environmental group of intentionally creating community tensions.⁹² He was incensed that he was required to attend a mandatory Sunday community work day instead of heading to his gardens. His wife complained that FFI had caused trouble and distress: "Why are foreigners allowed to go to the forest while we indigenous people cannot even get enough food to eat?"

Several elders met and told FFI that they no longer could work in the area. It was as if the *suanggi* tales had become vindicated again. Kalitoko resident's fears about satellite technology and radio transmitters to steal valuable birds reveals their wariness about FFI's intentions. The fear of losing birds speaks to their loss of control over natural resource extraction generally, but also to a sense of bewilderment with talk about strange technology. By linking fears of transmitters to plans for a private eco-tourism park, they express a fear of losing out from tourism, as well as a voice as stewards of their forests.

⁹² Discussion with Fitria Rinawati, Waisai, Aug. 24th, 7 September 2015.

After a time, tensions over cyborg birds and FFI's plans abated: at a meeting in September 2015 in which I participated, *adat* leaders from Kalitoko said that the environmentalist could return to continue their work in the area. This decision followed discussions in which the group emphasized their respect for Kalitoko's freedom to gather forest products from their forest lands. It seems that part of the issue was that FFI was blamed for latent tensions between feuding families. For instance, all adults had recently been compelled to participate in the construction of a new church. Several men said they would have preferred to gather agarwood (*gaharu*, the resinous heartwood from *Aquilaria* trees infected with a mold, *Phialophora parasitica*) in the bush, or take a break from stifling village life. But the environmentalists and residents eventually worked out their differences. People acknowledged that FFI was not trying to exploit them. A man who had initially accused the group of having bad intentions later apologized.

This example of misunderstanding over radio transmitters and eco-trekking reveals anxieties about the loss of control over the Ambel peoples' biophysical resources. It also reveals the mistranslation of values about nature protection by outsiders. In Kalitoko, Flora and Fauna International attempted to promote conservation goals by implementing village zonation regulations. But the display of color-coded maps or technology seemed to misfire: the goals of rational land use became mixed up in a social context where space is delineated into clan-based governance. Of course, the Ambel – along with other indigenous peoples – inhabit multiple worlds. Most are aware of the 119,500-hectare East Waigeo Nature Reserve (*Cagar Alam*) and plans of PT Padoma Group to build a ring road behind their villages.⁹³ Many have expressed

⁹³ <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2018/03/07/tidak-hanya-maleo-waigeo-juga-kaya-akan-satwa-liar/>

public concerns about illegal logging and water quality on Werobiay, Syam and Waimin watersheds.

Ririn from FFI said that conflicts between Ambel villagers and outsiders in Ma'yalibit Bay reflect different values about the use of natural resources. Human-environment relations here and elsewhere reflect a diversity of needs and ideals. When Yeheskiel Dawa talks about the cave of *suanggi* Abiap Tamolo, he speaks about a specific geographical site but also presents a topogenic account that delineates human from nonhuman spaces beyond Warimak village. Knowing where and how to engage with the forest is serious business: one could get lost, or stumble into a hazardous zone, leading to illness or death. Ambel forests are liminal zones where the focus of protection is less on maximizing potential monetary gains from extracting forest resources. Rather, to most Ambel the value placed on maintaining nonhuman spaces reflects ethical norms that emphasize the acknowledgment of human limits, and the importance of respecting other beings.

By uncovering the doubts people harbor about others (and themselves), the contours of human-environment relations in Raja Ampat become clearer. Nature is both intimate and strange. Sago stands are sources of food and sharing, while logging camps are places of theft. *Mon* zones are dense repositories of cultural memory but also of danger, reminding people to avoid greed, to speak respectfully with one another. *Sasi gereja* transposes Christian moral values onto fishing sites and fruiting trees. The different types of environmental care currently practiced in Raja Ampat are enactments of values. They reflect subjunctive behavioral repertoires for acting rightly by demonstrating care through charity, sharing and cultural renewal. In engaging with NGOs and government officials, the residents of Waigeo have articulated how religious belief

and ancestral spiritual practices can be effectively linked to no-take marine protected areas and integrated ecosystem management.

Misunderstandings about ecotourism, conservation or development arise when different actors presume to be doing the right thing in situations where what is right is not always proportionate. These misunderstandings tend to arise from a lack of awareness that different actors may have different values. For instance, conservation groups tend to prioritize species flourishing or biodiversity targets as core values. Indonesian regional government administrators seek to increase revenues from resource exploitation and development. In their official capacity, these representatives promulgate the value of economic development as a route to national integration, perhaps their own professional careers.

The Ambel of Ma'yalibit Bay value balanced reciprocity between human and nonhuman beings (including trade relations within clans, and ensuring the fertility of clan lands). But as Yeheskiel lamented in chapter two, they also value recognition for their role in maintaining wild forests. They long for material goods like packaged noodles and outboard motors. These things are not merely useful to better living. They are also signs of their membership in a cosmopolitan society they hear about but do not see. Perhaps like the *suanggi*, their desire for urban life is spectral: it is a gnawing hunger for other people's experiences and things.

On Kri island, young Beteo men's enthusiasm for homestay tourism is linked to the value of expanding fame, reflected in successful outward trade networks and lasting bonds of obligation. Eco-tourism has become a vector for Biak gender norms and the value of engaging with outsiders, bringing back the foreigners wealth and investing it in new churches, school uniforms, and married sisters. But none of these values can be realized if doubts persist. Aporia,

social entropy, conflict, and environmental degradation loom in the background to hopeful futures.

Below, I provide a final example of an environmental mix-up between two rival Ambel clans in the village of Warsambin. I present it here especially to highlight how Ambel people relied on nature to manifest signs as judgement in an inter-clan territorial dispute that occurred in Warsambin village in Ma'yalibit Bay in the early 2000s. I learned about this case from informant while I pursued fieldwork in the area 2014-15. By relying on the nonhuman surrounds to act as judicial authority after human efforts failed indicates how Ambel perceive the natural world as suffused with ethical affordances.

Nature as a mediating agent for inter-clan disputes in Ma'yalibit Bay

From time to time, different families claim the rights to use the same patch of land and sea to make sago, raise gardens, hunt cuscus or collect fish. Some disputes can be attributed to increased population density or the influx of commercial fishers into the Bay. Several Ma'ya informants said that seek to resolve conflicts through local forms of dispute resolution in which the environment – activated through socially-meaningful signs such as a crocodile or powerful wind – has juridical authority to mediate seemingly intractable misunderstandings.

Ideally, disputes between families over rights to harvest mackerel or take mud crabs are resolved straightaway. Most often, the elected village headman (*kepala kampung*) coordinates with customary leaders (*pimpin adat*) to convene a community meeting with representatives of different sides. They invite the eldest person from the primary kin network (*gélet*) with usufruct rights (*hak ulayat*) in the disputed region to speak. This person tells a story of the arrival of their clan to an area that describes specific natural features they encountered. The speaker then names all the clan's rivers, caves, hills and islands.

This place-making story or topogenic narrative is perceived as a form of evidence or justification to demonstrate a family's capacity to care for their patch (see Fox 2006). This ritual speech activity is a way for the clan's senior elders to demonstrate their place-specific knowledge; to share their history of living and moving through a landscape. The audience listens and comments on the veracity of what is said. If the opposing side does not dispute the narrative the conflict is resolved without further trouble.

However, if other claimants refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of the elder's story or take issue with particular details of their tracing, the dispute is escalated. In this second stage, senior members of neighboring villages assemble as mediators and verifiers (*saksi*) of what each side claims. A majority verdict would allow one clan exclusive rights or then require them to share oversight. If the dispute is still unresolved, people turn to nonhuman judgment. Clan elders give offerings of food and precious goods and ask for 'natural signs' to appear as evidence on behalf of rival claims. For instance, one side might request for a crocodile to appear while the other says that the winds will suddenly blow. If a sign appears it is taken as 'proof' (*bukti*). One senior *adat* elder said that 'something always happens' in intra-clan disputes over land rights throughout Papua.

In the early 2000s, an open-pit nickel mine began operating near Go village in the uppermost part of Ma'yalibit Bay on Waigeo Island. Some Ambel people supported the mining operations while others were worried that it would scare animals away. The Fiyai, Low and Kapa *marga* began to feud over the mine. The Low and Kapa clans had *hak ulayat* rights (access to and control of specific land and sea zones) while the Fiyai clan did not. The Low family did not want mining to continue while members of the Fiyai clan said it would bring development funds for village improvements.

Following the threefold approach described above, the Fiyai and Low families first met to hash out the dispute. But the two sides could not agree over details about which clan had legitimate claims over land and sea areas near Go. By arguing over topogenic narratives, the Low clan was also implicitly requesting that the Fiyai accept their argument that mining should stop. The two sides could not come to an agreement. So several clan elders met in Warsambin in May 2006 (representing the Gaman, Ansan, Dailom, Dam, Lapon, Wakaf, Sarua, Rumbiak, Kabet, Nok, Dawa, Olom and Wailaf families). Representatives from the Ma'ya customary council (*dewan adat*) attempted to settle the dispute over who had precedence to land rights in Go, but the Fiyai still would not agree.

Unexpectedly, a woman from the Fiyai family died. This was widely interpreted as proof of the legitimacy of the Low clan's claim to primary rights and of their case. The death of a member of the Fiyai clan provided sufficient 'proof'. Importantly, the Fiyai accepted this sign as evidence that they must relinquish their claims to support the nickel mine at Go, and they dropped their dispute. Apparently the Kepala District of Ma'yalibit, Rukundin Arfan, later certified this as a valid judgement: a situation in which the death of a person was perceived as a valid communicative sign.

This and other cases signal that Waigeo's Papuan residents perceive the environment as more than biophysical stuff. For example, the Ansan clan says that their ancestors still inhabit the Manibron River near Warsambin village (see Figure 59). Young men occasionally still travel to the forest to develop 'inner strength' from freshwater wells, caves, and streams deep within primary forest stands. Near Kapadiri the older folks sing about hidden forest people (known as the Gi people; Indo. *orang gi*) who speared fish at a rocky promontory. Only recognized leaders of the Obet Fei family can see and speak with them. Thunder dragons still rumble on Mount

Nok. West Papuans across Waigeo island express a consistent belief that the nonhuman surroundings have power (Indo. *kuasa*) in a similar way that they describe the power of the Judeo-Christian God in *sasi gereja* zones.

The appearance of certain animals such as cassowary, successful hunts of wild boar, a large harvest of lobster or crabs, abundant fruiting seasons or a good planting season can be interpreted as signs that people are doing things rightly. Conversely, the death of a hunter by a boar, snakebites, crocodile attacks, disease outbreak or persistently unusual weather in the form of flood events or drought is often perceived as punishment for bad actions – whether transgressions of off-limits fishing areas, rapacious extraction of ironwood, intra-community jealousy, or a lack of respect for nonhuman entities. I asked one *adat* leader whether there is a lesson to learn from these stories. He said that they show how people must respect community leaders' decisions, whether in God's name or on behalf of nature.



Figure 59 Warsambin village, Ma'yalibit Bay, Waigeo 2012

In discussing Charles Taylor's conceptions of the good, Arlo Laitinen argued that these notions are "typically not fully linguistically articulated but can be partly implicit in moral reactions and practices. Moreover, such goods "are plural and potentially in conflict and to some extent ordered by their relative worth" (Laitinen 2015:209). In Raja Ampat, some moral goods – such as intrinsic species protections or an ethical stance where human beings ought to live in harmony with nonhuman entities – provide a framework that compels people to act in accordance with values or be inspired to do so when they fail.

The tracing of environmental values in Ma'yalibit Bay highlights how social relations are mediated by nonhuman forces in ways that have practical effects on everyday life. To talk of the environment in terms of resources in Raja Ampat does not sufficiently account for its place-specific ethical content. Substances and forces beyond the realm of the human are consequential to a person's basic sense of who they are and the expectations of their conduct. For instance, *sasi* zones off Misool determine where one can go fishing, hunting, or gardening. No-take marine protected areas near Arborek guard marine species' intrinsic capacity to flourish, while Beteo caretakers seek to instrumentalize this good by shuttling tourists to dive among valuable marine animals within them. In Ambel *mon* areas near Kalitoko, nonhuman entities are embodied ways of demanding appropriate reciprocity, sharing and equity in negotiating people's productive use of the land and sea, as well as edicts to maintain them.

Environmental conflicts reflect doubts people have about others

One way of addressing the issues above is to pose a question: "how can groups with apparently different moral norms coexist?" Is it inevitable that different concepts of 'the good' will lead to conflicts over values? I suggest that while different types of environmental goods are present in Raja Ampat, and not all are commensurate with each other, in certain circumstances

the values people place on a certain resource or form of protection can be considered valid even by those with very different norms. For instance, Protestant Beteo communities put great stake in ensuring their reefscape are not exploited by commercial fishermen. They desire to protect their cultural autonomy through managing forest and marine zones for their own use. In Chapter Two, I described how several communities in Raja Ampat have reinterpreted *sasi* as a hybrid set of practices that incorporates Christian edicts with conservation principles. This hybridization has led to new behaviors: a reduction in shark finning, careful attention to manta rays and nudibranchs – species that previously had little economic or social value.

Perhaps the capacity for a world of value pluralism does not rely on the total alignment of different values or concepts of the good. Perhaps a key variable is the capacity for social groups to imagine of a situation where there is more than one equally valid alternative to acting rightly. Put differently, for a pluralist ethos to exist in Raja Ampat or elsewhere it is necessary to identify a potential for ethical commensuration between two or more apparently incongruous value-ideals. The conflicts I described in this chapter could be interpreted as evidence of unbridgeable differences. Legacies of mistrust, betrayal, hidden motives and doubt challenge attempts to smooth over the rough edges of intersocial encounters.

Disharmony between and within social groups is a basic feature of society. What I hope to have demonstrated in this chapter is that resolving environmental disputes requires going beneath the surface: it involves considering how people think of themselves in relation to their surroundings, the premises for interacting with outsiders and the possible limits of cooperation. Cannibal witches signify the limits of recognition and ethics: they are a cultural conceptualization of moral hazard, shadowy motives, jealous urges. Conversely, abundant lansat fruits or fat lobsters are interpreted as signs that people have acted rightly towards one another

and with nature. Accounting for hazards and hopes is relevant to Raja Ampat because the region has become viewed abroad primarily as a conservation success story. In this portrayal West Papuans have harmoniously engaged with international conservation groups and the Indonesian government in support of biodiversity and tourism.

While many have indeed participated in the promotion of species protection, and others have looked to ecotourism as their best bet for the future, West Papuans have become indigenous props in a staged production. Their fraught engagements with outsiders over resource control have been mostly edited out of view in promotional media that advertise Raja Ampat as a sparsely-inhabited natural paradise. It is important to recognize that West Papuans have good reason to be wary about interacting with others based on fraught encounters with logging, mining and fishing corporations, corrupt public officials and interclan disputes. These doubts are also reflected through an ontological framing of nature as an ambivalent space of affordance but also of hazard. The stories of *suanggi*, *mon* and nonhuman beings reflect an epistemology of doubt that frames West Papuan social relations with others: are they a friend or potential enemy; are they human or witch; are they people to exchange with or people to fear?

I began this chapter by describing how nonhuman forces shape people's understandings of their environment and natural resources. Such entities are often hidden forces. Cannibal witches, sorcerers, demi-gods and ambivalent nature spirits are classes of nonhuman entities that challenge what is knowable about the world and its inhabitants. They remind West Papuans of the limits of knowledge and control over the environment, as well as of other people. On an interpersonal level, such forces demand proper respect, highlight the critical need for reciprocity, and warn others of the destructive capacity of greed latent within everyone. Such forces also

reflect a Melanesian theory of mind in which other people's intentions are opaque. They seem to be prevalent in societies in which willful demands can have dangerous consequences.

If ambivalent spirits reflect the limits of human agency and understanding, an increase of environmental misunderstandings highlights the limits of shared notions of appropriate action in relation to natural resources in Raja Ampat. The standoff over Urai island is one of several conflicts between Ma'ya and Beteo people over who speaks for nature. It is also a contest over whether religious ethics or economic value should be paramount. The dispute over Wayag represents a struggle for recognition by the Ma'ya of Saleo and Selpele: their demands for fee revenues were a means to an end in which their traditional marine use rights could be validated by government officials and conservationists.

One can see parallel demands for recognition in the Ansan clan's capture of a conservation speedboat in Warsambin. The intensity of such demands makes sense when considering that Ma'ya *gélet* are defined not only in terms of people but as geographically demarcated territorial units. Finally, the misunderstanding over bird trekking and mapping in Kalitoko highlights that not all peoples' concepts of conservation or forest-based protection are necessarily the same. These cases challenge the potential for a shared moral horizon. The episodes caution an overly general assumption of easy symmetry between cultures, groups or norms. Taken as a whole, they suggest that the work of cross-cultural ethics is always in some sense incomplete.

Conclusion: Crosscurrents of values in Raja Ampat

The last chapter highlighted a few cases of disagreement over the use of resources as well as who claims rights to assert control over them across the Raja Ampat islands. By linking persistent talk about cannibal witches as manifestations of doubt to human-environment conflicts I showed how West Papuan communities have a culturally-specific idiom for expressing unknowable or uncontrollable aspects of everyday life. Demonic presences are rarely seen but feed on rumor, jealousy and greed. Disputes over land and sea resources evoke similar feelings in Raja Ampat, and like sorcery accusations or *suanggi* beliefs, threaten to destabilize cooperative efforts to achieve shared goals. Yet cannibal witches and misunderstandings over the destiny of islands are not aberrant features of social life. Both are central to making sense of what is valuable, whether others' notions of what is good is proportionate, and the possibilities for trusting others.

In this final section, I clarify and summarize a few of this study's findings that relate to processes of value difference and value commensuration in Raja Ampat. I briefly review ways that anthropologists have taken up the concept of commensuration as a metapragmatic and semiotic process of identifying similarities and differences, but also importantly as a process of cultural translation. I review ways that people have wrestled with seemingly different values related to conservation and tourism. As I described in Chapters Two and Four, several key intermediaries in Raja Ampat affiliated with local non-profit organizations, church groups, and advisors to conservation groups have worked to understand, translate, and adapt to newly-established environmental programs, despite having different reasons for caring about trees, fish or turtles. For instance, Yohanes Gaman, late leader of Sorong-based Christian organization

Yayasan Nazaret Papua, linked West Papuan struggles for political autonomy to environmental stewardship by arguing that intertribal unity must be fostered from the roots up. He argued that proper care for lands is as a sign of engaged Christian living that will unite Papuans through a common purpose. Kris Thebu, head of the Ma'ya cultural council, argued that MPAs and no-take zones “exist for the benefit of indigenous peoples, and to ensure the sustainability of fisheries...This can't be accomplished alone. We cannot walk alone – [we must work] with NGOs and the community.” Kris argued that the best way to ensure conservation in Raja Ampat is to align the interests of clans with NGOs. Both Yohanes and Kris wrestled with the ethical implications of working with conservationists. Each sought to identify potential equivalences in environmentalists' values alongside Papuan goals for cultural and political recognition.

West Papuan tourist homestays represent distinct regimes of value in which conservation norms are linked to the search for better economic futures. Beteo entrepreneurs have adapted, and transposed the language of conservation in their own terms. On nearby Kri Island, Reuben Sauyai, a Beteo pioneer who developed dive tourism on small Kri Island, said that NGOs such as Conservation International have created opportunities for sharing ideas but that ultimately Papuan people must lead the way through tourist entrepreneurship and local resource management. In this way, he views NGO goals as sometimes incommensurate with Beteo values in which environmental protection is a vector for a community's self-determination. In Chapter Three, I also described how Beteo managed eco-tourist homestays represent a different regime of value from West Papuan village spaces or private tourist resorts. In these zones, individuals including Engelina Dimara, owner of Warimpurem homestay, have become ethical exemplars for a new type of value creation and circulation. Both homestay owners and foreign guests have

participated in creation of a zone of commensality, through which participation in nature tourism becomes a common frame to imagine different possibilities for themselves.

By considering, reflecting or misunderstanding other people's values about the environment, West Papuans and others are translating their own ethical stance in terms of another. This process of evaluating or measuring objects or ideas of different kinds can be referred to as commensuration. Whether or not a society's values can be understood or synced with another's can be connected to a longstanding debate in political theory about whether people tend to have one or more value orientations, or whether one can shift outside of one's own cultural milieu to see from another's vantage point. According to Hankins and Yeh (2016:7), commensuration "involves the adequation of objects taken in the first instance as distinct in nature. It hinges on judgments of similarity in the face of essential difference, the two held in tension with each other and yet of a piece, and it is, thus, wrapped up in the production of borders and boundaries of all sorts." An example of a commensuration practice is efforts to link NGO-sponsored marine protected areas and Papuan managed *sasi gereja* sites as types of conservation. Failure or misunderstanding is part of the process: conflicts over resources I described in Chapter Five reflect the dual sidedness of efforts to identify potential symmetries from differences in what groups think ought to be done with Raja Ampat's seascape.

Commensuration, the measuring of differences and similarities, is manifested "at the point where simple comparison gives way to the imperative to equalize, to make things measure up" (2016:13). For instance, the capacity for conservationists and West Papuans to perceive MPAs and *sasi* sites as different versions of analogous conservation practice is not self-evident, but relies on the production and realization of a sense of sameness in a concept or artifact. Relaying different versions of conservation to be interpreted as 'the same thing, again' in Raja

Ampat relies on the circulation of notions of environmental practices, framing of engagements and back and forth dialogue.

The evaluation of different cultural conceptualizations of environmental care is also a form of interdiscursivity or ‘semiosis across encounters’ (Gal 2015). Conservation and tourism in Raja Ampat are topics that create qualities of sameness through circulation in media, through conversations, workshops and everyday encounters. They arrive as bundles of value relations that must be made meaningful, repackaged and distributed through chains in conceptual frames that are recognizable in local terms. The various forms of environmental protection – no-take zones, *sasi gereja*, *mon* areas, forest reserves – are each distinct but also roughly comparable. The fact that Papuans, conservation staff and government administrators have spoken about them as analogous types of environmental management reflects processes of commensuration at workshops, survey interactions, and disputes over several years. I participated in this process, by eliciting responses to questions about NGO programs and *sasi*, or in asking people to give their perspective on value conflicts, such as the standoff at Urai Island or the Wayag standoff over tourism user fees. In each instance, I asked people to reflect on their values, and evaluate to what extent the introduction of conservation programs could be understood as equivalent types of environmental stewardship, or if not, what made them different. Relatedly, West Papuan-managed homestays, private tourism resorts or Indonesian hotels are all roughly comparable variants of tourist accommodations available on Waigeo. The distinctive feature of homestays is how they are presented as ethical alternatives to private tourist spaces: beneath coconut palms on sandy Kri, divers arrive to thatched palm bungalows and nursing mothers. Electric generators and plastic packaging are kept in the background in order to sustain an image of harmonious nature-culture; the links between homestay owners and finance capital are concealed.

In a later article, Gal (2018) expands on her notion of interdiscursivity as a metasemiotic process of enregisterment: transferring speech fragments or social positions from one context to another. An example of this process is Christian missionary efforts to translate theological concepts into different languages and worldviews (Gal 2015:230). In the context of this thesis, we could say that the repetition of environmentalist discourses about people's responsibility to the natural world reflects an ideology about conservation that creates opportunities for evaluation by different social actors with different understandings about what the terms of environmental protection entail. This includes the words used and the values that underlie them. The apparent obviousness of the analogy between *sasi* and no-take zones relies on the production of sameness or difference through framing. The contrast between private dive resorts such as Kri Eco Resort from Warimpurem homestay relies on the circulation of framed objects that produces a sense that they are qualities of a different kind.

The back and forth dialogue about human-environment relations, ethical practices, or forms of resource stewardship is not automatic. It is a dialogue shaped by different people talking about such things as if they were proportionate. When Kris Thebu speaks about *sasi* as equivalent to conservation, he takes up the Western value and word association of biodiversity conservation and marine protected areas, and interprets it from his own perspective, reframing it in relation to West Papuan concepts and values about caring for the nonhuman world (Gal 2018:2; compare Gershon 2019:7). By making things proportionate, they are measured against a type of standard or rule. In the case of conservation and tourism, an example of a measure or standard is the quality of ecosystem or cultural services protected. This could be expressed in terms of biodiversity – the number and range of species and habitat mosaics, or by safeguarding

the cultural values and lifeways of resource-dependent populations in settings such as Waigeo Island.

Prospects for value commensuration on Waigeo Island

The possibility of commensuration in human-environment interactions across Raja Ampat would challenge a few assumptions in the study of competitive interactions over natural resources beyond this study's research site. First, it would suggest that not all interactions between outside forces and resource-dependant peoples can be reduced to zero-sum strategies (see Laitin and Fearon 1996). Second, it would also suggest that different social groups can imagine moral worlds other than their own, if different actors are able to recognize the validity of other groups' views of resource use – say, for protecting the long-term viability of sea turtles – even though such megafauna are desirable prestige foods for feasts.



Figure 60 Sea turtle near Mansuar Island, 2015

The diversity of ways to protect the environment on Waigeo Island shows how West Papuan communities living amidst protected zones are engaged in efforts to translate external moral norms into a locally meaningful idiom. In Chapter Two I described how *sasi gereja*

represents a fusion of Papuan evangelical Christian values with conservationist principles of intrinsic species value. Such institutional innovations have also shaped new behavioral repertoires. For instance, in the past few years fishermen in Waigeo's Dampier Straits marine protected area have stopped killing sharks for export to Chinese markets. Beteo residents living in villages in and near these protected zones have come to greatly value manta rays and nudibranch species for attracting divers. It is unclear that these behaviors would have occurred in the absence of NGO conservation efforts.

Additionally, the abundance of marine animals on the islands and craggy shores of Raja Ampat are increasingly perceived as a sign of God's benevolence. Biodiversity has been interpreted in a religious frame in a way that projects a moral quality to conservation linked to Christian or Muslim norms. It has been translated and repackaged into an idiom of loving care, responsibility for earth's creatures and as a practice of religious duty. To cite one example, on Fafanlap island near Misool, Haji Kaydat Soltif spoke of how the Matbat people engage in *saum saumon* – a regional expression of seasonal marine closures – in conjunction with Indonesian staff from the Nature Conservancy as a means to ensure catch for their children and in line with Koranic edicts to be guardians (Arabic: *khalifa*) to care for nature and each other.⁹⁴

And yet, despite these displays of Godliness or happy commensuration, malevolent forces continue to lurk in the shadows. Failure to address reef bombing near Pam Island, or misunderstandings about who should benefit from the development of Urai Island are examples of standoffs where Papuans doubt each other's intentions. Hazards about: scoundrels who bomb

⁹⁴ One example of such verses he mentioned includes Al-A'raf-85 (سورة الأعراف ٨٥), a verse from the seventh chapter (surah) of the Quran which exhorts people to "[G]ive just weight and measure and diminish not to men their things//and make no mischief on the earth after it has been set in good order// That is to your own good, if you truly believe". Translation from: <https://www.islamicstudies.info/tafheem.php?sura=7&verse=85&to=93>, Accessed 3 August 2019.

reefs during Sunday church service (Indo. *ibadah*); gangsters from Crocodile Island near Sorong who terrorize nearshore fishing villages; cannibal witches lurking in the shadowy places near Ambel villages that may eat you before you realize you are already dead; ever more trash thrown into the sea by reckless tourists; ocean acidification, unpredictable rains and rising sea levels – the foreboding signs of a changing climate. In Ma'yalibit Bay, the recent loss of so many merbau trees to logging near Kalitoko or the disappearance of lobsters to overfishing on Beo island has chastened Ambel hopes for better livelihoods.

Will the rains come on time this year near Mansuar? Will the rascals kill or steal all the Napoleon wrasse off Pam island? Will the tourist boom destroy what fragile truce remains between the Beteo and Ma'ya peoples? Are the Westerners (often referred to as 'Dutch people'; Indo. *orang belanda*) allies in their struggles for land rights or are they strangers after all? Will West Papuans ever be emancipated from the political and social marginalization they have experienced since the "Act of Free Choice" in 1969, where representatives were coerced to vote in favor of Indonesia's annexation of West Papua? Everyday life often involves fraught ethical choices for navigating hazards that threaten to destabilize hopes for a better future (see Das 2015:54).

Translating values into a 'second first language'

Marine management and ecotourism practices around Waigeo Island have led West Papuans and people from elsewhere to engage in discussions across boundaries of social difference about people's roles and responsibilities to the natural world. In many instances, the actors involved did not intend to take part in such discussions in the first place. Often, misunderstandings about how locals and non-locals ought to take part in conservation programs or ecotourist initiatives have forced people to make sense of what others were doing. People

desired for their perspectives to be acknowledged by others as valuable, worthy of recognition or support.

As I argued in my description of the Kalabia conservation tour in Chapter Four, the translation of environmental practices into a locally meaningful values is only possible when intersocial dialogue unfolds in shared space and time that participants willingly co-create. During the Kalabia film tour, filmmakers and conservation staff led nightly discussions at a dozen island villages. Participants discussed their hopes and fears for Raja Ampat's seascape. They spoke in idyllic chronotopes, entextualizing and translating each others' moral norms about environmental protection – by sharing stories, reflecting on their heritage, expressing their fears for the future. Here and elsewhere, talk about Christian *sasi*, Ambel *mon* guardians, protecting seascapes for future generations, banning the killing of sharks for fins, and organizing patrols to guard against piratical bomb attacks are examples of different ways that West Papuans and outsiders have developed a conversation that involves value differences and processes of value commensuration about stewardship of land and seascapes.



Figure 61 Wolter Gaman, conservationist and Ma'ya intermediary, Warimak 2015

The Kalabia dialogue is one of several instances I described in this thesis where West Papuans reflect on their views about ethical engagement with the environment, and responsibility to each other. Webb Keane (2016) emphasizes that an anthropological approach to ethics should be grounded in the empirical specificity of documented accounts of different socio-cultural worlds in which individuals within communities “have claims on one another and support, or undermine, one another’s efforts.” This attention to the contest between different points of view, variability and position that “there is more than one way to flourish” highlights how people regularly engage in evaluative ethical practices.



Figure 62 Salman Wiyai, Ma’yalibit Bay marine patrol, 2014

On Waigeo each person has his or her own ethical language for protecting the environment that at first glance may seem untranslatable. On Kofiau island, Yunus Mansoben speaks of *sasi gereja* in terms of Protestant moral norms of respect for a God that provides as one possibility for human flourishing. A Javanese-marine scientist argues for the importance of integrating GIS maps, climate and ecosystem data with statistically robust surveys to promote biodiversity goals. An Ambel elder speaks of Christian charity while stressing that nature’s bounty is based on responsible guardianship of *mon* areas and avoiding jealousy to prevent

cannibal witches from lurking. At Kakit near Warimak, Yeheskiel Dawa spoke in hushed tones, soothingly imploring the *mon* spirits for a safe passage, and thanking them for their stewardship by offering bundles of food. In each instance, people seek to operationalize deeply felt values into socially-meaningful actions.



Figure 63 Ria and Bertha, marine conservationists with RARE and Raja Ampat’s MPA team

But ethical commensurability is a dialogical process. In part, people are forced to sort things out because regimes such as *sasi gereja*, *mon* beliefs or no-take conservation practices reflect distinct ideologies with different knowledge practices. Researchers in places beyond Raja Ampat have documented how different moral norms can coexist within a particular society. Michael Lambek (1993) describes how Islam, cosmology and spirit possession in Mayotte society are incommensurable bodies of knowledge (*‘ilim*). Each represents a distinct knowledge practice that connects “knowledge to power and morality in a specific way” (Lambek 1997:134). Each knowledge practice in Mayotte is incommensurable in the sense that it “cannot be placed

under a common neutral measure, or under ‘a set of rules which will tell us how rational agreement can be reached’” (Rorty 1980:316 in Lambek 2015:228). Yet neither are they in conflict with one another because each makes sense within its own domain.

Lambek’s larger point is to emphasize that incommensurability is “intrinsic to culture rather than a preventable pathology of culture or thought, hence both a feature of any ethical system or tradition as it plays out, and part of what it is—the world, the circumstances of life—that ethics addresses” (2015:228). Like Keane, Lambek emphasizes the ways that more than one alternative view of the good is inevitable. Moreover, the evaluation of different notions of ethical activity assumes that the capacity for reasoning between competing choices is a basic feature of human experience.

The possibility of appraising different value orientations relies on a capacity for open dialogue. In a commentary on the prospects for studying cross-cultural ethics, Lambek identifies Hans-George Gadamer’s hermeneutics of encounter as a type of extended conversation in which one speaker tries to understand another by practical judgement or *phronesis*: “‘ethical know-how’ or ‘the process of distinguishing and choosing what one considers to be right’ (Gadamer 1983:264-5, cited in Lambek 1997:138). Lambek argues that a ‘fusion of horizons’ occurs through “opening of a space of mutual vision from which genuine conversation can begin and the joint horizon can be gradually opened further. This is what happens as we learn to listen to and speak with others” (Lambek 2015:229). Speaking with another and attempting to understand another’s point of view is itself a type of ethical work because this willingness to consider alternatives necessarily relies on a capacity to consider alternative strategies or values.

While some would argue that it is impossible to appraise another society’s values in ways that can be translated to the cultural norms in another, Arto Laitinen (2015) identifies how

Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor both claimed that “non-ethnocentric understanding of other traditions is possible” by translating apparently incommensurable traditions into a ‘second first language’ (Laitinen 2015:206):

In the beginning of such a process, the traditions do not understand each other, but members of one tradition can learn the language of another tradition as a “second first language” and finally master the practices of the other tradition. Someone in this position can translate his or her understandings into the vocabulary of their “first first language.” Some parts of this translation can be done with “same-saying,” whereas some parts need conceptual innovation. Through these conceptual innovations, the limits of translatability can be broadened and also by the same token the former limits of the “first first language” can be stretched. The stretching of these limits and the gaining of understanding of other practices then make it possible to criticize both traditions and identify inadequacies in them or point out possible solutions to the identified ones.

Laitinen argues that cultural relativism does not preclude the consideration of alignments, overlaps or symmetries between different society’s notions of what one ought to do. Taylor argued that this is because humans are ‘self-interpreting animals’ with identities and values that emerge through social interaction. Taylor suggests that people from different cultural orders can recognize the ‘awe’ (*Achtung*, via Kant) of other society’s ethical truths (see Meijer 2016:32-34; 205-210). His approach reflects a philosophical position that values cannot be reduced to one ultimate good; that ethical standards are inherently plural (Berlin 1969; Nagel 1979). In this sense, *sasi gereja*, *sasi mon*, *konservasi* and biodiversity are concepts that cross the presumed divide between cultural understandings of environmental care. In Raja Ampat, the value of protecting species, ecosystem mosaics and cultural heritage are goods that – while at some level are incommensurable – are also translatable into another’s ethical language and recognizable as moral by others.

Whether within a social order or between them, people face choices between multiple, sometimes conflicting ideals (Nussbaum 2001:113-117).⁹⁵ The intrinsic value of protecting sea turtles may lead Beteo residents of Ayau atoll to hold off on turtle meat for this year's Christmas feast. The Indonesian local government may need to divert more tourism funds to Kawe Ma'ya villages of Selpele and Salio following a negotiated settlement to keep the Wayag Islands open to visitors and in respect for their longstanding claims to managing the islands. The young men from Buton who bombed coral reefs for reef fish off Pam island may soon come to fear divine retribution from entering protected *sasi gereja* zones or the wrath of a unified congregation. Like the current flows that meet and swirl about Raja Ampat, the human seascapes of these coral and limestone islands are a domain of ethical cross-currents.

Prospects for seeing the good in another group's ethics around environmental protection is also qualified by imbalances in power between different actors. International NGOs arrive with speedboats, government connections, capital that immediately created asymmetries with West Papuan fishermen to express their own views. In some cases, consensus over environmental practices in Raja Ampat may be surface-level to avoid shame or open conflict. Strategic delay, foot dragging or avoidance are other ways to communicate dissent. Lambek (2015:230) notes that most cross-cultural encounters are not conversations among equals, but involve coercion, silencing, and differences of power. This is especially acute when one side – say conservationists – are convinced they have the right answers.

In part, conservationists' universalist pretensions often overpower West Papuan's more discreet claims for cultural recognition of their own forms of resource protection. It is also

⁹⁵ Choosing an alternative or acting against one's judgement has been called *akrasia*, a 'weakness of will'. The inevitability of choosing lesser goods or accepting imperfect outcomes can be compared to 'rational regret' – a conflict in values when presented two rival goods.

important to acknowledge the role that material resources have in creating imbalances between different actors: NGOs tend to arrive with money, boats, personnel and plans. Prospects for hurt feelings or misunderstanding are ever-present. But the fact that West Papuans have succeeded to get their views represented in zoning plans or through public media portrayals of *sasi* ceremonies shows the creative ways communities on Waigeo have effectively gotten their message translated into a different ethical idiom.

By understanding the grounds for different values – the intrinsic value of manta ray conservation, the instrumental good of protecting reefs for homestay tourism revenues – conservation advocates and West Papuan communities may come to understand each other's approaches. By attending to the affordances that nature provides – a source of community livelihood, a repository of historical memory, juridical authority over intra-clan disputes – West Papuans may acknowledge other forms of environmental engagement at a time of uncertain change.

Raja Ampat is a seascape of dispersed but interlinked peoples connected to a history of inter-island voyaging and trade, raiding and marriage exchanges. It has been a place of mixtures of currents, languages, and traditions for millennia: from the first encounters between Melanesians from Sahul and the Austronesian-speaking arrivals, to the period of Islamic Sultanates and Christian missionaries, the birth of the Indonesian nation and annexation of West Papua. In more recent times, conservation and ecotourism have become key domains through which Melanesians across New Guinea's Bird's Head Peninsula and Raja Ampat are attempting to chart their own course ahead.

West Papuans are navigating increasingly turbid waters, amidst increased threats from overfishing, ecological shocks and habitat fragmentation. As with other island peoples, they

confront species loss, unpredictable rains and ocean acidification. Perhaps this is one motivation for communities to link with outsiders to promote environmental protection. This awareness of increased threats to their way of life has involved acknowledging the potential good that other forms of environmental care can have to promote the stewardship and survival of their island realm.

Sorting out value differences and value commensurability in Raja Ampat draws from recognition that ‘the environment’ not only consists of useful things for building, eating, trading or sustenance but is also is a wellspring for social relations and of ethics. The recognition that Raja Ampat’s island realm is under threat has motivated Waigeo’s Beteo and Maya communities to forge new connections and be open to different ideas.

The evidence from Raja Ampat suggests that a seascape of plural values about people and nature need not lead to standoffs even if there may not be a commonly identifiable ‘good’ regarding conservation. Put differently, conservation and tourism encounters in Raja Ampat reveal instances of pragmatic cooperation or begrudging acceptance rather than zero-sum power struggles. At first glance, it would seem that a lack of a common ground for a shared value orientation around environmental protection would most likely lead to conflict between West Papuans and international actors keen to promote biodiversity or tourism goals. Documenting such misunderstandings has been a common trend in ethnographic writing about conservation (West 2006). Yet there is another way of looking at these interactions when considered from the standpoint of value pluralism. For instance, Cassaniti and Hickman (2014:154) argue that pluralism does not call for a universally agreed upon notion of what is correct. Moreover, the fact of incommensurability does not necessarily foreclose the potential for overlaps between different ‘cultural-moral systems’ even when they are based on different value hierarchies.

In Chapter One, I explained how many Ma'ya people still believe in the sacrality of Kaliraja as a cosmogonic center, a meeting place that established kinship connections between the Ma'ya and Biak peoples as well as the potential for increased connections with strangers from elsewhere. Origin stories chart a social cosmology of links with people from afar that guides contemporary struggles over landrights, environmental programs and cultural recognition. By incorporating the heroic exploits of heroes from elsewhere, epic histories reveal unexpected connections between Ma'ya people and settlers from Biak. The incorporation of difference in myths is reflected in ways West Papuans have interpreted the arrival of outsiders as messianic figures in the hopes of bringing about new types of relations –whether with other Melanesian communities, long-lost Western brothers, or people sympathetic to aspirations of a free and independent West Papuan nation. By drawing from the past, storytellers and key intermediaries are charting a course to a more hopeful future.

In Chapter Two, I highlighted how marine conservation in Waigeo presents an amalgam of locally-inflected actions of seasonal resource taboos and adaptations of Christian values about God's role in protecting reefscapes, environmentalist supported concepts of no-take zones and ancestral areas where humans should tread carefully. I described how resident Beteo and Ma'ya people revived a limited type of seasonal harvest prohibition and taboo called *sasi* to incorporate Christian ethics, and ancestral sites of nonhuman spirits. On Waigeo island, a center point of international conservation programs and ecotourism, two distinct forms of *sasi* are currently practiced: *sasi gereja*, a type of Christian village-based resource protection and *sasi mon*, a set of clan-mediated rules for areas beyond villages inhabited by ancestors or nonhuman spirit beings. Engagements with valued places highlights how conservation in Raja Ampat is consequential to

people's understanding of themselves and others, amidst ongoing resource degradation, the denial of Christian social virtue or economic marginalization.

In Chapter Three, I identified how Beteo people have turned to village-based homestay tourism as a means to a better future. Eco-tourism has also become a context for West Papuans to meet and share with foreigners in ways that is changing expectations for their own lives. Because eco-tourism relies on marketing pristine environments, it has galvanized communities to take an active role in protecting reefs and sharing ideas through the Raja Ampat Homestay Association as well as through kin networks. While the tourism market is a new institution, it has adapted technologies of the past, such as traditional Biak house designs for tourist bungalows. The attractiveness of foreign wealth, and the promise of close social bonds with non-Papuans, also draws from a millenarian myth cycle of Manarmakeri that looks ahead to times of peace and plenty.

In Chapter Four, I described how a film tour created an opportunity for communities to reflect on their values about nature. The 2014 *Guardians of Raja Ampat* film and conservation tour showed how over a dozen villages entered into dialogue with environmentalists, expressing in their own idiom what conservation means to them, and why it is important. I showed how the Kalabia conservation tour is an ethnographic context for showing how human-environment relations are represented, produced and refracted. Through presenting human-ecological dialogues in circulation, I identified elements of socially distributed polysemy, particularly the semiotic forms that led people to see themselves as aligned with outsiders.

In Chapter Five, I qualified hopes for easy alignments by highlighting how doubt and jealousy about others (within and across social boundaries) challenges assumptions of social harmony or shared understanding about the capacity for a person to be moral, or to act ethically.

Conflicts over resources on Waigeo indicates that disagreements over values about human and environmental relations will continue. Yet, while this is certainly true, it need not suggest that Raja Ampat will always be a zone of contention over environmental issues.

Taken as a whole, the dissertation shows how West Papuan communities are actively evaluating differences and similarities of environmental values, practices and goals across boundaries of social difference. Making sense of others' perspectives on what is right depends on dialogic imagination, the creation of a coeval spacetime and courageous efforts at translating values into an idiom that others can understand. It is witnessed in a decision not to kill a shark, a commitment to manage trash, to stand up for one's village against the encroachment of foreign developments, to obey the *sasi* sanctions in a closed fishing zone, or to respect the ancestral spirits on their own turf. It is also manifested in efforts by Ma'ya leaders such as Kris Thebu to work closely with Conservation International to expand no-take marine reserves off Gam Island. It is heard in sermons by Pastor Anache Goram at Saporkren's Gethsemani church to protect grouper in Kabui Bay during spawning aggregations. It is witnessed in community efforts to sustainably manage Spanish mackarel after spending time with fish scientists.

Aspiring to live rightly in Raja Ampat is also manifested in the work to live one's life in accordance with Christian values and to banish the temptations of greed or jealous anger to the shadows. It means guarding against cannibal witches and knowing how to respond to conflict in socially productive ways – perhaps through *adat*-led conversation, appeasement, apology, or tribute to a church after trespassing into a closed *sasi* zone. It entails listening to other views about what is right – such as conservationists' insistence on the innate value of manta rays – and translating these foreign concepts into a locally meaningful 'second first language' to incorporate into daily life.

The awareness of the threat of climate change to species as well as to human society highlights how the issue of environmental protection has become an ethical and moral domain about our responsibility to the natural world and to each other. Across the Raja Ampat archipelago, West Papuan communities have demonstrated that despite cultural differences or grounds for valuing what is worth protecting, they have often worked across boundaries of social difference to protect the land and sea they call home.

Appendix 1. Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Human Research Protections

In 2014, I obtained IRB approval for human subject research (Project 130737S)⁹⁶, research funding, project oversight by Dr. Hamid Toha of the State University of West Papua (UNIPA) and Professor Dr. Tony Rudyansjah of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Indonesia, and Dr. Dedi S. Adhuri, an anthropologist and senior scientist at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Research Center for Society and Culture. They helped me acquire research visas, government research permits through the Indonesian government's ministry of research (RISTEK), local residency status (KITAS) travel papers for subdistricts across Raja Ampat (*surat jalan*) and logistical support to facilitate work in Indonesian New Guinea. Throughout my research I was careful to obtain oral or written consent prior to participating in meetings, ceremonies, or recording conversations. In some cases, informants asked me not to write down or repeat information they provided me out of respect, fear of reprisal, or for personal reasons.

The data and collected research material of this dissertation project includes recorded audio and video, photos, surveys, transcribed conversations, fieldnotes and collected GPS data points. I obtained over one hundred hours of audio recordings captured on two handheld digital recorders. These encompass individual interviews, group discussions, larger-scale public

⁹⁶ This project involved three primary consent regimes, with two corollary consent procedures. The three primary consent regimes are: 1) a questionnaire/survey script; 2) a consent script read aloud to participants for semi-private participant observation; 3) an interviews script. In addition to these primary consent regimes, I utilized: 4) a consent script for audio recordings of interviews or events or; 5) a consent script for certain photo or 6) video recordings of events when a persons' name and/or personal information is being elicited. Throughout the course of my research, I sought permissions for consent with prospective participants at the outset of the main research interaction, but not for public spaces in the context of participant observation.

meetings, church celebrations and conservation workshops. In 2012, I utilized a survey protocol designed at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography as part of a global cross-comparative study of small-scale fisheries and protection.⁹⁷ As part of that effort, I collected 80 surveys and visited over a dozen fishing-dependent villages in the northern part of the Raja Ampat archipelago. I compiled typed fieldnotes of observations and transcribed interviews, captured several thousand photographs and a few hours of video. As often is the case, these materials comprise an incomplete, initial archive of resources for the study of human-environmental interactions in one field setting.



Figure 64 Artisanal fisheries survey team, Arborek Island, August 2012

⁹⁷ <https://scripps.ucsd.edu/centers/cmbc/research/sustainable-ecosystems/safnr/>

Appendix 2. Valuable marine and terrestrial species

<u>Family or Genus</u>	<u>Species Name (Latin)</u>	<u>Local Name (Indonesian)</u>	<u>Common Name (English)</u>
<i>Ariidae</i>	<i>Arisu sp.</i>	Sembilang	ariid catfish
<i>Belonidae</i>	<i>Tylosurus gavialoides</i>	Julung	Needlefish (Stout long tom)
<i>Caesionidae</i>	<i>Caesio sp.</i>	Lalosi	fusiliers
<i>Caesionidae</i>	<i>Caesio chrysozonus</i>	Lalosi batu	fusiliers
<i>Caesionidae</i>	<i>Caesio lunaris</i>	Lalosi	Lunar fusilier
<i>Caesionidae</i>	<i>Caesio caeruleaurea</i>	Lalosi	Blue and Gold fusilier; Scissor Tailed fusilier
<i>Caesionidae</i>	<i>Caesio erytrogaster</i>	Lalosi	fusiliers
<i>Carangidae</i>	<i>Selaroides sp.</i>	Oci	Yellowstripe scad
<i>Carangidae</i>	<i>Decapterus sp.</i>	Momar	mackerel scads (jacks)
<i>Carangidae</i>	<i>Caranx sp.</i>	Bubara	Jacks; trevallies
<i>Carangidae</i>	<i>Caranx caeruleopinnatus</i>	Bubara Lebar	Coastal trevally
<i>Carangidae</i>	<i>Carangoides fulvogutt</i>	Bubara hitam	Yellowspotted trevally
<i>Carangidae</i>	<i>Caranx melampygus</i>	Bubara panjang	Bluefin trevally
<i>Carangidae</i>	<i>Caranx sexfasciatus</i>	Bubara kuning	Bigeye trevally
<i>Carangidae</i>	<i>Scomberoides sp.</i>	Lasi (alt. Lossi)	Queenfish (prob. <i>Scomberoides lysan</i>)
<i>Chirocentridae</i>	<i>Chirocentrus dorab</i>	Ikan pisang; golok-golok	Wolf herring
<i>Clupeidae</i>	<i>Spratelloides gracilis</i>	Teri	Silver-stripe round herring, slender sprat
<i>Clupeidae</i>	<i>Spratelloides robustus</i>	Teri	Blue sprat; blue sardine
<i>Clupeidae</i>	<i>Hilsa toli</i>	kapas-kapas; ikan terubok	Hilsa shad
<i>Engraulidae</i>	<i>Stolephorus indicus</i>	Teri	Indian anchovy
<i>Engraulidae</i>	<i>Stelopharus commersonni</i>	Teri	Commerson's anchovy
<i>Engraulidae</i>	<i>Stolephorus indicus</i>	ikan teri, puri	Anchovy
<i>Exocoetidae</i>	<i>Cypslurus poecilopterus</i>	terbang	Yellow flying fish

<i>Labridae</i>	<i>Chelinius undulates</i>	Napoleon	Humphead wrasse
<i>Lethrinidae</i>	<i>Lethrinus sp.</i>	Gutilla	Emperor species
<i>Lethrinidae</i>	<i>Lethrinus leptolepis</i>	Gutilla	emperor bream species
<i>Lethrinidae</i>	<i>Lethrinus amboinensis</i>	Gutilla	Ambon emperor
<i>Lethrinidae</i>	<i>Lethrinus harak</i>	Gutilla	Thumbprint emperor
<i>Lethrinidae</i>	<i>Lethrinus miniatus</i>	Gutilla	Trumpet emperor
<i>Lethrinidae</i>	<i>Lethrinus ornatus</i>	Gutilla	Ornate emperor
<i>Lethrinidae</i>	<i>Lethrinus xanothochilus</i>	Gutilla	Yellowlip emperor
<i>Letrinidae</i>	<i>Acanthopagrus berda</i>	Kapas	Picnic seabream
<i>Lutjanidae</i>	<i>Lutjanus sp.</i>	Ikan merah, or kakap merah, occasionally bambangan	snappers
<i>Lutjanidae</i>	<i>Lutjanus erythropterus</i>	Ikan merah, or kakap merah, occasionally bambangan	crimson snapper
<i>Lutjanidae</i>	<i>Lutjanus sanguineus</i>	Ikan merah, or kakap merah, occasionally bambangan	blood snapper
<i>Lutjanidae</i>	<i>Lutjanus malabaricus</i>	Ikan merah, or kakap merah, occasionally bambangan	Malabar blood snapper
<i>Lutjanidae</i>	<i>Lutjanus fulvus</i>	kakap	Blacktail snapper
<i>Lutjanidae</i>	<i>Lutjanus russelli</i>	Ikan merah, or kakap merah, occasionally bambangan	Russell's snapper
<i>Lutjanidae</i>	<i>Lutjanus semicinctus</i>	kakap	Blackbanded snapper
<i>Lutjanidae</i>	<i>Lutjanus bohar</i>	kakap (ikan) merah	Red Snapper
<i>Lutjanidae (Etelinae)</i>	<i>Pristiopomoides multidentis</i>	kurisi	goldband jobfish
<i>Lutjaninae</i>	<i>Luthjanus johnii</i>	Gutilla (alt. tambangan)	John's snapper

<i>Mugilidae</i>	<i>Mugil cephalus</i>	bulana	Sea Mullett (or Flathead mullet)
<i>Nemipteridae</i>	<i>Nemipterus nematophurus</i>	Lakorea	Doublewhip threadfin bream
<i>Nemipteridae</i>	<i>Nemipterus nematophurus</i>	Lakorea; kurisi	Doublewhip threadfin bream
<i>Scaridae</i>	<i>Scarus spp.</i>	Kakatua	Parrotfish
<i>Scaridae</i>	<i>Scarus quoyi</i>	Kakatua	Quoy's parrotfish
<i>Scaridae</i>	<i>Scarus ghobban</i>	Kakatua	Blue-barred parrotfish
<i>Scaridae</i>	<i>Scarus forsteni</i>	Kakatua	Forsten's parrotfish
<i>Scarinae</i>	<i>Bulbometopon muricatum</i>		Bumphead parrotfish
<i>Scombridae</i>	<i>Scomberomorus spp.</i>	Tenggiri	Spanish mackerel
<i>Scombridae</i>	<i>Katsuwonus pelamis</i>	Cakalang	Skipjack tuna
<i>Scombridae</i>	<i>Euthynnus affinis</i>	Cakalang Kababida	Mackerel tuna
<i>Scombridae</i>	<i>Cybiosarda elegans</i>	Cakalang	Leaping bonito
<i>Scombridae</i>	<i>Thunnus albacares</i>	Cakalang, Ekor kuning, Tuna	Albacore tuna
<i>Scombridae</i>	<i>Gynmosarda nuda</i>	Cakalang	Dogtooth tuna
<i>Scombridae</i>	<i>Rastrelliger sp.</i>	Lema	Short mackerel (Rastrelliger brachysoma), Indian mackerel (Rastrelliger kanagurta?)
<i>Scombridae</i>	<i>Restrelliger brachysoma</i>	Kembung	Short mackerel
<i>Serranidae</i>	<i>Ephinephelus merra</i>	ikan Kerapu	Honeycomb grouper
<i>Serranidae</i>	<i>Plectropomus sp.</i>	Geropa	coralgrouper
<i>Serranidae</i>	<i>Variola louti</i>	Geropa	Yellow-tailed lyretail (grouper)
<i>Serranidae</i>	<i>Epinephelus sp.</i>	Geropa	Mero, Grouper
<i>Serranidae</i>	<i>Cephalopoilis leopardus</i>	Geropa	Leopard grouper
<i>Serranidae</i>	<i>Cromileptis altivelis</i>	Geropa	Humpback grouper
<i>Serranidae (Epinephelinae)</i>	<i>Epinephelus fasciatus</i>	kerapu	Blacktip grouper
<i>Serranidae (Epinephelinae)</i>	<i>Cromileptes altivelis</i>	kepau tikus, kerapu	Humpback grouper

<i>Siganidae</i>	<i>Siganus sp.</i>	Samandar	Rabbitfish
<i>Siganidae</i>	<i>Siganus argenteus</i>	Samandar	Streamlined spinefoot (rabbitfish)
<i>Siganidae</i>	<i>Siganus guttatus</i>	Samandar	Rabbitfish
<i>Siganidae</i>	<i>Siganus doliatus</i>	Samandar	Barred spinefoot (rabbitfish)
<i>Sphrynidae</i>	<i>Sphyrna lewini</i>	Hiu	Scalloped hammerhead
<i>Toxidae</i>	<i>Toxotes sp.</i>	sumpit	archerfish (various)
<i>Toxidae</i>	<i>Toxotes jaculatrix</i>	sumpit	Banded archerfish
	<i>Plectropomus leopardus</i>	Geropa	Coral grouper, leopard coral trout
<i>Amusium</i>	<i>Amusium spp.</i>	simping	scallop
<i>Ranellidae</i>	<i>Charonia tritonis</i>	bia trompet	Triton conch
<i>Diadematidae</i>	<i>Diadema setosum</i>	bulu babi	sea urchin
	<i>Loligo spp.</i>	cumi cumi	squid
	<i>Octopus pp.</i>	gurita	octopus
	<i>Penaeus</i>	udang	shrimp
	<i>Panulirus</i>	udang	lobster
<i>Portunidae</i>	<i>Scylla serrata</i>	kepiting	mangrove crab
	<i>Trochus niloticus</i>	bia lola	trochus
<i>Tridacna</i>	<i>Tridacna gigas</i>	kima rakasa	giant clam
	<i>Turbo marmoratus</i>	batu laga	green snail
Holothurians (sea cucumbers)			
<i>Actinopyga</i>	<i>Actinopyga echinites</i>	teripang babon	deep water redfish
<i>Actinopyga</i>	<i>Actinopyga lecanora</i>	teripang malam	stonefish
<i>Actinopyga</i>	<i>Actinopyga mauritania</i>	teripang gosok	surf redfish
<i>Actinopyga</i>	<i>Actinopyga miliaris</i>	teripang malam	blackfish
<i>Holothuria</i>	<i>Holothuria Microthele noblis</i>	teripang susu	black teatfish
<i>Bohadschia</i>	<i>Bohadschia argus</i>	teripang bintang	tigerfish
<i>Bohadschia</i>	<i>Bohadscia similis</i>	teripang ikan	chalkfish

<i>Bohodschia</i>	<i>Bohadschia vitiensis</i>	teripang benang	brown sandfish
<i>Holothuria</i>	<i>Holothuria (Acanthotrapeza) coluber</i>	teripang soasoa	snakefish
<i>Holothuria</i>	<i>Holothuria (Halodeima) atra</i>	teripang minyak	lollyfish
<i>Holothuria</i>	<i>Holothuria (Halodeima) edulis</i>	teripang ?	pinkfish
<i>Holothuria</i>	<i>Holothuria (Metriatyla) scabra</i>	teripang gosok	sandfish
<i>Holothuria</i>	<i>Holothuria (Microthele) fuscogilva</i>	teripang susu	white teatfish
<i>Holothuria</i>	<i>Holothuria (Microthele) fuscopunctata</i>	teripang sepatu	elephant trunkfish
<i>Stichopus</i>	<i>Stichopus horrens</i>	teripang kucing	dragonfish
<i>Pearsonothuria</i>	<i>Pearsonothuria graeffei</i>	teripang kong kong	flowerfish
<i>Stichopus</i>	<i>Stichopus chloronotus</i>	teripang japong	greenfish
<i>Stichopus</i>	<i>Stichopus hermanni</i>	teripang kong kong	curryfish
<i>Thelenota</i>	<i>Thelenota ananas</i>	teripang nanas	prickly redfish
<i>Thelenota</i>	<i>Thelenota anax</i>	teripang balok (racun)	amberfish

Other valuable marine species commonly spoken of in Raja Ampat

Abangan: mangrove jack, *Lutjanus argentimaculatus*

Agar-agar: Seaweed, *Gelidium* or *Gracilaria*

Balobo: *Hemiramphus japonicas*

Barakuda: barracuda species, *Sphyraena barracuda*, *Sphyraena flavicauda*

Batu-batu: *Apogon niger*

Belanak: Mullet, *Mugil cephalus*

Belut: Freshwater eel, *Monopterus albus*

Belut laut raksasa: *Gymnothorax javanicus*

Bia: sea snails, top snails

Bia kodok

Bia lola

Bia gaharu (*Polymesoda* sp – most likely *Polymesoda erosa* and *P. geloin*)

Bia Mata Bulan: Gold-mouth turban, *Turbo chrysostroma*

Bia Warna Putih: *Cypraea* sp

Bobara: Trevally, *Caranx melampygus* or *Caranx ignobilis*
 Kuwe Gerong or Masidung or bobara: Giant Trevally, possibly *Caranx sexfasciatus* 'bubara kuning'
 Bubara: bubara kuning, *Caranx sp.*
 Bulana: Flathead Grey Mullet, *Mugil cephalus*
 Butana: Elongate surgeonfish, *Acanthurus mata*
 Buntal (or buntak): Stellate puffer fish, *Arothron Stellatus*
 Cakalang: Tuna
 cakalang batu
 cakalang kambing, Shipjack Tuna, *Katsuwonus pelamis*
 Cantik: Blue eye royal dottyback, *Pictichromis dinar*
 Cumi: Squid, *Sepiotheuthis sp.*
 cumi jarum (Also referred to locally as suntun)
 Ekor Kuning: fusiliers, *Caesionidae*
 Lolosi ekor kuning: *Caesio chrysozonus?*
 Geropa: Grouper, *Plectropomus sp.*,
 Honeycomb grouper, *Epinephanus merra*
 The yellow-edged lyretail, *Variola louti*
 Leopard Hind, *Cephalopholis leopardus*
 Humpback Grouper, *Cromileptes altivelis* (also called Geropa bebek)
 Gurame: Carp, *Osphyrionemus gourami*
 Gutila: (alt Tambangan), Golden snapper, *Lutjanus johnii*
 Gurita: Octopus species
 Big blue Octopus, *Octopus cyanea*
 Web footed octopus, *Octopus ocellatus* or *Amphioctopus fangsiao*
 Common Octopus, *Octopus vulgaris*
 Greater blue-ringed octopus, *Hapalochlaena lunulata*
 Hiu: *Carcharinus spp.*, *Carcharhinus leucas*, *Carcharhinus melanopterus* but also *Sphyrna lewini*
 Ikan Gurame: Carp

Ikan Kue/Kwe/Kuwe: Pompano, *Trachinotus sp.*
 Ikan Kokatau: Parrot fish
 Ikan Lele: Catfish
 Ikan Pari: Stingray
 Kaci-kaci, *Plectorhinchus flavomaculatus*
 Kakap: Snapper
 Bae: Deepwater red snapper, *Etelis carbunculus*
 Kakap merah: Coastal red snapper, *Lutjanus bitaeniatus*
 Kakap tikus:
 Kakap: Deepwater longtail red snapper, *etelis coruscans*
 Tola: pink or rosy snapper, *ristipomoides filamentosus*
 Kembung: Mackarel, *Decapterus Punctatus*, possibly also Rasterelliger Sp.
 Keling: wrasse, *Cirrhilabrus sp.*
 Kerapu: Grouper
 Kerapu Tikus: Baramundi, Asian Sea Bass, *Lates calcarifer*
 Kira: Sembulak sardines
 Ikan Pari: stingrays, *Dasyathis sp.*, *Dasyatis uarnak?*
 Ikan Pisang (alt: parang-parang, golok-golok): Dorab wolf-herring, *Cirosentrus dorab*
 Ikan Teri: Anchovy, probably Teri Anchovy, *Stolephorus commersonnii*
 Ikan Todak Nipis: Flat needlefish, *Ablennes hians*
 Ikan Selar Kuning: Trevally/Yellowstripe Scad
 Ikan Lemadang: Dolphinfish, *Coryphaena hippurus*
 Lolosi merah: Red pinjalo, *Pinjalo lewisi*
 Kakatua: Parrot fish, *Scarus rubriviola*
 Kaci-kaci: gold spotted sweetlips, *Plectorhinchus flavomaculatus*
 Kalabia: Kalabia, Walking Shark
 Raja Ampat, *Hemiscyllum frecineti*
 Cendrawasih Bay, *Hemiscyllum galei*
 Kaimana, *Hemiscyllum henryi*

Kapas-kapas: Commerson's anchovy, *Stelopharus commersoni*
 Kembang (or banyar): Mackerel, *Rastrelliger* spp.
 Indian mackerel, *Rastrelliger kanagurta*
 Short mackerel, *Rastrelliger brachysoma* in Ma'yalibit Bay
 Kerapu: *Ephinephelus merra*
 Keling: wrasse
 Kepiting: crabs
 Kepiting bakau, crab
 Kerapu: grouper sp. (*Epinephelus* spp)
 Kerapu Napoleon: *Ceillenus undulates*
 Kerapu Tikus: Baramundi
 Kerapu macan, tiger grouper, *Mycteropurca Tigris*, also humpback grouper, *Cromileptes Altivelis*
 Kima: sea shells
 Kuwe: Jacks
 Kuwe bobara: Giant Trevally
 Kuwe mata besar: bigeye jack
 Kuwe mata besar: bigeye jack
 Kuwe batu or Canang: amberjack
 Kuwe lilin: crevalle jack
 kuwe rambut: threadfish
 Kuwe kuning: yellow jack
 Lakoria: (kurisi in Bahasa Indonesia), *Nemipterus nematophurus*
 Lalosi: Rainbow sardine? *Caesio* spp; *Caesio erytrogaster* or *Dussumieria acuta*
 Langsar, barakuda or alu alu: Barracuda
 Lele: Catfish, *Clarias batrachus*
 Lema: *Rastrelliger kanagurta* (see Kembang above)
 Lemadang: Dolphinfish
 Lobster (or sometimes udang karang)
 Painted Spiny Lobster, *Panulirus versicolor*
 Lola, trochus snail, *Trochus niloticus*
 Mamin
 Mata Bulan: *Taractes* sp.
 Mata kucing
 Mengiwang
 Moluska: *Mollusca*

Momar: *Decaptherus macrosoma*
 Napoleon: Napoleon Wrasse. *Cheilinus undulates*
 Ochi: bigeye scad, *Selar crumenophthalmus*
 Pogot or boge: trigger fish
 Titan triggerfish
 Puri, pura-pura : Anchovy, *Stolephorus* sp.
 Samandar: Rabbitfish, *Siganus* sp., especially *Siganus fuscescens*
 Ikan Selar Kuning: Trevally/Yellowstripe Scad
 Sikuda: Emperor fish, *Lethrinus* sp
 Ambon emperor, *Lethrinus amboinensis*
 Somasi: (ikan 'nene'): mangrove snapper.
 See: kakap above
 Sontong: cuttlefish, *Sepia* sp.
 Suo: (Cendro in Bahasa): hound needlefish, *Tylosurus crocodilus*
 Sunu Tungsing (alt: Kerapu): red grouper or coral trout, *Cephalopholis miniata*
 Talang talang: Queenfish, *Seriphus politus*
 Tariansan: Rusty jobfish, *Aphareus rutilans*
 Tembang: Sardines
 Deepbody Sardinella, *Sardinella brachysoma*
 Goldstripe Sardinella, *Sardinella gibbosa*
 Fringescale Sardinella, *Sardinella fimbriate*
 Terbang: Flyingfish, *Cypselurus* sp.
 Yellow flyingfish, *Cypselurus poecilopterus*
 Bony Flying fish, *Hirundichthys oxycephalus*
 Tenggiri: Spanish Mackerel, *Scomberomorus* sp.
 Tenggiri: Spanish Mackerel, *Gymnosarda unicolor*; also perhaps *Scomberomorus commersomii* (narrow-based Spanish mackerel)
 [key types of mackerel in Ma'yalibit bay are: Spanish mackerel, two species common to the area: *Rastrelliger brachysoma* (17.2 cm avg length), *R. kanagurta* (20.9cm

long, 4.9cm height), *R. jaughni* (a bit smaller, not caught in the Bay)
 Teri: Anchovy, *Stolephorus indicus*, *Spratelloides gracillis*, *Spratelloides robustus*
 Tongkol: Mackerel Tuna (*Thunnus* spp.)
 alt: Tuna Sirip Kuning: Yellowfin Tuna
 Ikan Tuna Sirip Biru: Bluefin Tuna
 Tuna gigi Anjing: dogtooth tuna
 Cakalang: Shipjack Tuna
 Ikan Tongkol: Mackerel Tuna

Trepang, Teripang: sea cucumber. Common names: nenas, banan, 'lau lau', malam, gosok, susu

Teripang koro: *Microthele nobelis*

Teripang pandan: *Theenota ananas*

Teripang putih: *Holothuria scabra*

Udang: *Panulirus* sp; shrimp

Windu: tiger prawn

Walo walo: alt name for barracuda species.

See above

Wobbegong: Tassel Wobbegong,

Eucrossorhinus Dasypogo

Valued terrestrial plants and animals in Raja Ampat

Tree species:

Bintangor Bunut, *Callophyllum soulattri*

Buah rao (Daar, in Ambel): New Guinea

Walnut, *Dracontomelon dao*

Cemara: Samara tree, *Casuarina montana*, *Gymnostoma sumatranum*, or *Papuacedrus papuana*

Damar: Damar tres, *gathis damara*

Gaharu: Agarwood, *Aquilaria malaccensis*, *Aquilaria filaria* and *Gyrinops versteegii*. Agarwood is a dark resinous wood that is created when *Aquilaria* and *Gyrinops* trees become infected with a parasitic mold, *Phaeoacremonium parasitica*.

Jambu hutan (Engli, in Ambel): *Syzygium* sp. Possibly watery rose apple, *Syzygium aqueum*, or *Syzygium acutangulum*

Kayu besi: Moluccan Ironwood, *Intsia* sp, particularly *Intsia bijuga*

Kayu kukuh: nandu wood, *Pericopsis mooniana*

Kayu sner: Manilkara, *Manilkara fasciculata*

Kayu putih, eucalyptus, *Melaleuca leucadendra*

Kayu susu: Blackboard tree, *Alstonia scholaris*

Kenari: Java almond? *Canarium vulgare*

Ketapang hutan: *Terminalia*, *Terminalia copelandii*

Lengkua (galangal?)

Lontar: *Borassus heineanus* Beccar

Bandicoot berry, *Leea indica* (used as an important charm against evil spirits)

Mersawa/siner (in Ambel): *Palosapsis*, *Anisoptera thurifera*

Matoa: Lychee, *Pometia pinnata*

Merbau/kayu besi: Moluccan Ironwood, ipil-ipil tree, *Intsia bijuga*; *Intsia palembanica*

Nyato: *Palaquium* spp.

Palaka: *Octomeles sumatrana*

Pinang: Areca, *Mandacanii heatubun*

Pohon sukun hutan, breadfruit, *Artocarpus altilis*

Samama/Kayu Jabon: *Anthocephalus macrophylus*

Sagu: Sago, *Metroxylon sagu*

Sawo hutan: *Manilkara fasciculata*

Cultivated species common in gardens:

bayam: spinach

buah merah: pandanus

buat terong: eggplant

cabe: chilis

kacang panjang: long beans

coklat: chocolate

jagung: corn

jambu: rose apple

kacang hijau: green beans
kacang tanah: peanuts
kangkung: water spinach
kasbi (alt. *ubi jalan*): cassava (and yams)
keladi: taro
kelapa (and kopra): coconut
kulit kayu: tree bark
kunyit: turmeric
lansat: lansat fruits
lengkuas: galangal
mangoes: manga madu, manga golek,
manga bacan, manga batu
papaya: papaya
petatas: potatoes
pinang: areca nut
pisang: bananas; pisang nona, pisang raja
(plantain)
rica: chilis
sago: sago palm
sayur: various vegetables
singkong: cassava
sukun: breadfruit (or *Artocopus sp.*,
jackfruit)
tebu: sugar cane
terong: eggplant
tomat: tomato
ubi: tubers

Animals hunted and eaten in Raja Ampat:
Babi, wild pig: *Sus scrofa* (non-native);
Bornean bearded pig - *Sus barbatus barbatus*
Cuscus, Ground Cuscus: *Phalamger
gymnotis*
Greater Flying fox: *Pteropus neohibernicus*
Spiny Bandicoot: *Echymipera kalubu*
Clara's Bandicoot: *Echymipera clara*
Maleo: This species is different from the
extremely rare Maleo Waigeo: *Aepyodius
bruijnii*, which lives in high hills near Mr.
Nok on Waigeo island
Spotted Cuscus: *Spilocuscus maculatus*,
Spilocuscus papuensis (Waigeo cuscus)
Javan Rusa - *Cervus timorensis*
Dusky Pademelon: *Thylogale brunii*
Grizzled Tree Kangaroo: *Dendrolagus
inustus*
Spiny Bandicoots: *Echymipera kalubu*
Northern Cassowary (on Salawati):
Casuarius unappendiculatus
Papuan Hornbill: *Rhyticeros plicatus*
Pinon Imperial-pigeon: *Ducula pin*

Bibliography

- Adhuri, Dedi Supriyadi
2013 *Selling the Sea: A study of conflict over marine tenure in Kei Islands, Eastern Indonesia*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Atmodjo, Ery, Machiel Lamers, and Arthur Mol
2017 Financing marine conservation tourism: Governing entrance fees in Raja Ampat, Indonesia. *Marine Policy* 78:181-188.
- Agrawal, Arun, and Kent Redford
2006 Conservation and displacement: An overview. *Conservation and Society* 7(1):1-10.
- Allen, Gerald R., and Mark V. Erdmann
2009 Reef fishes of the Bird's Head Peninsula, West Papua, Indonesia. *Check List* 5.3:587-628.
- Allen, Gerald R.
2008 Conservation hotspots of biodiversity and endemism for Indo-Pacific coral reef fishes. *Aquatic Conservation: Marine and Freshwater Ecosystems* 18(5):541-556.
- Allen, Jim and James F. O'Connell
2008 Getting from Sunda to Sahul. In Geoffrey Clark, Foss Leach, and Sue O'Connor eds. *Islands of Inquiry: Colonisation, seafaring and the archaeology of maritime landscapes*. Number 29 in *Terra Australis*. Pp.31-46. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Andaya, Leonard Y.
1993 *The world of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the early modern period*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun
1986 Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value. In Arjun Appadurai ed. *The social life of things*. Pp.3-63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2004 The capacity to aspire: Culture and the terms of recognition. *Culture and public action*: 59-84.
- Aragon, Lorraine V.
2000 *Fields of the Lord: Animism, Christian minorities, and state development in Indonesia*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Aritonang, Jan Sihar, and Karel Adriaan Steenbrink, eds. *A history of Christianity in Indonesia*. Vol. 35. Brill, 2008.
- Arnold, Laura Melissa

- 2018a Grammar of Ambel, an Austronesian language of Raja Ampat, west New Guinea, PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh.
- 2018b Lexical Tone in Metnyo Ambel. *Oceanic Linguistics* 57.1:199-220.
- Atran, Scott and D. L. Medin
2008 *The Native Mind and the Cultural Construction of Nature*. Boston: MIT Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail
1982 *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ballard, Chris and Glenn Banks
2003 Resource wars: The anthropology of mining. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31(1):287-313.
- Bamford, Sandra
1998 Humanized landscapes, embodied worlds: Land and the construction of intergenerational continuity among the Kamea of Papua New Guinea. *Social Analysis* 42(3):28-54.
- Barnes, J. A.
1962 African models in the New Guinea Highlands. *Man* 62:5-9.
- Barnes, Robert H.
1988 Moving and staying space in the Malay Archipelago. *In* H.J.M. Claessen and D.S. Moyer (Eds.), *Time Past, Time Present, Time Future. Perspectives on Indonesian Culture*. Pp.101-116. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Barth, Fredrik
1975 *Ritual and knowledge among the Baktaman of New Guinea*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Basso, Keith H.
1996 *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache*. UNM Press.
- Bateson, Gregory
1972 *Steps Toward an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine.
- Battaglia, Debora
1990 *On the bones of the serpent: person, memory, and mortality in Sabarl Island society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bauman, Richard
2005 Commentary: Indirect indexicality, identity, performance: Dialogic observations. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(1):145-150.
- Bauman, Richard, and Charles L. Briggs

1990 Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual review of Anthropology* 19:59-88.

Bellwood, Peter

1998 The archaeology of Papuan and Austronesian prehistory in the Northern Moluccas, Eastern Indonesia *In* Roger Blench and Matthew Spriggs Eds. *Archaeology and Language II: Archeological Data and Linguistic Hypotheses*. Pp.128-140. London: Routledge.

Benda-Beckmann, Franz, and Keebet Von Benda-Beckmann

1994 Property, Politics, and Conflict: Ambon and Minangkabau Compared. *Law & Society Review* 28(3): 589-607.

Berkes, Fikret, Johan Colding, and Carl Folke

2000 Rediscovery of traditional ecological knowledge as adaptive management. *Ecological applications* 10(5):1251-1262.

2003 *Navigating social-ecological systems: building resilience for complexity and change*. Cambridge University Press.

Berlin, Isaiah

1969 [1958] Two Concepts of Liberty." *In* Isaiah Berlin: *Four Essays on Liberty*. Pp.1-32. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bessire, Lucas, and David Bond

2014 Ontological anthropology and the deferral of critique. *American ethnologist* 41(3):440-456.

Bird-David, Nurit

2004 No past, no present: A critical-Nayaka perspective on cultural remembering. *American Ethnologist* 31.3: 406-421.

Blust, Robert

2013 *The austronesian languages*. Asia-Pacific Linguistics, School of Culture, History and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

Boli, Paulus, Fredinan Yulianda, Ario Damar, Dedi Soedharma and Rilus Kinseng

2014 Benefits of Sasi for conservation of marine resources in Raja Ampat, Papua. *Jurnal Manajemen Hutan Tropika* 20.2:131-139.

Brightman, Robert

1995 Forget culture: Replacement, transcendence, relexification. *Cultural Anthropology* 10(4):509-546.

Brosius, J. Peter

1999 Analyses and interventions: anthropological engagements with environmentalism. *Current Anthropology* 40:277-309.

- 2006 Between Politics and Poetics: Narratives of Dispossession in Sarawak, East Malaysia. *In* Reimagining Political Ecology. Pp.281-322. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Bruun, Hans Henrik
2008 Objectivity, Value Spheres, and “Inherent Laws” On some Suggestive Isomorphisms between Weber, Bourdieu, and Luhmann. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 38(1):97-120.
- Bubandt, Nils
2005 On the Genealogy of Sasi: Transformations of an imagined tradition in Eastern Indonesia. *In* Ton Otto and Paul Pedersen, eds. *Tradition and agency: tracing cultural continuity and invention*. Pp.193-242. Arhus: Arhus University Press.
- 2014 *The empty seashell: Witchcraft and doubt on an Indonesian island*. Cornell University Press.
- Burridge, Kenelm
1970 *Mambu: A study of Melanesian cargo movements and their ideological background*. Taylor & Francis.
- Carrier, James and Paige West
2004 Ecotourism and authenticity. *Current Anthropology* 45(4):483-498.
- Carr, E. Summerson
2010 Enactments of expertise. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:17–32.
- Carrier, James G., and Donald VL Macleod
2005 Bursting the bubble: The socio-cultural context of ecotourism. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11(2):315-334.
- Cassaniti, Julia, and Jacob R. Hickman
2014 New directions in the anthropology of morality. *Anthropological Theory* 14(3):251-262.
- Ceballos-Lascuráin, Héctor
1996 Tourism, ecotourism, and protected areas: The state of nature-based tourism around the world and guidelines for its development. *International Union for the Conservation of Nature*.
- Chan, Kai MA, Patricia Balvanera, Karina Benessaiah, Mollie Chapman, Sandra Díaz, Erik Gómez-Baggethun, Rachele Gould, Hannahs, N., Jax, K., Klain, S. and Luck, G.W.
2016 Opinion: Why protect nature? Rethinking values and the environment. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113(6):1462-1465.
- Chanan, Michael
2000 *The Documentary Chronotope*, *Jump Cut* 43:56–61.

- Charlton, T.R., Hall, R. and Partoyo, E.
1991 The geology and tectonic evolution of Waigeo Island, NE Indonesia. *Journal of Southeast Asian Earth Sciences* 6(3-4):289-297.
- Cheesman, L. Evelyn
1949 Six-legged snakes in New Guinea. *Harrap*.
- Christie, Patrick, Kem Lowry, Alan T. White, Enrique G. Oracion, Leila Sievanen, Robert S. Pomeroy, Richard B. Pollnac, Jason M. Patlis, and Rose-Liza V. Eisma
2005 Key findings from a multidisciplinary examination of integrated coastal management process sustainability. *Ocean & Coastal Management* 48(3):468-483.
- Christie, Patrick
2004 Marine protected areas as biological successes and social failures in Southeast Asia. *American Fisheries Society Symposium* 42:155-164.
- Cinner, Joshua E., and Shankar Aswani
2007 Integrating customary management into marine conservation. *Biological Conservation* 140.3:201-216.
- Cinner, Joshua
2007 The role of taboos in conserving coastal resources in Madagascar *Traditional Marine Resource Management and Knowledge Information Bulletin* 22:15-23.
- Clercq, F.S.A (Frederik Sigismund Alexander de)
1893 De West- en Noordkust van N.-Guinea. *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* vol. X, 151-211. [Geographic and general anthropological study on the Raja Ampat archipelago].
- Cohen, Erik
2002 Authenticity, Equity and Sustainability in Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 10(4):267-276.

2004 Conservation policy and indigenous peoples. *Environmental Science & Policy* 7(3):145-153.
- Cohen, Philippa, and Simon Foale
2011 Fishing taboos: Securing Pacific fisheries for the future. *Traditional Marine Resource Management and Knowledge Information Bulletin* 28:3-13.

2013 Sustaining small-scale fisheries with periodically harvested marine reserves. *Marine Policy* 37:278-287.
- Colchester, Marcus
1994 Sustaining the Forests: The Community-based Approach in South and South-East Asia. *Development and Change* 25(1):69-100.

- 2004 Conservation policy and indigenous peoples. *Environmental Science & Policy* 7(3):145-153.
- Colding, Johan, and Carl Folke
2001 Social taboos: 'invisible' systems of local resource management and biological conservation. *Ecological applications* 11(2):584-600.
- Connolly, Julie
2007 Charting a course for recognition: a review essay. *History of the Human Sciences* 20.1:133-144.
- Coria, Jessica Enrique Calfucura
2011 Ecotourism and the Development of Indigenous Communities: the Good, the Bad, and the Ugly. *Working Papers in Economics*, No 489, Feb 2011.
- Crapanzano Vincent
2000 Transfiguring translation. *Semiotica* 128(1-2):113-36.
- Cribb, Robert
2007 Conservation in Colonial Indonesia. *Interventions* 9(1):49-61.
- Cronon, William
1995 *Uncommon ground: toward reinventing nature*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Crossley, Émilie and David Picard
2014 Regimes of value in tourism. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 12(3):201-205.
- Dalrymple, Mary and Suriel Mofu
2013 Semantics of number in Biak. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 31(1):42-55.
- Davidson, Donald
1984 *Inquiries into truth and interpretation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Davidson, Jamie Seth
2009 *From rebellion to riots: Collective violence on Indonesian Borneo*. NUS Press.
- Descola, Philippe
1996 *In the society of nature: a native ecology in Amazonia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

2013 *Beyond Nature and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dolcemascolo, Glenn
1996 Foreign Encounters in an Aruese Landscape. *Cakalele* 7:79-92.

Dove, Michael

2006 Indigenous people and environmental politics. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:191-208.

2011 *The banana tree at the gate: a history of marginal peoples and global markets in Borneo.* Yale University Press.

Duranti, Alessandro

1983 Samoan speechmaking across social events: One genre in and out of a fono. *Language in Society* 12(1):1-22.

2015 *The anthropology of intentions.* Cambridge University Press.

Eiss, Paul K. and David Pedersen

2002 Introduction: Values of value. *Cultural Anthropology* 17(3):283-290.

Ellen, Roy

1986 Conundrums about Panjandrums: On the use of Titles in the Relations of Political Subordination in the Moluccas and along the Papuan Coast. *Indonesia* 41:47-62.

2003 *On the edge of the Banda zone: past and present in the social organization of a Moluccan trading network.* University of Hawaii Press.

2016 Nuaulu ritual regulation of resources, sasi and forest conservation in eastern Indonesia. *South East Asia Research* 24(1):5-22.

Embree Lester

2004 Phenomenology of the Consocial Situation: Advancing the Problems. *In* Carr D., Chan-Fai C. eds. *Space, Time, and Culture. Contributions to Phenomenology (In Cooperation with the Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology)*, vol 51. Pp.119-233. Springer, Dordrecht.

Erdmann, Mark V. and J.S. Pet

2002 *A rapid marine survey of the northern Raja Ampat Islands.* Report from Henry Foundation/The Nature Conservancy/NRM/EPIQ.

Erlandson, Jon M.

2012 *On a fast-track: Human discovery, exploration and settlement of Sahul.* *Australian Archaeology* 74: 17–18.

Fabian, Johannes

1983 *Time and the other: How anthropology makes its object.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Faubion, James

2011 *An anthropology of ethics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Feld, Steven, and Keith H. Basso
 1996 Senses of place. School of American Research Press, Distributed by the University of Washington Press.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan, ed.
 2004 Making Place: state projects, globalisation and local responses in China. Psychology Press.
- Fidelman, Pedro, Louisa Evans, Michael Fabinyi, Simon Foale, Josh Cinner, and Franciska Rosen
 2012 Governing large-scale marine commons: Contextual challenges in the Coral Triangle. *Marine Policy*. 36(1):42-53.
- Foale, Simon and Bruno Manele
 2004 Social and political barriers to the use of marine protected areas for conservation and fishery management in Melanesia. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 45:373-386.
- Folch-Serra, Mireya
 1990 Place, voice, space: Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical landscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 8.3:255-274.
- Fontein, Joost
 2011 Graves, ruins, and belonging: towards an anthropology of proximity. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17(4):706-727.
- Fox, James J.
 1997 Place and landscape in comparative Austronesian perspective. *In* Fox, James, ed. *The poetic power of place: Comparative perspectives on Austronesian ideas of locality*. Pp.1-21. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Fox, James J.
 2006 *The Poetic Power of Place: Comparative perspectives on Austronesian ideas of locality*. ANU E Press.
- Fox, James J., C. Barlow, and J. Hardjono
 1996 Fishing resources and marine tenure: the problems of Eastern Indonesian fishermen. *In* Barlow, Colin, and Joan M. Hardjono, eds. *Indonesia Assessment 1995: Development in Eastern Indonesia*. Pp.163-173. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Fraser, Nancy and Honneth, Axel
 2003 *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso.
- French, Brigitte
 2012 The semiotics of collective memories. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41:337-53.

Friedman, Kajsa, and Jonathan Friedman

2008 *Modernities, class, and the contradictions of globalization: the anthropology of global systems*. Rowman Altamira.

Friedman, Jonathan

1994 *Cultural identity and global process*. *Theory, culture and society*, Vol. 31. London, UK: Sage Publications.

2002 From roots to routes. *Anthropological Theory* 2(1):21.

Gal, Susan

2003 *Movements of feminism: The circulation of discourses about women*. In: Hobson, Barbara, ed. *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements: Contested Identities, Agency and Power*. Pp.93-118. Cambridge University Press.

2015 Politics of translation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 44:225-240.

2018 Registers in circulation: The social organization of interdiscursivity. *Signs and Society* 6(1):1-24.

Gershon, Ilana

2019 Porous social orders. *American Ethnologist* 46(4):404-416.

Gewertz, Deborah, and Frederick Errington

1991 *Twisted histories, altered contexts: Representing the Chambri in a world system*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gibson, James J.

1977 The concept of affordances. In R. Shaw and J. Bransford, eds. *Perceiving, acting, and knowing*. Pp. 67–82. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Gislén, Anna, Marie Dacke, Ronald HH Kröger, Maths Abrahamsson, Dan-Eric Nilsson, and Eric J. Warrant

2003 Superior underwater vision in a human population of sea gypsies. *Current Biology* 13(10):833-836.

Goffman, Erving

1959 *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Goodman, Tom

1998 *The Sosolot Exchange Network of Eastern Indonesia During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. In *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia: Proceedings of the Conference, Leiden, 13–17 October 1997*. Pp. 421–54. Leiden: KITLV Press.

- 2006 The sosolot: An eighteenth century East Indonesian trade network. PhD dissertation, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2006.
- Gorenflo, L. J., S. Romaine, R. A. Mittermeier, and K. Walker-Painemilla
2012 Co-occurrence of Linguistic and Biological Diversity in Biodiversity Hotspots and High Biodiversity Wilderness Areas. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109(21):8032–8037.
- Grantham, Hedley S., Vera N. Agostini, Joanne Wilson, Sangeeta Mangubhai, Nur Hidayat, Andreas Muljadi, Chris Rotinsulu, Meity Mongdong, Michael W. Beck, and Hugh P. Possingham
2012 A comparison of zoning analyses to inform the planning of a marine protected area network in Raja Ampat, Indonesia. *Marine Policy* 38:184-94.
- Green, Stuart J., Alan T. White, Patrick Christie, Stacey Kilarski, Anna Blesilda T. Meneses, Giselle Samonte-Tan, Leah Bunce Karrer, Helen Fox, Stuart Campbell, and John D. Claussen
2011 Emerging marine protected area networks in the coral triangle: Lessons and way forward. *Conservation and Society* (9):173-88.
- Gössling, Stefan
2002 Human-environmental relations with tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 29(2):539–556.
- Graeber, David
2001 *Toward an anthropological theory of value: The false coin of our own dreams*. New York: Palgrave.
- 2013 It is value that brings universes into being. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3(2):219-243.
- Green, Alison L., and Peter J. Mous
2008 Delineating the Coral Triangle, its ecoregions and functional seascapes. Report on an expert workshop, held at the Southeast Asia Center for Marine Protected Areas, Bali, Indonesia (April 30–May 2, 2003). TNC Coral Triangle Program Report No 1/08, September 2008.
- Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson, eds.
1997 *Culture, power, place: Explorations in critical anthropology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson
1992 Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1):6-23.
- Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson, eds.

- 1997 Culture, power, place: Explorations in critical anthropology. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hall, Robert
 1998 The plate tectonics of Cenozoic SE Asia and the distribution of land and sea. *In* R. Hall and J.D. Holloway, Eds. *Biogeography and Geological Evolution of SE Asia*. Pp.99-124. Backhuys Publishers, Leiden.
- Hall, Stuart
 1980 Cultural studies: Two paradigms. *Media, Culture & Society* 2(1):57-72.
- Hankins, Joseph, and Rihan Yeh
 2016 To Bind and To Bound: Commensuration Across Boundaries. *Anthropological Quarterly* 89(1):5-30.
- Hardin, Garrett
 1968 The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science* 162 (3859):1243–1248
- Hasselt, Johannes L., and Frans Johannes Frederik
 1947 Noemfoorsch woordenboek. [Numfoor Dictionary]. Amsterdam: De Bussy.
- Haenen, Paul
 1998 History, Exchange, and Myth in the Southeastern Bird's Head of Irian Jaya. In *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian, Jaya, Indonesia: Proceedings of the Conference, Leiden, 13-17 October 1997*. Pp.235-259. Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Hill J, Irvine JT., eds.
 1993 Responsibility and Evidence in Oral Discourse. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirsch, Eric, and O' Hanlon, Michael
 1995 *The anthropology of landscape: Perspectives on place and space*. Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press.
- Hirschkind, Charles
 2006 *The ethical soundscape: Cassette sermons and Islamic counterpublics*. Columbia University Press.
- Holling, Crawford S.
 1973 Resilience and stability of ecological systems. *Annual review of ecology and systematics* 4.1:1-23.
- Huizinga, Frank
 1998 Relations between Tidore and the North Coast of New Guinea in the nineteenth century. *In* J. Miedema, C. Odé and R.A.C. Dam, (eds.) *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian, Jaya, Indonesia: Proceedings of the Conference, Leiden, 13-17 October 1997*. Pp.385-419. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Humphrey, Caroline

1997 Exemplars and rules: Aspects of the discourse of moralities in Mongolia. *In* Signe Howell, Ed. *The Ethnography of Moralities*. Pp.25-48. London: Routledge.

Hviding, Edvard

1996 *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon: Practice, Place, and Politics in Maritime Melanesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

2003 Nature, culture, magic, science: on meta-languages for comparison in cultural ecology. *In* Descola, Philippe, and Gísli Pálsson, eds. *Nature and society: anthropological perspectives*. Pp.175-194, New York: Taylor & Francis.

Hymes, Dell

1971 The contribution of folklore to sociolinguistic research. *Journal of American Folklore* 84: 42–50.

Igoe, Jim

2010 The spectacle of nature in the global economy of appearances: Anthropological engagements with the spectacular mediations of transnational conservation. *Critique of Anthropology* 30(4):375-397.

Ingold, Tim

2000 *The perception of the environment: essays in livelihood, dwelling and skill*. Psychology Press.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

2019 *Climate Change and Land: an IPCC special report on climate change, desertification, land degradation, sustainable land management, food security, and greenhouse gas fluxes in terrestrial ecosystems*: https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/2019/08/4.-SPM_Approved_Microsite_FINAL.pdf

Irvine, Judith T.

2005 Commentary: Knots and Tears in the Interdiscursive Fabric. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(1):72–80.

Jacka, Jerry

2010 The spirits of conservation: ecology, Christianity, and resource management in highlands Papua New Guinea. *Journal for the Study of Religion Nature and Culture* 4(1):24-47.

Jakobson, Roman

1959 On linguistic aspects of translation. *In* Brower, R. Ed. *On Translation*. Pp.232-239. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

Jamal, Tazim, Marcos Borges, and Amanda Stronza

- 2006 The institutionalisation of ecotourism: Certification, cultural equity and praxis. *Journal of Ecotourism* 5(3):145-175.
- Johannes, Robert E.
 1978 Traditional marine conservation methods in Oceania and their demise. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 9:349-364.
- 1981 Working with fishermen to improve coastal tropical fisheries and resource management. *Bulletin of Marine Science* 31(3):673-680.
- Jorgensen, Dan
 2007 Clan-finding and clan-making: legibility and the politics of identity in a Papua New Guinea mining project. In James Weiner and Katie Glaskin, eds. *Customary Land Tenure and Registration in Indigenous Australia and Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Environment Monographs. Pp.57-72. Canberra: ANU E-Press.
- Kamholz, David
 2014 Austronesians in Papua: Diversification and Change in South-Halmahera-West New Guinea. PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Kamma, Freerk Ch.
 1948 De verhouding tussen Tidore en de Papoeese eilanden in legende en historie. [The relationship between Tidore and the Papuan islands in legend and history]. *Indonesië* 1, 361-370 and 536-559; 2, 177-188 and 256-275.
- 1972 Korero: Messianic movements in the Biak-Numfor culture area. 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- 1977 Dit Wonderlijke Werk [This Wonderful Work]. Oegstgeest (the Netherlands): Raad voor de Zending der Nederlandse hervormde Kerk (2 vols).
- Kaartinen, Timo
 2014 How a travelling society totalizes itself: Hybrid polities and values in Maluku, Eastern Indonesia. *Anthropological theory* 14(2):231-248.
- Kealy, Shimona, Julien Louys, and Sue O'Connor
 2016 Islands under the sea: a review of early modern human dispersal routes and migration hypotheses through Wallacea. *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 11(3):364-384.
- Keane, Webb
 2003 Semiotics and the social analysis of material things. *Language & Communication* 23(3-4):409-425.
- 2007 *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- 2016 If people don't know themselves, can they inhabit an ontology? *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6(1):505-509.
- 2016 [A reader's guide to the anthropology of ethics and morality – Part II](http://somatosphere.net/2016/ethics-and-morality-part-2.html), October 28, 2016: [http://somatosphere.net/2016/ethics-and-morality-part-2.html/](http://somatosphere.net/2016/ethics-and-morality-part-2.html)
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink
1998 *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Keesing, Roger M.
1992 *Custom and confrontation: The Kwaio struggle for cultural autonomy*. University of Chicago Press.
- Klamer, Marian, Ger Reesink, and Miriam van Staden
2008 East Nusantara as a linguistic area. In Muysken, Pieter, ed. *From linguistic areas to areal linguistics*. Studies in Language Companion Series Vol. 90. Pp.95-149. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Kluge, Angela
2017 *A grammar of Papuan Malay*. Studies in Diversity Linguistics 11. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Kuipers, Joel
1998 *Language, Identity and Marginality in Indonesia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kottak, Conrad
1999 The New Ecological Anthropology. *American Anthropologist* 101(1):23–35.
- Laidlaw, James
2002 For an anthropology of ethics and freedom. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 8(2):311-332.
- 2010 Agency and responsibility: perhaps you can have too much of a good thing. In Lambek, Michael, ed. *Ordinary ethics: Anthropology, language, and action*. Pp.143-164. New York: Fordham University Press.
- 2013 *The subject of virtue: An anthropology of ethics and freedom*. Cambridge University Press.
- Laitinen, Arto
2011 Paul Ricoeur's Surprising Take on Recognition. *Études Ricoeuriennes/Ricoeur Studies* 2.1:35-50.

2015 MacIntyre and Taylor: Traditions, Rationality and Modernity. *In* Jeff Malpas & Hans-Helmuth Gander eds. *The Routledge Companion to Hermeneutics*. Pp.204-215. New York, NY: Routledge.

Lambek, Michael

1997 Knowledge and Practice in Mayotte: An Overview. *Cultural Dynamics* 9(2):131-148.

2010 *Ordinary Ethics: Anthropology, Language and Action*. New York: Fordham University Press.

2015 The hermeneutics of ethical encounters: Between traditions and practice. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 5(2):227-250.

2018 *Island in the Stream: An Ethnographic History of Mayotte*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Latour, Bruno

1993 [Nous n'avons jamais été modernes. English] *We have never been modern*: translated by Catherine Porter. Harvard university press.

Lauer, Matthew, and Shankar Aswani

2009 Indigenous ecological knowledge as situated practices: understanding fishers' knowledge in the western Solomon Islands. *American Anthropologist* 111(3):317-329.

Lawson, James

2011 Chronotope, Story, and Historical Geography: Mikhail Bakhtin and the Space-Time of Narratives. *Antipode* 43(2):384-412.

Leeden, Alex C.

1971 Empiricism and 'logical order' in anthropological structuralism. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 127(1):1-15.

1980 Report on Anthropological Field Research at the Northern Raja Ampat Islands, March-June 1979. *In* E.K.M. Masinambow, ed. *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat. Konsep dan Strategi penelitian*. Pp.205-214. Jakarta: Lembaga Ekonomi dan Kemasyarakatan Nasional-Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia.

1983 Ga' le12 Ma' ya3 – Phonology of a Tone Language of the Raja Ampat Islands. *In* E.K.M. Masinambow, Ed. *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat sebagai Kesatuan Majemuk. Studi-studi terhadap suatu Daerah Transisi*. *Buletin Lembaga Ekonomi dan Kemasyarakatan Nasional*, Vol.II No.2. Pp.77-146. Jakarta: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia.

1989 *The Myth of Wawage*. *In* Paul Haenen and Jan Pouwer, eds. *Peoples on the Move: current themes of anthropological research in New Guinea*. Pp.102-136. Nijmegen: Centre for Australian and Oceanic Studies, University of Nijmegen.

- 1993 Ma'ya: a language study: A Phonology. Jakarta: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia and Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.
- Lemos, Maria Carmen, and Arun Agrawal
2006 Environmental governance. *Annual Review of Environmental Resources* 31:297-325.
- Leví-Strauss, Claude
1966 *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Li, Tania Murray
1999 *Transforming the Indonesian Uplands: marginality, power and production*. Singapore: Harwood Academic Publishers and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- 2000 Articulating indigenous identity in Indonesia: Resource politics and the tribal slot. *Comparative studies in society and history* 42(1):149-179.
- 2007 *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Louman, Bastiaan and Nicholls, S.
1995 *Forestry in Papua New Guinea*. In N. Sekhran and S. Miller, Eds. *Papua New Guinea Country Study on Biological Diversity*. Pp.155-167. Waigani: Department of Environment and Conservation, Conservation Resource Centre.
- Lowe, Celia
2006 *Wild profusion: Biodiversity conservation in an Indonesian archipelago*. Princeton University Press.
- Lubchenco, Jane, Stephen R. Palumbi, Steven D. Gaines, and Sandy Andelman.
2003 Plugging a hole in the ocean: the emerging science of marine reserves. *Ecological applications* 13(1): 3-7.
- MacCannell, Dean
1976 *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken.
- MacCarthy, Michelle
2015 'Like Playing a Game Where You Don't Know the Rules': Investing Meaning in Intercultural Cash Transactions Between Tourists and Trobriand Islanders. *Ethnos* 80(4):448-471.
- McCay, Bonnie J.
2008 An intellectual history of ecological anthropology. In Walters, BJ McCay, P. West, and S. Lees, eds. *Against the Grain: The Vayda Tradition in Human Ecology and Ecological Anthropology*. Pp.11-26. Lanham, MD: Rowan Altamira.
- McKenna, Sheila Anne, Gerald R. Allen, and Suer Suryadi.

2002 A marine rapid assessment of the Raja Ampat islands, Papua Province, Indonesia. Conservation International, Center for Applied Biodiversity Science, Department of Conservation Biology.

McLeod, Elizabeth, Brian Szuster, and Rodney Salm

2009 Sasi and Marine Conservation in Raja Ampat, Indonesia. *Coastal Management* 37:656-676.

McWilliam, Andrew

2002 Timorese seascapes: Perspectives on customary marine tenures in East Timor. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 3(2):6-32.

Mahmood, Saba

2011 *Politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princeton University Press.

Malitsky, Joshua

2013 *Post-revolution Nonfiction Film: Building the Soviet and Cuban Nations*. Indiana University Press.

Mangubhai, Sangeeta, Mark V. Erdmann, Joanne R. Wilson, Christine L. Huffard, Ferdiel Ballamu, Nur Ismu Hidayat, Creusa Hitipeuw et al.

2012 Papuan Bird's Head Seascape: emerging threats and challenges in the global center of marine biodiversity. *Marine pollution bulletin* 64(11):2279-2295.

Mansoben, Johszua Robert

1995 *Sistem Politik Tradisional di Irian Jaya, Indonesia: Studi Perbandingan [Traditional Political Systems in Irian Jaya, Indonesia: A Comparative Study]*. Leiden and Jakarta: Leiden University and the Indonesian Institute of Sciences.

2003 *Sistem Politik Tradisional Etnis Byak, Kajian tentang Pemerintahan Tradisional. [Byak traditional ethnic political system, a study of traditional government]*. *Antropologi Papua* Volume 1(3):1-31.

2013 *Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam Papua Ditinjau Dari Aspek Budaya. [Conservation of Papua's Natural Resources in relation to cultural aspects]*. *Jurnal Antropologi Papua* 2.4.

Mansoben, Johasz, and M. J. Walker

1990 Indigenous political structure and leadership patterns in Irian Jaya. *Irian* 18:17-23.

Maršálek, Jans

2011 *Innovations and Temporality: Reflections on Levi-Strauss' 'Cold Societies' and out 'Warming' Science*. In J. Loudin, J. Hochgerner Eds. *Social and Cultural Dimensions of Innovation in Knowledge Societies*. Pp.139-149. Prague: Filosofia.

Matisoo-Smith, Elizabeth

- 2015 Ancient DNA and the human settlement of the Pacific: A review. *Journal of human evolution* 79:93-104.
- Meijer, Michiel
2016 Strong evaluation and ontological gaps: Reinterpreting Charles Taylor. PhD dissertation, Universiteit Antwerpen.
- Méndez-Contreras, Jessica, Federico Dickinson, and Teresa Castillo-Burguete
2008 Community member viewpoints on the Ría Celestún Biosphere Reserve, Yucatan, Mexico: Suggestions for improving the community/natural protected area relationship. *Human Ecology* 36(1): 111-123.
- Merlan, Francesca
2005 Explorations towards intercultural accounts of socio-cultural reproduction and change. *Oceania* 75(3): 167-182.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice
1962 [1945] *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Trans. C. Smith, *Phenomenology of Perception*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. [Routledge Classics, 2002].
- Miedema, J., Odé, C., and Dam, R.A.C. (Eds)
1998 *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia – Proceedings of the Conference Leiden, 13-17 October 1997*. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Milton, Kay
1996 *Environmentalism and Cultural Theory: Exploring the Role of Anthropology in Environmental Discourse*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis.
- Minteer, Ben A., and James P. Collins
2005 Why we need an 'ecological ethics'. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 3(6):332-337.
- Mofu, Suriel Samuel
2005 *Biak Morphosyntax*. Master thesis, Oxford University.
- Moore, Henrietta
2009 Epistemology and ethics: Perspectives from Africa. *Social Analysis* 53(2):207-218.
- Moore, H. L., and T. Sanders.
2006 *Anthropology in theory: issues in epistemology*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Mowforth, Martin, and Ian Munt
2003 *Tourism and sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the third world*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Munn, Nancy

- 1986 *The fame of Gawa: A symbolic study of value transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) society*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- 1990 *Constructing Regional Worlds in Experience: Kula Exchange, Witchcraft and Gawan Local Events*. *Man*, 25(1), new series:1-17.
- 1992 *The cultural anthropology of time: A critical essay*. *Annual review of anthropology* 21(1):93-123.
- Nadasdy, Paul
2005 *Transcending the debate over the ecologically noble Indian: Indigenous peoples and environmentalism*. *Ethnohistory* 52(2):291-331.
- Nagel, Thomas
1979 [1991] *Mortal Questions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nazarea, Virginia
2006 *Local knowledge and memory in biodiversity conservation*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:317-335.
- Nourse, Jennifer
1994 *Textbook heroes and local memory: writing the right history in central Sulawesi*. *Social Analysis* 35:102-121.
- Nussbaum, Martha
2001 *The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy*, revised edition. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 2011 *Creating capabilities: The Human Development Approach*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- O'Connor, Catherine M.
2004 *Effects of Central Decisions on Local Livelihoods in Indonesia: Potential Synergies between the Programs of Transmigration and Industrial Forest Management*. *Population and Environment* 25(4):319-25.
- Orlove, Benjamin S., and Stephen B Brush
1996 *Anthropology and the Conservation of Biodiversity*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25(1):329-352.
- Ortner, Sherry
2006 *Anthropology and social theory: Culture, power, and the acting subject*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Osseweijer, Manon

- 2001 Taken at the flood. Marine resource use and management in the Aru Islands (Maluku, Eastern Indonesia). Ph.D. Dissertation, Leiden University
- Ostrom, Elinor
2009 A general framework for analysing sustainability of social-ecological systems. *Science* 325(5939):419-422.
- Paleček, Martin, and Mark Risjord
2013 Relativism and the ontological turn within anthropology. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 43(1):3-23.
- Palomares, Maria Lourdes D., Johanna J. Heymans, and Daniel Pauly
2007 Historical ecology of the Raja Ampat Archipelago, Papua Province, Indonesia. *History and philosophy of the life sciences*:33-56.
- Pandian, Anand
2008 Devoted to development Moral progress, ethical work, and divine favor in south India. *Anthropological Theory* 8(2):159-179.
- Pannell, Sandra
1997 Managing the Discourse of Resource Management: The Case of Sasi from 'Southeast' Maluku, Indonesia. *Oceania* 67:289-307.
- 2000 In Wallace's wake: the devolution and disappearance of maritime societies and their lifestyles in eastern Indonesia. *In* Sue O'Connor and Peter Veth, eds. *East of Wallace's Line: studies of past and present maritime cultures of the Indo-Pacific region*. Pp.357-380. Rotterdam: A. A Balkema/Brookfield.
- Patz, Elisabeth
1978 The Case Marking and Role Coding System of Numfoor-Biak. *Oceanic Linguistics* 17.2:141-161.
- Parker, Ian Nicholas
2013 Recognition and Strangeness in Marine Environmental Encounters on New Guinea's Far Western Coast. MA Thesis, University of California San Diego.
- Parmentier, Richard
1987 *The Sacred Remains: Myth, History, and Polity in Belau*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pasveer, Juliette M
2004 *The Djief Hunters, 26,000 Years of Rainforest Exploitation on the Bird's Head of Papua, Indonesia*. *Modern Quaternary Research in Southeast Asia*. Vol. 17. CRC Press.
- Peckham, Lloyd
1983 A Mairasi View of the Spirit World, *In* Merrfield, William, Marilyn Gregerson and Daniel C. Ajamiseba, eds. *Gods, Heroes, Kinsmen: Ethnographic Studies from Irian Jaya*,

Indonesia. A Joint Publication of Cendrawasih University. Pp.113-147. Jayapura, Indonesia and The International Museum of Cultures, Dallas, TX.

Peirce Charles Sanders

1955 Logic as semiotic: the theory of signs. *In* Philosophical Writings of Peirce, ed. Justus Buchler. Pp.98-119. New York: Dover.

Peluso, Nancy

1992 Rich Forests, Poor People-Resource Control and Resistance in Java. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pet-Soede, C., W. L. T. Van Densen, J. S. Pet, and M. A. M. Machiels

2001 Impact of Indonesian coral reef fisheries on fish community structure and the resultant catch composition. *Fisheries Research* 51(1):35-51.

Ploeg, Anton

2002 "DE PAPOEA" What's in a name? *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 3:75-101.

Polhemus, Dana

2007 Tectonic geology of Papua. *In* A. J. Marshall and B. M. Beehler, Eds. *The Ecology of Papua. Part One.* Pp.137-164. Singapore: Periplus Editions.

Pollnac, Richard B., and Robert S. Pomeroy

2005 Factors influencing the sustainability of integrated coastal management projects in the Philippines and Indonesia. *Ocean & coastal management* 48(3):233-251.

Povinelli, Elizabeth

2001 Radical worlds: the anthropology of incommensurability and inconceivability. *Annual review of anthropology* 30(1):319-334.

2002 *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Pouwer, Jans

1992 Fizzy; Fuzzy; Fas. *Canberra Anthropology* 15(1):87-105.

Rabinow, Paul

1996 *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason.* Princeton University Press.

Rappaport, Roy

1974 *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Raymond, Hames

2007 The Ecologically Noble Savage Debate. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36:177-190.

Remijsen, Albert Clementina Ludovicus

2001 Word-prosodic systems of Raja Ampat languages. PhD dissertation, LOT Utrecht.

Ricoeur, Paul

2004 *The Course of Recognition*. [David Pellauer, trans]. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Robbins, Joel

2004 *Becoming Sinners: Christianity and moral torment in a Papua New Guinea society*. University of California Press.

2006a *Properties of Nature, Properties of Culture: Ownership, Recognition, and the Politics of Nature in a Papua New Guinea Society*. In Aletta Biersack and James B. Greenberg, eds. *Reimagining Political Ecology*. Pp.171-191. Durham: Duke University Press.

2006b *On Giving Ground: globalization, religion, and territorial detachment in a Papua New Guinea society*. In *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*. Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter, eds. Pp 62-84. New York: Cambridge University Press.

2012 *Cultural Values*. In Fassin, Didier, ed. *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*. Pp.117-133. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.

2018 *Where in the World Are Values?* In Laidlaw, James, Barbara Bodenhorn, and Martin Holbraad, eds. *Recovering the Human Subject: Freedom, Creativity and Decision*. Pp.174-192. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, John G.

2011 Ethical pluralism, pragmatism, and sustainability in conservation practice. *Biological Conservation* 144(3):958-965.

Rössler, Martin

2009 *The anthropological study of landscape*. In Bubenzer O., Bollig M. (eds) *African Landscapes. Studies in Human Ecology and Adaptation*, Vol 4. Pp.296-324. Springer, New York, NY.

Ruddle, Kenneth

1988 Social principles underlying traditional inshore fishery management systems in the Pacific Basin. *Marine Resource Economics* 5:351-363.

Ruddle, Ken and Arif Satria

2010 *An Introduction to Pre-existing Local Management Systems in Southeast Asia*. In Ruddle, Kenneth, and Arif Satria, eds. *Managing coastal and inland waters: Pre-existing aquatic management systems in Southeast Asia*. Pp.1-30. Dordrecht: Springer Science & Business Media.

Rumsey, Alan, and James F. Weiner, eds.

2001 *Emplaced myth: space, narrative, and knowledge in Aboriginal Australia and Papua New Guinea*. University of Hawaii Press.

Rumsey, Alan

2001 Tracks, traces, and links to land in Aboriginal Australia, New Guinea, and beyond. *In* Rumsey, Alan, and James F. Weiner, eds. *Emplaced myth: space, narrative, and knowledge in Aboriginal Australia and Papua New Guinea*. Pp.19-42. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

2013 Intersubjectivity, deception and the 'opacity of other minds': Perspectives from Highland New Guinea and beyond. *Language & Communication* 33(3):326-343.

Rutherford, Danilyn

1999 Waiting for the End in Biak: Violence, Order, and a Flag Raising. *Indonesia* 67:39-59.

2003 *Raiding the land of the foreigners: The limits of the nation on an Indonesian frontier*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

2009 Sympathy, state building, and the experience of empire. *Cultural Anthropology* 24(1):1-32.

2012 *Laughing at Leviathan: Sovereignty and Audience in West Papua*. University of Chicago Press.

Sahlins, Marshall

1963 Poor man, rich man, big-man, chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia. *Comparative studies in society and history* 5(3):285-303.

1985 *Islands of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Santos-Granero, Fernando

1988 Writing history into the landscape: space, myth, and ritual in contemporary Amazonia. *American Ethnologist* 25(2):128-148.

Sasaoka, Masatoshi, and Yves Laumonier

2012 Suitability of local resource management practices based on supernatural enforcement mechanisms in the local social-cultural context. *Ecology and Society* 17(4).

Satterfield, Terre

2004 Emotional Agency and Contentious Practice: Activist Disputes in Old-Growth Forests. *Ethos* 32(2) 233-256.

Satria, Arif and Dedi Supriadi Adhuri

2010 Pre-existing Fisheries Management Systems in Indonesia, Focusing on Lombok and Maluku. *In* *Managing Coastal and Inland Waters*. Pp.31-55. Leiden: Springer Netherlands.

Scoones, Ian

1999 New ecology and the social sciences: what prospects for a fruitful engagement? *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28:479-507.

2016 The politics of sustainability and development. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 41:293-319.

Scott, James C.

1998 *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed.* Yale University Press.

Schütz, Alfred

1945 On multiple realities. *Philosophy and phenomenological research* 5(4):533-576.

Sewell Jr, William

2005 *Logics of history.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sievanen, Leila

2008 *Social Seascapes, Political Landscapes: Conflict and Cooperation Within an Indonesian Marine Park.* PhD dissertation, University of Washington.

Silverstein, Michael

2005 Axes of Evals: Token versus Type Interdiscursivity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(1):6-22.

Sillitoe, Paul

1998 *The Development of Indigenous Knowledge: A New Applied Anthropology.* *Current anthropology* 39(2):223-252.

Siry, Hendra Yusran

2006 Decentralized coastal zone management in Malaysia and Indonesia: a comparative perspective. *Coastal Management* 34(3):267-285.

Slama, Martin, and Jenny Munro.

2015 From 'Stone-Age' to 'Real-Time': Exploring Papuan Temporalities, Mobilities and Religiosities-An Introduction. *In* From 'Stone-Age' to 'Real-Time': Exploring Papuan Temporalities, Mobilities and Religiosities. Pp.1-38. Canberra: ANU Press.

Smit, Barry, and Johanna Wandel

2006 Adaptation, Adaptive Capacity and Vulnerability. *Global Environmental Change* 16(3):282-292.

Sollewijn Gelpke, J.H.F.

1994 The Report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of his Voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf and Seram. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 150:123-145.

Soper, Kate

1995 *What is nature?: culture, politics and the nonhuman*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Spriggs, Matthew

1998 The archaeology of the Bird's Head in its Pacific and Southeast Asian context. *In Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia*. Pp.931-939. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Stasch, Rupert

2009 *Society of others: kinship and mourning in a West Papuan place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

2013 The Poetics of Village Space when Villages are New: Settlement Form as History Making in Papua, Indonesia. *American Ethnologist* 40(3):555-570.

2014 Powers of incomprehension: Linguistic otherness, translators, and political structure in New Guinea tourism encounters. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4(2):73-94.

2016 Dramas of otherness: 'First contact' tourism in New Guinea. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6(3):7-27.

2019 Primitivist tourism and anthropological research: awkward relations. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 25(3):526-545.

Steinhauer, Hein

1985 Number in Biak: counterevidence to two alleged language universals. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* 141(4):462-485.

Stoler, Ann

1985 Perceptions of protest: defining the dangerous in colonial Sumatra. *American Ethnologist* 12(4):642-658.

Stewart, Pamela J., and Andrew Strathern

2001 Origins versus creative powers: the Interplay of Movement and Fixity. *In Rumsey, Alan and James Weiner, Eds. Emplaced Myth: Space, Narrative, and Knowledge in Aboriginal Australia and Papua New Guinea*. Pp.79-98. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Stewart, Pamela J., and Andrew Strathern, eds.

2001 *Humors and substances: Ideas of the body in New Guinea*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Strathern, Marilyn

1980 No nature, no culture: the Hagen case. *In MacCormack, Carol and Marilyn Strathern, Eds. Nature, culture and gender*. Pp. 174-222. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stronza, Amanda, and Javier Gordillo

2008 Community views of ecotourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(2):448-468.

- Summerhayes, Glenn R.
2007 Island Melanesian pasts: a view from archaeology. *In* Friedlaender, Jonathan S., ed. Genes, Language, & Culture History in the Southwest Pacific. Pp.10-35. Oxford University Press.
- Swarbrooke, John
1999 Sustainable tourism management. New York, NY: Cabi.
- Takeuchi, Wayne
2003a A Community-level floristic reconnaissance of the Raja Ampat islands in New Guinea. *SIDA, Contributions to Botany* 20(3):1093–1138.
- 2003b An Ecological Summary of the Raja Ampat Vegetation. The Nature Conservancy, Southeast Asia Center for Marine Protected Areas, Nov. 2003.
- Tallis, Heather, Peter Kareiva, Michelle Marvier, and Amy Chang
2008 An ecosystem services framework to support both practical conservation and economic development. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105(28):9457-9464.
- Taylor, Charles
1989 Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Thimme, Hans-Martin
1977 Some notes on the Myth of Koreri. *Irian: Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development*. Cendrawasih University, Institute for Anthropology, Vol VI(I):3-45.
- Thorburn, Craig
2000 Changing customary marine resource management practice and institutions: the case of Sasi Lola in the Kei Islands, Indonesia. *World Development* 28:1461-1479.
- Throop, Jason
2010 Suffering and sentiment: exploring the vicissitudes of experience and pain in Yap. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tilley, Chris
2006 Introduction: identity, place, landscape and heritage. *Journal of Material Culture* 11:7-32.
- Timmer, Jaap
2007 Erring Decentralization and Elite Politics in Papua. *In* Van Klinken, Gerry, and Henk Schulte Nordholt, Eds. *Renegotiating boundaries: local politics in post-Suharto Indonesia*. Pp.459-482. Brill.

- 2000 The return of the kingdom: Agama and the millennium among the Imyan of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. *Ethnohistory* 47(1):29-65.
- 2011 Cloths of civilisation: Kain Timur in the bird's head of West Papua. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 12(4):383-401.
- Tsing, Anna
2005 *Friction: An ethnography of global connection*. Princeton University Press.
- Tuzin, Don
1997 *The Cassowary's Revenge: The life and death of masculinity in a New Guinea society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vayda, Andrew Peter
1990 Actions, variations, and change: the emerging anti-essentialist view in anthropology. *Canberra Anthropology* 13(2):29-45.
- Veron, J. E. N., Lyndon M. Devantier, Emre Turak, Alison L. Green, Stuart Kininmonth, Mary Stafford-Smith, and Nate Peterson
2009 Delineating the coral triangle. *Galaxea Journal of Coral Reef Studies* 11(2):91-100.
- Verschuuren, Bas, and Steve Brown, eds.
2018 *Cultural and Spiritual Significance of Nature in Protected Areas: Governance, Management and Policy*. Routledge.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo
2001 Gut feelings about Amazonia: potential affinity and the construction of sociality. *In* Laura M. Rival and Neil L. Whitehead, eds. *Beyond the visible and the material: the amerindianization of society in the work of Peter Rivière*. Pp.19-43. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2004 *Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation*. *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 2(1):3-22.
- Vries, Lourens
2005 Towards a typology of tail-head linkage in Papuan languages. *Studies in language* 29(2):363-384.
- Wang, Ning
2000 *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. Kidlington, Oxon. Elsevier Science.
- Wallace, Alfred Russell
1869 *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-utan, and the Bird of Paradise: a Narrative of Travel, with Studies of Man and Nature; in Two Vols. Vol. 2*. Macmillan.
- Walters, Bradley B., Bonnie J. McCay, Paige West, and Susan Lees, eds.

- 2008 *Against the grain: the Vaya tradition in human ecology and ecological anthropology*. Rowman Altamira.
- Ward, Sally
2003 On shifting ground: changing formulations of place in anthropology. *The Australian journal of anthropology* 14(1):80-96.
- Warnk, Holger
2010 The coming of Islam and Moluccan-Malay culture to New Guinea c. 1500–1920. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 38(110):109-134.
- Webb, Campbell O.
2005 *Vegetation of the Raja Ampat Islands, Papua, Indonesia. A Report The Nature Conservancy. Revision 1.5.*
- Weiner, Annette
1992 *Inalienable possessions: the paradox of keeping-while giving*. University of California Press.
- Weiner, James
2001 *Tree, Leaf, Talk*. Oxford: Berg.
- 2002 Between a rock and a non-place: Towards a contemporary anthropology of place. *Reviews in Anthropology* 31:21-27.
- West, Paige
2005 Translation, value, and space: theorizing an ethnographic and engaged environmental anthropology. *American Anthropologist* 107:632-642.
- 2006 *Conservation is our government now: The politics of ecology in Papua New Guinea*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- 2008 Tourism as Science and Science as Tourism. *Current anthropology* 49(4):597-626.
- West, Paige, and James G. Carrier
2004 Getting away from it all? Ecotourism and authenticity. *Current Anthropology* 45:483–98.
- West, Paige, James Igoe and Dan Brockington
2006 Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:251-77.
- Whitehouse, Andrew
2015 Anthropological approaches to conservation conflicts. *In* Stephen M. Redpath, R. J. Gutiérrez, Kevin A. Wood, Juliette C. Young, Eds. *Conflicts in Conservation: Navigating Towards Solutions*. Pp.92-104. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Widjojo, Muridan Satrio

2009 The revolt of Prince Nuku: Cross-cultural alliance-making in Maluku, c. 1780-1810. Tanap monographs on the history of Asian – European interaction. Vol. 12. Leiden: Brill.

Widyatmoko, Didik

2017 Plant Diversity and Composition in Mount Nok and the Waifoi Forest of the Waigeo Raja Ampat Islands: with Special Reference to The Threatened Species. *Jurnal Biologi Indonesia* 6.2.

Whitehouse, Andrew

2015 Anthropological approaches to conservation conflicts. *In* Redpath, Stephen M., Ralph J. Gutiérrez, Kevin A. Wood, and Juliette C. Young, eds. *Conflicts in conservation: navigating towards solutions*. Pp.95-104. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, Robert R.

1997 *Hegel's Ethics of Recognition*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wollstein, Andreas, Oscar Lao, Christian Becker, Silke Brauer, Ronald J. Trent, Peter Nürnberg, Mark Stoneking, and Manfred Kayser

2010 Demographic history of Oceania inferred from genome-wide data. *Current Biology* 20(22):1983-1992.

World Tourism Organization

2000 *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism*. Madrid: World Tourism Organization.

Wright, Duncan, Tim Denham, Denis Shine, and Mark Donohue

2013 An archaeological review of western New Guinea. *Journal of world Prehistory* 26(1):25-73.

Zerner, Charles

1993 Through a green lens: The construction of customary environmental law and community in Indonesia's Maluku Islands. *Law and Society Review* 28:1079-1122.

Zigon, Jarrett

2007 Moral breakdown and the ethical demand: A theoretical framework for an anthropology of moralities. *Anthropological Theory* 7(2):131-150.

2010 Moral and ethical assemblages. *Anthropological Theory*. 10(1-2):3-15.