

The Development of Easter Island 1967-2001

by

Tania Shephard-Toomey
B.A., University College of the Fraser Valley, 1997

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of


MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Geography


We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard




Dr. J. D. Porteous, Supervisor (Department of Geography)



Dr. L. McCann, Departmental Member (Department of Geography)



Dr. A. Hedley, Outside Member (Department of Sociology)



Dr. M. Wilson, External Examiner (Department of Anthropology)

© Tania Shephard-Toomey, 2002
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by
photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

F3169
S48

Supervisor: Dr. J.D. Porteous

ABSTRACT

2000 miles off the coast of Chile lies a small island called Easter Island (Isla de Pascua in Spanish) also known as Rapa Nui by the native islanders, who call themselves Rapanui. After years of slave labor raids, missionary intervention, disease, and the erosion of traditional Polynesian culture, Chile annexed Easter Island in 1888. Since then, the island has been run as a sheep farm, endured a brief period of Chilean Navy rule, and begun its course of “modernization” with the arrival of the first commercial flight in 1967.

Past and present research on Easter Island has focused on the “mysteries” of Easter Island, attempting to answer the “how” and “why” quandaries concerning the mass production and erection of the moai. Consequently, inadequate research has been conducted on the human or cultural aspect of Easter Island: its indigenous inhabitants, the Rapanui. In contrast, the purpose of this study is to focus on contemporary Rapa Nui and produce a historico-geographical account focusing on the social, economic, and political development of Easter Island since 1967 as well as examine future development visions. The study therefore asks two main questions. First, how has Easter Island been developed since 1967 and second, what are the future development visions concerning the hinterland held by international, national, and Rapanui stakeholders?

Research methods include documentary research, participant observation, visual anthropology, and semi-structured interviews. The collection of documents and records, along with recorded observations, was utilized to gather data pertaining to the process of development over the past three decades. Photographs captured images depicting changes associated with modernization and the survival of the traditional Rapanui culture within a colonial system. Thirty-three interviews were conducted with Rapanui and Chilean authorities who were or are involved in the development process on Easter Island, and discussed issues such as land reform (the return of Chilean state land to native Rapanui), important infrastructure changes and projects (airport and port expansions) and their impact on heritage sites.


Findings show that the modernization process since 1967 has contributed to infrastructure improvements in the areas of transportation and communication, the betterment of education and health services, the development of a tourism industry, and an increase in the overall standard of living for the Rapanui. However, this process has also created irrevocable social, economic, cultural, political, and environmental problems for the Rapanui people. The lack of Rapanui participation in the decision-making process regarding past and present

development initiatives has contributed to discontent among the Rapanui and resistance towards Chilean planning agencies. Furthermore, different beliefs, opinions and visions concerning the future development of Easter Island held by different stakeholders have created an unstable social and economic development platform.


Examiners:




Dr. J. D. Porteous, Supervisor (Department of Geography)



Dr. L. McCann, Departmental Member (Department of Geography)



Dr. A. Hedley, Outside Member (Department of Sociology)



Dr. M. Wilson, External Examiner (Department of Anthropology)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	.....ii
Table of Contents	.....iv
List of Tables	.....viii
List of Figures	.....x
List of Colour Plates	.....xii
Acknowledgements	.....xvii
CHAPTER ONE:	Introduction
1.1 Purpose	.....1
1.2 Background and Context of Study	.....1
1.3 Research Objectives	.....7
1.4 Research Questions	.....7
1.5 Organization of Thesis	.....8
CHAPTER TWO:	Review of Literature
2.1 Placing Easter Island Within a Broader Context of Knowledge	.....10
2.2 Theories of Development	.....10
2.2.1 Modernization Theory	.....14
2.2.2 Rostow's Theory of Development	.....17
2.2.3 Dependency Theory	.....20
2.3 Small Island Development	.....22
2.3.1 Pacific Island Development	.....23
2.3.2 Problems Associated with the Development of Small Islands	.....28
2.4 Rapanui/Chilean Development	.....31
2.5 Postcolonial Theory	.....33
2.6 Resistance to Development	.....34
2.7 Chapter Summary	.....37

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology and Research Design

3.1	Easter Island: A Qualitative Approach	38
3.2	Methodological Framework	39
3.3	Fieldwork	41
3.4	Research Design	43
3.4.1	Documentary Research	43
3.4.2	Participant Observation	45
3.4.3	Visual Anthropology	47
3.4.4	Semi-Structured Interviews	48
3.5	Sampling Participants	51
3.6	Contacting Participants	51
3.7	Data Analysis	52
3.8	Limitations and Value of the Research	54
3.8.1	Ethical Concerns	54
3.8.2	Cross-Cultural Research	55
3.8.3	Saturation	57
3.8.4	Validity	58
3.8.5	Value of Research	59
3.9	Chapter Summary	59

CHAPTER FOUR: The Development of Easter Island 1967-2001

4.1	Motivations for Development	61
4.1.1	Geopolitical Interest	61
4.1.2	Air Service to Easter Island	64
4.1.3	Political Changes	65
4.2	Development Plans	68
4.3	Failed Economic Enterprises	72
4.3.1	Sheep Ranching	73
4.3.2	Agricultural Development	76
4.3.3	Micro-Industries	77
4.4	Tourism: The Successful Alternative	77
4.5	Tourism Infrastructure	83
4.5.1	Lodging	84
4.5.2	Tourism Services	85
4.5.3	Tourism Travel	90

4.6	Tourism Demographics	98
4.6.1	Tourist Origins	98
4.6.2	Seasonality	102
4.6.3	Accommodation and Length of Stay	104
4.6.4	Tourist Perceptions	108
4.7	Future of Tourism	109
4.8	Chapter Summary	111

CHAPTER FIVE: The Results and Effects of Development

5.1	The Impact of Development	113
5.2	Physical Transformations	113
5.2.1	Urban Hangaroa	113
5.2.1.1	Housing	121
5.2.2	Improvements on Infrastructure	125
5.2.2.1	Transportation	125
5.2.2.2	Utilities	133
5.2.2.3	Social Services	135
5.2.2.4	Communication	143
5.2.2.5	Roads	146
5.2.3	Heritage Landscape	149
5.3	Economic Changes	154
5.3.1	Occupational Structure	154
5.3.2	Integration into a Money Economy	160
5.4	Social Changes	161
5.4.1	Population	161
5.4.2	Social Structure	167
5.4.3	Traditional Belief System	169
5.5	Political Changes	170
5.5.1	Acculturation	170
5.5.2	Dependency	171
5.5.3	Discontent and Resistance	172
5.5.4	Rapanui Independence	179
5.6	Chapter Summary	181

CHAPTER SIX: The Future of Development on Easter Island

6.1	What is the Future of Development on Easter Island?	183
6.2	Proposed Modern Infrastructure Development Projects	187
6.2.1	The Port	187
6.2.2	The Lighthouse	196

6.2.3	The Airport Terminal and Control Tower	197
6.3	Proposed Land-Use Change	200
6.3.1	Current Land-Use	201
6.3.2	Contemporary Land-Use Issues	204
6.4	Future Development of Vaitea	213
6.5	Possible Development Alternatives for Vaitea	213
6.5.1	Re-claiming Ancestral Rights	213
6.5.2	Rural Development	215
6.5.3	Urban Development	216
6.5.4	Tourism Development	218
6.5.5	Large-scale Agricultural Development	227
6.6	Potential Problems Associated with Future Land-Use	231
6.6.1	Lack of Management Strategies	231
6.6.2	Lack of Economic Resources	232
6.6.3	Foreign/National Request for Land	233
6.6.4	Limited Control	233
6.7	Chapter Summary	235
CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion		
	Conclusion	237
	References	246
	Appendix 1	259
	Appendix 2	260
	Appendix 3	262
	Appendix 4	263

List of Tables

Table	
1.1	Stakeholders Involved in the Future of Development of Easter Island.....6
2.1	Rostow's Catching-Up Theory in Relation to Easter Island 1967-2001.....19
3.1	Differences Between the Researcher and Respondents .....55
4.1	Tourism Projects 1990 .....71
4.2	Estimated Infrastructure Costs 1996 .....72
4.3	Beds Available to Tourists 1971-1988 .....85
4.4	Total Number of Beds (Hotels and Residenciales) Available to Tourists 1991-2001 .....85
4.5	Tourist Arrivals by Ship 1962-1988 .....93
4.6	Arrival of Vessels 1984-1998 .....93
4.7	Air Passenger Arrivals from Santiago and Tahiti 1972-1975 .....96
4.8	Total Number of Passengers Transported Between Santiago and Easter Island and Papeete 1989-1994 .....97
4.9	National Origins of Visitors (%) 1972-1975 .....100
4.10	National Origins of Tourists 1998 .....101
4.11	Comparison of Tourist Origins 1990 and 1999 .....101
4.12	Important Tourist Markets for Easter Island 1998 .....102
4.13	Preference for Lodging 1974-1975 .....106
4.14	Preference for Lodging 1990-1999 .....106
5.1	Types of Housing on Easter Island 1990 .....124
5.2	Cargo (kg) Received and Sent by Air 1996-1999 .....128
5.3	School Enrolment 1990-1999 .....138
5.4	Ethnic Origins of Students 1990-1999 .....139
5.5	Primary Occupations of Islanders 1969 .....155

5.6	Economic Activities of Island Population 1982	.....155
5.7	Economic Activities of Island Population 1992	.....156
5.8	Public Service Employees – Rapanui/Mainland Chilean 1994	.....157
7.1	Baxter and Eyles (1997) Qualitative Research Strategies	.....244

List of Figures

Figure

1.1	Easter Island (source: Lee, 1990).	2
1.2	Geographical location of Easter Island (source: Porteous, 1981).	2
1.3	Land Division of Easter Island 1976 (source: Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional, 1976).	5
2.1	Literature Review.	11
3.1	Methodological Framework and Its Application to the Research Process.	41
4.1	Development of Easter Island 1967-2001.	63
4.2	Archaeological Sites on Easter Island (source: Shackley, 1998).	80
4.3	Annual Number of Tourists 1967-1998.	83
4.4	Passengers Arriving and Departing by Ship 1984-1998.	93
4.5	Tourist Arrivals by Air 1972-1975.	97
4.6	Tourist Arrivals by Air 1978-1990.	97
4.7	Passengers Arriving and Departing by Plane 1984-1998.	98
4.8	Tourist Origins 1981-1988.	100
4.9	Monthly Alien (Tourist) Arrivals 1972-1974.	103
4.10	Arrival of Tourists (September to March) 1981-1988.	103
4.11	Monthly Tourist Arrivals 1998.	103
4.12	Number of Chilean and Foreign Tourists 1998.	104
5.1	Urban Plan 1975.	114
5.2	Urban Plan 2001.	114
5.3	Cargo (kg) Manifested Annually 1989-1999	131
5.4	Number of Telephones 1972-2001	145

5.5	Roads in Urban Hangarua 2001.	147
5.6	Total Population 1920-2001.	162
5.7	Population Pyramids of Islanders and Mainlanders 1970.	165
5.8	Population by Age 1982.	166
5.9	Population by Age and Sex 1992.	166
5.10	Population by Age 1999.	166
6.1	Development Platform 1967-2001.	186
6.2	Proposed Development Projects.	188
6.3	Future Land-Use of Easter Island.	202

List of Colour Plates

Plate		
1	Sheep are prepared for shearing at the Vaitea sheep-station (Porteous, 1981)	75
2	Preparing wool for export (Porteous, 1981)	75
3	Abandoned sheep-station buildings at Vaitea (2001)	75
4	Rano Raraku, the volcanic quarry where the Rapanui carved the stone moai	81
5	Ceremonial site of Ahu Nau Nau at Anakena beach	81
6	Restored in the mid-1990's, Ahu Tongariki is the most impressive ceremonial platform with fifteen standing moai	81
7	An example of a typical residencial. Rapanui residenciales are inexpensive, comfortable, and provide tourists with an opportunity to experience traditional Rapanui culture	86
8	Hotel Otai is one of the island's most popular hotels. It is owned and operated by a Rapanui family	86
9	To meet the demands of a growing industry, the construction of new hotels continues in 2001	86
10	Many tourists prefer to explore the island with a registered guide in order to learn about the ancient Rapanui culture and archaeological sites	89
11	The restaurant business is very important to tourism on Easter Island. Restaurant Pea is one of the largest dining facilities offering tourists an ocean view	89
12	The Rapanui dance group, Kari Kari, performs weekly shows for tourists at the Hotel Hanga Roa	89
13	Due to inadequate docking facilities at Hanga Piko, visiting cruise ships must anchor offshore and ferry passengers to either Hanga Piko or the Pea dock	92

14	The arrival of passengers at Hanga Piko	92
15	Passengers are met by Rapanui vendors who sell woodcarvings and other souvenirs	92
16	Passengers arriving from Papeete, Tahiti	95
17	Mid-morning activity outside of the Mataveru International Airport	95
18	The main street of Hangarua in the early 1970's. Roads were unpaved at this time, few cars were present, and islanders generally travelled by horse	116
19	The main street, Policarpo Toro in 2001. Policarpo Toro today is paved and lined with numerous businesses such as the Tumukai grocery store	116
20	Islanders sell a variety of vegetables and fruit, as well as souvenirs at the daily morning market	116
21	Due to a lack of natural vegetation in Hangarua, a variety of plants and trees have been planted around the town to create a tropical atmosphere for visitors	119
22	Urban development within the center of Hangarua has occurred quite rapidly. The main street is lined with restaurants, souvenir shops, rental agencies, grocery stores, and other businesses	119
23	Businesses have adopted the functional design of the bungalow. This restaurant and hardware store along Policarpo Toro are characteristic of island buildings	119
24	The state bank and the governor's building in the early 1970's were small wooden buildings (Porteous, 1981)	120
25	In 2001, the design of the new state bank reflects the influence of modern architecture	120
26	In 1994, this new provincial government building replaced the original structure of the 1960's	120

27	An example of typical Rapanui housing in the 1970's (Porteous, 1981)	123
28	Housing over the last two decades has continued to adopt the functional style of the bungalow (2001)	123
29	Residential settlement in urban Hangaroa 2001	123
30	The arrival of the LAN Chile plane in the early 1970's	127
31	The arrival of the LAN Chile plane 2001	127
32	Tourists are met at the airport by hotel and residencial proprietors	127
33	Like cruise ships, cargo ships must also anchor offshore because port facilities are unable to accommodate large vessels	130
34	Smaller boats ferry supplies from the cargo ship to the dock at Hanga Piko	130
35	Supplies are unloaded onto trucks which then deliver supplies to businesses in Hangaroa	130
36	Fishermen behind the caleta (fishing dock) in the early 1970's (Porteous, 1981)	132
37	Behind the caleta 2001. Fishing huts from the 1970's are still present but remain unused	132
38	Fishermen dock their boats at the caleta at Pea beach 2001	132
39	Initially built to accommodate only 500 students, close to 1,000 students are presently enrolled in the school	137
40	An afternoon elementary class	137
41	Built in the late 1970's, Hospital Hangaroa continues to offer only basic medical attention to island residents	137
42	In the early 1970's, none of the roads in Hangaroa were paved. The paving of town roads did not become a priority until the early 1990's	148

43	In 2001, many of the main roads within Hangaroa have been paved. Te Pito o Te Henua Street, leading towards the church	.....148
44	Some roads in Hangaroa remain unpaved and are difficult to travel. Within the next five years, all urban roads are to be paved	.....148
45	To date, no studies have been completed to assess the long-term impact of increased foot traffic on archaeological sites	.....151
46	Despite warning signs, tourists continue to walk on ahu platforms to view moai statues	.....151
47	In order to preserve the archaeological sites at Orongo, tourists are prohibited from entering stone houses	.....153
48	Tourists are asked not to touch the ancient petroglyphs at Orongo	.....153
49	Aside from the impact of tourists, natural processes such as wind and rain contribute to the erosion of Rapanui petroglyphs	.....153
50	For the Rapa Nui Farandula and Costumes Festival each contestant's family creates a float that depicts an ancient legend	.....176
51	A competitor from the <i>haka pe'i</i> competition – competitors slide down a hill on banana trunks	.....176
52	Tapati events teach young children about the ancient Rapanui culture and traditions	.....176
53	The island's best artists compete in the stone carving competition. Both men and women carve classical Rapanui designs	.....177
54	This contestant prepared fish on a <i>tuna ahi</i> – a stone barbecue	.....177
55	Men, women and children participate in one of the most important events, the Folklore Festival. Dance groups wear hand-made costumes of feathers, banana fibers and shells	.....177

- 56 Competitors carve a moai out of wood. The use of hand tools is still common178
- 57 Family members display traditional costumes and the art of *tokona* (body painting) while singing and dancing at the Farandula Festival178
- 58 On the final evening, the new Tapati queen is crowned178

Acknowledgements

Prior to meeting my supervisor, Dr. Douglas Porteous, I never would have imagined that I would have the opportunity to conduct research on one the most serene and beautiful islands in the world. Although the research process has been challenging and even complicated at times, I truly value the experience of Rapa Nui.

First and foremost, I need to thank Doug for always being honest with me and encouraging me to carry on through the difficult task of writing a thesis. Thank you Doug for your continual support, both academically and financially, and thank you for being a friend. I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Colin Wood, Dr. Larry McCann and Dr. Alan Hedley. I also must thank the Easter Island Foundation for providing the funding to return to Easter Island to complete my second field season.

Second, I wish to thank my parents for their unconditional support and for allowing their twenty-seven year old daughter to move “back home” one more time. They have always believed in me and encouraged me to follow my dreams. I also need to thank numerous people who have helped in varying ways: Michelle and Rio, for being the best roommates in the world; Rick, for your ongoing technical support; Dustin, for your encouragement; Pablo, for your assistance in Santiago; Sonia and Claudia, for our excellent camping adventures; William, for your excellent correspondence; Nicole (and family) and Kirsten, for always being there; Tex, my dog, for accompanying me on endless walks; my sister Fiona, for providing my parents with perhaps their only grandchild; Dad, for making me laugh throughout this whole process; and my mom for being my biggest supporter.

Lastly, I must thank the people of Rapa Nui. Without their endless cooperation and generosity, I would not have been able to finish the research. I would like to thank all of the interview participants for their time and honesty, and everyone who assisted me in locating maps, statistics, books, and articles, both on the island and in Santiago. I cannot possibly begin to list all of the individuals who have helped me through this incredibly difficult and challenging task, but would like them all to know that I thank them from the bottom of my heart. I do wish to thank the Cardinali/Haoa family and staff at Hotel Otai for treating me like a member of their family and always being there for me. I will have the experience of Rapa Nui with me forever.

Chapter One

Introduction

For many centuries, the island was fortunate to remain hidden on the horizon due to her isolation. Its inhabitants learned to live alone. There, segregated from the outside world, they forged one of the most extraordinary and solitary cultures on the earth, a culture all their own. How it was able to evolve under those conditions and reach such a level of development is one of the island's true mysteries.

Ramirez & Huber, 2000:7

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to produce a historico-geographical account of the social, economic, and political development of Easter Island since 1967, and, more importantly, to examine future development visions for the island (Figure 1.1). This study first addresses how Easter Island has been managed since 1967. Secondly, and more specifically, it analyzes future development visions concerning the hinterland (uninhabited land), held by international, national, and Rapanui stakeholders. Very little research has been conducted on this theme. The majority of the literature has focused on the prehistory, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology of Easter Island. To date, only Porteous's *The Modernization of Easter Island* (1981) has offered an interpretation of the development of the island, but only for the period 1967-79. Thus, this examination extends our knowledge of the island's contemporary development issues.

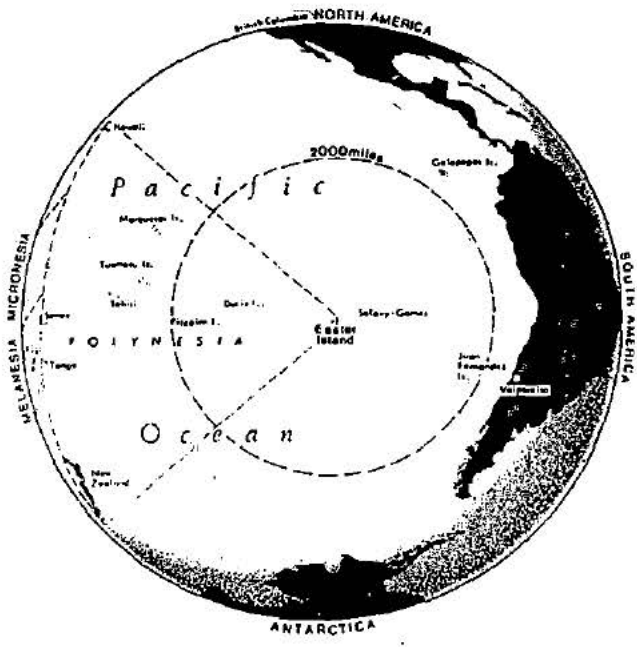
1.2 Background and Context of the Study

Easter Island is situated between 27°03' and 27°12' South latitude and 109°14' and 109°27' West longitude in the South Pacific Ocean. Its nearest inhabited neighbour is the small island of Pitcairn, roughly 1,900 kilometres to the west. Easter

Figure 1.1 Easter Island



Figure 1.2 Geographical Location of Easter Island



Source: Porteous, 1981

Island lies approximately 3,500 kilometres from mainland Chile and roughly of equal distance from Tahiti (Figure 1.2). This tiny volcanic island measures only about 166 square kilometres. Easter Island is semi-tropical and therefore provides agreeable weather all year round, but in the winter months the island receives frequent rain and wind. Its traditional inhabitants, the Rapanui, are of Polynesian descent and to date, the native tongue, Rapanui, is spoken and the traditional culture practiced. Currently, an estimated 3,500 inhabitants populate the island, which includes ethnic Rapanui and mainland Chileans as well as a small number of foreigners.

Despite its remote location, the island has endured several phases of post-contact development. European contact began with Jacob Roggeveen, a Dutchman, who visited the island on Easter Day in 1722, initiating a period of explorers and navigators who stopped at the island to trade goods with the islanders. In 1862, isolated and unprotected, the island was raided by Peruvian ships in search of slave labour to work in foreign mines and on plantations. This second, but short phase of external impact exposed the Rapanui to deadly unknown diseases, dramatic population decline, forced emigration, and the significant erosion of their traditional culture. The year 1864 marked the arrival of missionaries imposing western religious ideology on the Rapanui. During this third phase, foreign settlers also began to appear on the island. The phase of exploitation and colonization began in the early 1870's, when the island was purchased by a Tahiti-based Scots-French partnership with the intention to manage the island as a sheep ranch. The remaining islanders at this time were displaced and confined to Hangarua, the island's only town. The fourth phase of development began with the collapse of the above partnership, facilitating the annexation of Easter Island by Chile in 1888. Williamson-Balfour, a Scots-Chilean firm, then administered the island until the 1950's, when the Chilean

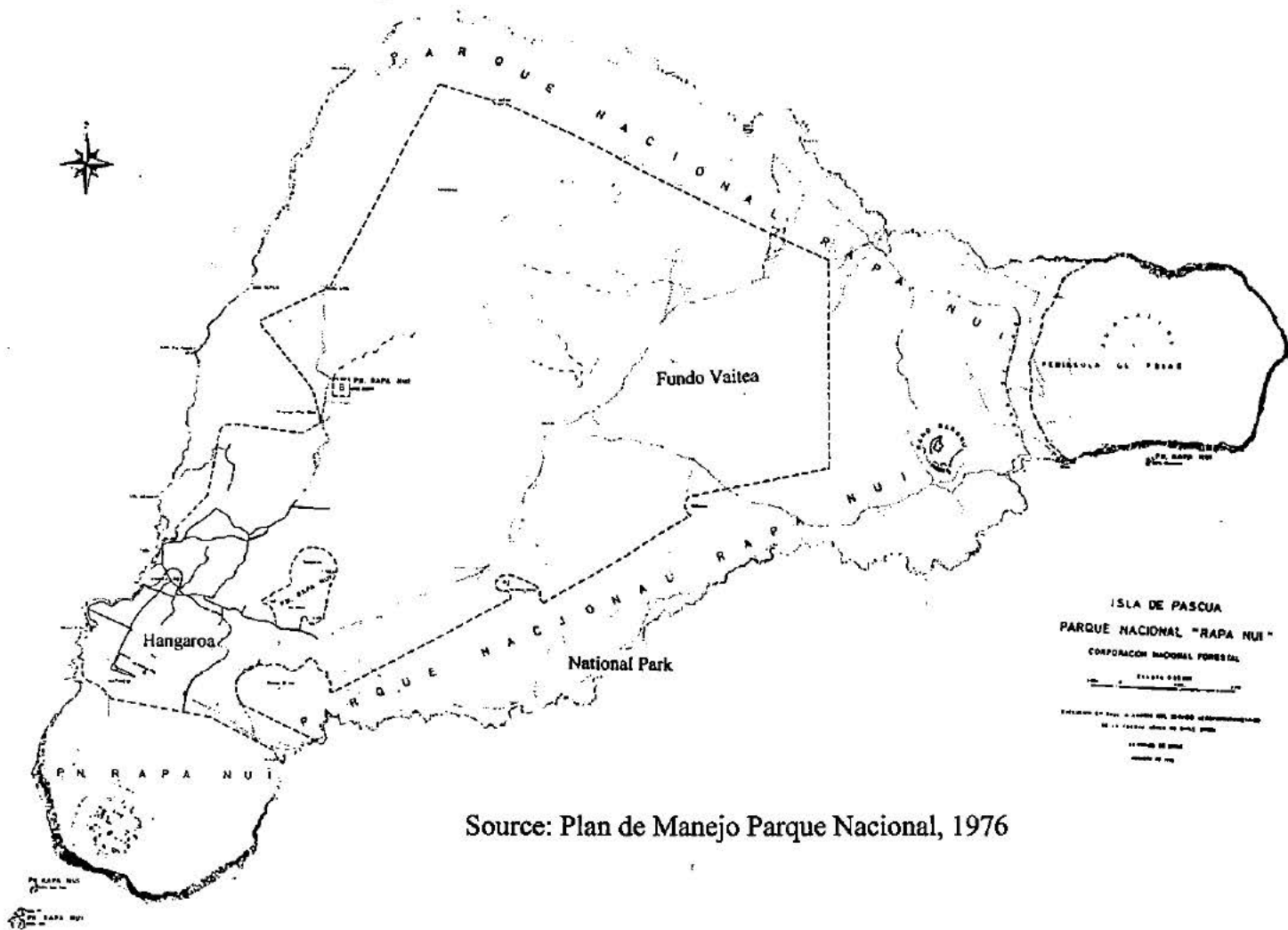
Navy assumed control, continuing to run the island as a sheep ranch and confining islanders to Hangaroa. It was not until 1966 that the Chilean government passed Law No. 16.441, Ley Pascua (Easter Island Law), finally proclaiming Easter Island a civil territory as a part of the Valparaiso region.

The fifth and present phase of development began in 1967, when the island's first commercial air flight arrived, exposing Easter Island to the inevitable process of modernization. Regular air traffic between Chile and Tahiti, via Easter Island, replaced the island's only form of transportation, the annual supply ship. With the problem of accessibility solved and the number of visitors steadily increasing, development was necessary to accommodate the island's previously non-existent tourism industry. Early growth of the island's infrastructure included improvements in communication, transportation, and social services. As well, the island's first hotel was built in 1971.

By this time, Hangaroa village occupied approximately ten percent of the island's total landmass (RNJ, September 1998) (Figure 1.3). Beyond Hangaroa, the uninhabited hinterland accounted for 90 percent of the total land, with 70 percent of this area designated as the National Park in 1935 (RNJ, September 1998) (Figure 1.3). Demands to develop the hinterland surfaced in the 1970's and came from: (a) international stakeholders, such as scientists and their sponsors; (b) national stakeholders, such as Chilean ministries and planning agencies, the Navy, and CONAF (National Forest Corporation); and (c) Rapanui stakeholders, such as tourism operators and traditional Rapanui who envisioned land reform.

Over the past two decades demands to develop the hinterland have increased much more rapidly. Current proposals for a new port, monumental lighthouse, new

Figure 1.3 Land Division of Easter Island 1976



Source: Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional, 1976

airport terminal, island resort, and golf course are under consideration. However, a content analysis of the *Rapa Nui Journal* for the period of 1986-2001, official development documents and records, newspaper articles, as well as interviews completed with various Rapanui and national officials, reveals that such projects are contested by different stakeholders because of their impact on existing archaeological sites, interference with Rapanui land claims and the National Park, modification of the island's landscape and culture, lack of integrated planning efforts, careless management of financial resources, and an increase of mainland/foreign control over tourism services. Thus, stakeholders' visions regarding the future development of the hinterland have become strongly divided (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Stakeholders Involved in the Future Development of Easter Island

Stakeholders	Pro-development	Question development
International	Foreign entrepreneurs (tourism operators)	Easter Island Foundation Scientists (archaeologists/ anthropologists)
National	Chilean planning agencies Chilean Navy Some members of CONAF	Some members of Chilean ministries Some members of CONAF
Rapanui	Some members of local government/municipality Rapanui capitalists Some tourism operators	Some members of local government Rapanui traditionalists

This thesis therefore provides not only the first descriptive account of the contemporary development of Easter Island for the period of 1967-2001 but also an interpretation of the future of development held by international, national, and Rapanui stakeholders.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are:

1. To document the social, economic, and political development of the island since 1967.
2. To examine future development plans regarding the hinterland.

1.4 Research Questions

Two research questions were addressed, each with a set of sub-questions. The first is a necessary preliminary to the second, major question as it provides the foundation for examining future development visions.

1. How has Easter Island been developed since 1967?
 - 1.1 What were the main motivations for development?
 - 1.2 What significant, social, economic, political, cultural, and landscape changes have occurred as a result of Chilean development plans?
 - 1.3 How has the tourism industry been developed?
 - 1.4 How has the modernization process impacted Easter Island socially, economically, politically, and environmentally?
2. What are the future development visions concerning the hinterland held by international, national, and Rapanui stakeholders?
 - 2.1 What should the hinterland be used for and why?
 - 2.2 What are the benefits or risks associated with such changes?

1. How has Easter Island been developed since 1967?

The first question applies a broad-based approach and aims to document the social, economic, and political development of the island since 1967. Question 1.1 focuses on the parties responsible for development and seeks to discover motives directing development initiatives over the past three decades. Question 1.2 addresses changes that have occurred as a result of the development of the island's infrastructure, such as improvements in communication, transportation, social services, and urban housing. Question 1.3 examines the evolution of the island's

tourism industry, which has included the construction of hotels, restaurants, businesses, and other tourism orientated services. Question 1.4 questions the cost of the modernization process and looks at the impact of development on the Rapanui people and the natural environment.

2. What are the future development visions concerning the hinterland held by international, national, and local stakeholders?

As mentioned in section 1.2, there has been an increased demand for the development of the hinterland over the past three decades (e.g. new port, new lighthouse, new airport terminal, island resort and golf course, and land reform). Question 2 will examine such initiatives as envisioned by international organizations (e.g. archaeologists), national officials (e.g. Chilean ministry officials) and Rapanui officials (e.g. mayor and council members). Question 2.1 examines the different opinions towards proposed projects and question 2.2 addresses the impacts, both negative and positive, associated with such projects (e.g. impact on environment, archaeological sites, and local economy).

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

This introductory chapter clarifies the importance of this study in that much of the literature pertaining to Easter Island has been published in the areas of the island's history and archaeology; little attention has been focused on contemporary development events and issues. It also provides a brief synopsis of the history of development since the early 18th century to familiarize the audience with the important events leading to the present day situation of Easter Island. Chapter Two explores the literature pertinent to the development of the island, which includes: alternative development theories; change in Pacific Island societies due to the onset of

colonialism, in conjunction with problems associated with small island development; Rapanui/Chilean development; and Rapanui resistance to past, present, and future development plans. The study's methodology and research design are discussed in Chapter Three. The motives for modernization as well as the different development plans are examined in Chapter Four. This chapter also looks at previous failed economic enterprises and how this lead to the development of a tourism industry on Easter Island. Chapter Five provides a historical account of the physical, social, economic, and political effects of the development process from 1967 to 2001. Finally, in Chapter Six, research participants discuss their opinions and concerns regarding future development plans in addition to their visions of the modernization process in the near future.

Chapter Two Review of Literature

The changes associated with the modernization of traditional societies may be swift, impacting, and revolutionary, brought about by a brief encounter, or slow, remorseless alterations impressed by decades of alien control.

Porteous, 1981:163

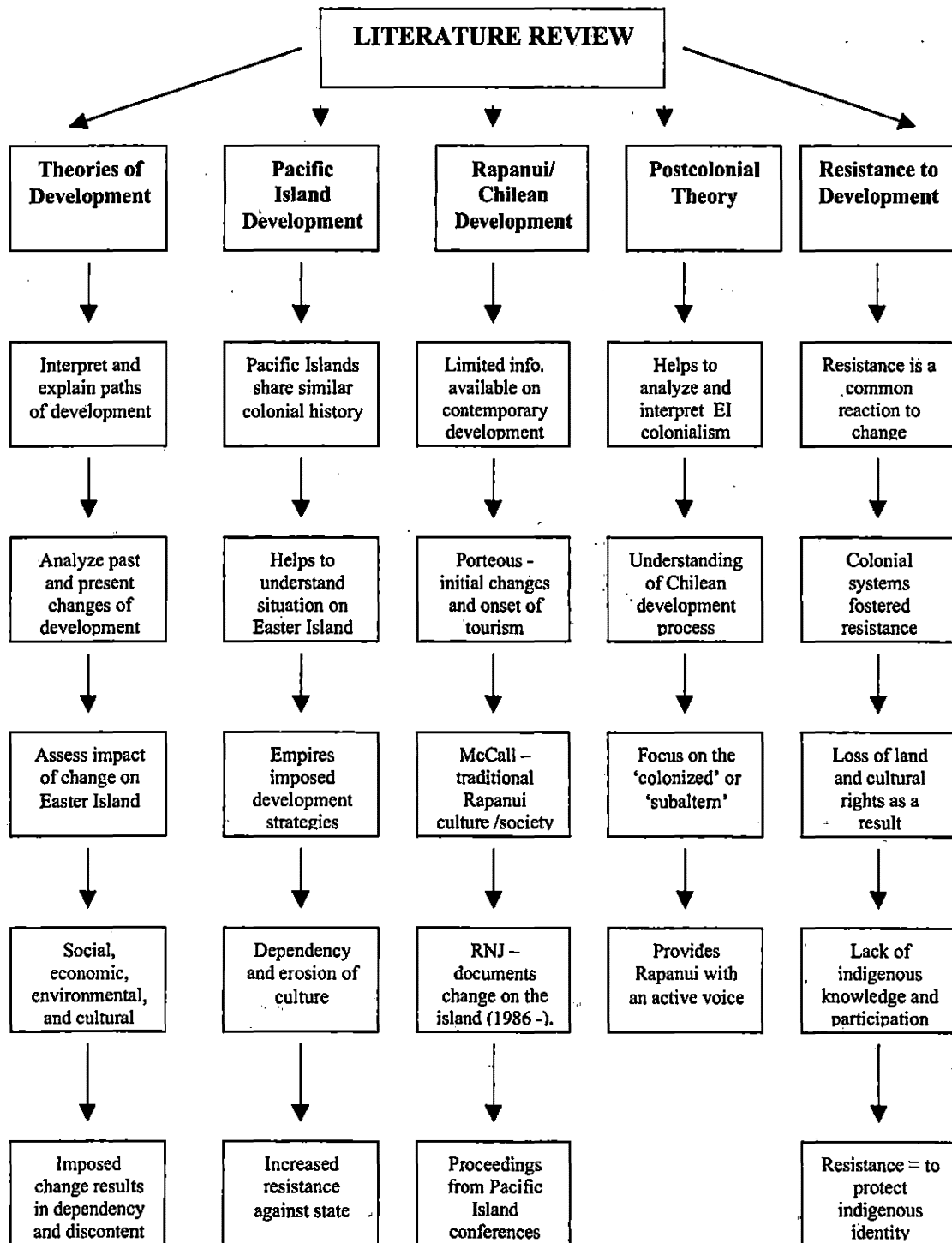
2.1 Placing Easter Island Within a Broader Context of Knowledge

Unfortunately, there exists only a small amount of literature which specifically focuses on the contemporary development of Easter Island. This research must therefore be placed within a broader context of development studies in order to interpret and understand the island's course of development over the past three decades and to examine its associated benefits and consequences. The five areas of academic literature relevant to this research are: theories of development; Pacific Island development and problems associated with small island development; Rapanui/Chilean development; postcolonial theory; and resistance to development (Figure 2.1).

2.2 Theories of Development

What is development? This somewhat ambiguous term has been defined in a number of disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, education, linguistics, and geography. As a result of its application in these different areas, there is no one single accepted definition of the term 'development'. For the context of this research, the notion of 'development' will be placed within the discipline of sociology. A large body of literature has been devoted to the sociology of develop-

Figure 2.1 Literature Review



ment, but more specifically, to theories of development (Peet, 1999; Leys, 1996; Knippers-Black, 1991; Harrison, 1988; Verhelst, 1987; Preston, 1985).

It is important to establish a working definition of development. Jaffee (1990:6) defines the term 'development' simply as a "measurable form of progress".

Esteva (1992:10) suggests a lengthier explanation of the term:

The word implies favourable change, a step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better. The word indicates that one is doing well because one is advancing in the sense of a necessary, ineluctable, universal law, and toward a desirable goal.

Peet (1999:1), a Marxist geographer, defines development as follows:

In its strong sense, development means using the productive resources of society to improve the living conditions of the poorest people. In its weaker sense, development means more of everything for everyone in the context of a lot more for a few. Even in this latter form, when development basically means economic growth lead by an elite, faint echoes can still be heard of the progressive notion of improving the material life conditions for many people – although the main mechanism by which this transfer is supposed to occur, through "trickle down" from the rich to the poor, must arouse intense suspicion.

All of these definitions insinuate one general condition directly connected to the process of development: change. Words like progress, advancing, favourable change, improving conditions, and economic growth all suggest that as a result of the process of development a society is reorganized, modified, transformed, or altered into a new and improved state. Development then suggests some level of change or progress through which the social, economic, and political aspects of a society are transformed in a manner that alters existing societal conditions in the form of, for example, increased economic revenues and an improved standard of living. Nonetheless, the process of development or change can also produce irreversible negative social,

economic, cultural, and political implications for societies such as economic dependency, increased poverty, and political oppression.

The progress of Easter Island over the past three decades can undoubtedly be defined in relation to the above notion of "development"; islanders have observed significant changes in the social, economic, and political situation on the island. The process of development has contributed to infrastructure improvements, the betterment of education and medical services, the creation of a tourism industry, and an overall increase in the standard of living. Development progress, specifically in the area of tourism, has created new employment and business opportunities and has generated a significant amount of income for the Rapanui people.

An overwhelming volume of literature has been dedicated to the works of different development theorists and their explanation of world development. Since the 1960's, a large body of theory has been published regarding the path of development both as a natural process, and in contrast, as the underdevelopment of Third World countries. For the purpose of this research, only three relevant theories will be discussed in relation to the historical process of development on Easter Island over the past three decades and the contemporary social, economic, political, and cultural conditions it has produced. These specific areas of development literature are examined: Modernization Theory, which discusses the evolutionary process of modernization and its impact on traditional societies; Rostow's Theory of Development, which explains the transitional stages of development; and Dependency Theory, which explores the notion of development as the actual underdevelopment of a society. Although these theories have been applied on a world level, different aspects of each theory are relevant to the microcosm of Easter Island.

2.2.1 *Modernization Theory*

Modernization theory stems from the writings of a group of non-Marxists who placed the concept of change in the context of Third World development processes in an attempt to explain the transition of a society from a state of underdevelopment into a modern, developed society. A vast amount of literature has been published with reference to the modernization of 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' countries (Peet, 1999; Knippers Black, 1991; Hettne, 1990; Larrain, 1989; Harrison, 1988; Laite, 1988; Abraham, 1980). Modernization theory is based on the premise that development is a natural process, whereby traditional or underdeveloped societies proceed through a number of different stages of economic growth, eventually evolving into a modern, developed society (Knippers Black, 1991; Larrain, 1989; Verhelst, 1987). In the case of Easter Island, corporate sheep ranching (wool export) replaced an agricultural subsistence economy, and has now been superseded by the growing service industry of tourism. 3

Modernization literature discusses the concept of a 'modern' or 'developed' society in comparison to the characteristics of already developed, western modern societies. Thus, the modern, western world is the example to be followed and demonstrates the social and economic conditions which are to be achieved by underdeveloped or developing societies (Harrison, 1988; Abraham, 1980). As a result of the modernization process, the small town of Hangarua now offers the majority of modern amenities found in the western world, islanders have become totally immersed in a monetary based economy, and a service based industry has almost completely replaced earlier lifestyles. Hettne (1995:49) explains that such theorists view development "in an evolutionary perspective, and the state of underdevelopment is defined in terms of observable economic, political, social, and cultural differences (4)

between rich and poor nations". These conditions of traditional societies are not permanent, but rather the evolutionary process of development will eventually transform problems found in traditional societies (e.g. poverty and economic depression) into the benefits of a modern, developed society (e.g. improved living conditions and increased economic revenue). Modernization theorists prescribed a specific development pattern, to which underdeveloped or developing societies should adhere to in order to 'catch-up' with already developed or modernized countries (Harrison, 1988).

The modernization paradigm, as interpreted by Hettne (1995:50), comprises four specific components:

1. Development is a spontaneous, irreversible process inherent in everyday society.
2. Development implies structural differentiation and functional specialization.
3. The process of development can be separated in distinct stages showing levels of development achieved.
4. Development can be stimulated by external competition or military threat and by internal measures that support modern sectors and modernize traditional sectors.

Thus, theorists believe that the modernization process will eventually occur in every society through external as well as internal mechanisms, that the process of development is linear, and that underdevelopment is merely the first stage of change on the road to modernization (Rapley, 1996). The modernization process, as it has evolved on Easter Island, displays the distinct characteristics outlined by Hettne. Development initiatives began immediately following the arrival of the first commercial flight in 1967. In order to meet the demands of tourists, development plans and projects funded by the Chilean government were implemented in an attempt to modernize facilities and services for both islanders and tourists and, as will be

discussed in the following section, development has taken place in a number of different stages.

Jaffee (1990:85) asserts that modernization "identifies a set of social and political structural characteristics that define and are required for the realization of economic development". A large number of theorists associate the development or modernization of a country with economic growth; progress, for example, can be measured according to levels of gross national product (Szirmai, 1997; Knippers-Black, 1991; Jaffee, 1990). No such statistics were available regarding the island's economy, but with the development of a strong tourism industry, islanders have clearly benefited from increased employment and business opportunities as a result of the demand for tourism services. However, as Jaffee (1990) points out, economic growth cannot be the only variable used to measure levels of progress and concedes that such indicators as improved standard of living must too be analyzed. Szirmai (1997:63) describes the variety of social, economic, and political aspects of a society that modernization theories should examine:

Social changes that accompany economic growth including: urbanization; the transition from extended family structures to nuclear families; increased division of labour and occupational specialization; rationalization in attitudes; increased social mobility; the transition from ascription to achievement as the determining principle of social stratification; increased levels of schooling; and individualism.

All of these social changes, both positive and negative, have resulted among the Rapanui people: the urbanization of Hangaroa has expanded; the demand for tourism services has created new jobs as well as diversifying labour; economic revenues have dramatically increased; the standard of living has improved overall; education and medical services have been standardized; economic growth has contributed to social

divisions among community members; status can now be achieved rather than ascribed; and the idea of individual entrepreneurship has increased.

Abraham (1980:4) examines the notion of modernization and its inherent meanings and implications for societies. He defines the term as “ a new word for an old phenomenon – the many layered, all embracing process of social changes in the developed areas”. He divides modernization into different categories in order to explain its complexity and understand its impact on traditional societies. For example, Abraham (1980) outlines three types of modernization as described by Chodak:

1. Industrial Modernization – society is organized around the requirements of an industry.
2. Acculturative Modernization – a semi-developed culture emerges as a result of the strong influence of a foreign culture on a traditional one.
3. Induced Modernization – development specifically focuses on infrastructure growth and socio-economic change.

On some level, Easter Island has experienced all three types of modernization. For instance, the Rapanui people have become dependent on tourism and therefore their society must develop itself in accordance to the demands of this industry. Development plans and projects have been executed and administered by Chilean agencies, therefore directly and indirectly imposing Chilean ideological and cultural values on the indigenous people. Finally, development has specifically been directed toward increasing infrastructure capacities and improving both social and economic conditions.

2.2.2 Rostow's Theory of Development

Easter Island, under the administration and direction of Chile, has experienced various stages of growth ultimately leading to its modernization. In order to explain these different stages of growth, Rostow's catching-up theory can be applied.

Rostow's theory has been widely discussed in sociological literature under the classification of modernization theory. Rostow theorized that the development or modernization of a country would be achieved once it has passed through a number of different stages of developmental change (Knippers-Black, 1991; Harrison, 1988; Verhelst, 1987; Suda, 1981). The premise of Rostow's theory concentrates on the conception that industry, or in the case of Easter Island, a service-based industry, eventually overtakes agriculture (Verhelst, 1987). As previously mentioned, agriculture was the primary economic activity before it was replaced by tourism.

Much of literature discussing this theory has focused its attention on Rostow's five stages of development (Szirmai, 1997; Hettne, 1995; Knippers-Black, 1991; Harrison, 1988, Verhelst, 1987; Suda, 1981). Table 2.1 displays the various stages of Rostow's perception of development and how the process of development on Easter Island relates to each specific stage. As contributing literature points out, Rostow's theory rejects Marxist development perspectives and relies on an unilinear view of history whereby achieving Western modernization is seen as the ultimate goal and example to be followed (Szirmai, 1997; Verhelst, 1987). As discussed in Chapter Four, the rapid progress of development on Easter Island over the past three decades can be attributed to three specific factors: Chile's geo-political interest in the island; the construction of an airport; and Rapanui/Chilean political changes.

Rostow also theorized that development occurs through a 'trickle down effect', whereby the eventual economic growth generated will be dispersed to all members of society (Auty, 1995; Harrison, 1988; Verhelst, 1987). Although this point has been heavily criticized by opposing factions who contend that in fact only a small percentage of people actually profit economically, the majority of the Rapanui have greatly benefited economically from the development of tourism; it is estimated

Table 2.1 Rostow's Catching-Up Theory in Relation to Easter Island 1967 – 2001

Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth	Relation to the Development Process Of Easter Island
1. Traditional Society – output is limited due to lack of resources.	Early 1960's – wool export in decline, economic productivity is low, agriculture subsistence, and little or no industry.
2. Preconditions for 'take-off' – investments in transportation and communication leading to commercial expansion.	Early 1970's – regular scheduled air service to island, Chile dedicated to improving social and economic conditions on the island and creating a tourism based industry.
3. 'Take-off' – investment increases and new industry expands.	1980's – Chile begins to finance major infrastructure improvements and develop tourism and social services. The Rapanui assume almost total control of tourism industry.
4. The Drive to Maturity – technology and new industry grow.	Early 1990's – continued development planning and the growth of tourism has created stable employment and increased economic benefits for islanders.
5. High Consumption – basic needs are met and the focus is on social welfare and security.	2001 – tourism is the main economic enterprise, increase standard of living, and continued focus on infrastructure improvements.

Source: Harrison, 1988:26-27.

that over ninety percent of the population is indirectly or directly employed in tourism. Furthermore, like other small islands, the Rapanui are not required to pay government taxes and foreign investment in tourism has been discouraged; therefore no monies are repatriated to Chile or foreign companies.

In order to achieve modernization and experience economic growth, Rostow believed that foreign aid and investment are important components in the development process because they provide the necessary economic resources for development that some countries are unable to supply (Knippers-Black, 1991). Rather than foreign aid, external aid from different Chilean agencies has funded development projects on Easter Island; Chile's substantial investment in the island's

infrastructure and tourism service industry has improved the overall social and economic conditions for the Rapanui.

2.2.3 Dependency Theory

Rostow's Catching-Up theory, however, has come under scrutiny from opposing theorists. In criticism of modernization theory, the development literature of the 1970's began to discuss the process of "development" as the actual underdevelopment of societies. Critics argued that instead of promoting economic growth and an increase in the standard of living, the process of development in reality was conducive to creating relationships of dependency, which further contributed to the underdevelopment of a country (Peet, 1999; Rapley, 1996; Hettne, 1995; Knippers-Black, 1991; Jaffee, 1990; Velherst, 1987).

Rapley (1996) explains that dependency theorists viewed the process of the development and underdevelopment of a society as one and the same. Dependency theorists rejected the premise that traditional societies would 'catch-up', or that benefits derived from development would 'trickle down', and further argued that foreign aid and investment is detrimental rather than beneficial (Knippers-Black, 1991). Thus, the underdevelopment rather than the development of a traditional society occurs (Peet, 1999; Schuurman, 1993; Knippers Black, 1991; Verhelst, 1987; Browett, 1985). Although social and economic development has proved extremely profitable for the Rapanui, the price of catching-up has created problems. With economic subsidies coming from Chile, the island has become increasingly dependent on the state for social and economic assistance over the last decade. The process of modernization has created an unalterable relationship of dependency; the island does

not possess the economic resources necessary to finance itself independently and therefore must continue to rely on assistance from Chile.

Dependency theorists viewed development as a top-down process whereby the dominant power structure, much like formal colonial systems, determines and dictates the economic relationship with the underdeveloped or developing country (Knippers-Black, 1991). Easter Island is one of the few remaining Pacific Islands that is still administered under a neo-colonial system, which continues to direct and control the level of Rapanui participation in the development process. The development relationship between Easter Island and Chile therefore is not collaborative; Chilean agencies fail to fully integrate Rapanui officials into the decision-making process regarding the social and economic improvement of the island. Leys (1996:12) summarizes the sentiments of dependency theorists towards the development process:

Metropolitan policy as maleficent, not beneficent; inflows of foreign investment were seen as giving rise to much greater interest and profit outflows; 'modernizing elites' were really compradores, or lumpen bourgeois, serving their own and foreign interests, not those of the people; world trade perpetuated structures of underdevelopment, rather than acting as a solvent of them.

Whilst development has ameliorated the social and economic conditions for islanders, motivations for development have stemmed from the geopolitical intentions of the state. Easter Island is the only South Pacific landmass to be annexed by a Latin American country; thus the island serves as a Chilean military and political post amidst Pacific waters.

Andre Gunder-Frank, a well-known dependency theorist, believed that the underdevelopment of a society could be dissolved if capitalism was eliminated because the existence of capitalism reinforces differences between the development of the core (capitalist country) and the periphery (satellite country) (Browett, 1985). In

the case of Easter Island, mainland Chile represents the metropolitan 'core' and Easter Island is the 'periphery'. Peet (1999:107) explains this relationship:

The relationship between center and periphery assumed... the spatial form of dependence, in which some countries (the dominant) achieved self-sustaining economic growth, while others (the dominated and dependent) grew only as a reflection of changes in the dominant countries.

In exchange for its use as a strategic political/military post in the Pacific Ocean, Chile provides the necessary social and economic funding to Easter Island. Due to economic cutbacks in 1999, Easter Island has witnessed economic dependency first hand. In 1999, Rapanui officials complained that the government of Chile was not providing the required amount of funding needed to operate the island (RNJ, September 1999). Consequently, Chile has created the island's condition of dependency. As Hettne (1990:71) points out, Frank rejected the notion that underdevelopment was a natural state and stressed that it was a "created condition". Frank further explains that peripheral societies can only experience 'real development' if they separate from the center and become an autonomous entity (Peet, 1999:109). Realizing their increasing dependency on the Chilean state, some Rapanui officials suggest that Easter Island seek independence status from Chile.

2.3 Small Island Development

Development theory has not been discussed in great detail among academic theorists in relation to the processes of small island development, particularly in reference to the Pacific Islands. Literature concerning the development of small islands can be categorized into two areas for the purposes of this study: Pacific Island development and its historical processes; and small island development, with particular reference to the problems associated with development. Studies examining

the development of Pacific Islands concentrate on historical processes and forces, such as colonialism and foreign intervention, which have contributed to shaping the contemporary development environments of Pacific Islands. Research concerning the development of small islands discusses the major problems and restrictions they face in their pursuit of sustainable development.

2.3.1 Pacific Island Development

The greater part of the literature pertaining to Pacific Island development includes little or no reference to the development of Easter Island; rather the majority of studies concentrated on the larger Pacific Islands such as Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, New Caledonia, and Hawaii (Colbert, 1997; Denoon *et al.*, 1997; Otto & Thomas, 1997; Lockwood *et al.*, 1993; Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1982). Despite this, various connections can be drawn between the historical and contemporary social, economic, and political situations of the Pacific Islands and Easter Island.

In order to fully understand the present conditions and problems facing the development of Pacific Islands, it is important to examine the historical routes that such islands have travelled in relation to their participation in colonial systems. Also, it is essential to probe these relationships and discover how colonialism has transformed and shaped the present day social, economic, political, and cultural aspects of traditional Pacific societies. A large body of literature examines the survival of Pacific Island societies through the various historical phases of development, such as their first encounters with early explorers, the ideological influence of missionaries and foreign settlers on traditional cultural beliefs, and the forces of colonial or foreign administrations (Rapaport, 1999; Colbert, 1997; Denoon

et al., 1997; Lockwood, 1993). Linnekin (1997:21) describes the impact of historical encounters on early Pacific societies:

Colonial historiography tends to convey certain key messages about early encounters: that Islanders were naïve and readily responded to crude materialist appeals, that foreign introductions were the primary agents of change, and that first encounters with famous Europeans were the most important events in Island history.

It cannot be disputed that the arrival of outsiders on isolated and remote islands initiated and directed the social, economic, cultural, and political changes that Pacific peoples have endured.

One of the main themes discussed in this field is the strong role that colonialism has played in shaping the development of Pacific Islands (Colbert, 1997; Denoon *et al.*, 1997; Otto & Thomas, 1997; Rodman, 1993). Pacific Islands were deemed important and conquered either for their natural resources and cheap exploitable labour or for their strategic positioning in the Pacific Ocean for foreign empires (Lockwood, 1993). As a result, the economic development of Pacific Islands has been directed by and adhered to strategies and plans implemented by foreign administrators during the process of colonialism. Denoon (1997:153) explains that colonial rulers perceived Islanders to be incapable of self-development and therefore, were the principle actors in the economic planning of Pacific Islands:

Many planners assume that the pre-colonial condition of Islanders, revolving around finite needs, cannot develop through its own dynamics. Increased production requires foreign capital, technology and management, linking the Islands to wider networks, displacing subsistence with market production by monetising transactions.

As a result, Denoon (1997:153) describes the roles of Islanders throughout the process of colonial development as either the “beneficiaries or victims of forces beyond their control”. As Hempenstall and Rutherford (1984:8) further explain, Islanders were

placed “ in a subaltern position as modernizing instruments for economic ends rather than according them a share in colonial sovereignty”. This is demonstrated in the minor role that Rapanui officials have historically occupied, and currently still do, in the decision-making process governing the social and economic welfare of their people; native islanders are forced to adhere to development plans and programs designed and executed by Chilean planning agencies.

The colonialist relationship created between Island societies and foreign administrators has facilitated a relationship of dependency (Colbert, 1997, Denoon *et al.*, 1997, Lockwood, 1993; Hemenstall & Rutherford, 1984). As Lockwood (1993:11) points out, many Pacific Islands have become increasingly dependent on foreign assistance in reciprocity for “their ongoing military and political presence in the region”. This is one of the main problems the Rapanui have encountered; Chile will continue to subsidize infrastructure improvements and improve living conditions for islanders as long as the island continues to serve Chile’s geopolitical needs. Despite social and economic improvements, the geopolitical intentions of the different Chilean agencies have dictated land-use decisions. For example, in 1995, the Chilean Ministry of Defence announced plans to build a new port, which is to be administered by the Chilean Navy, in an area that has significant archaeological value. Easter Island is therefore like many small Pacific Islands which do not have access to economic resources to independently finance social and economic development programs and have no other option but to rely on foreign or metropolitan assistance and comply with development plans.

Pacific Islands that have survived the colonial process and entered into the stage of decolonization and been granted their independence (e.g. Tonga, 1970) or

acquired the status of 'free association' (e.g. Cook Islands, 1965), academics contend, will continue to be dependent on external forces for financial assistance:

Specialists in Island economies are pessimistic about the prospects for self-sustaining: expanding population is putting additional pressure on limited resources, and modernization has long excluded reversion to the subsistence economies of the past (Colbert, 1997:90).

Many traditional Pacific Island economies were once dependent on subsistence agriculture, but now are dependent on agricultural-export industries or tourism. This has placed small island economies in competition with international markets. Without the assistance of foreign or national investment and aid, such industries are not sustainable. Colbert (1997) recognizes that independence has granted small islands a certain degree of social, political, and cultural autonomy, but unfortunately they remain financially dependent on previous rulers because of geographical and economic restrictions, which impede their ability to autonomously pursue sustainable development.

Another important theme examined throughout the literature is the effect of the colonization process on traditional Pacific societies. In many cases, Islanders were alienated from native lands because of colonial regulations governing native land. For example, in Fiji and the Solomon Islands, any land which was not occupied by Islanders or not utilized for specific purposes, was labeled as 'waste and vacant' land and immediately came under the control of the state (Denoan, 1997:250; Larmour, 1982; Jupp, 1982). Linnekin (1997:206) describes the impact of the expropriation of ethnic land by colonizers:

Land alienation became a key variable in shaping destinies. Large-scale alienation was often followed by loss of sovereignty as well as a cultural loss, whereas Islanders living on the land had some chance to retain familiar practices and local solidarity.

The Rapanui share a long history with other Pacific Islands in the fight to regain control over native land; for example, in 1933, Chile inscribed the entirety of island property as fiscal (state land) and as a result, Rapanui ancestral rights to island territories were effaced. As the literature points out, indigenous land is important to Pacific peoples because it is a part of an island's cultural heritage and the alienation of indigenous land contributes to the erosion of traditional lifestyles (King, 1997; Linnekin, 1997; Larmour, 1982; Smith, 1982). King (1997:208) explains that for indigenous peoples of the Pacific "land is a part of their being".

Academics also discuss at length the impact of acculturation on traditional societies as a result of the colonial development process (Firth, 1997; Linnekin, 1997; Lockwood, 1993). Firth (1997:253) describes the effects of colonialism on traditional societies and its contribution to their acculturation by colonizers:

Colonialism was a disaster for Islanders, destroying vigorous cultural traditions, imposing alien work disciplines, replacing traditional beliefs with a puritanical and oppressive Christianity, and incorporating Islanders into a global economy in which they were inevitably marginal and exploited.

As a result of their annexation by Chile in 1888, the Rapanui have been governed by Chilean laws and regulations, forced to learn and speak the national language, Spanish, and adopt Chile's customs and traditions. Lockwood (1993) further accredits a strong process of acculturation among Pacific societies to advances in communication, transportation, the development of tourism, and the increased migration of aliens to Islands from international destinations. Such developments have significantly increased the physical contact between Islanders and outsiders exposing Pacific societies to alternative cultures, customs, languages, lifestyles, and ideologies.

2.3.2 Problems Associated with the Development of Small Islands

Considerable empirical research has been published on the problems associated with small island development, with particular focus on the Pacific Islands (Rapaport, 1999; Asian Development Bank, 1997; Asian Development Bank, 1996; Henningham & May, 1992; Kozmetsky *et al.*, 1988; Cole & Parry, 1986). This work explains that remote locations, restricted size, limited resources, planning inadequacies, and dependency on external agents are the main problems associated with small island development (Kakazu, 1994; McElroy *et al.*, 1987; Fairbairn, 1985; Selwyn, 1978).

As Kakazu (1994) and Selwyn (1978) both point out, small islands face problems, such as dependency on external sources and limited resources, that result in the creation of a particular economy that is based on a specialized industry like agricultural produce, fishing, mining, or tourism. Island economies sustained by one of these industries face problems such as land and labour restrictions, competition with world markets, and resource depletion (Kloke, 1975). Kloke (1975) further points out that in such cases foreign trade may have intensified production in one particular area, but the rate of imports generally grows much more rapidly than exports. Economies dependent on tourism, for example, have become dependent on imported products to satisfy the demands of international visitors.

Location proves problematic for small islands because of the often profound distance between islands and metropoli (Cole & Parry, 1986; Selwyn, 1978). Concomitantly, small islands are separated from foreign markets, hindering possibilities for an export economy for many islands (Kakazu, 1994; Selwyn, 1978). Even if island economies become involved in an export industry, it is difficult to predict their success because of the pressure of world markets (Kloke, 1975). For

example, attempts to create agriculturally based industries on Easter Island have proven unsuccessful due to the inaccessibility of foreign markets (Cole & Parry, 1986) and the high cost of local labour (McCall, 1981).

Moreover, transportation costs are usually high and service is limited. It is only since the early 1960's that transportation has improved for many small islands. For example, an airport was built after 1960 in Tahiti to accommodate an increase in visitors, air service arrived in Temae in 1968 for visitors travelling to Moorea, and the Cook Islands finally constructed a small airport in 1973 (Fox, 1975). Prior to 1967, transportation to Easter Island was limited to the annual supply ship, oceanic research vessels, or private boats. As is the case on Easter Island, many small islands must rely on national air carriers because of their economic inability to operate their own air transport services. This, as Britton (1987:121) explains, can cause further problems, especially for those whose economies solely depend on tourism:

Consequently, island tourist destinations must place the promotions and accessibility of their tourist facilities in the hands of foreign airlines. This means on the one hand, that their tourist industries could not survive without foreign carriers, thus, leaving the island nations vulnerable to the corporate and government pressures of foreign countries.

Only LAN Chile, the official national airline, offers regular scheduled air service from Santiago, Chile and Papeete, Tahiti to Easter Island. Thus, LAN Chile has the monopoly of air service to the island. As a result, travel to and from the island is expensive and often at times restricted due to limited seating availability.

A significant amount of literature has been published concerning the benefits and problems of a tourism dependent economy (Fagence, 1999; Brigulio *et al.*, 1996; Conlin & Baum, 1995; Britton & Clarke, 1987; Pearce, 1989; Rajotte, 1982; Finney & Watson, 1975). For many Pacific Islands, tourism has proved to be a viable alternative for sustainable social and economic development. Many small islands,

especially the Pacific Islands, have become dependent on tourism as the main industry. Exotic locations characterized by white beaches, tropical climates, lush vegetation, and traditional cultures have made small remote islands desirable destinations. Easter Island is not visited for its secluded beaches or tropical climate, but rather the mysterious moai attract thousands of visitors each year. With the development of a tourism infrastructure, increased flights, and the promotion of tourism, the island has become a major tourist destination. As academics point out, it cannot be disputed that tourism-based economies have proven extremely beneficial for islanders. Tourism on small islands has generated local income, justified infrastructure improvements, and created employment. However, it also provides only seasonal employment, leads to overuse of the environment, creates an increased need for further infrastructure improvements, reinforces economic dependency, and carries with it irreversible social impacts (Fagence, 1999; Britton, 1987; Prasad, 1987; Fox, 1975; Kloke, 1975).

The majority of the literature is concerned with the social, economic, and environmental problems associated with the onset of tourism (King, 1997; Cooper *et al.*, 1996; Prasad, 1987; Dasmann, 1982; Cowan, 1975; Fox, 1975; Kloke, 1975). Kloke (1975:3) refers to tourism as a “disruptive industry” for small Pacific Islands stating that it initiates a rapid transition from agricultural subsistence to a dependency on cash economies. Money has become an important component of contemporary Rapanui society; money, for example, allows for the acquisition of material goods and expands businesses and creates new ones. To accommodate the demands of foreign visitors, there has been an increased dependency on imported products (Prasad, 1987; Kloke, 1975). Between 1967 and 1971, exports among the South Pacific Islands grew

by 150 percent; but in comparison, imports during this same period grew by 370 percent with the onset of tourism (Kloke, 1975).

A substantial amount of academic literature discusses problems associated with external agents and their role in the development of small islands (King, 1993; Tisdell, 1993; Pearce, 1989; McElroy *et al.*, 1987). King (1993) states that many small islands have been a major focus for external agents because of their strategic locations. Tisdell (1993) explains that external agents have limited knowledge and experience regarding island conditions and environments, and do not incorporate the indigenous knowledge of islanders. This ultimately results in inadequate planning of island development because of the failure to create an integrated approach between external agents and islanders (McElroy *et al.*, 1987). This is evident today on Easter Island as the failure to incorporate Rapanui knowledge and development concerns has resulted in islanders' resistance to Chilean development plans.

2.4 Rapanui/Chilean Development

Aside from the extensive literature published on the archaeology and anthropology of Easter Island, only two studies exist to act as a significant starting point for examining the transformation of Easter Island. McCall (1981), a cultural/social anthropologist and author of *Rapanui: Tradition and Survival on Easter Island*, provides an insider's (emic) view of the realm of the Rapanui, highlighting the social and cultural aspects of the local people, such as family and kinship. He also discusses the relationship between native islanders, mainland Chileans, and foreigners including marriage, their perceptions of one another, and how mainland Chileans and foreigners have impacted Rapanui culture. Although his research does not discuss development issues in great detail, it certainly provides a

basis for understanding the relationships between Rapanui, mainland Chileans, and foreigners in the context of the local culture. His second edition of the book (1994) includes a new chapter, *Afterthoughts*, which looks at post-contact change, but again does not discuss contemporary development issues in detail.

Porteous's (1981) book *The Modernization of Easter Island* provides an outsider's (etic) view of the geography, history, and modernization of the island. He dedicates the last three chapters of his work to the modernization of the island in the decade after the first airstrip was constructed in 1967. Porteous discusses Rapanui resistance to change, the impact of external agents, and specific changes associated with the modernization of Easter Island, including infrastructure and urban planning issues (Porteous, 1981). In addition, he focuses on the creation of the island's expanding tourism industry and examines the impact of the modernization process on the traditional people, social structures, and the landscape. This research is particularly significant because, to date, it is the only published work discussing the development and planning problems of Easter Island in any detail. However, the analysis ends at the late 1970's. My analysis of development issues noted in the *Rapa Nui Journal* (1986-2001) reveals that development has progressed much more rapidly in the 1980's and 1990's as compared to the 1970's.

Apart from McCall's and Porteous's work, all other Easter Island literature focuses on the prehistory, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology of the island. The two most recent publications are Fischer's (1993) *Easter Island Studies* and Stevenson *et al.* (1998) *Easter Island in South Pacific Context*. The former includes thirty-nine articles focusing on the early history of Easter Island and its archaeology, culture, and art. Only one brief chapter by Porteous is dedicated to post-contact change. The latter volume also includes thirty-nine articles and discusses similar

topics, such as language, art, body tattoos, paleobotany, and archaeological sites. It too only has one section dealing with change post-1967, but this contains four articles, all unfortunately very brief, discussing issues of colonialism, cultural tourism, and globalization.

During my two field seasons, supplementary information regarding the development process of Easter Island was located on the island (e.g. governor's office, municipality, development office, park office and land office), in Santiago (e.g. Chilean ministries and planning agencies, University of Chile, and libraries), and Valparaiso (e.g. Chilean ministries and planning agencies). Data collected were in the form of newspaper articles, official ministry reports, management plans, development proposals, official statistics regarding population and tourism, and maps. Thus, a wide body of information was gathered and focused on the following topics: land reform; the conservation and protection of the heritage landscape; agriculture; politics; the Rapa Nui National Park; academic studies about the island; transportation; government projects; tourism; education; development plans; and annual government reports.

2.5 Postcolonial Theory

The origin of postcolonial theory can be attributed to the work of Edward Said whose writings critiqued colonial discourse and proposed a new form of "post (colonized) subjectivity" (Bauman, 1998:79). As Loomba (1998) points out, within colonial discourse there has been an underrepresentation of the 'colonized'. Furthermore, discussions surrounding colonialism have failed to examine the impacts of colonial relationships, conquest, and domination on indigenous peoples (Loomba 1998). She explains that colonialism was not merely a universal process, but it

“locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history” (1998:2). Said examines interregional power relations including both political and cultural dimensions, and how they have directed interactions between Europe and others (Peet, 1999).

As Ray and Schwarz (1995) explain, postcolonial theory takes a critical view of European modernity and questions its dominance as the preferred culture. It is preoccupied with that which has occurred after colonialism as well as those who have been colonized (Peet, 1999; Loomba, 1998; Bahri, 1995; Ray & Schwarz, 1995). It critically analyzes cultural imperialism in an attempt to “undo Europe’s appropriations of the other” (Peet, 1999:133; Michel, 1995). Through recognition of the colonized and their struggle, postcolonialism seeks to provide an active voice to what is referred to in postcolonial literature as the “subaltern” (Peet, 1999:134). The term subaltern refers to those subordinate in reference to class, caste, gender, race, and culture (Peet, 1999).

Postcolonial theory is applied to the research as the main methodology and is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

2.6 Resistance to Development

After examining the historical nature of the development of Pacific Islands, and more specifically Easter Island, it is evident that indigenous resistance and protest are directly linked to the development process (Colbert, 1997; Denoon, 1997; Hempenstall & Rutherford, 1984; Porteous, 1981). Under foreign administrations, Pacific Islanders were forced to adhere to laws and regulations imposed by colonial systems and conform to unfamiliar cultures and lifestyles. *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific* (Hempenstall & Rutherford, 1984) examines the process of

modernization on the islands of Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Micronesia, and Melanesia and its direct correlation to the occurrence of protest, resistance, and contest towards colonial regimes by indigenous people. Hempenstall and Rutherford (1984) point out that protests and rebellions on behalf of native Islanders did not and do not occur simply because such people are rebellious in nature, but rather protest serves as a means to express their opinions regarding imposed social and economic change as well as operating as a tool for the protection of ethnic identity. They describe the purpose of Melanesian protest against the colonial institution:

Their protest is, then, not simply a conservative, rebellious symptom of social disintegration. The movements are forward-looking, positive phenomena, part of the process of social change in Melanesian society, which had its roots in the myths and cults with which the people controlled their worlds before the white man came. Through to the present day, Melanesians have been faced with a general crisis of modernization in their economic and social institutions. What colonial interpreters intended to see as the bizarre aping of the trappings of civilization were in fact a series of energetic responses to this development crisis, part of a continuum of experiments by Melanesians to bring the changes to their lives within their own frame of reference (1984:148-149).

As the above passage stresses, resistance movements by Pacific Islanders have been a means of asserting their discontent towards foreign ideologies, laws governing land-use, development programs, imposed languages and cultures, and social change. Melanesians and other Pacific Islanders have had the choice to either accommodate enforced colonial changes or resist them; there has been a continual struggle between the incorporation, accommodation, and resistance of social, economic, cultural, and political changes dictated by the colonial system (Linnekin, 1997; Hempenstall & Rutherford, 1984). Historically, resistance on Easter Island has occurred in defiance of explorers, missionaries, and colonizers (McCall, 1981; Porteous, 1981; Reid, 1967; Routledge, 1919).

Resistance is opposition to some form of power or authority that is perceived as oppressive (Porteous & Smith, 2001). Routledge (1997:361) defines 'resistance' as actions performed with the intent to "challenge, change or retain' particular circumstances relating to societal relations, processes, and/or institutions". Resistance, as Porteous and Smith (2001:227) explain, is necessary "whenever the elite try to ride roughshod over people 'in the way' of their projects". Recently, the dismissal of Rapanui concerns about future development projects proposed by Chile, such as a new port, has fueled resistance and contest. Opposition, for the most part, is non-violent and takes place on the local level, voicing the concerns of a particular group (Porteous & Smith, 2001). For example, in 1993, Rapanui resistance was successful in stalling the construction of a new, unnecessary lighthouse supported by the Chilean Navy (RNJ, March 1993), while on June 20, 1994, approximately 200 islanders initiated a strike to reclaim their rights over Rapanui land (RNJ, September 1994).

Resistance is important because it reminds elites that they do not always know what the people want (Porteous & Smith, 2001). False assumptions of what 'the people want' by external agents have led to numerous problems for small islands. Future development plans for Easter Island have been met with resistance in part due to the lack of an integrated planning effort. Chile has dictated the social, economic, and political development of the island since 1888. In the early 1970's, development plans were contested because of a lack of public consultation and ignorance of traditional Rapanui values (Porteous, 1981). Contest regarding future land-use planning decisions on Easter Island today is not merely a fight to gain access or the right to development, but a fight to gain control over local "decision making power"

(Halseth, 1996:1281). Resistance and conflict will continue if the development visions of Chile and Rapanui, as well as other stakeholders, fail to become integrated.

2.7 Chapter Summary

As evident in the chapter, only a small amount of literature has been published about the progress of development on Easter Island aside from the publications by Porteous (1981) and McCall (1981). The purpose of this study, therefore, is to recount the process of development over the last three decades and to examine the impact of development on traditional Rapanui society and the natural landscape as well as discuss future development visions.

In order to understand the modernization of Easter Island, this chapter examined various academic theories of development explaining the process of development and some of its impacts on peripheral societies. The chapter also reviewed literature discussing the processes of small island development with particular focus on South Pacific Islands and the varying social, economic, and environmental problems that arise as a result of imposed change by colonial systems in an attempt to draw comparisons with the current situation on Easter Island. Resistance, as the literature discusses, is a common reaction, especially among Pacific Island societies, against changes that threaten traditional social, economic, and political systems.

The following chapter will discuss the methodology and methods utilized to collect and analyze the data.

Chapter Three Methodology and Research Design

We choose qualitative research because it provides us with a means for exploring the points of view of our subjects, while granting these points of view the culturally honored status of reality.

Miller & Glassner, 1997:100

3.1 Easter Island: A Qualitative Approach

In contrast to positivist or quantitative research, data collection for the research conducted on Easter Island was based on such qualitative techniques as semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Research of this kind, therefore, "cannot provide the mirror reflection of the social world that positivists strive for, but it may provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds" (Miller & Glassner, 1997:100). My research focused particularly on the interaction between researcher and participant in order to elucidate or understand the human reality of the research participants. Unlike positivism, reality (ontologically) is produced by the relationship between researcher and participant and, epistemologically, is based on the interchange among participants and researcher in a natural setting (Creswell, 1998).

Research on Easter Island involved a multi-method approach. Documentary research, participant observation, visual anthropology, and semi-structured interviews were conducted. This multi-method approach is also referred to as triangulation, which involves choosing different methods, with individual strengths, that complement one another (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Thus, by bridging a variety of methods within my research design, it improves the research process by enhancing data collection. Documentary research, for example, coupled with semi-structured interviews strengthened the consistency and validity of my

research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Furthermore, the use of triangulation fostered the “trustworthiness” of the collected data (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992:24).

3.2 Methodological Framework

Postcolonial theory was chosen as the basic framework for this study because it provides a valuable theoretical framework in which to explain and interpret the historical and present colonial/postcolonial relationships in which islanders have been involved, and how these have influenced and directed the contemporary development of Easter Island.

In relation to Easter Island, the Chilean state can currently be viewed as the cultural imperialist and the Rapanui as the subaltern. Historically, the Rapanui of Easter Island have been considered subordinate by explorers, slave traders, missionaries, settlers, and finally Chileans. By means of interviews with Rapanui representatives, this research has provided a platform on which the Rapanui can actively voice their position within a colonial world. Grant McCall’s research on Easter Island in the 1970’s was conducted in a similar fashion. He practiced what is referred to as ‘activist anthropology’: “I agree that anthropologists have a duty to demonstrate not only the victimage of the peoples with whom they work, but how they survive and resist outsider domination – in short, to celebrate indigenous resistance against central state domination” (McCall, 1994:191).

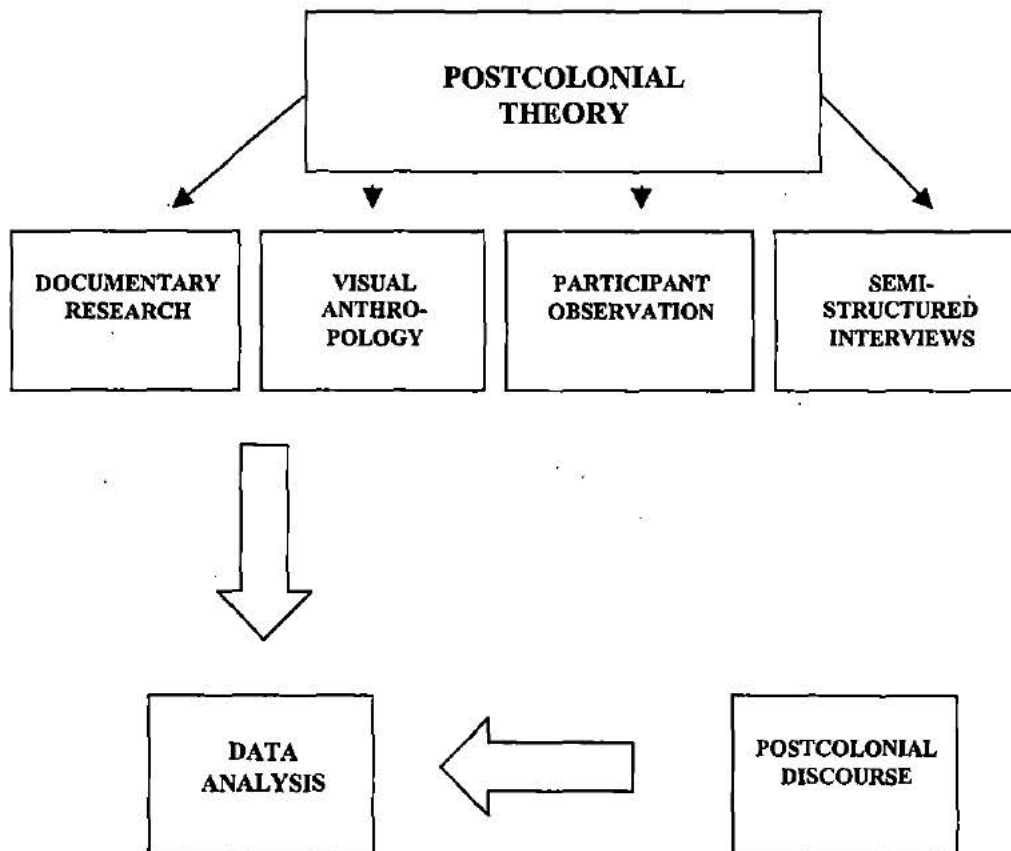
Since its incorporation into colonial power in 1888, Easter Island has been involved in an intricate set of relationships with Chile that has dictated the social, economic, and political development of the island. As a discourse, postcolonialism allows the researcher to analyze such relationships in the context of the politics of opposition and struggle (Mishra & Hodge, 1994). Historically, the inhabitants of

Easter Island have struggled with colonial forces and resisted mainland leadership (McCall, 1981; Porteous, 1981); they continue to do so. Postcolonialism, as Loomba (1998:12) describes, “allows us to incorporate the history of anti-colonial resistance with contemporary opposition to imperialism and the dominant Western culture”. It is important, then, to recognize earlier conflicts and resistance on Easter Island, such as conflicts with early explorers in the late 1770’s, and resistance against missionaries and initial settlers in the 1860’s. In addition, it is imperative to examine the earlier contestation of Chilean rule by the Rapanui in the early 1900’s in order to interpret contemporary development issues.

Postcolonialism was applied to the research two-fold (Figure 3.1). First, as an ideological orientation it informed the research process through such aspects as question design and interview sampling (Mirsha & Hodge, 1994). Rapanui and Chilean officials, for example, were chosen as participants based on their past and/or current participation in the development of Easter Island. Second, postcolonialism provided a strong framework for the analysis of the data. Meanings from information provided through interviews were interpreted within a postcolonial framework. The ideology of colonialism as it plays out on Easter Island assisted in the interpretation and understanding of contemporary development events. However, the researcher had to be aware of any bias that may occur as a result of a postcolonial application. Postcolonial theory emphasizes the plight of the subaltern or other, which may evoke feelings of sympathy towards the Rapanui. McCall (1994) explained that at times he sympathized with the struggles of the Rapanui, but at other times with Chile because of what Chilean agencies were attempting to do. While completing my research, I too was sympathetic towards the Rapanui people and their fight to regain some form of

control over island affairs but at the same time, I recognized the important role that the state has played in improving social and economic conditions for the Rapanui.

Figure 3.1 Methodological Framework and Its Application to the Research Process



3.3 Fieldwork

Two field seasons were completed for this research. The first season was carried out from May to September 2000. I spent three and a half months on Easter Island and the remaining time in Santiago, Chile. Research was primarily conducted in the island's only town, Hanga-roa, where all of the modern social, economic, and political services are located, such as the hospital, school, airport, municipality, government office, development office, land office, and tourism office. The entirety of the island was also repeatedly visited to record observations regarding the impact

of tourism on significant archaeological sites, land reform, particularly in the area of Vaitea, and future development projects (e.g. a new port in La Pérouse). During this first season, different Chilean ministries and agencies were also visited both in Santiago and Valparaiso in order to collect further data pertaining to development plans and projects. Also during this time, interviews were conducted with related officials.

I returned to Easter Island in late January 2001 for a period of five weeks to conduct a second field season. This second season was necessary for a number of reasons. Firstly, research was initially completed during the tourism industry's low season (May through September). Thus, few tourists were present at this time, which allowed only minimal observations to be recorded. It was valuable to visit the island during peak season (December through March) to further explore the problems and effects of tourism on the economy, society, and landscape. This includes, for example, changes in employment, interactions between tourists and islanders, and the impact of tourism on the landscape. Observations made at this time were compared and contrasted to initial observations made during the first field season. Secondly, I returned to observe the annual Tapati festival, which celebrates the traditional culture and customs of the Rapanui. Aside from a cultural celebration, Tapati is also a form of cultural preservation and resistance. The theme of Tapati, as a form of cultural resistance, was important to the thesis because it demonstrated continued Rapanui cultural resistance throughout a process of modernization and acculturation. Lastly, this second season allowed me to conduct additional interviews and collect further data.

3.4 Research Design

3.4.1 *Documentary Research*

Guba and Lincoln (1985:277) use the term 'document' to "denote any written or recorded material other than a record that was not prepared specifically in response to a request from the inquirer". Examples of documentary research include letters, diaries, newspaper editorials, photographs or medical histories (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). In addition, Guba and Lincoln (1985:277) define 'record' as "any written or recorded statement prepared by or for an individual or organization for the purpose of attesting to an event or providing an accounting". Records can include tax forms, government directories, minutes of a meeting or birth certificates (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Documents and reports acted as a secondary source of information on the social, economic, and political development of Easter Island since 1967. They also provided a source of supplementary data to research conducted through participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Documents and records were valuable to the research design because they, like speech, are products and are meaningful (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

Data were gathered from a number of different sources on the island as well as in Santiago and Valparaiso. Statistical material pertaining to Easter Island from 1967 to 2001 included official and island censuses, occupational and economic breakdowns, tourist origins and number of annual visitors, and arrivals and departures of individuals to and from the island. This information was located at the municipality, government offices, airport authorities, and the tourist bureau. Other data collected included: urban and rural maps; photographs; newspaper reports concerning development issues; municipal records; annual reports; official development plans; and land-use plans. This information was collected from the local

government, municipality, the library, development office, national park office, and from relevant Chilean government ministries and libraries both in Santiago and Valparaiso.

Of all of the possible research techniques, archival or documentary research is the cheapest and most accessible source of data (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Guba and Lincoln (1985:276) further stress that documents and archives:

Are a stable source of information, both in the sense that they may accurately reflect situations that occurred at some time in the past, and that they can be analyzed and reanalyzed without undergoing changes in the interim.

Supplementary data, like interviews and participant observation, are important sources of information in that they are complementary to other methods. They too provide significant meaning to experiences, changes, and behaviors. Thus, documents are “products like speech itself, of a system within which they are defined and made meaningful” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:247).

The question of the validity and the verifiability of the documents and reports collected had to be addressed. How does one know what is written is always true? This is especially significant when acquiring data from foreign countries. Despite Guba and Lincoln’s praise of credibility, there is always a possibility that documents or reports have been altered or even falsified. To my knowledge, none of the documents or records gathered were altered or falsified in any manner; documents and records were collected from Rapanui municipal and government offices as well as associated Chilean ministries and planning agencies. Comparing development documents or records to the information gathered from interviews helped to confirm and verify the validity of document sources. Prior to conducting the research, I knew it might be difficult to find or locate particular documents and/or records. Records for example, may be difficult to obtain due to impending restrictions or laws regarding

their access (Hodder, 1994). This was true in some instances as permission had to be obtained from acting authorities to access particular documents and/or records in some Chilean ministries. In other instances, Rapanui officials denied me access to provincial government and municipal documents and records.

The fragmented nature of the documents and/or records collected on Easter Island and in Santiago and Valparaiso was a problem. Difficulties with the data included: the unavailability of data for particular time periods; incomplete data sets; disparities within the data; inadequate methods of collecting statistical information; and changes in categories. One of the major problems with documents and/or records was the absence of data for specific periods. For example, I located annual reports from the provincial government on Easter Island for the years 1994-1998 but was unable to locate these same reports published during the 1980's. In many instances, statistical data were collected during the 1990's but there was a significant absence of data for the 1980's.

3.4.2 *Participant Observation*

Observation is the "act of noting a phenomenon, often with instruments, and recording it for scientific or other purposes" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:80). In qualitative research, the researcher is the principle instrument and the purpose of recording observed data is to understand the actions and experiences of subjects. Participant observation, or "field observations", allows the researcher to become immersed in what they are studying (Lofland & Lofland, 1995:18). I assumed the position of participant observer to accumulate data on social, economic, and political changes associated with the process of development (Li, 1991). It is a multi-faceted

and effective technique; researchers can be covert or overt, silent observers or active participants (Lofland & Lofland, 1995).

This method is very important for data collection as it allows for the observation of social events as they happen in a natural setting over a period of time. Emotions, behaviors, and feelings can be observed through the experience of existence within the subject's reality (Li, 1991). Data were collected from observations (e.g. impact of tourism on the environment, urban development, and land reform), perceptions (e.g. impact of modernization process on the Rapanui, political conflicts, and land-use patterns), and informal interviews with subjects (e.g. discussions regarding the social impact of tourism, conflicts between Rapanui and Chilean development strategies, and the importance of the tourism industry). Unlike with interviews, access to the field can be gained with little effort, and does not require access to or the permission of a gatekeeper (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Because Rapanui residents are familiar with foreigners, there were no problems gaining access to the different sites or areas on the island as I could blend into the environment as a tourist allowing me to make detailed observations and take photographs.

Participant observation on Easter Island was overt and I assumed the role of observer-as-participant (Kearns, 2000). Unfortunately, participation in the audience at local meetings regarding topics such as local development plans and initiatives, land-use change, the national park, and tourism was not permitted. Direct observation also occurred. The transformation of the landscape (e.g. land-use changes), local urban life (e.g. changes in urban Hangaroa), and relations between different groups (e.g. Rapanui Council members and Chilean officials) were observed. Observations were recorded in a daily journal and through photographs.

The elusiveness of participant observation can also prove to be problematic. Data collection and interpretation depend heavily on what the researcher has heard, seen, and experienced (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Denzin and Lincoln (1998:88) also raise another point: "Without statistical analysis to confirm the significance of observed patterns or trends, it cannot be ensured that findings are real and not merely the effects of change". In an attempt to overcome this problem, research findings and interpretations of data collected through participant observation were compared to information gathered from interviews conducted with Rapanui officials, other written accounts of development events, and my knowledge regarding developmental change on Easter Island.

3.4.3 Visual Anthropology

A second form of observation, known as visual anthropology, was also used (Collier, 1967; Greenhill; 1981; Loizos, 1993). Using a camera as a research tool allowed the capture of distinct landscape changes that have occurred as a result of the process of modernization which were later used in the analysis process (Collier, 1967). Collier (1967:5) states that photographs are "precise records of material reality" and "turn raw circumstances into data". Similar landscape photographs taken in the late 1960's were compared and contrasted with contemporary landscape photographs (2000-2001) to analyze the process of development over the past three decades as well as the impact of development on the landscape (Chapter Four, Chapter Five). Photographs taken during the annual Tapati Festival depicting Rapanui customs and traditions provided valuable information for the exploration of Rapanui resistance to an increasing Chilean presence on the island (Chapter Five).

3.4.4 *Semi-Structured Interviews*

Interviews are “conversations with a purpose” (Guba & Lincoln, 1985:268). The process of talking, listening, and observing through interviews provides insight into the constructed meanings and realities of individuals. The importance of understanding the experiences of other people, and the meaning they apply to an experience, distinguishes this method from positivist applications (Seidman, 1998). Unlike quantitative methods, it is not an attempt to predict human behavior, but an attempt to try to understand it. Walker (1985:46) states: “to gain further insight to why persons act as they do, we need to understand the meaning and significance they give to their actions”. This is ultimately achieved through the process of interviewing.

As a research method, interviewing was a very valuable tool for my fieldwork.

Dunn (2000) explains four main reasons for conducting interviews:

1. To fill a gap in knowledge which other methods are unable to bridge efficaciously.
2. To investigate complex behaviours and motivations.
3. To collect a diversity of opinions and experiences.
4. When a method is required which shows respect for and empowers those people who provide the data.

Interviews allowed access into the participants’ individual perceptions, experiences, and attitudes concerning future development visions of Easter Island. Interviewing facilitated the production of information about individuals and their environments through conversation (Miller & Glassner, 1997).

Interviewing, although a powerful and valuable device, is also plagued with possible problems. Interviewing is a laborious and time-consuming task, but is relatively inexpensive (Seidman, 1998). The issue of “gatekeepers”, persons from whom consent must be obtained, was not a problem (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992:33). Douglas Porteous, my supervisor, had conducted previous research on Easter Island,

which assisted myself in gaining access to respondents. Once access into the field was granted, to obtain information, rapport was established with respondents along with a substantial amount of trust. Rapport-building is essential in the interview process (Miller & Glassner, 1997). If rapport is not established, information offered may be limited and selective. Rapport implies “getting along with each other, a harmony with, a conformity to, an affinity for one another” (Seidman, 1991:73). Trust also had to be established during interviews and was gained through complete honesty with respondents. I had no difficulty establishing rapport with respondents or gaining their trust. As a result, respondents spoke comfortably and honestly about their opinions regarding the future of development.

For my research, semi-structured interviews were conducted and acted as the primary method of data collection. Respondents were engaged in individual discussions of future development visions concerning the island’s hinterland. Prior to the interview, the respondent was informed that participation was strictly voluntary and that he or she had the choice to withdraw from the study at any time. Respondents did receive a small ‘payback’; a copy of Porteous’s *The Modernization of Easter Island* (1981). After written consent was obtained (Appendix 2), respondents were asked to participate in one interview lasting approximately one to two hours in length (Appendix 4). Respondents were asked to participate in a follow-up interview if further questions arose or clarification of provided information was required. This interview was shorter, approximately 45 to 60 minutes in length. All of the interviews, with the exception of two, were conducted in Hangaroa in a location where the respondent felt most comfortable (e.g. workplace or residence). Several representatives in Santiago were contacted, but only two interviews were conducted. With the permission of the respondent, each interview was tape-recorded. None of

the respondents objected to this method of data collection. All names and positions of respondents were coded to protect their anonymity and all collected information was coded (e.g. tape cassettes) and locked in a secure location to ensure confidentiality. No person other than myself had access to the above information.

Semi-structured interviewing allowed the introduction of topics that were important to the research questions and was developed around structured, but adaptable questioning (Dunn, 2000). Therefore, the consistency of topics was guaranteed because the questions posed confronted a basic set of issues involving planning problems (Appendix 3). Topics included: land reform; major changes in infrastructure; future projects (e.g. airport and port development); the effects on the economy and heritage landscapes; and land control. Within the semi-structured interview format, respondents were engaged in a general discussion in which they could emphasize important issues (Eyles & Smith, 1988). In total, twenty-eight different individuals participated in the research:

- 17 Rapanui, which included the current governor and past governors, the current mayor and past mayors, and council members.
- 9 Chileans, which included representatives from various Chilean ministries and planning agencies (e.g. Ministry of Public Works, CONAF (National Forest Corporation), and Chilean Navy.
- 2 Others, which included a representative from the Easter Island Foundation and an independent anthropologist.

In order to clarify answers and further discuss topics, two of the respondents were asked to participate in a second and third interview and two others were asked to complete a second interview. In total, thirty-four interviews were completed.

3.5 Sampling Participants

Respondents were selected based on their participation (past, present and/or future) in the social, economic, and political process of development of Easter Island since 1967 (e.g. those individuals who played, play or will play a key role in the decision-making process regarding development plans). Information about key figures and their involvement in the development process was found in the *Rapa Nui Journal* (1986-2000) and official Easter Island Internet websites prior to entering the field. Once in the field, information about respondents was also solicited from third party contacts. Based on the above criteria, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Rapanui stakeholders (3 governors or ex-governors, 1 government employee, 4 mayors or ex-mayors, 1 mayor candidate, 3 council members, 2 SERNATUR representatives, 1 SASIPA official, and 2 tourism operators) on Easter Island and national stakeholders (3 ministry officials, 1 SASIPA official, 2 CONAF officials, 2 Navy officials, and 1 CORFO representative) either on Easter Island or in Santiago. Interviews were further conducted with international stakeholders who have participated in the development of the island (1 Easter Island representative and 1 independent anthropologist).

3.6 Contacting Participants

Respondents' names, positions, addresses, and phone numbers were elicited from official Easter Island Internet websites and the *Rapa Nui Journal* (1986-2000), and third party contacts. Selected respondents received a letter requesting their participation via mail, prior to entering the field (Appendix 1). These respondents were asked to reply in writing by mail, fax, or email. Thus the researcher was not acquainted with respondents prior to entering the field. In April 2000, three

respondents confirmed their participation in my study via fax and email. Upon arrival in Hangaroa, these respondents were contacted to discuss details of the interview and issues of consent. Following this, interview schedules were created and written consent obtained. Pre-selected respondents who did not reply to the initial letter of first contact were visited in Hangaroa and thereafter interview schedules were arranged. The issue of “gatekeepers”, persons who may assist the researcher in entering the field, was not a problem as my supervisor had pre-established contacts and aided in gaining access (Creswell, 1998; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Confirmed respondents on Easter Island also acted as third party contacts in locating other potential participants and arranging meetings.

3.7 Data Analysis

Prior to entering the field, a coding system was created not only to conceal the identities of respondents, but also to organize and prepare information for analysis (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). As described by Lofland and Lofland (1995:186), “coding becomes the fundamental means of developing the analysis”. Prior to entering the field, I was able to pre-select some categories after completing an analysis of contemporary development issues as discussed in the *Rapa Nui Journal* (1986-2001). The analysis provided introductory information about the progress of development over the past two decades and highlighted the important issues concerning future development initiatives. A general review of all information, as suggested by Creswell (1998) was carried out upon the completion of data collection. Information gathered from interviews was transcribed and translated from Spanish into English from cassette tapes and written notes. When necessary, a Spanish-

English computer program and dictionary were used to assist with the translation. Information from observations was also recorded.

Information was analyzed through 'content analysis' (Seidman, 1991). After a general review of the collected data, it was reduced by creating codes and/or categories in order to organize and sort through the data (Creswell, 1998; Lofland & Lofland, 1995). The review of information included "jotting down notes in the margins" (Creswell, 1998:140) and "memoing" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995:193). For example, answers provided from semi-structured interviews were organized into emerging categories or topics (Patton, 1990). After analyzing all of the interviews, it was apparent that the information produced from all of the interviews would not be utilized in the study. In total, thirty-three interviews were completed, but only excerpts from sixteen interviews were included for the following reasons: a) similar responses could be reduced into single categories and as a result, I chose the most relevant quotations to be included; b) some interviews produced little or no valuable information which was useful to the research; and c) the level of saturation peaked at the twentieth interview. Once data had been categorized and relationships between categories identified, the data was ready for interpretation (Creswell, 1998).

The description, classification, and interpretation of coded and categorized information then took place (Creswell, 1998). At this point, the concepts of postcolonialism were applied to the analysis of information. Its theoretical framework focusing on the relationships and issues stemming from the process of colonization, provided a basis for understanding and interpreting different issues and events regarding the development of Easter Island, and its contested nature based on the relationships between Chile and the Rapanui. Colonial discourse analysis facilitated the interpretation and understanding of respondents' statements and documents. As

Kearns (2000) points out, analysis of observations depends on their nature. For this purpose, information gathered from observations assisted in supporting and reinforcing data collected from interviews and documents and/or records.

3.8 Limitations and Value of the Research

3.8.1 Ethical Concerns

Prior to conducting research on Easter Island, the ethics of the research methods had to be explored. Every research program contains potential ethical problems that must be defined in the context of the research. Prior to entering the field, I asked specific questions and addressed possible ethical complications in order to evade potential negative consequences for the research or its publication (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). This is valuable, as Guba and Lincoln (1985:256) point out, because "respondents of the interviews are more likely to be both candid and forthcoming if they respect the interviewer and believe in his or her integrity". Failure to recognize these concerns could have jeopardized the credibility of the research and myself.

To avoid such problems, informed consent was obtained, respondents' right to privacy were maintained, and the protection of respondents from potential harm was secured before, during and after the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). As Glesne and Peshkin (1992) explain, informed consent is important because participants acknowledge that participation is voluntary, recognize any potential danger associated with the study, and understand that participation may be revoked at any time. Sensitive measures were taken to protect the identity of Rapanui and Chilean officials. Interviews conducted among Rapanui and Chilean officials were all coded in a uniform manner to protect identities. Concomitantly, original names of

respondents were not included in any recorded or printed material. Information regarding the purpose and objectives of this research were provided to all respondents in a written document. Although the Rapanui and Chilean officials are accustomed to participating in interviews, respondents appeared to be impressed with the level of ethical concern by the researcher for themselves and as a result, respondents were comfortable and openly discussed interview topics.

3.8.2 Cross-Cultural Research

It was important to recognize the possible limitations associated with conducting research in a cross-cultural setting. Noticeable differences were apparent between myself and the respondents (Table 3.1). The way in which I was positioned within the research, based on these differences, may have had an impact not only on the research process, but also in terms of access to information. Differences in culture, language, social status, sex, and age are variables that were acknowledged prior to conducting research on Easter Island.

Table 3.1 Differences Between the Researcher and Respondents

Respondents	The Interviewer
Culture: Polynesian/Chilean	Culture: Canadian
Language: Rapanui/Spanish	Language: English/Spanish/Portuguese
Social Status: Rapanui/Chilean Elites	Social Status: Researcher/Student
Sex: Male	Sex: Female
Age: Approximately 40-60	Age: 26

Culture

Conducting research in a foreign setting requires that the researcher is sensitive towards differences and also respects them in order to collect important data; for example, particular topics may be taboo, or there may be different norms

governing interaction between researcher and respondent (Patton, 1990). No particular problems arose during the two field seasons because firstly, the Rapanui are familiar with foreigners as a result of their continual interaction with tourists and secondly, Rapanui and Chilean officials are familiar with academic researchers. Prior to entering the field, I familiarized myself with Easter Island by reading literature on the Rapanui culture, customs, traditions, and history.

Language

All of the interviews were conducted in Spanish with the exception of nine, which were conducted in English. Three of the Rapanui participants spoke English (Tom, Miles, and Laura) and were comfortable conducting interviews in English, but at times they did not use standard English. I have a background in Spanish and Portuguese and intensively studied Spanish for a year prior to entering the field. Despite this, there were problems with the complex process of translating interviews (Seidman, 1998). In some instances, Spanish words could not be translated directly into English and meanings had to be translated according to the social, economic, and political context of the respondent (Smith, 1996).

Social Status

Potential problems could have arisen when interviewing Rapanui and Chilean elites as interviews conducted with elites normally require a distinct set of guidelines. Dexter's (1970) interview structure was followed, which emphasizes the respondents' interpretation of the situation, allowing them to structure the interview to some degree, thus enabling respondents to introduce topics that they felt were important. Control may also be an issue because, in many instances, elites are in a position of power, and may try to control or dominate the interview (Seidman, 1998; Schoenberger, 1991). To avoid this, I worked with the respondent to facilitate the

interview by introducing specific topics if the respondent diverged from the topic or failed to discuss important issues (Patton, 1990). By following Dexter's (1970) guidelines no problems were encountered while interviewing either Rapanui or Chilean officials.

Sex and Age

Interviews were conducted with 26 men and 2 women. All of the respondents ranged between the ages of 40 and 60 years. Lofland and Lofland (1995:62) point out that "gender filters knowledge". Thus, interviews may be affected by "sexist attitudes and behaviours" (Seidman, 1991:78). Like gender, age can also be a problem. Special sensitivity was required throughout the research process because respondents may have felt uneasy being interviewed by a younger female (Seidman, 1991). Nevertheless, participants appeared comfortable during the interview process and I did not encounter any complications due to sexist attitudes or behaviours.

3.8.3 Saturation

Creswell (1998:56) defines the concept 'saturate' as: "to collect interview data to saturate (or find information that continues to add until no more can be found)". As an inexperienced researcher, I found the level of saturation difficult to determine. I was uncertain what the exact level of saturation was or how it should be measured. In order to collect as much information as possible, I spoke with all relevant Rapanui and Chilean officials involved in the development process, past and present. Twenty-seven interviews were conducted during the first season and six during the second. Initially, I expected to complete only ten to twenty interviews. However, at the end of the research process, the number completed was far greater than expected. After

transcribing and analyzing the data, it was evident that the level of saturation probably peaked after the twentieth interview.

3.8.4 Validity

Lofland and Lofland (1995) explain that a study is not deemed interesting because it is valid or true, but rather it must be true in order to be considered interesting for particular reasons. In order for research to be true or valid, Lofland and Lofland (1995:15) advise that a study should include Roger Sanjek's three "Canons of Ethnographic Validity":

1. Validity is validated when the researcher honestly explains their chosen form of analysis and how it organized the facts.
2. Within the report, a description of the interaction between the researcher and the participants is evident.
3. The researcher should discuss the process of collecting and assembling of data, as well as the process of data presentation within the report.

To ensure the validity of the research, I have discussed all three of Sanjek's canons in detail throughout this chapter. The audience has been informed of the methods of data collection and presentation, as well as the process of analysis, and why both were chosen. Most importantly, I describe the process of the selection of participants and the relationship between these participants and myself, which includes ensuring the privacy and protection of their rights throughout the entire research process.

The triangulation of research methods also assisted to ensure the validity of information contained in this study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Data collected from documents, records, and observations could be compared to data produced from interviews and vice versa; in many instances, information from interviews validated information gathered from documents and records. Photographs taken of contemporary landscapes were compared to documents and records to verify changes and impacts that had occurred as a result of the modernization process.

3.8.5 *Value of Research*

As previously mentioned, little research has been conducted on the development of Easter Island aside from the publications of McCall (1981) and Porteous (1981). Contemporary research on the development of Easter Island (1967-2001) provides an important base-line study of the social, economic, and political development, supplying a strong framework for future research in this area. The research also contributes to a wider body of knowledge, such as small island development and associated problems, tourism-based development, and the role of the state in the planning of small island development. The completed research also yields an important, comprehensive source documenting the development of Easter Island over the past three decades and an examination of future development initiatives, which may be of use to those Rapanui and non-Rapanui participants involved in the development process. Final copies of the thesis will be sent to the museum and library in Hangarua for future reference.

3.9 Chapter Summary

Given the absence of literature focusing on contemporary Rapa Nui development issues, this research is particularly significant because it provides a historico-geographical account of the process of development, as well as its related social, economic, political, cultural, and environmental impacts. More importantly, the second half of the thesis discusses the future of development as seen through the eyes of Rapanui and Chilean officials who have played or will play a large role in the development process. Interviews empowered Rapanui participants with a voice to

candidly express their opinions concerning proposed development projects and vocalize personal visions for the future of development.

Throughout the thesis, I have tried to maintain a neutral position, which has allowed me to produce a body of work that firstly, offers the audience a descriptive chronicle of the modernization process and changes that have occurred as a result and secondly, examines the conflicting realities concerning the path of development in the future, a path which to date has been dominated by Chilean agencies. I do not attempt to make any recommendations on which direction development initiatives should take in the near future.

Chapter Four

The Development of Easter Island 1967-2001

Thirty-five years ago Easter Island was passed to the public administration of Chile...when all of the public services were here, there was no communication. You had to yell to speak with the mainland, yelling craziness into a metal machine... Today, thirty-five years later, it is different. The other day my wife went to Europe...she calls me in the night and I call her in the day and I can speak perfectly with her by telephone. This is the difference... It has changed, today I have television and I have a telephone...

Interview with Bob, Hangaroa, Easter Island, 2000

4.1 Motivations For Development

In the late 20th century, the three major motives for the development of Easter Island were: Chile's geopolitical interest in the island; the construction of an airport; and Rapanui/Chilean political changes (Figure 4.1).

4.1.1 *Geopolitical Interest*

Chile was particularly interested in Easter Island because of its geopolitical value; Easter Island is the only landmass in the South Pacific owned by a Latin American country. Easter Island, like many other Pacific Islands, was annexed by a foreign empire chiefly for its strategic political and military positioning in Pacific waters (Lockwood, 1993; King, 1993). Lockwood (1993:19) explains the geographical importance of Pacific Islands:

To the West today, the significance of the islands is mainly linked to their strategic location in the expanse of the Pacific Ocean that separates the economic military powers of the West (US and Europe) from those of the east (Japan, China and the Soviet Union).

In the late 1970's, Porteous (1981:234) observed that Easter Island represented a "valuable psychological symbol" for Chile, evoking influence over Oceania. As King (1993:21) further explains, "islands have often been the first place to be incorporated into expanding empires, forming staging posts en route to further conquests". Land

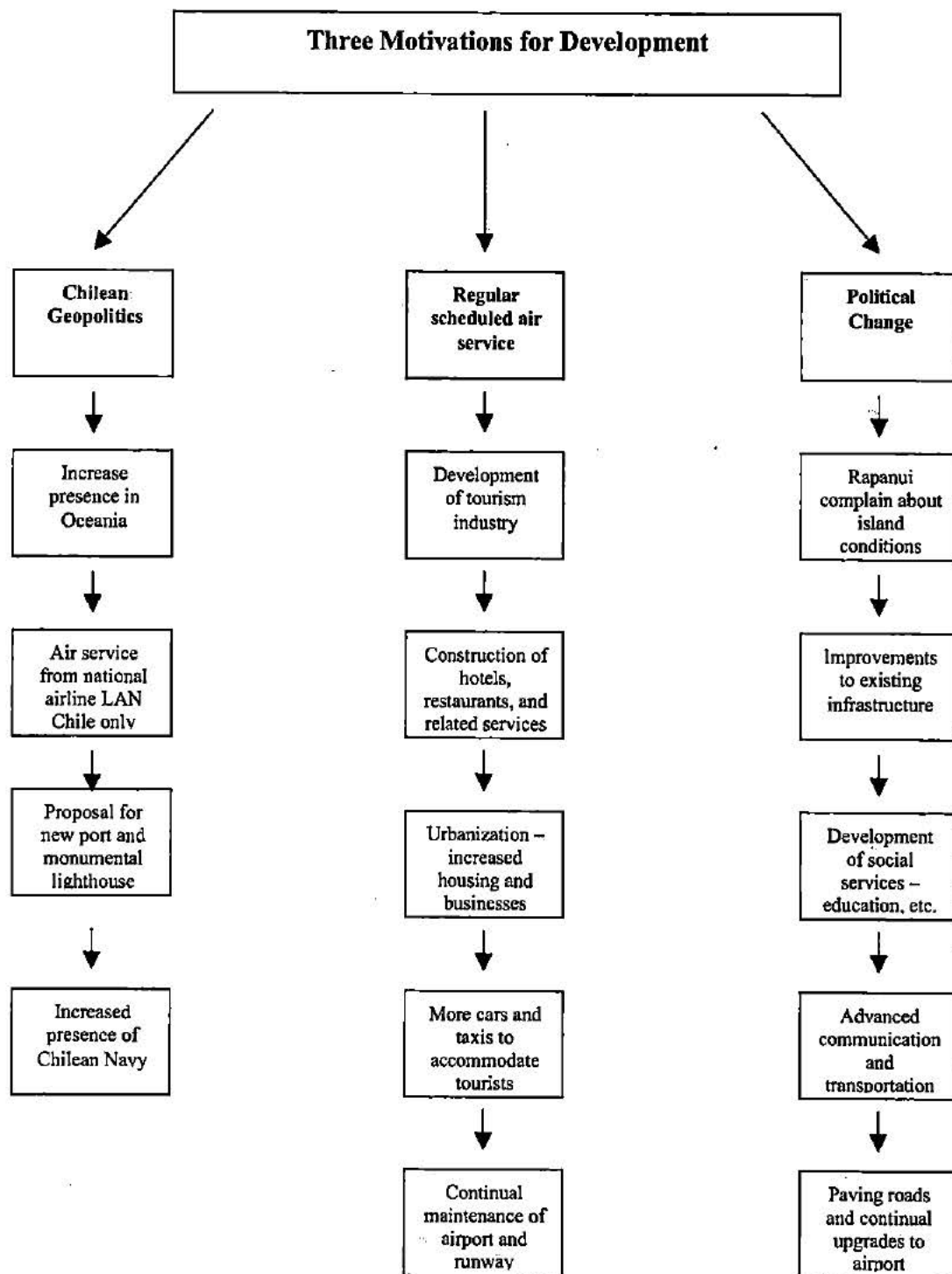
annexation claims are for Chile a means through which political presence and power can be obtained. Aside from Easter Island, Chile also claims a section of Antarctica. The Rio Treaty of 1974 created the 'South American Antarctica', allocating an area lying between 53° W and 90° W as Chilean territory (Beck, 1990:103). Although current international law prohibits Chile from exercising sovereignty over this particular area, Chile has expressed an interest in Antarctica because of its political and strategic importance (Beck, 1990).

Chile's interest in the development of Easter Island therefore does not appear to be economically motivated. Unlike other center-periphery relationships in the South Pacific, Chile has received little or no economic return on development initiatives or from its residents; native islanders have never and still are not required to pay taxes to the state. Chile has funnelled millions of dollars into development projects, but has not expected any economic returns. Interests are entirely motivated by the strategic presence of Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean. Porteous (1981:29) describes the island's importance to Chile:

With a Chilean Naval garrison this important defensive site would not only protect the homeland in time of war but would also act as a forward position from which further commercial or territorial ventures might be launched with impunity.

Like Chile, the United States gained control over Micronesia because of its importance as a link in the defence system of the US in the Pacific (Gaffaney, 1995). Like Easter Island, Micronesia offered no financial possibilities, limited exportable resources, no assistance in the pursuit of capitalism, and no revenue in the form of rent or taxes (Gaffaney, 1995). Thus, in both cases, the countries were concerned only with the geopolitical value each island possessed. In order to secure this geo-

Figure 4.1 Development of Easter Island 1967-2001



political position, the empire must assume the role as the long-term provider of the economic resources necessary to improve and sustain island life (Gaffaney, 1995). As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five, for the past three decades, Chile has provided the required funding to increase the overall standard of living for the Rapanui.

Besides the geopolitical interest of Chile, Easter Island was also valued as a strategic location by the American military. In the early 1960's, the Mataverí airport was constructed by an American military group, but served as an American satellite base strategically situated on the island to observe weather patterns while secretly monitoring Soviet naval movements (McCall, 1981). By the late 1960's, the American Navy base closed, leaving the Naval airport facilities for use by the islanders.

4.1.2 Air Service to Easter Island

After the closure of the American base, the Mataverí International Airport was established under the direction of the Chilean Aeronautical Services and the first commercial flight arrived on Easter Island in 1967 from Santiago breaking down existing barriers of isolation and remoteness by vastly increasing accessibility. Initially, the island's transportation connection depended on an annual supply ship from the mainland, which delivered an assortment of supplies to islanders.

With regular scheduled flights to Easter Island, improvements were required to accommodate a "nascent tourism industry" (Porteous, 1981:176). Prior to this, only a small amount of visitors travelled to Easter Island on board oceanic vessels or private boats. In the late 1960's, the island lacked the necessary infrastructure (e.g. hotels, restaurants, and other related services) needed to service incoming visitors.

Furthermore, changes stemmed from Chile's guilty conscience regarding a lack of assistance provided to native islanders prior to 1967 (Porteous, 1981). Following the arrival of the first commercial flight, development on Easter Island began in the area of infrastructure development, such as improvements in transportation (by both air and vessel), communication, social services, housing, and the urbanization of Hangaroa. The establishment of a tourism industry also became an immediate concern and development plans at this time began to focus on the construction of hotels, restaurants, and other related services.

Regular scheduled air service enabled more people to travel to Easter Island, but it also gave native islanders the opportunity to finally travel off the island. With an increase in the number of mainland Chileans working on Easter Island, a higher incidence of Rapanui travelling to the mainland and abroad, and the arrival of tourists, the Rapanui were exposed to a world beyond the confines of their tiny island; they now were able to observe different lifestyles and discover contending ideologies.

4.1.3 Political Changes

As a result, the Rapanui discovered that mainland Chilean citizens and others participated in 'universal suffrage' and that Rapanui people too possessed rights to participate in the decision-making process about the social, economic, and political conditions of Easter Island (Porteous, 1981:171). Until the mid 1960's, native islanders had no control over the social, economic, or political structure of Rapanui society. Historically, Rapanui participation in the decision-making process regarding island affairs had been severely limited due to the intervention of and control by foreign explorers, missionaries, settlers, administrators, and the Chilean Navy. During the 1950's, under the administration of the Chilean Navy, a military governor

ruled the island. Islanders frequently complained about their confinement to Hangaroa, restricted travel from the island to the mainland, Chilean Navy rule, and unpaid labour (Porteous, 1981). In 1964, the Rapanui were still denied any rights to vote or participate at any level in island politics. At this time, the Rapanui began to complain about ensuing social, cultural, and economic problems under Navy rule. Voicing their complaints, native islanders sent a letter to President Frei describing the intolerable conditions the Rapanui were being subjected to (Porteous, 1981).

In an attempt to re-gain political control, the Rapanui formalized an election and elected a young Rapanui man to become the island's first mayor. The military governor immediately pronounced the election illegal. Finally, in 1965, a municipal election was officially granted providing those men and women over the age of 21 who spoke the native tongue with the right to vote and elect the first Rapanui mayor. In 1966, Easter Island was proclaimed a civil territory as a part of the fifth province of Valparaiso. As Hempenstall and Rutherford (1984:8) explain, the participation of Pacific people in the political system was vital to ensure their identity within the colonial system:

Island politics during the age of territorial colonialism was, however, more often about social survival: the struggle for some to share in the control of colonial society or at least for the right to contribute to its formation.

As a result, a civil administration (municipality) was established allowing the Rapanui the opportunity to participate in the election of island council members and a mayor. At the same time, a government administration was also created. A provincial governor, appointed by the President of the Republic of Chile, was to act as a representative of the state for a five-year term.

Another important political entity that has evolved is the Consejo de Ancianos (Council of Elders). The original Council of Elders was formed in 1888 and was

comprised of the Rapanui representatives who signed the treaty that annexed Easter Island to Chile (Makihara, 1999). In the early 1970's, the pre-existing structure of the original council was reorganized under the leadership of a predominant Rapanui man. Since this time, this new council has been working on behalf of the Rapanui community to change existing laws and regulations pertaining to land reform and the administrative system (Makihara, 1999). Because of opposing ideologies within the council, in 1994 some members separated from the group to form a second Consejo de Ancianos. Colin, an important member of this second council, explained that the primary functions of this group are to protect the rights of the Rapanui people and the cultural patrimony of the island. Those aligned with the original Consejo de Ancianos contend that the second council is not legitimate because it is not an official administrative entity and therefore has no authority to participate in political decisions.

In an attempt to improve relations between the Chilean state and the indigenous peoples of Chile, the state passed Ley Indígena No.19.253 in 1994 (Makihara, 1999). Its inception was significant because for this first time in Chilean history there was a "legal recognition that Chile is an ethnically plural society" (RNJ, December 1993:90). This law finally acknowledged Chile's indigenous populations and contracted to "respect, protect, and promote the development of indigenous peoples, their cultures, families and communities...and protect indigenous land" (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena, 2000:9). Also at this time, the state formed CONADI (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena or National Corporation of Indigenous Development) to act as mediator between indigenous groups and the state. The creation of CONADI was also an attempt on behalf of the Chilean state to increase the involvement of Chile's indigenous peoples in the

decision-making process in relation to the social, economic, and political development of a community. The Rapanui, for example, now have the opportunity to submit development project proposals to CONADI who upon approval provide funding.

4.2 Development Plans

Efforts by the Chilean state to incorporate the Rapanui into the planning process of island development have only occurred in the last two decades. Historically, foreign administrators and Chilean planning agencies have directed development plans.

At the beginning of the 20th century, development plans continued to be directed under company control. By the 1930's, sheep ranching, under the direction of the company Williamson-Balfour, remained the main economic enterprise on Easter Island. Development plans therefore focused on improving the quality of pastures and the livestock, constructing walls and fences, improving the water supply, and upgrading commercial infrastructure (Porteous, 1981). In order to regenerate vegetative growth and eliminate particular plant species, selective burning was carried out in different areas and stone walls were built to control the large number of livestock (Porteous, 1981). The commercial infrastructure required significant upgrades because of the poor quality of existing facilities. Development initiatives also included the construction of new buildings such as a ranch substation in Vaitea, upgrading road conditions, and most importantly, improving docking facilities at Hanga Piko to assist with the import and export of goods (Porteous, 1981).

As it will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4.3.2, Chile and others favored commercial agriculture development on Easter Island in the early 1920's but plans were never fully developed. The Rapanui were involved in semi-subsistence

agriculture and grew a variety of produce (e.g. sweet potato, sugar cane, pineapples, melons, and bananas) for local consumption only but a small number of native islanders grew maize and sold it to the company (Porteous, 1981).

In 1953, company control was replaced by Chilean Navy rule. Navy rulers continued to operate the sheep station and as Porteous (1981:169) explains, “the basic social, economic, and political system developed in the company state era continued largely as before”. In the late 1960’s, the intentions of the state with regard to development initiatives were “to expunge the island’s former ‘colonial’ status, to upgrade conditions of life of a people who were both locationally and socio-economically marginal to Chile” (Porteous, 1981:175). Chile now began to actively play an important role in directing the path of development. Development plans introduced by the Chilean state at this time emphasized infrastructural improvements and the betterment of social, economic, and political services. Native islanders began to witness significant improvements in the areas of social services, communication, and transportation. Of course, the arrival of the first commercial flight in 1967 initiated an increase in the number of visitors travelling to the island, thus upgrades to the airport facilities and the development of the tourism industry became a priority.

In 1972, the *Plan de Desarrollo del Departamento de Isla de Pascua 1971-1976* (Department of Easter Island Development Plan) (ODEPLAN) was released by the Chilean government. This document outlined a five-year plan for the social, economic, and political development of Easter Island. Porteous (1981) reports that improvements at this time were carried out in the areas of transportation, communication, social services, and tourism. Three years later, the Ministry of Planning released *Plan Operativo para el Desarrollo de Isla de Pascua* (Operative Plan for the Development of Easter Island). Proposed development plans included:

further development of the Mataverí Airport; the improvement of telecommunication systems; the use of foreign languages (English and French) in the school system in preparation for work in the tourism sector; the establishment of a tourism office on Easter Island to assist tourists and promote tourism; to provide support to farmers to maximize production for local consumption; and to examine the possibility of installing port facilities at La Pérouse (Plan Operativo para el Desarrollo de Isla de Pascua, 1975).

The government of Chile completed a second development program, *Isla de Pascua, Programa de Desarrollo 1986-1990* (Easter Island Development Plan) in the mid-1980's. This document analyzed the primary socio-economic sectors involved in the development process: 1) productive sectors (agriculture, fishing, commercial, health, justice, and urban living); and 2) infrastructure and institutional support (transportation, telecommunication, and energy) (Isla de Pascua, Programa de Desarrollo, 1986-1990). At this time, the creation of two sub-sectors, tourism and cultural patrimony, were under consideration by the planning agency. Throughout the 1980's, Chilean development plans continued to focus on upgrading transportation services (e.g. improvements to airport and port facilities), the betterment of social services (e.g. improved education and health services), and the further development of tourism (e.g. construction of hotels and other related services). For example, Chile allocated approximately US \$948,000 for the development of Rapa Nui that included paving streets, upgrading the port, and improving fishing ports (RNJ, Winter 1987/88). Other projects involved expanding the size of the harbor and creating a drainage system for rainwater (RNJ, Summer 1988). Costing an estimated US \$1 million dollars, these projects were all aimed towards raising the standard of living of island residents (RNJ, Summer 1988).

Aside from the above government publications, the Chilean government has released no further official development plans. However, development in the 1990's continued to concentrate on infrastructure improvements, airport upgrades, standardizing education and health services, and further developing the tourism industry. In 1990, it was announced that approximately US \$101,500 was to be spent by the Chilean government on tourism related projects (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Tourism Projects 1990

<u>Tourism Projects</u>	<u>Cost (US\$)</u>
Improvements to signs and directions	\$47,000
Small investments in local tourism	\$28,000
"Recuperation" of national monuments	\$19,000
Modernize informal services to tourism	\$ 7,500
Total Cost	\$101,500

Source: RNJ, Fall 1990:37.

In 1991, it was observed that the priorities for Rapa Nui development were to strengthen the airport runway, improve roads leading to moai and other archaeological sites, pave urban roads, reform the education system, and renovate local homes (RNJ, December 1991). Further plans included the expansion of the airport terminal, restoring moai, increased promotion of tourism, and investment in commercial fishing (RNJ, December 1991). Thus, infrastructure development has been a priority over the past two decades. Public investment on this small island during the year 1996 alone was estimated at US \$14,490,700 dollars (RNJ, September 1996). Table 4.2 displays an approximate allocation of funds provided by the state to Easter Island for infrastructure improvements in the year 1996.

Table 4.2 Estimated Infrastructure Costs 1996

<u>Expense</u>	<u>Cost US\$</u>
Improvements to runway	11.820,000
Paving of roads	1.520,000
Rural subsidies	467,000
School roof repairs	359,000
National television station	256,000
Insect and rodent control	49,000
Pier repairs	19,700
Total Cost	14.490,700

Source: RNJ, September 1996.

A large amount of state funding has supported the maintenance and general upkeep of the Mataverí airport in the mid-1990's. Forsyth (1986) explains that foreign aid or in the case of Easter Island, Chilean subsidies, given to small islands are usually provided for wharf and airport improvements or advancements in transportation. Coincidentally, general maintenance and repairs to the airport have increased as the tourism industry has developed. Paving main roads within the town and those leading to moai and other significant archaeological sites remained a priority along with advancements in housing.

Development plans in the 21st century remain concentrated on infrastructure upgrades, the betterment of education and health services, and tourism. Future projects include the construction of a new airport terminal and control tower, the paving of all urban and coastal roads, a new secondary school, and the further development of tourism services.

4.3 Failed Economic Enterprises

Prior to the onset of tourism, attempts were made to commercially exploit Easter Island as sheep ranch, create tropical plantations with the intention of exporting produce, and establish a number of micro-industries to generate income for native

islanders. However, due to a number of different problems, all of these enterprises proved unsuccessful.

4.3.1 Sheep Ranching

In the 1860's, a partnership was established between Jean-Bapiste Onéxime Dutrou-Bornier, a French sea captain, and his business associate, John Brander, with plans to begin an "export business of wool, beasts and other products" to Tahiti and Chile (Porteous, 1981:16). In 1868, native islanders sold Bornier a section of land near Hangaroa and the two men began to transform this area into a sheep ranching station. Their partnership came to an end in 1877 when a group of native islanders murdered Bornier and Brander died shortly thereafter. However, a new partnership between the appointed Alexander Salmon and John Brander's widow, Tetuanuireiaiteraiatea Salmon, was formed. The new partners continued the business until 1879 when they decided to terminate the partnership and began to sell the company and its holdings.

In 1888, Chile annexed Easter Island but at this time Chile could not assume responsibility for island affairs because of social, economic, and political problems on the mainland. Porteous (1981:47) explains:

Lacking capital, manpower, and enterprise, Chile was unable to assert complete national control over the peripheral regions of even its mainland territory.

Navy Captain Policarpo Toro Hurtado, acting on behalf of the Republic of Chile, sailed to Easter Island at this time to purchase the property from remaining landowners. Toro had little difficulty acquiring the land with the exception of the Brander property (the greater part of the island) because at that time, proceedings had not yet been settled in regard to the Bornier-Brander partnership (Porteous, 1981). It

was decided that Toro would rent Brander's land until the sale of his property on 1 January 1899 (Porteous, 1981). Easter Island continued to be managed as a sheep ranch under the direction of Toro and by the late 1880's the island was exporting approximately 30 tons of wool per year from 16,000 sheep (Porteous, 1981). In 1892, Toro decided to stop leasing Brander's land and gave all rights in Easter Island to Chile (Porteous, 1981). In 1893, the courts finally settled the Bornier-Brander case and Chile was now permitted to purchase Brander's land.

In 1895, Enrique Merlet, a Valparaiso businessman, after agreeing to buy Brander's property, was allowed to lease this land from the Chilean government for 1,200 pesos per year (Porteous, 1981). The island now had a new owner, E. Merlet and Company, which was "dedicated to profitable sheep ranching" (Porteous, 1981:53). However, Merlet's economic enterprise was short lived because of financial problems in the late 1890's. At this time, Merlet approached the company of Williamson-Balfour who agreed to provide a small loan. Recognizing that Merlet did not have the necessary finances to operate the sheep station, Williamson-Balfour created the *Compañía Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua* (CEDIP) and in exchange for Merlet's rights in Easter Island, CEDIP gave Merlet 375 shares of the new company (Porteous, 1981). Once again, Easter Island came under company control but continued to be managed as a sheep station (Plate 1). This commercial enterprise appeared very profitable for CEDIP; during the 1920's and 1930's, CEDIP was producing 70 tons of wool per year for export from 70,000 sheep (Plate 2)(Porteous, 1981). Under the management of Williamson-Balfour, sheep farming was beneficial for a few individuals, but provided little employment or income for the Rapanui. Like its previous owners, Williamson-Balfour eventually encountered financial problems



Plate 1 Sheep are prepared for shearing at the Vaitea sheep-station (Porteous, 1981)

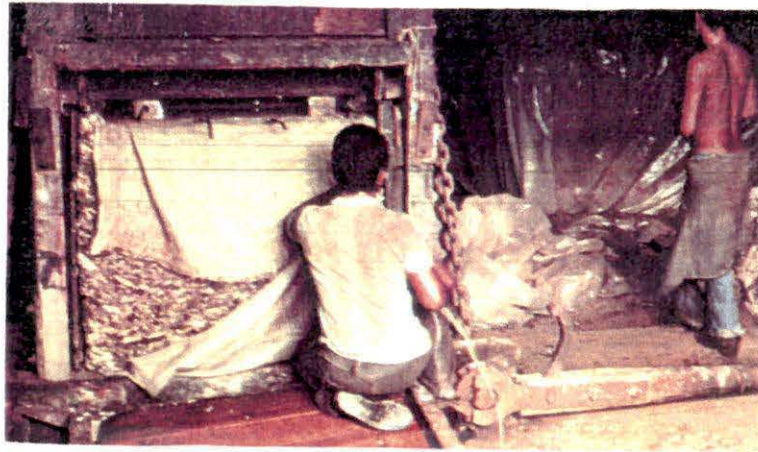


Plate 2 Preparing wool for export (Porteous, 1981)



Plate 3 Abandoned sheep-station buildings at Vaitea (2001)

and finally sold the company to an Anglo-Chilean firm in 1946 (Porteous, 1981). In 1953, the Chilean Navy gained control of the sheep farm, yet despite their efforts, sheep farming for the Chileans was not a profitable venture and the sheep ranch was closed shortly thereafter (McCall, 1981) (Plate 3).

4.3.2 Agricultural Development

In the late 1880's, Easter Island was considered an ideal location for agricultural development because of its favorable climate and fertile soil, but also because it was the only semi-tropical region in Chile and could therefore successfully grow produce such as sugar cane, bananas, and pineapples for export (Porteous, 1981). In 1888, Toro sent three colonist families to Easter Island to establish an agrarian settlement. However, due to harsh living conditions, illness, and death, two of the families returned to the mainland and Toro's plan was never fully realized (Porteous, 1981).

Plans for large-scale agricultural development re-surfaced briefly in 1916 when a Chilean newspaper correspondent proposed that Easter Island could be colonized by mainland Chileans (Porteous, 1981). A second individual supported the above proposal but contended that the native islanders themselves should develop the land (Porteous, 1981). Because Williamson-Balfour exercised total control over the island's property at this time and strongly opposed agricultural development as an economic alternative to sheep farming, such plans were never acted upon (Porteous, 1981). A report, completed in 1920 by a Hawaiian professor, also described Easter Island as the perfect location to create an agricultural export industry. The professor stressed that because of the island's favorable conditions, it could become an important exporter of tropical and citrus fruits (Porteous, 1981). Despite such

suggestions, cash crop plantations were never developed on Easter Island, rather native islanders grew produce for local consumption only.

Two of the main obstacles to agriculture development, as Porteous (1981) explains, were the lack of capital needed for agricultural development projects but also the will to implement such projects. Furthermore, the overall constraining characteristics such as inaccessible foreign markets (Cole & Parry, 1986) and the high cost of local labour (McCall, 1981) probably also hindered the possibility.

4.3.3 *Micro-Industries*

Under President Allende, a proposal for a small cannery was introduced, but due to the military coup in 1973, plans failed to be implemented (McCall, 1981). In 1990, the Industrial Corporation for Development of the Valparaiso Region (Chile) was interested in creating a small industry on Easter Island that involved extracting the essence from geraniums to be used for perfume (RNJ, Spring 1990). The finished product could be sold locally to tourists, who would spread the word to the “incipient industry” about the perfume (RNJ, Spring 1990:16). Following this, training began to educate local businessmen on how to extract the syrup from local tropical fruits with the intention that the project “would become a base of economic development on a small scale” (RNJ, June 1992:40). Unfortunately, none of these projects came to fruition.

4.4 *Tourism: The Successful Alternative*

With the failure of sheep ranching and the general lack of desire and economic resources to pursue an agro-export industry, the development of tourism was probably inevitable. Unique cultural attributes and better transportation networks after 1967

presented another option: tourism (Kakazu, 2000). Tourism, now the principle economic activity, has become a successful alternative because, as Kakazu (2000) explains, it is a micro-industry which is labour intensive. This type of an industry could be developed on a small scale, but provides ample employment opportunities and generates significantly higher levels of revenue compared to other activities.

Interest in tourism on Easter Island surfaced in the 1930's when the Chilean government grew concerned regarding the number of artifacts being extracted from the island by outsiders, but more specifically by researchers (Porteous, 1981). In 1935, the Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización (Ministry of Land and Colonization) declared Easter Island a protected area, incorporating it as a Chilean National Park; the island was also designated a Historic Monument at this time. The inventory of the remaining artifacts commenced, and licenses became mandatory for those wishing to conduct any type of archaeological research on Easter Island (Porteous, 1981). With no natural resources suitable for marketing, tourism was an appealing option (McCall, 1981).

The mysterious megalithic moai, the ceremonial ahu platforms, and other unique artifacts are found nowhere else in the world. Undoubtedly, the Rapanui have in their possession, as McCall (1981) points out, a cultural landscape that cannot be duplicated. As Smith (1992:135) describes, Easter Island promises its visitors a type of 'alternative tourism'; Easter Island, like other unique destinations, "promises the tourist something different: a social experience, a relief from the crowds of mega-resorts and, for some, an opportunity to learn first hand about lifestyles different from their own". Vargas Casanova (1990:46) typifies tourism on Easter Island as 'cultural-scientific tourism'; tourists visit the island to encounter a different culture and explore the scientific mysteries of the moai. Thus, tourists are drawn to the island for its

ethnic and historical value, to experience a traditional Polynesian culture, and visit ancient monuments (Dasmann, 1982).

There are numerous archaeological sites along the island's coast (Figure 4.2), four of which are deemed the most impressive: Rano Kau, volcanic crater and the ancient ceremonial village of Orongo; Rano Raraku, the volcanic quarry where the moai were carved (Plate 4); Ahu Nau Nau, a ceremonial village at Anakena beach (Plate 5); and Ahu Tongariki, fifteen moai erected atop of the largest ceremonial platform (Plate 6). Porteous (1981) points out that Easter Island is not only attractive because of its impressive archaeological sites, but also because most of these sites can be seen in as little as two or three days.

Major literary and filmic propaganda focusing on Easter Island since the late 18th century, especially 20th century works by Katherine Routledge (1919) and Thor Heyerdahl (1989), have played a significant role in generating world interest in the island's mysteries. Easter Island is routinely portrayed as one of the most remote and isolated destinations in the world. Its remoteness coupled with its ancient culture and archaeology has become the fascination of numerous books, scientific journals, magazines, movies, documentaries, and the Internet in several languages. In conjunction with this, the construction of the airport and regular scheduled air travel destroyed the barrier of isolation allowing increased access to outsiders. Visitors, as well as islanders, were no longer forced to depend on oceanic vessels as the primary form of transportation. As tourists began to arrive after 1967, the Rapanui, with the assistance of Chile, began to develop a tourism industry.

One of the most important aspects of the tourism industry is its control, from its onset in the late 1960's, by the Rapanui themselves. In the 1970's, McCall (1981:135) observed that the role of the Rapanui in tourism was: "the islanders have

Figure 4.2 Archaeological Sites on Easter Island

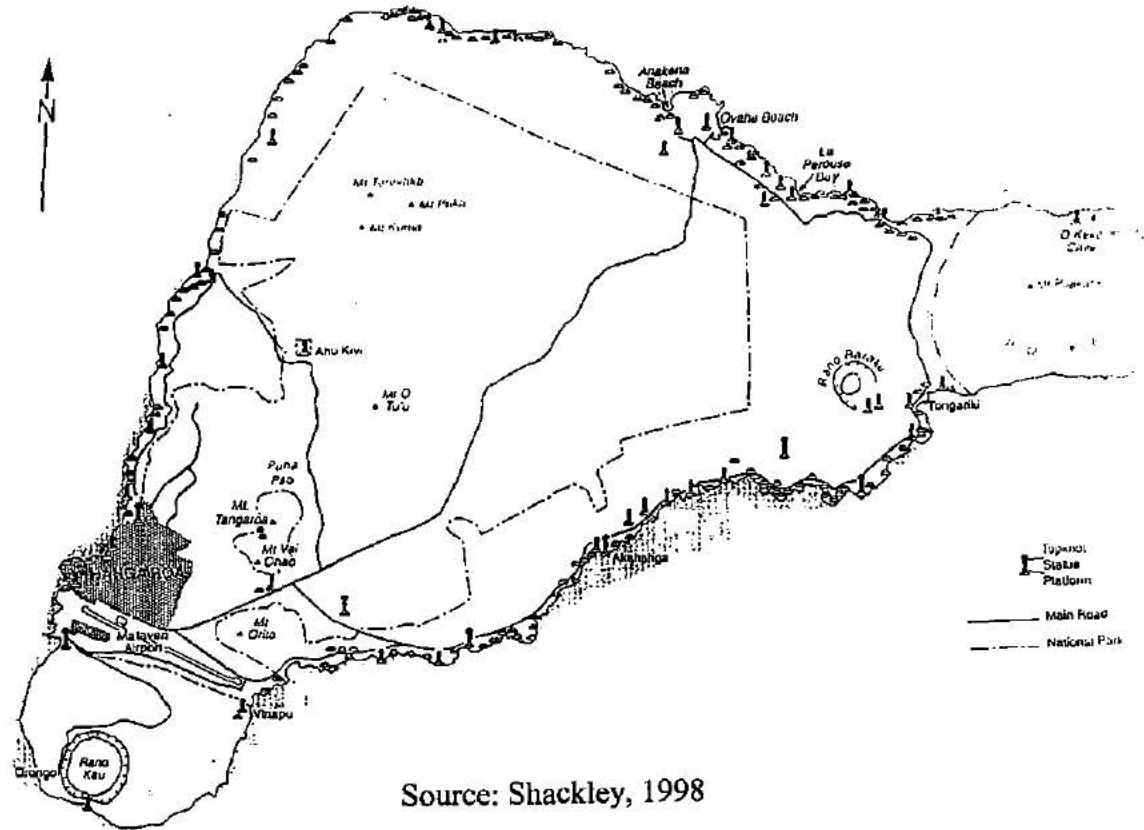




Plate 4 Rano Raraku, the volcanic quarry where the Rapanui carved the stone moai

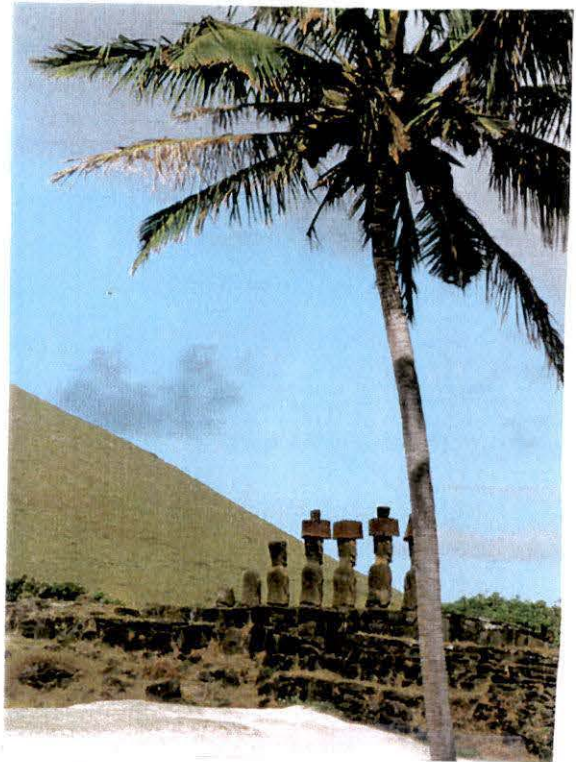


Plate 5 Ceremonial site of Ahu Nau Nau at Anakena beach



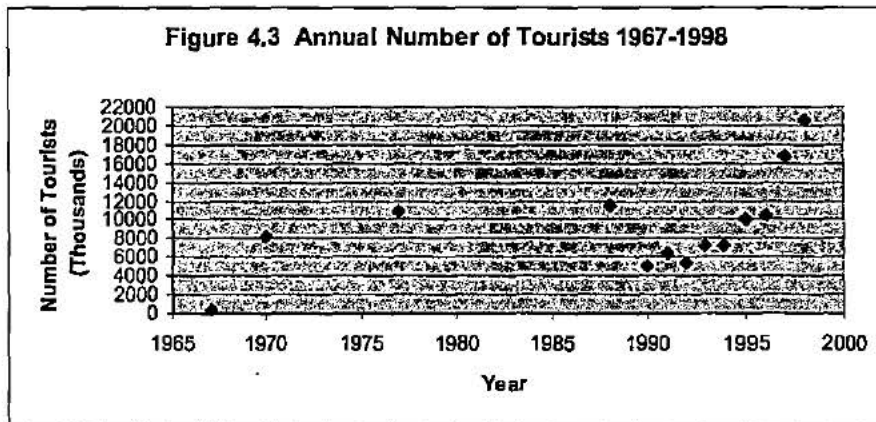
Plate 6 Restored in the mid-1990's, Ahu Tongariki is the most impressive ceremonial platform with fifteen standing moai

taken the initiative to control tourist development from the very beginning and so far have successfully kept it for themselves". This control has continued into the 21st century. Unlike other Pacific Islands (e.g. Tonga, Cook Islands and New Caledonia), there is no foreign involvement in the tourism industry and thus money earned is not repatriated to outside sources. The Rapanui are also not required to pay taxes to the Chilean government and therefore, any revenue generated through tourism remains directly in their hands. Although the Rapanui have not played a primary role in the social and economic development of Easter Island, it cannot be disputed, however, that the Rapanui remain in almost total control of the tourism industry. The Rapanui are involved in every facet of the industry, managing hotels, promotion strategies, operating tour agencies, and making decisions regarding the future of tourism.

Because tourism has proved to be the only successful industry on Easter Island, local control is important for Rapanui autonomy. Over the past three decades, tourist numbers have steadily grown; in 1967, only 444 visitors travelled by air to Easter Island, but in the year 1970, the island received 8,192 (Porteous, 1981). The unstable political situation in Chile in the mid-1970's contributed to a temporary decline in numbers, but visitor numbers began to increase in the 1980's; in 1988, Easter Island received 11,585 tourists (Figure 4.3). Figure 4.3 displays a decline in tourist arrivals shortly thereafter; in 1990, tourist numbers dropped more than 50 percent (4,961 visitors) (Figure 4.3). This significant decrease could be attributed to world economic recessions but also fewer Chilean tourists were travelling to the island (Table 4.11). However, tourist numbers once again began to increase and between the years of 1990 and 1998, tourism on Easter Island grew by 315 percent (Fundación Empresarial Comunidad Europea Chile, 1999) (Chilean-European Entrepreneurial Community Foundation), unquestionably making it the most

important industry for the Rapanui. In 2000, more than 20,000 people visited Easter Island. For the Rapanui, tourism has provided a steady flow of economic revenue and created numerous employment opportunities.

In the following sections, the tourism industry will be discussed in terms of the development of tourism infrastructure, transportation, tourist demographics and perceptions.



Source: SERNATUR (Servicio Nacional de Turismo, Chile) Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

4.5 Tourism Infrastructure

With the problem of accessibility addressed, Easter Island was faced with accommodating an increasing number of annual tourists. Porteous (1981:198) explains that, “after the problem of access to a region rich in tourist interest has been solved, the nascent tourist industry must rapidly provide accommodation, food supplies, and transport to individual tourist attractions”. Since 1967, the development of the tourism industry has focused on three particular areas: lodging; tourism services; and transportation.

4.5.1 Lodging

In the early phases of tourism development, visitors were provided with tents; however, in 1971, the first Chilean government-run hotel (Hotel HONSA) was erected, offering 120 beds, private bathrooms, running hot water, and the use of a telephone (Porteous, 1981). At this time, the Rapanui quickly began to compete with this government enterprise, transforming their homes into residenciales (bed and breakfast establishments) not only to generate income, but also to support the beginning of a prosperous alternative market (Porteous, 1981) (Table 4.3). By 1975, Easter Island offered over 300 beds, the majority owned by Rapanui (Porteous, 1981). The island had five hotels and twenty-nine residenciales by 1986 for incoming tourists, with rooms ranging from US \$20 to US \$116 per day (RNN 1, 1986). By 1988, the number of beds offered at residenciales had almost tripled since 1971 (Table 4.3). In 1987, Hotel Iorana, including a saltwater pool, was built for tourists. In the spring of 1989, the construction of a Club Med resort that included a casino was intended for Easter Island, but resistance from community members dismissed the proposal because development of the resort would not generate significant new income or employment for native islanders (RNJ, Spring 1989). Furthermore, this particular type of development has strongly been discouraged on Easter Island in order to maximize Rapanui participation in tourism and eliminate foreign intervention.

By 1991, Easter Island was equipped with 515 beds compared to the original 120 beds offered by the first hotel in 1971 (RNJ, December 1991). Ten hotels and twenty-eight residenciales existed by 1995, and the construction of new hotels remained a priority in development plans (RNJ, September 1995). As the number of tourists has increased, so has the need for more lodging facilities (Table 4.4). In

1997, Hotel Hanga Roa, formerly the Hotel HONSA and now the only Chilean operated hotel, was renovated to include 130 new rooms each equipped with a phone, fax, mini-bar, air conditioning and ceiling fan, and a tennis court and pool were installed (RNJ, March 1997). Today, ten hotels, thirty-four residenciales, and two hostels are registered with the local tourism office and combined they offer 967 beds to visitors (SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000) (Plate 7, Plate 8). The construction of hotels and other lodging still continues today; in 2001, an ocean front hotel was successfully completed in time for the annual Tapati festival (Plate 9).

Table 4.3 Beds Available to Tourists 1971-1988

Year	# of Hotel Beds	# of Residenciale Beds	Total Beds
1971	120	70	190
1972	120	80	200
1973	120	92	212
1974	120	259	379
1988	291	224	515

Source: Porteous, 1981; Vargas Casanova, 1990.

Table 4.4 Total Number of Beds (Hotels and Residenciales) Available to Tourists 1991-2001

Year	Total Beds (Hotel/Residenciale)
1991	515
1994	700
1997	833
2001	967

Source: RNJ, December 1991; RNJ, September 1995; RNJ, March 1997; SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island 2000.

4.5.2 Tourism Services

Tourist transportation services have become an important sector in the tourism industry on Easter Island. In 1971, there were seven vehicles and one mini-bus available to transport tourists, but horses were available (Porteous, 1981). By 1988, the number of vehicles utilized for tourism had risen to 109 and by 1990 there were 187 vehicles to transport tourists (Vargas Casanova, 1990). It is estimated today

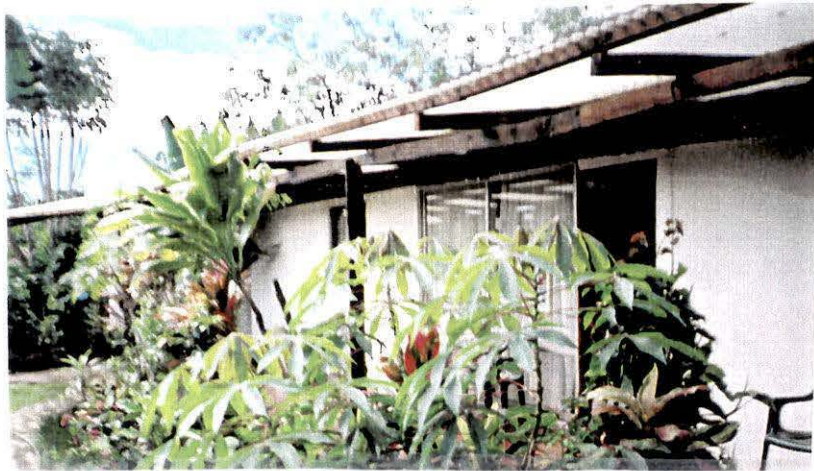


Plate 7 An example of a typical residenciale. Rapanui residenciales are inexpensive, comfortable, and provide tourists with an opportunity to experience traditional Rapanui culture

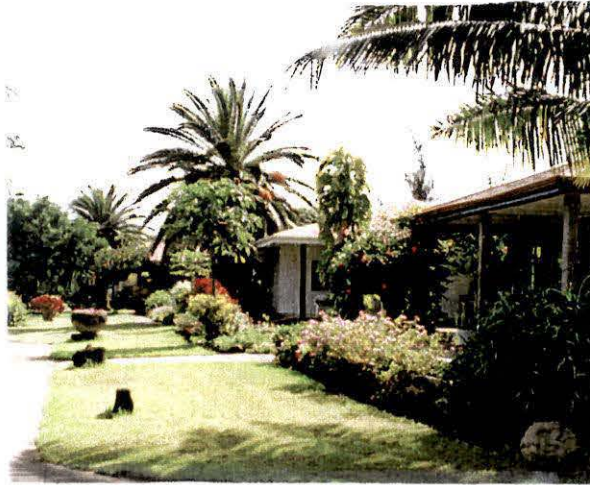


Plate 8 Hotel Otai is one of the island's most popular hotels. It is owned and operated by a Rapanui family



Plate 9 To meet the demands of a growing industry, the construction of new hotels continues in 2001

that there are over 2,000 vehicles on Easter Island which includes mini-buses, vans, cars, and motorbikes, all which are utilized for the transport of tourists. Presently, there are sixteen agencies registered with the local tourism office offering the rental of vehicles, motorbikes, bicycles, and horses (SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000). The average price to rent a car for eight hours is US \$50, but during the peak season the price can range from US \$60 to US \$80. Motorbikes can be rented for US \$35 per eight hours and for more adventurous tourists, horses can be rented for about the same cost. Bicycles usually range between US \$10 and US \$20 for daily use.

Organized tours were available to tourists in the early 1970's (Porteous, 1981). Since that time, this business has become very profitable for the Rapanui. Many tourists prefer to explore Easter Island with an experienced tour guide and therefore arrange a tour through one of the many agencies or hotels (Plate 10). Today, there are thirteen tour operators, most of which offer tours in Spanish, English, German, and French (SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000). Many of the tour guides are Rapanui and can speak two or more languages besides Spanish and Rapanui (e.g. English, French, German or Italian), but there are also foreign guides who are German, French, and Japanese. In order to accommodate the international spectrum of visitors, agencies have to provide tours in various languages; for example, there is one agency that conducts tours in seven different languages including Japanese. The average price of a full day tour costs US \$35 and includes a coastal excursion to the moai ruins at Ranu Raraku, Tongariki, and Anakena. A half-day tour can be purchased for US \$25 and includes a tour of the ceremonial village of Orongo. Experienced underwater divers can also participate in guided tours of the coastal

waters for about US \$60 while some local fishermen provide boat service for trips around the island.

At the beginning of the 1970's, no formal restaurant establishments existed on Easter Island. Today, the island has twenty-one restaurants that serve a variety of western and Rapanui dishes (Plate 11). Steak, chicken, fresh tuna, salad, french fries, sandwiches, and pasta are items most commonly served. The average cost for either lunch or dinner is approximately US \$10 and typically includes, for example, a fresh tuna steak and salad. Based on personal conversations with different tourists, the main complaint about restaurants was the lack of a variety of food on the menus, but more importantly the lack of traditional Rapanui food. In order to attract tourists, the majority of the restaurants advertise western dishes as opposed to 'typical Rapanui cuisine'.

Over the past three decades, efforts have been made to improve existing tourism services and create new ones. Aside from hotels, restaurants, and tour agencies, the island today also provides a number of secondary services. Easter Island offers most of the modern amenities found in western countries. Tourists can check email at one of the two Internet cafes, send faxes from numerous locations, and make international calls from public phone booths or the Entel phone office. A laundromat, although expensive, is one of the few places where tourists can locate dryers, but hotels and residenciales offer laundry service. Aside from traditional souvenirs, travellers can also purchase such goods as footwear, bathing suits, clothing, film, batteries, videotapes, and compact discs at a number of stores. In order to purchase such items, the local bank has expanded its services to include cash advances of up to US \$200 on credit cards. American currency (cash or travellers cheques) is the only foreign currency accepted, but can be exchanged into Chilean



Plate 10 Many tourists prefer to explore the island with a registered guide in order to learn about the ancient Rapanui culture and archaeological sites



Plate 11 The restaurant business is very important to tourism on Easter Island. Restaurant Pea is one of the largest dining facilities offering tourists an ocean view



Plate 12 The Rapanui dance group, Kari Kari, performs weekly shows for tourists at the Hotel Hanga Roa

pesos. Tourists can also view live singing and dancing performances by Rapanui groups at different restaurants and hotels (Plate 12).

4.5.3 Tourist Travel

Easter Island is accessible by two means of transportation, sea and air. The most common form of transportation is regular scheduled air travel from Santiago or Papeete.

Visitors By Ship

Prior to 1967, access to Easter Island was limited to passage on the annual supply ship or on foreign vessels. This included cargo ships, oceanographic vessels, and cruise ships (Porteous, 1981). In 1962, only 400 tourists travelled to Easter Island by ship (Table 4.5). Porteous (1981) recorded that in the early 1970's, the volume of visitors by sea varied from 100 passengers aboard oceanographic vessels to between 200 and 1,000 passengers aboard cruise ships, not all of whom could make the trip from ship to the island because of age and physical conditions. At this time, arrivals from these ships were sporadic; for example, between 1972 and 1973, twelve ships stopped at the island (Porteous, 1981). Table 4.5 shows that tourist arrivals via ships were limited in the 1960's and 1970's; during these two decades, on average approximately 400 visitors travelled by ship to Easter Island each year.

Although air travel is dominant, it is evident that the number of passengers arriving via water transport has increased since the late 1970's (Table 4.5). In 1978, only sixty-seven visitors arrived by ship, but ten years later, 3,687 visitors travelled to Easter Island on board ships (Vargas Casanova, 1990). It must be noted that these numbers include passengers from both commercial vessels and pleasure cruises. It

can probably be assumed that passengers from pleasure cruises account for the majority of visitors as commercial freighters carry few passengers. Figure 4.4 displays a discrepancy between the number of passengers arriving at the island and the number of passengers departing at various times (e.g. 1995). This can be explained by the fact that some passengers arrive at Easter Island by ship, but depart by plane or vice versa.

Statistics detailing the arrival and departure of commercial ships and pleasure cruises from the last decade were difficult to locate and often fragmented; for example, records thoroughly document the arrival of commercial vessels, but fail to consistently record the arrival of cruise ships (Table 4.6). Between the periods of 1989 to 1999, on average, six cargo vessels stopped at the island per year (Table 4.6). Persons aboard commercial cargo vessels are limited to the crew and usually stay no longer than one week. It was also hard to locate statistics detailing the annual arrival of cruise ships (e.g. ship nationalities) or the number of passengers. In 1994, six cruise ships were to have stopped at the island and during 1996, seven were documented (Table 4.6). During the second field season of this research, three different cruise ships visited the island during the month of February, unloading up to one thousand tourists in a single day (Plate 13). Passengers are ferried to either Hanga Piko or Pea beach (Plate 14) where they are met by tour operators and Rapanui vendors who are selling carvings and other souvenirs (Plate 15). Although no data were located regarding the average age of tourists from pleasure cruises, the average person was observed to be over the age of fifty. Easter Island has also become a popular destination for private boats that stop to refuel and buy supplies; for example, in 1995, eighteen yachts visited the island (Memoria de Gestión 1995).



Plate 13 Due to inadequate docking facilities at Hanga Piko, visiting cruise ships must anchor offshore and ferry passengers to either Hanga Piko or the Pea dock



Plate 14 The arrival of passengers at Hanga Piko



Plate 15 Passengers are met by Rapanui vendors who sell woodcarvings and other souvenirs

Table 4.5 Tourist Arrivals by Ship 1962-1988

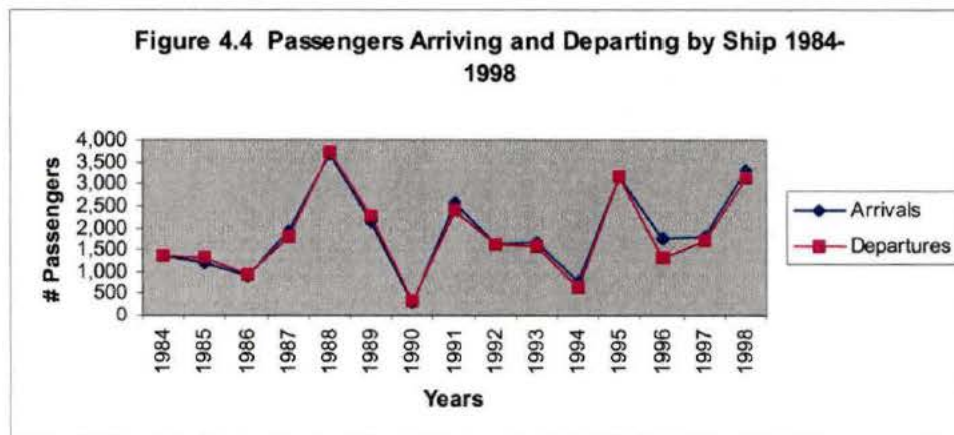
Year	Number of Tourists
1962	400
1965	400
1966	800
1966-1971	1,880
1976	696
1977	791
1978	67
1979	113
1980-1983	1,000
1984	1,376
1985	1,272
1986	922
1987	1,916
1988	3,687

Source: Vargas Casanova, 1990.

Table 4.6 Arrival of Vessels 1989-1999

Year	Total Number of Vessels	Commercial	Cruise Ships
1989	4	4	unknown
1990	4	4	unknown
1991	4	4	unknown
1992	6	6	unknown
1993	6	6	unknown
1994	13	7	6
1995	10	10	unknown
1996	19	12	7
1997	7	7	unknown
1998	7	7	unknown
1999	9	9	unknown

Source: Memoria de Gestión 1994, Memoria de Gestión 1995, and SASIPA Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.



Source: SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

Visitors By Air

In order for tourism to succeed on any remote island, air transport and its associated infrastructure are vital (Vellas, 2000). In the early 1970's, Porteous (1981:202) observed that air passengers formed the "backbone of the Easter Island economy". In 1969, 1,851 passengers arrived by air and only a year later, the number had increased to 8,192 (Porteous, 1981) (Figure 4.5). After the Chilean coup in 1973, the number of visitors arriving by plane dropped to 2,756, but steadily rose to 5,000 in 1975 (arrivals from Santiago and Tahiti) (Porteous, 1981). Data from the last two decades demonstrate that air passengers continue to form the basis of the island economy (Figure 4.6). The replacement of the original Boeing 707 with a Boeing 767, thereby increased seating capacity, allowing more visitors to travel to Easter Island on a regular basis. In addition, extra flights to the island in the mid-1990's considerably increased the number of annual visitors (Figure 4.7).

The numbers indicated for passenger arrivals by air include not only tourists, but also Rapanui and mainland Chilean residents, visiting government officials, and contract workers. Island residents travelling to and from Papeete or Santiago, do so on account of business, employment opportunities, to pursue academic studies, or to visit with family. However, Figure 4.6 confirms that tourists account for the bulk of passengers arriving on Easter Island; in 1978, 74.9 percent of the arrivals were tourists and in 1990, they represented 87.7 percent of incoming passengers (Plate 16). Observations of passenger arrivals at the Mataveru Airport, as well as personal conversations with tourists, confirmed that the majority of passengers travelling between Santiago and Easter Island are individuals who visit while travelling in South America (Plate 17). Traffic between Easter Island and Papeete also includes a large



Plate 16 Passengers arriving from Papeete, Tahiti



Plate 17 Mid-morning activity outside of the Mataveru International Airport

number of tourists either en route to South America from other South Pacific destinations or returning from South America onward to Australia or New Zealand.

In the early 1970's, Porteous (1981) reported that 90 percent of the island's arrivals originated in Santiago and that 80 percent of all aliens (tourists) arrived from Santiago (Table 4.7). Island arrivals included island residents (both Rapanui and mainland Chilean), government officials, and contract workers as well as tourists (Porteous, 1981). Three decades later, data still show that the majority of tourists travel between Santiago and Easter Island as compared to the Papeete route (Table 4.8). This could be explained by the fact that the majority of tourists arriving originate from Europe, Chile, North America, and Japan. A small percentage of these figures of course, would also be Rapanui and/or mainland Chilean residents returning from the mainland (Figure 4.6). However, the number of passengers travelling between Easter Island and Papeete has gradually increased probably because of the growth in the number of passengers arriving from Oceania and Australia in the last decade.

Table 4.7 Air Passenger Arrivals From Santiago and Tahiti 1972-1975

From Santiago	Chileans	Aliens	Total	From Tahiti	Chileans	Aliens	Total
Year				Year			
1972	2,971	701	3,672	1972	29	105	134
1973	4,641	752	5,393	1973	77	164	241
1974	1,597	889	2,486	1974	89	181	270
1975*	3,122	1,530	4,652	1975*	44	304	348

* Based on first six months.

Source: Porteous, 1981.

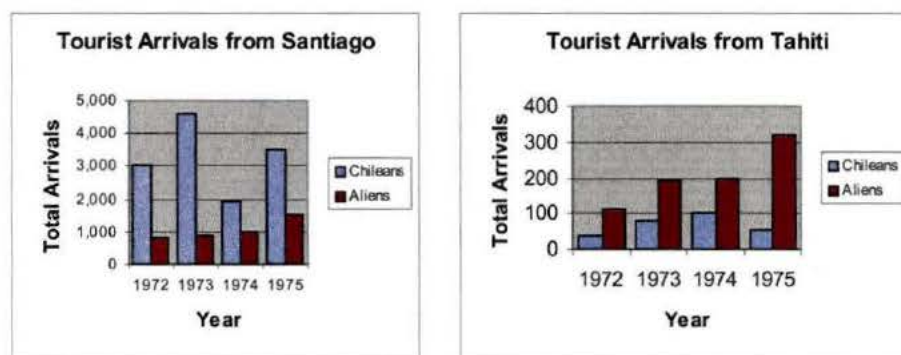
Table 4.8 Total Number of Passengers Transported between Santiago and Easter Island and Papeete 1989-1994*

Island/Papeete		Santiago/Island	
Year	Total Passengers	Year	Total Passengers
1989	4,625	1989	15,400
1990	4,796	1990	15,213
1991	5,236	1991	16,414
1992	5,411	1992	16,374
1993	6,303	1993	N/A
1994	7,063	1994	N/A

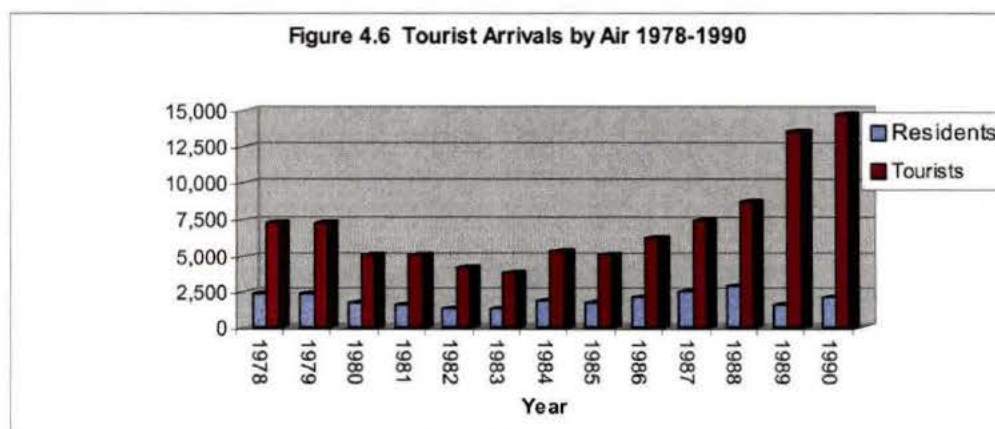
* Figures include island residents (Rapanui, mainland Chileans, and foreigners) as well as tourists.

Source: Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional Rapa Nui, 1997.

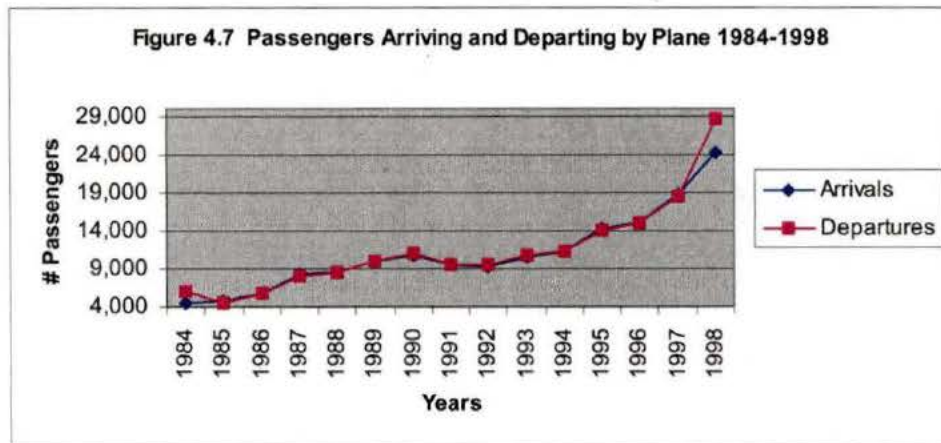
Figure 4.5 Tourist Arrivals by Air 1972-1975



Source: Porteous, 1981.



Source: Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional Rapa Nui, 1997.



Source: SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

4.6 Tourism Demographics

4.6.1 Tourist Origins

Data recording the origins of tourists are collected by SERNATUR, Easter Island's tourism office. Each time a tourist enters the office their nationality is recorded by office personnel. Although the majority of tourists do visit the office at least once during their stay, it is impossible to account for every tourist who arrives on Easter Island. For example, statistical information on cruise ship passengers is very difficult to collect because such passengers spend less time exploring archaeological sites independently and are more likely to participate in guided tours due to their restricted amount of time on the island. Thus, it is much more unlikely that cruise ship passengers would visit the office. Nonetheless, a small number of passengers from cruise ships may be included in these figures. Typically, American, Canadian, and European ships visit the island. Origin information gathered from the tourism office does not distinguish between the different categories of tourists (e.g. air passengers versus cruise ship passengers). The detailed information Porteous (1981) collected regarding origins of cruise ship passengers unfortunately is not collected

today; with up to a thousand passengers arriving at one time, it is an arduous task to prepare such information.

In the mid-1970's, visitors from France, the United States, and Germany accounted for 50 percent of Easter Island's foreign tourists (Table 4.9). By the 1980's, tourists from Europe and the United States continued to account for the bulk of arrivals; in 1982, 50 percent of the tourists who visited Easter Island were European (Figure 4.8). In 1990 and 1999, the island received visitors from 28 different nations (Table 4.11). During the two field seasons of research, tourists from Canada, the United States, Germany, Chile, France, Italy, England, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan were personally encountered. However, Europe (35.1 percent) and North America (10.5 percent) still account for a large percentage of tourist arrivals (Table 4.10) but there has been a significant increase in the number of tourists from Japan and Australia (Table 4.11). After speaking with numerous tourists, it was clear to me that their motivations for travelling to Easter Island were closely related. Many had discovered the writings of Thor Heyerdahl or seen one of the many documentary movies and were fulfilling a lifelong dream by travelling to Easter Island. A similar account was provided by many of the Japanese tourists. Many Australian tourists stop at the island on their way to South America from Tahiti or upon their return to Australia from South America.

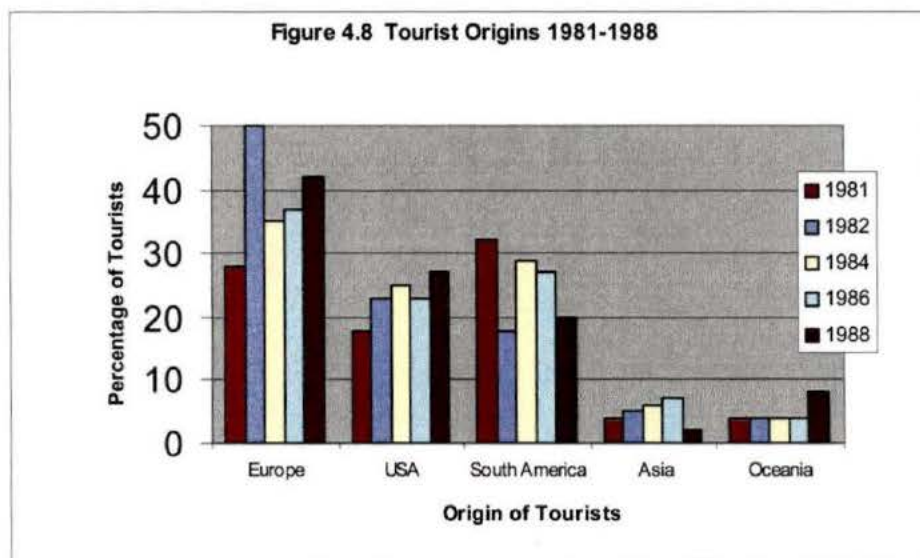
Data from the last two decades display a large growth in the number of Chilean tourists visiting Easter Island (Figure 4.8 and Table 4.11). The number of Chileans travelling to the island increased from 662 in 1988 to 6,660 in 1998 (di Castri, 2000). Because of its close proximity to mainland Chile, Easter Island serves as a temporary escape from the pollution and crime that plagues cities like Santiago and Valparaiso. di Castri (2000) also attributes the increase in Chilean tourists to

information publicized about the island on Chilean national television and information available on the Internet. By 1998, mainland Chile had become one of the most important tourism markets for Easter Island (Table 4.12).

Table 4.9 National Origins of Visitors (%) 1972-1975

Country	1972	1973	1974	1975 (first six months only)
France	28.2	28.6	28.5	20.0
United States	27.1	16.2	18.3	22.0
West Germany	12.5	12.7	14.4	8.0
Spain	4.3	-	-	1.9
Switzerland	3.7	1.9	1.7	1.4
Britain	3.6	3.3	4.6	2.4
Italy	2.5	7.0	-	-
Australia	2.1	3.6	3.5	4.8
Brazil	1.9	-	3.5	3.8
Sweden	1.7	-	-	-
Argentina	-	8.4	7.1	26.9
Japan	-	2.6	6.7	1.7
South Africa	-	2.1	-	-
Canada	-	-	2.3	-
Others	12.4	13.6	9.4	7.1

Source: Porteous, 1981).



Source: Vargas Casanova, 1990.

Table 4.10 National Origins of Tourists 1998

Place of Origin	Number of Arrivals	Percentage
Europe	7,232	35.1
Chile	6,660	32.3
North America	2,156	10.5
Asia	1,978	9.6
Latin America	1,351	6.6
Oceania	1,213	5.9
Africa	23	0.1
Total # of Tourists	20,613	

Source: SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

Table 4.11 Comparison of Tourist Origins 1990 and 1999

Country	1990	1999	Growth (%)
Brazil	1	378	37,700
Sweden	1	142	14,100
Austria	1	136	13,500
Norway	1	51	5,000
Denmark	1	46	4,500
Finland	1	38	3,700
Portugal	1	35	3,400
Israel	1	24	2,300
Ireland	1	16	1,500
Chile	502	5,868	1,067
Holland	11	121	1,000
New Zealand	51	410	704
Argentina	85	522	514
Australia	226	1,042	361
France	816	3,544	334
Japan	341	1,295	280
England	120	428	257
Spain	141	372	164
Belgium	42	105	150
Germany	594	1,462	146
United States	896	2,069	131
Italy	380	728	92
Mexico	22	42	91
Switzerland	173	281	62
Peru	14	19	36
Canada	145	176	21
Africa	1	1	0
Venezuela	59	16	-73
Total	4,628	19,367	

Source: SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

Table 4.12 Important Tourist Markets for Easter Island 1998

Place of Origin	# of Tourists	Percentage Of all Tourists	Place of Origin	# of Tourists	Percentage of all Tourists
Chile	6,660	32.30	Argentina	607	2.90
France	3,147	15.27	Brazil	577	2.80
USA	1,923	9.33	Spain	566	2.75
Japan	1,876	9.10	Italy	541	2.62
Germany	1,143	5.50	England	464	2.25
Australia	899	4.36	New Zealand	304	1.47

Source: SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

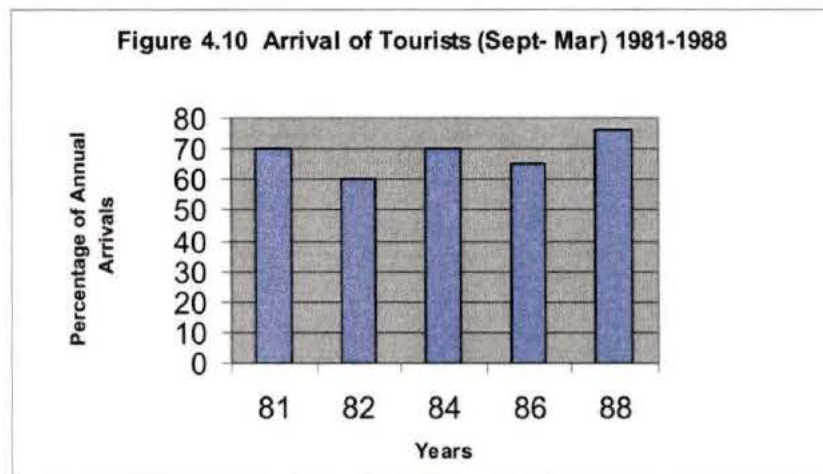
4.6.2 Seasonality

With an annual average temperature of approximately 20.5°C (69°F), Easter Island presents agreeable weather all year round but visitors are more likely to be attracted to the island's summer weather during the months of October through March (Figure 4.11). In accordance with the southern hemisphere summer, between 1972 and 1974, 42.5 percent of all arrivals occurred in the months December to March (Figure 4.9). This pattern remained consistent throughout the 1980's; in 1981, 70 percent of all tourists arrived between the months of September and March and five years later, this figure dropped only slightly to 65 percent (Figure 4.10). In 1998, 36.7 percent of the total annual visitors arrived within this time frame as compared to 15.2 percent in the winter months (Fundación Empresarial Comunidad Europea Chile, 1999). Increased arrivals during the months of January and February can also be attributed to the presentation of the annual Tapati Festival, which runs from the end of January until mid-February (Figure 4.11). By examining the arrival of Chilean versus foreign visitors (Figure 4.12), it can be observed that a large number of Chileans travel to Easter Island between the months of April and June (10.2 percent), whereas

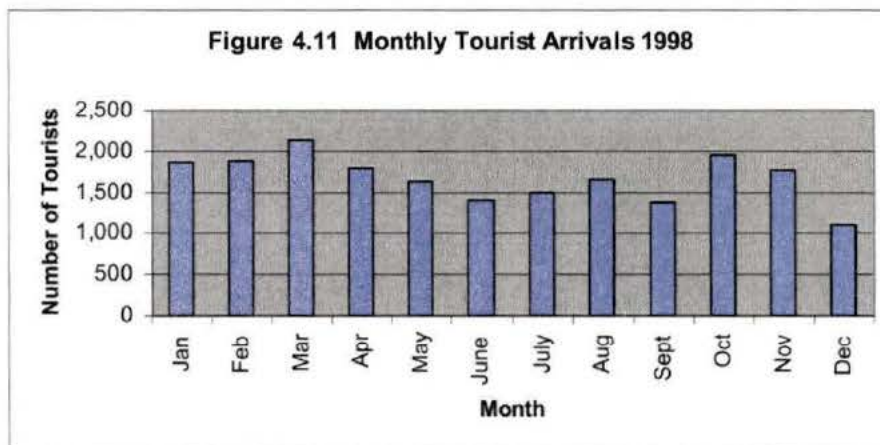
foreigners typically arrive during the months of January and March (20.1 percent) (Fundación Empresarial Comunidad Europea Chile, 1999). Chileans escape to Easter



Source: Porteous, 1981.

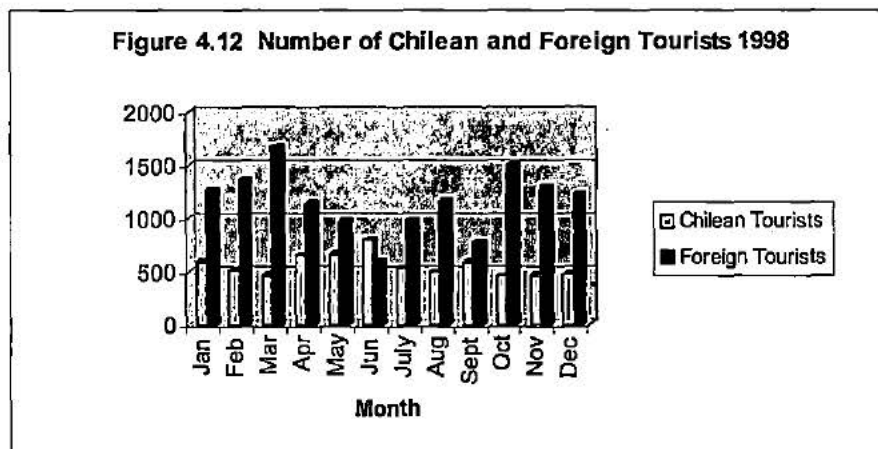


Source: Vargas Casanova, 1990.



Source: SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

Island during these months (April to June) to avoid the cold winter of the southern hemisphere, while foreign visitors from countries, such as Germany and United States, travel to observe the Tapati Festival and avoid the harsh winter conditions of the northern hemisphere.



Source: SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

4.6.3 Accommodation and Length of Stay

During the mid-1970's, Porteous (1981) observed two predominant types of airborne tourists on Easter Island: group tours and independent travellers. Tourists arriving today can also be categorized into these two general groups, but the latter group has further evolved into two separate groups. Group tours, often Japanese or European, continue to account for a large portion of the tourist market. Independent travellers now fall into two specific groups: the wealthy independent traveller and the low-budget back packer. Urry (1990:49) notes an increase in independent travel because individuals, today, are seeking a "wider variety of leisure travel". The independent wealthy traveller, most commonly European, travels alone, but pre-purchases a package tour. The wealthy independent traveller chooses package tours because they solve the many complications of travelling: where to go, what to see, transportation means, and interacting with hosts (Schmidt as quoted in Pearce, 1982).

Low-budget back packers, usually European and American, have grown in numbers and provide an important clientele base for small residenciales. The back packer or international long-term budget traveller as Riley (as quoted in Smith, 1992) classifies them, prefer to travel alone, are educated, single and preoccupied with budgeting.

Group tours and the independent wealthy traveller display a tendency to lodge in one of the island's larger, more expensive hotels, like Hotel Hanga Roa. This particular hotel offers the majority of the amenities found in hotels in the western world: private bathrooms, telephones, televisions, air conditioning and a variety of other services. Low-budget back packers, because of a limited budget, are inclined to lodge at one of the island's inexpensive residenciales that may not offer the convenience of a private bathroom or telephone services. The independent wealthy traveller usually pre-arranges hotel accommodations, whereas the low-budget back packer arrives on Easter Island in search of lodging. Just as Porteous (1981) observed, the back packer is still met at the airport by residencial owners waiting to bargain hospitality rates with prospective clients.

Data collected by Porteous (1981) in 1974 showed a preference by foreign visitors for lodging at residenciales; within this one-year period 51.3 percent of foreign visitors stayed at residenciales (Table 4.13). Data pertaining to tourist lodging during the 1980's was difficult to locate however current statistics regarding tourist lodging demonstrate a preference by tourists for hotels rather than residenciales (Table 4.14). An extensive study conducted by the Fundación Empresarial Comunidad Europea Chile (1999) on the tourism industry and tourism related services on Easter Island concluded that there was an increase in the amount of guests staying in hotels because of the popularity of package and group tours. Although no statistical data were located relating to group tours (e.g. average number of tourists

Table 4.13 Preference for Lodging 1974-1975

Month	HONSA Hotel	Residenciales
April	16	93
May	367	152
June	86	3
July	432	461
August	535	335
September	305	5
October	198	201
November	129	285
December	373	310
January	716	1,768
February	520	364
March	322	241
Total	3,999	4,218

Source: Porteous, 1981.

Table 4.14 Preference for Lodging 1990-1999

Year	Hotels	Residenciales
1990	4,379	582
1991	5,805	644
1992	4,656	842
1993	6,413	790
1994	6,123	1,065
1995	8,202	1,959
1996	8,479	2,089
1997	11,954	4,222
1998	15,162	5,451
1999	13,826	5,910

Source: SERNATUR Office Records, Easter Island 2000.

per group or length of stay), personal conversations with those employed in the tourism industry confirmed that groups tours continue to account for a large number of tourists who visit Easter Island. It is believed that in the future, group tours will remain a strong force in the tourism market because of the amount of money they generate for the tourist economy.

The majority of independent wealthy travellers encountered during the field seasons had purchased packaged tours. Travellers can purchase a holiday package to the island through a travel agency or over the Internet, which includes return airfare,

lodging, meals, guided tours, and entertainment shows. A study conducted by the Easter Island Cámara de Turismo (Chamber of Tourism) in 2000 found that 68 percent of tourists surveyed had organized their trip through a travel agency. Furthermore, 46 percent had reserved lodging prior to their arrival and 40 percent had pre-arranged guided tours (Cámara de Turismo, 2000). In 1998, the average length of stay in a hotel by this type of clientele was 3.9 days (Fundación Empresarial Comunidad Europea Chile, 1999). Based on personal observations of and conversations with tourists participating in package tours, they tended to be in the age range of 45 years and older, travelling within a limited time frame, and did not want the hassle of arranging their vacation upon arrival.

Low-budget back packers lodging in residenciales, on the other hand, tended to be younger (approximately 20 to 30 years old), on a limited budget, preferred to stay with a Rapanui family, and often rented a bike or car to tour the island. In 1998, the average length of a tourist's stay in residenciales was 5.0 days (Fundación Empresarial Comunidad Europea Chile, 1999). Thus, the itinerary of this type of tourist is much more adaptable as compared to the independent wealthy traveller; for example, it is not unusual for back packers to extend their stay on the island. Residenciales offer flexibility to low-budget back packers because prices and services can be negotiated with owners. Despite a general preference for hotels, there has been a steady increase in the number of travellers choosing to lodge in residenciales since the early 1990's (Table 4.14). Based on personal conversations with residenciale operators, it appears that a new type of tourist is arriving on Easter Island, one that disregards the bigger hotels and is interested in staying with Rapanui families in order to experience the Rapanui culture.

4.6.4 *Tourist Perceptions*

Porteous (1981) described some of the complaints voiced by tourists concerning tourism services in the mid-1970's:

Major problems encountered by tourists include the lack of standardization of accommodation, prices, and service in island guesthouses, the high cost of the HONSA hotel, and occasional indifferent or neglectful treatment....Some tourists complain that guided tours are too cursory and often unpunctual, that guides lack information about many sites, and that few guides adequately speak languages other than Spanish and Rapanui (Porteous, 1981: 233-243).

Other complaints included poor road conditions, the absence of proper beaches, and problems with LAN Chile's flight schedule (Porteous, 1981). Unquestionably, tourism services have significantly improved since this time. The study conducted by the Cámara de Turismo of Easter Island (2000) found, of the 340 tourists surveyed, 56 percent said they were very satisfied with the current situation on Easter Island, including the various services offered to tourists. Approximately 35 percent of respondents further said they would probably return to Easter Island in the future and 64 percent said they would definitely recommend visiting the island to others (Cámara de Turismo, 2000). Some tourists voiced complaints about their lack of knowledge about the different services available to tourists, as well as the numerous tourist attractions, prior to their arrival (Cámara de Turismo, 2000). As a result, such individuals felt they had failed to use certain services or visit particular attractions because they were uninformed. The Fundación Empresarial Comunidad Europea Chile (1999) evaluated Easter Island's tourist infrastructure and quality of services and, based on this assessment, made various suggestions about how to improve the overall quality of tourism for visitors. Their findings concluded, for example, that tourism services such as restaurants lacked a variety in their menus and originality in their design; tourists are looking for authentic cuisine and would be more attracted to

a Polynesian décor. Furthermore, the study found that services available to tourists are extremely limited. As previously mentioned, tourists are only permitted to withdraw a small amount of money from a credit card (US \$200) at the bank in a given period of time, which severely limits the spending capabilities of tourists. Lastly, the overall prices of lodging were considered to be extremely high.

I found that tourists voiced few complaints about tourism services or the Rapanui people. Tourists generally found their hosts not only to be extremely friendly, but overwhelming accommodating to their needs and requests. Compared to Porteous's (1981) earlier observations, the quality of lodging, as well as room prices have to some degree become standardized, road conditions have significantly improved, guides have become more informed about the history of archaeological sites, and tours are offered in various languages. The few complaints about tourism services did include: a lack of variety of food on restaurant menus; unsatisfactory conditions of lodging; and an absence of nighttime activities. As Urry (1990) explains, complaints from tourists are not unusual and are probably unavoidable because of the great expectations that tourists have when visiting foreign destinations. Just as Porteous (1981) reported in the late 1970's, tourists continue to voice complaints regarding the cost of the airfare to Easter Island, the limited number of seats available on board planes, and overbooked flights. Yet as Vellas (2000) points out, the cost of air travel to small island destinations generally tends to be higher because of higher production costs.

4.7 Future of Tourism

It is estimated that by the year 2005, 50,000 tourists will travel annually to Easter Island (RNJ, May 2001). Over the past three decades, considerable efforts

have been made to cope with the impositions of this growing industry and in the near future, it is certain that the development of tourism will remain active. In 1998, the Cámara de Turismo was established in Hangaroa to assist with the promotion of tourism on an international level and aid Rapanui businesspersons in raising the quality of services and initiating future tourism projects. The specific objectives of the organization are:

1. To strengthen the capacity of tourism businesses on the island together with other sectors.
2. To improve and diversify the actual services and products offered.
3. To support businesses, organizations, and institutions in the commercialization of tourism products (Programa de Desarrollo Productivo Isla de Pascua, 2000).

For example, a new project totaling an estimated US \$240,000, was facilitated by the Cámara de Turismo and various Rapanui hotel owners in 1999, to create a new tourist image, which will focus on Easter Island's cultural heritage (RNJ, September 1999). In order to stimulate the Rapanui economy, the tourist product will be aimed at a specific tourist: one who is drawn to the island for its cultural significance (RNJ, September 1999). Kakazu (2000) contends that cultural tourism is becoming an important type of tourism; approximately 50 percent of tourists are 'consumers of culture' (Keller, 1996:17 as quoted in Kakazu, 2000).

As Fagence (1999) points out, the diversity of Pacific Island cultures is one of the primary attractions for tourists. The Rapanui possess a unique patrimonial landscape that cannot be found anywhere else. Although tourism to date has proved itself to be a sustainable industry, future initiatives will have to include the preservation of heritage sites, as well as monitoring and controlling the long-term environmental impacts of tourism in order to assure its existence for future generations. di Castri (2000:35) predicts that there may be future conflicts between "resettlement based on real ancestral rights and the development of tourism". As

discussed in Chapter Six, the Rapanui are protesting the proposed reservation by the state of an area within Vaitea, which is rumored to be dedicated to tourism development. Because tourism is the most important and viable economic industry for the Rapanui, di Castri (2000) recommends that community members must begin to diversify tourism activities in order to maximize its long-term benefits (e.g. intensive production of various fruits and vegetables). Like di Castri, Kakazu (2000) also believes that tourism has the ability to diversify small island markets. He contends that tourism is not merely a service industry, but a composite industry that can “diversify and revitalize the diminishing local agriculture and manufacturing plus conserve tourism resources including marine and cultural assets” (2000:15).

4.8 Chapter Summary

The process of modernization began with Chile’s geopolitical interest in Easter Island as a military post within Pacific waters. The American military too found the island to be a strategic location and their abandoned airport facilities proved to be catalyst for development in the late 1960’s. Further changes were necessary when the Rapanui demanded participation in island affairs at this time and began to voice complaints regarding poor social and economic conditions. In the early 1970’s plans for the development of Easter Island emphasized infrastructure improvements, the betterment of social services, and the establishment of a tourism service-based industry.

After failed attempts at sheep ranching and the dismissal of large-scale agricultural development, tourism was probably the only practical alternative for native islanders. The Rapanui have observed the progressive transformation of a traditional society once dependent on subsistence agricultural practices into a society

which is now almost solely reliant on tourism. The development of a tourism-based economy has undoubtedly created new forms of employment and generated a substantial amount of revenue for the Rapanui. More importantly, the Rapanui have remained in control of this industry for more than three decades. Development continues to be managed locally by Rapanui businesspersons and discourages the participation of foreign entrepreneurs.

It is expected that the tourism industry on this tiny island will continue to develop in order to meet the demands of a growing visitor base. To ensure the sustainability of an industry that is completely reliant on a heritage landscape, the Rapanui will have to begin to assess the cumulative damage of this industry on the environment and begin to implement strategies to ensure its existence for future generations.

Chapter Five

The Results and Effects of Development

Colonialism was not an identical process in different parts of the world but everywhere it locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history.

Loomba, 1998

5.1 The Impact of Development

Following the late 1960's, Easter Island was immediately exposed to the process of modernization, which initiated rapid infrastructure development, social improvements, the introduction of new technology, and the emergence of contemporary ideologies. Besides the betterment of the overall standard of living for the Rapanui, these forces have played a strong role in modifying the physical landscape and altering some of the economic, social, and political aspects of traditional Rapanui society.

5.2 Physical Transformations

With the onset of modernization in the late 1960's, the Rapanui witnessed significant changes to the existing landscape as a result of the urbanization of Hangaroa, improvements in infrastructure, and the development of tourism.

5.2.1 Urban Hangaroa

Porteous (1981) observed that the organization of Hangaroa had developed around two main areas: the church, acting as a focal point for the Rapanui and a farmhouse at Mataverí, acting as a focal point for foreign administrators. In the late 1960's, the Chilean Navy and Carabineiros (Chilean police) arranged the town in broad, straight avenues, reflecting the ideology of military order and regularity (Porteous, 1981) (Figure 5.1). Despite this rigid design, Porteous (1981:182)

described the area as a “sprawling sub-tropical agricultural town”. Radiating from the local church, houses accompanied by small agricultural plots occupied the remaining landscape creating a “plantation-like appearance” (Porteous, 1981:182). A school, church, cemetery, hospital, bank, governor’s office, and town hall were all present at this time. The roads in Hangaroa were unpaved and generally travelled by horse and a few cars and trucks, which served to transport tourists (Plate 18). Today, the town of Hangaroa still adheres to the pre-existing military street plan, but in appearance it has shifted from an agricultural town to a tourist destination (Figure 5.2).

Originally, the company of Williamson-Balfour and the Chilean Navy confined native islanders to Hangaroa, so that most of urban development occurred only in this immediate area. Despite the abolition of Navy rule in 1966, urban development has continued in and been restricted to the pre-existing sector of Hangaroa for a number of reasons:

1. Good topography and agricultural areas
2. Accessible transport both by air and sea
3. Concentration of social and economic services in this area
4. Water availability
5. Concentration of urban infrastructure – e.g. water and electricity
6. Existing land-use structure (Honold *et al.*, 1988.).

In 1993, there was a proposal for the creation of a second town, but development has yet to expand beyond the perimeter of Hangaroa because all of the social, economic, and political services as well as the necessary infrastructure are located here. Residential and commercial development has continued to surround the main focal points: the church, the hospital, the airport, and along the main road, Policarpo Toro (Plate 19). Residential development has continued to take place in areas neighboring principal public and commercial services, and in the last decade, there has been an increase in the density of buildings in the town center (Honold *et al.*, 1988) (Plate 20).

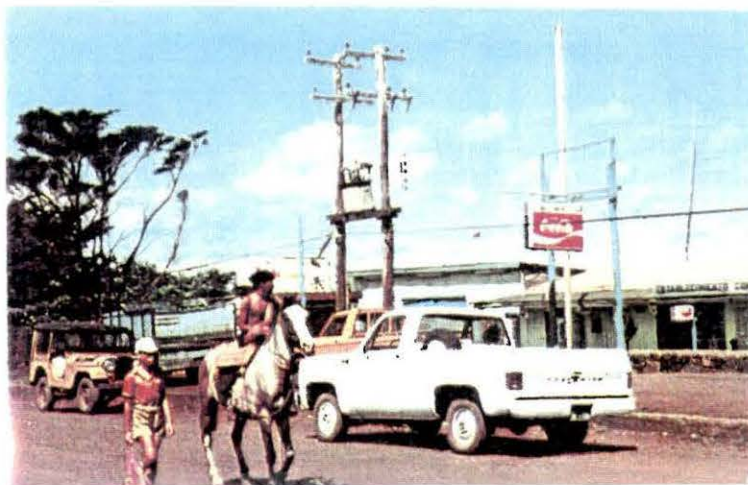


Plate 18 The main street of Hangaroa in the early 1970's. Roads were unpaved at this time, few cars were present, and islanders generally travelled by horse

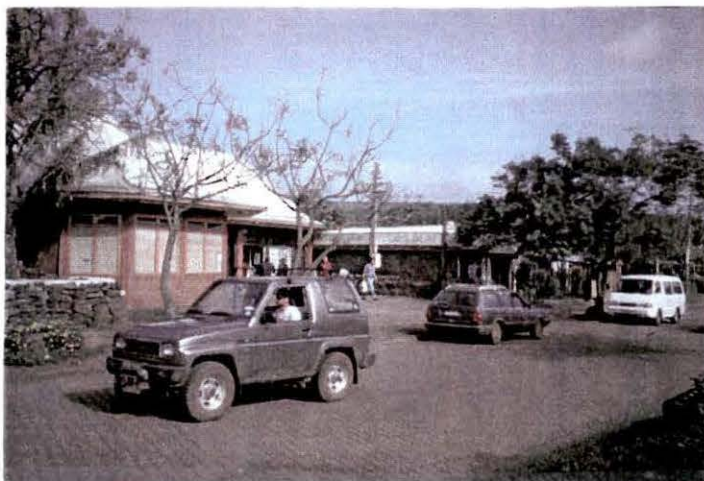


Plate 19 The main street, Policarpo Toro in 2001. Policarpo Toro today is paved and lined with numerous businesses such as the Tumukai grocery store



Plate 20 Islanders sell a variety of vegetables and fruit, as well as souvenirs at the daily morning market

Between the periods of 1920-1965, the number of buildings constructed within Hangarua increased only by 166.7 percent (Vargas Casanova, 1990). After 1965, the number of constructions grew by 533 percent; by 1988, 1,013 new structures had been built (Vargas Casanova, 1990). This significant increase can be attributed to the steady development of tourism including the construction of hotels, restaurants, and other services, as well as the introduction of a subsidized housing project in the 1980's (Vargas Casanova, 1990; Budd, 1990). Of the 1,013 new structures built, 154 (15 percent) were utilized for public and commercial services (Vargas Casanova, 1990).

The main roads in Hangarua have been laid with red bricks creating an appealing replica of quaint Chilean village roads. Due to a scarcity of natural vegetation on Easter Island, a variety of exotic plants and trees have been planted along the roadsides to create a "tropical" atmosphere for tourists (Plate 21). Traffic lights are not required due to the limited amount of traffic, which is regulated by stop signs and cross walks. The main road, Policarpo Toro, is lined with local businesses (e.g. grocery stores, bakery, butcher shop, video stores, and novelty shops) and tourism services (e.g. restaurants, souvenir shops, tourism agencies, and rental shops) thus becoming a busy focal point for islanders, as well as tourists (Plate 22).

Contemporary Hangarua boasts numerous hotels and residenciales, restaurants, grocery stores, souvenir shops, tour agencies, rental shops, video stores, a gas station, and Internet cafés. The church has been remodeled and a new indoor artisan market has been constructed. Rapanui artifacts and some monuments can be viewed at the island's museum, which was built in the late 1980's. The museum also records and catalogues any archaeological items found by Rapanui and international

researchers. Recently, the entire collection of the Mulloy library, previously operated in Viña del Mar, Chile has been relocated to the museum.

Despite the rapid succession of change and progress on Easter Island, urban development in Hangaroa is not characteristic of other South Pacific tourist destinations (e.g. Tahiti); large resorts and over-sized hotels are not present in the landscape, but rather small-scale development has been promoted. Easter Island building codes restrict the construction of buildings, including houses, to one story. Rapanui architecture has adopted the functional design of the bungalow, providing a structure which offers a multi-purpose use. Small bungalow-style buildings are used as souvenir shops, restaurants, and grocery stores (Plate 23). Its minimal size and airy design makes the bungalow ideal for island living. Some bungalows consist of one room and operate as a confectionery store, for example, or include two large rooms and a kitchen to serve as a restaurant and are complemented with wooden or bamboo verandahs to offer a relaxing outdoor patio for tourists.

The majority of small businesses and services in Hangaroa have been built in the above fashion with the exception of a few modern designs. The local bank in the early 1970's was, in its simplest terms, a small, wooden building (Plate 24). Modern, urban architecture has influenced the creation of a brown, dome-like building, resembling an ultra-modern space age construction. The new bank adheres to the traditional bungalow style (one story, one large room with smaller rooms, and a covered walkway), but has been modified to ignore straight walls and adopts a half-moon shape (Plate 25). The simple bungalow style of the original governor's office was also replaced in 1994. This new office too reflects the influence of modern architecture; it is characterized by sharp geometrical designs, skylights, and high ceilings (Plate 26).



Plate 21 Due to a lack of natural vegetation in Hangarua, a variety of plants and trees have been planted around the town to create a tropical atmosphere for visitors

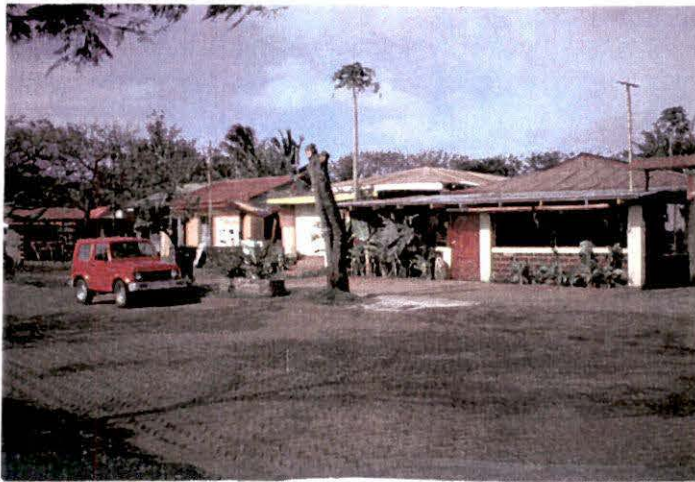


Plate 22 Urban development within the center of Hangarua has occurred quite rapidly. The main street is lined with restaurants, souvenir shops, rental agencies, grocery stores, and other businesses

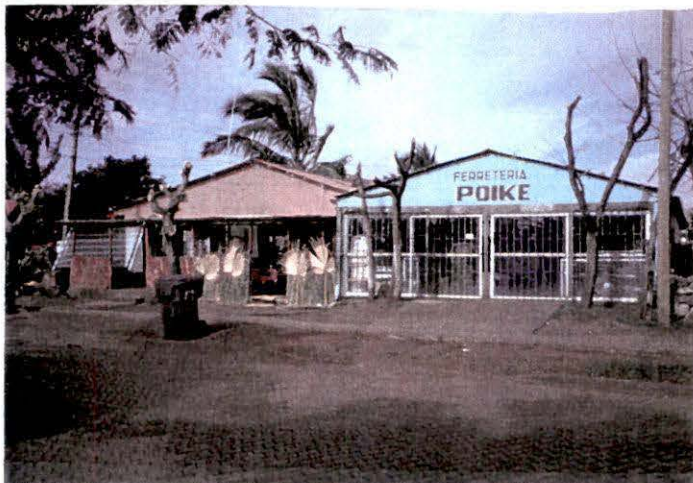


Plate 23 Businesses have adopted the functional design of the bungalow. This restaurant and hardware store along Policarpo Toro are characteristic of island buildings

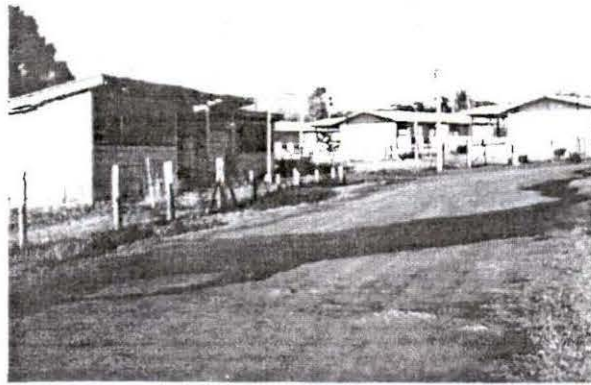


Plate 24 The state bank and the governor's building in the early 1970's were small wooden buildings (Porteous, 1981)



Plate 25 In 2001, the design of the new state bank reflects the influence of modern architecture



Plate 26 In 1994, this new provincial government building replaced the original structure of the 1960's

Cars have become an important component of urban Hangarua, especially to assist the needs of visitors. Porteous (1981) observed that by 1971, at least fifteen vehicles were available for the transportation of up to 150 individuals. Over the last two decades, the import of cars to Easter Island has significantly increased. By 1990, there were 450 vehicles and 150 motorcycles (RNJ, December 1990). Five years later, this figure more than doubled; 1,054 vehicles were registered (Memoria de Gestión 1995). Presently, it is estimated that there are more than 2000 cars. As there is no form of public transportation, cars are not only for personal use, but also provide a source of income for native islanders. For example, a large number of Rapanui rent vehicles to tourists who wish to explore the island without the assistance of a guide. This has proved to be a profitable business for owners. Taxi service on the island has also proved economically profitable; Easter Island acquired its first official taxi in 1996 (RNJ, March 1996). By 1998, the island had twenty-one taxis (RNJ, June 1998); presently there are approximately sixty. During daylight hours, an individual can travel anywhere within town for a fare of US \$1, but during evening hours the fare is raised to US \$2. Tourists may also hire a taxi to visit the various archaeological sites and fares can be negotiated. This service has proved extremely popular with tourists who are unfamiliar with island surroundings, but also with those islanders who do not own a vehicle.

5.2.1.1 Housing

In the early 1900's, the design of Rapanui housing shifted from the traditional reed-thatched, boat-shaped houses to European style cabins constructed from wood and metal (Porteous, 1981). The landscape at this time resembled a "cluster of clapboard and sheet iron huts" (Porteous, 1981:180). In the late 1960's, one-story

wooden cabins served as typical dwelling units and housing conditions were adequate but crowded (Porteous, 1981) (Plate 27). Exactly 109 houses containing two or three rooms were scattered around Hangaroa, housing three to four people per room (Porteous, 1981). Trailers left behind from Canadian and American expeditions also provided housing for native islanders, while government personnel acquired pre-fabricated houses from the mainland (Porteous, 1981). Between 1974 and 1987 a total of only 214 new houses had been built (Honold *et al.*, 1988.). By the late 1980's, an insufficient amount of housing for the Rapanui was still evident. At this time, the Chilean government announced the initiation of a project that would provide housing and land plots for those Rapanui who lacked sufficient housing (RNN, Spring 1987); however, this solution was not exempt from problems. For example, roofs blew off fifty of the new houses in severe weather (RNJ, Fall 1987).

The 1992 Census recorded 1,018 dwelling units on Easter Island, 800 of which were occupied (MIDEPLAN, 2000). Although the data did not provide an explanation for the 218 unoccupied residences, it can be speculated that these account for unfinished homes, rental properties, or cases where residents were absent. Of those occupied, 497 of the dwellings were owned by Rapanui, 91 were rented (most likely to mainland Chileans or foreigners), and the remaining were labeled by the Census as 'other forms of ownership', but it is uncertain what this designation implies (MIDEPLAN, 2000). Recognizing the continuing need for housing, in 1998 the Chilean Service of Living and Urbanism financed the construction of thirty basic houses at an estimated cost of US \$490,000 (RNJ, June 1998). In 2001, 67 people received subsidy funding to repair or construct new homes (Oficina de Gobernación Provincial, Easter Island, 2001).

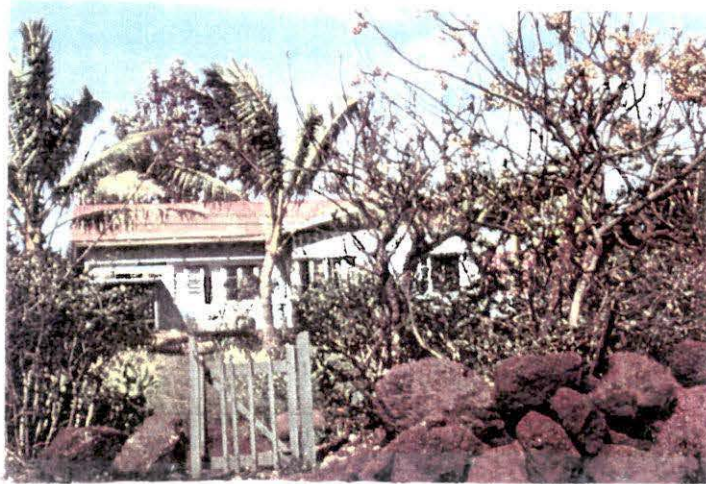


Plate 27 An example of typical Rapanui housing in the 1970's (Porteous, 1981)



Plate 28 Housing over the last two decades has continued to adopt the functional style of the bungalow (2001)



Plate 29 Residential settlement in urban Hangarua 2001

After completing an extensive study on the modern architecture and urban land-use on Easter Island, Budd (1990) classified Rapanui/mainland Chilean housing into six different types (Table 5.1). He explains that prior to the construction of the Mataverí Airport, houses were built mainly from stone but with the introduction of new building materials (e.g. cement), as well as the influence of modern architectural designs, island housing has been modified to varying extents. Although Budd (1990) identifies different types of housing, all these houses have adopted the functional design of the bungalow (Plate 28). The standard rectangular, one-story structure generally consists of a kitchen, sharing the common space with the dining and living room, one bathroom, three small bedrooms, and a verandah. Aside from the Chilean style homes, the construction of Rapanui houses is not labour intensive, designs are relatively simple, and materials are inexpensive. The design is also ideal for the tropical climate, easy to maintain, and very adaptable (Plate 29).

Table 5.1 Types of Housing on Easter Island 1990

Housing Type	Materials	Characteristics	Function	Location
Rectangular with light materials.	Metal, wood, and plywood.	Easy to assemble, one room/kitchen.	Fishermen and solo artists.	Near Pea and periphery of town.
Rectangular with constructed materials.	Rock and cement, blocks of cement, and plywood.	Characteristics of subsidy housing – living room, kitchen, bedrooms, and bathroom.	Young couples, singles, the elderly or for commercial services.	Interior of town on parcels or along main street.
Rectangular with front verandah.	Rock and cement, blocks of cement, wood, etc.	Typical bungalow style – interior same as above.	Residential function, used by families.	Center of town, surrounded by vegetation.
Rectangular with corner verandah.	Rock and cement, blocks of cement, wood, etc.	Modern design, verandah on corner to place kitchen at front.	Exclusively residential.	Center of town.
Rectangular with verandahs on both sides of house.	Rock and cement, blocks of cement, pre-fabricated panels, wood, etc.	Similar to housing in Chile, design flexible for use in tourism – extra rooms/bathrooms.	Residential and tourism (residenciales).	Older areas of town – market, church, main street, and near airport.
Chilean style.	Expensive building materials imported from mainland.	Modern design, increased cost of construction, symbol of status.	Housing for Chilean public service employees.	Outer periphery of Hangaroa, near Mataverí Airport

Source: Budd, 1990.

5.2.2 Improvements in Infrastructure

5.2.2.1 Transportation

Airport

As previously mentioned, the original function of the Mataverí Airport was an American satellite base to observe weather patterns while secretly monitoring Soviet naval movements. By the late 1960's, the American naval base had closed and the airport was principally used for commercial purposes (McCall, 1981). Regular flights from Santiago and Papeete were established at this time allowing significantly easier access to Easter Island. The first commercial flight (DC-6B) from Santiago to Easter Island landed on 3 April 1967, lasting almost nine hours (Porteous, 1981). By 1968, an onward trip to Papeete was included and by 1970, the DC-6B was replaced by a Boeing 707, decreasing travel time by half (Porteous, 1981) (Plate 30). At this time, the length of the runway was too short, allowing only 85 passengers to be carried in a plane with a seating capacity of 150 (Porteous, 1981). Until 1986, incoming planes could not turn around on the runway and as a result, a plan to extend the runway was proposed. Because of the possible impacts of the extension on surrounding archaeological sites, residents expressed concern; nevertheless, a Rapanui family sold the expansion site at Tarareina for US \$100,000 dollars and the project to expand the runway continued (RNN, 1, 1986). At this same time, NASA showed interest in using the runway on Easter Island as a potential landing strip for the US space shuttle.

As a result of runway extensions, by 1992, the Boeing 707 was replaced with a Boeing 767 to transport more passengers, and flights to Easter Island increased to four per week (RNJ, September 1992). With a growth in air traffic, infrastructure plans began to reflect the necessity for continual runway and airport maintenance. By 1996, investments in airport maintenance totaled US \$11.82 million dollars (RNJ,

September 1996). Consequently, the airport remained closed for almost a month during that year to finish repairs and resurface the runway (RNJ, March 1996). Upgrades were also made to the control tower, terminal building, drainage systems, and the office building (RNJ, June 1996). By December 1996, the runway was completed and boasted Chile's third longest runway at 3,353 meters long and 45 meters wide (RNJ, December 1996). In 1998, at an estimated cost of US \$710,000, yet another project to enlarge the airport, financed by the Ministry of Public Works, was announced (RNJ, June 1998) and final upgrades were completed by July 1999 (RNJ, September 1999) (Plate 31). A second runway, located near La Pérouse, was proposed in 1995 but no plans have yet developed (RNJ, September 1995).

Despite expansions to the runway and larger aircraft, the island continues to have limited access via airplanes. Easter Island is only accessible on LAN Chile flights from Santiago and Papeete. In the winter months (April-September), there are two flights a week from Santiago and Papeete and in the summer months (October-March) additional flights are added to accommodate increased travel during the peak season (Plate 32). Honold *et al.* (1988.) stress the need for more airlines, but the extreme distance of the island from other international destinations makes accessibility limited. The only scheduled air route travels from Santiago to Easter Island and onwards to Papeete, returning the next day to fly back to Santiago.

There have been discussions of another airline, such as Quantas, including Easter Island on their flight itinerary, but it remains uncertain if a second airline will be permitted to land at Mataverí. LAN Chile maintains the monopoly over air travel to and from the island, which in turn accounts for the limited availability of seating and expensive fares. A return ticket from Santiago to Easter Island (tourist class) costs approximately US \$500. However, interviews with tourists suggest that it is not

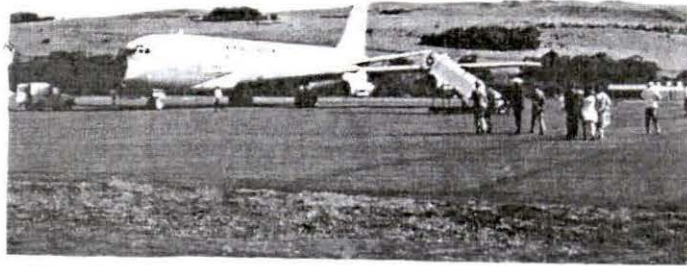


Plate 30 The arrival of the LAN Chile plane in the early 1970's



Plate 31 The arrival of the LAN Chile plane 2001



Plate 32 Tourists are met at the airport by hotel and residencial proprietors

uncommon for some travellers to pay close to US \$1,000 for passage to the island. It is reported that native islanders receive discount travel fares, but many Rapanui contend that these prices are not considerably lower than the standard fare.

Regular scheduled air service to Easter Island has also enabled the transportation of cargo from Santiago and Papeete, decreasing the dependency on the supply ship. This mode of cargo transport, although more expensive, is more immediate in terms of transport time. Data recording the transport of cargo during the 1970's and 1980's were not found but figures from the last decade show that groceries, furniture, appliances, building supplies, and other products purchased in Santiago or Papeete have been increasingly flown directly to the island (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Cargo (kg) Received and Sent by Air 1996-1999

	1996		1997		1998		1999	
	Received	Sent	Received	Sent	Received	Sent	Received	Sent
Total (kg)	1,024,732	48,073	1,215,923	52,284	1,545,992	69,590	1,780,656	87,730

Source: Mataverí International Airport Office Records, 2000.

The Chilean Ministry of Public Works, Direction of Airports, has approved the construction of a new terminal building in order to improve and modernize airport services for both residents and tourists. With the potential of additional airlines flying to Easter Island and the number of tourists growing yearly, this new terminal will have the capacity to handle more passengers, as well as offer additional services. The new terminal building will be constructed near Maunga Orito. The existing terminal building will not be destroyed, for there have been suggestions to utilize it for the display of Rapanui artwork or other community purposes. There are no plans at this time for any expansion to the existing runway or plans to build an additional runway. A new control tower will also be constructed in place of the existing tower. This new tower is to include modern satellite and weather technology equipment.

Port

Port facilities exist at Hanga Piko located a short distance from the town of Hangaroa. The port handles cargo from incoming supply ships and unloads tourists from visiting cruise ships. For a large part of the year, the port remains little used, providing refuge for the Navy's rescue vessel and several miscellaneous fishing boats. Activity around the port is sporadic, attracting employees and spectators only when a cargo vessel or cruise ship arrives.

Improvements to port facilities were not a priority in the mid-1970's however as Porteous (1981) explains the arrival of vessels was infrequent. Although minor upgrades have been made in the two last decades, port facilities remain inadequate; due to the port's limited size and capacity, large vessels are unable to dock directly at the port and must anchor approximately one and a half miles off shore (Plate 33). Cargo is unloaded onto smaller ships via a crane (Plate 34), transported to Hanga Piko, and then unloaded onto awaiting trucks for delivery to Hangaroa (Plate 35). Consequently, this procedure is extremely labor intensive and costly. Depending on factors such as equipment failures and ocean conditions, the process of unloading cargo can continue for as long as two weeks. Although cargo can now also be transported by air, islanders remain dependent on the supply ship, which transports supplies such as building materials, groceries, gasoline, and vehicles from Valparaiso two or three times a year. Cargo transported by ship is also less expensive; in 1995, the cost to transport supplies by vessel was approximately between US \$20 and US \$25 per cubic meter (Memoria de Gestión 1995). Figure 5.3 displays a gradual growth in the amount of cargo delivered over the last decade. This pattern can be attributed to the steady construction of homes and businesses, the growing number of



Plate 33 Like cruise ships, cargo ships must also anchor offshore because port facilities are unable to accommodate large vessels

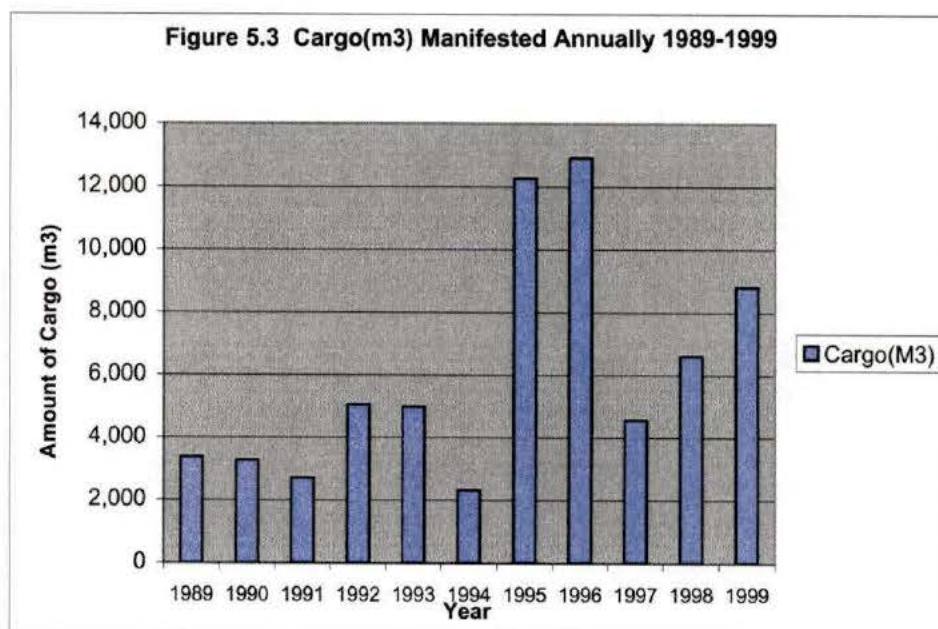


Plate 34 Smaller boats ferry supplies from the cargo ship to the dock at Hanga Piko



Plate 35 Supplies are unloaded onto trucks which then deliver supplies to businesses in Hangarua

imported cars, and continual demand of supplies for tourists. The figure also shows a significant increase for the years 1995 and 1996 which can be attributed to an increase in the demand for building supplies at this time in order to complete the numerous infrastructure improvements and projects (e.g. airport upgrades and repairs).



Source: SASIPA Office Records, Easter Island, 2000.

Cruise ships that stop at the island must anchor off shore as well. Also a time consuming and laborious process, tourists are unloaded from cruise ships onto smaller boats and transported to either the fisherman's dock at Pea beach or Hanga Piko. If cruise ships are not equipped with transport boats, local fishermen are employed to ferry tourists. Depending on the number of passengers and ocean conditions, transporting passengers to and from the island can last for hours.

As it will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six, there have been a number of different proposals over the decades to build a new port on Easter Island to decrease the amount of time and work necessary to unload cargo and tourists. Aside from the port at Hanga Piko, there are four additional small docking facilities, but they too are not equipped to handle large vessels. A small dock exists at the Pea

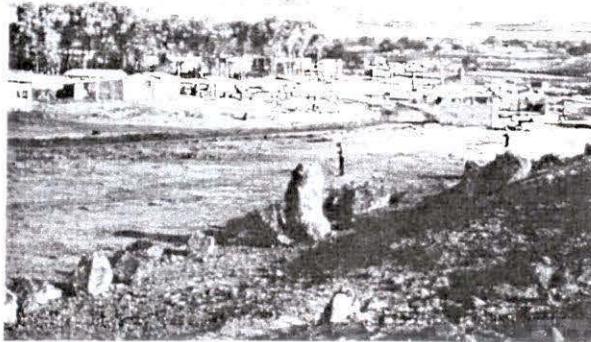


Plate 36 Fishermen behind the caleta (fishing dock) in the early 1970's (Porteous, 1981)



Plate 37 Behind the caleta 2001. Fishing huts from the 1970's are still present but remain unused

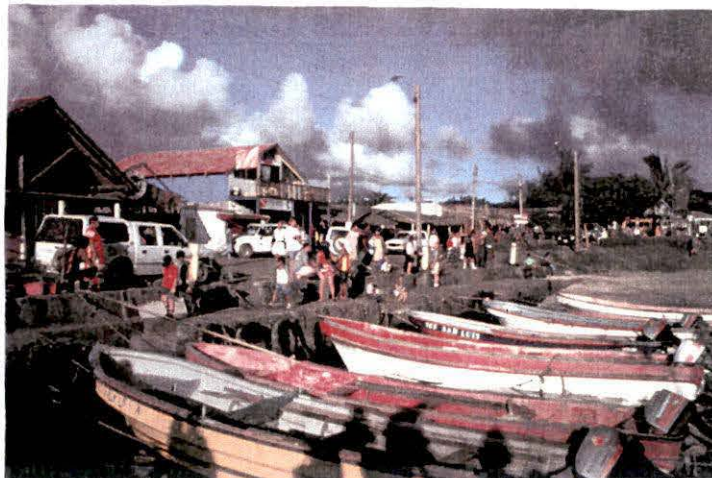


Plate 38 Fishermen dock their boats at the caleta at Pea beach 2001

beach in Hangaroa, which is utilized by local fishermen (Plate 36-38). The remaining three docking sites are located at La Pérouse, Vaihu, and Hotu Iti, but only permit the arrival of small vessels with approval from the Chilean Navy.

5.2.2.2 Utilities

Beginning in 1967, the town of Hangaroa and its surrounding areas were equipped with a piped water supply from major aquifers at Mataverí and Hangaroa (Porteous, 1981). Today, Hangaroa and its peripheral areas continue to receive water through this manner. In 1998, 546,803 m³ of water was produced, of which 424,609 m³ was consumed by islanders (Memoria de Gestión 1998). Easter Island has four wells, two primary wells that function to distribute water to urban areas and two secondary wells available in case of emergency. Water from the aquifers first passes through a filtering system and is then distributed to public areas. The water is completely safe to consume and the island has, to date, never experienced any problems associated with the quality of the water. It is reported that additional wells are scheduled to be built in the near future. However, there are no problems associated with water shortages and local authorities maintain that the island will always have an ample supply of water despite a growing population; in 1998, eighty-seven new structures were supplied with running water (Memoria de Gestión 1998).

Electrical supply began on Easter Island in the late 1960's after the American Military donated a generator. Presently, this original generator still operates, but because of a continual increase in the number of clients, the plant has been supplemented with four additional generators. The island has yet to experience any major problems with the electrical supply, such as electrical shortages, but difficulties persist with the continual maintenance and repair of aging equipment. For instance,

parts required for the annual maintenance or repair of generators must be imported from the United States and/or Chile causing delays. Furthermore, fires are a constant threat in the plant because of the operation of aging generators, which continually demand ongoing attention.

Like water, the demand for electricity has increased as a result of a growing population, but also because of the introduction and popularity of modern household items, such as appliances, televisions, and computers. By 1973, there were only 112 refrigerators, yet by 1987, this number grew to 1,004 (Honold *et al.*, 1988.). In 1998, 4,015, 739 kwh of electricity was generated, of which 3,525, 250 kwh was consumed by islanders (Memoria de Gestión 1998). This demand continues to increase; in 1998, 84 new connections were established in and around Hangaroa (Memoria de Gestión 1998).

The accumulation of garbage has become a principal concern for the island's municipality. In the early 1970's, Porteous (1981:177) observed that garbage accumulation was already a problem because of "changing lifestyles and the growing importation of commercial goods". Three decades later, with a steady growth in the number of tourists arriving and the demand for imported goods by both visitors and residents, there has been an increase in the amount of garbage collected, especially bottles, cans, plastics, and cardboard. The town is serviced with weekly garbage collection, depositing the waste in the local landfill. Unfortunately, due to a lack of funding and technical knowledge, garbage is neither sorted nor recycled. Recognizing this problem, the municipality recently proposed a project to confront the problem of accumulating garbage; community members would be educated in the practice of recycling household garbage: separating plastics, metals, papers, and biodegradable items. Non-biodegradable items (e.g. aluminum, plastic, and metal

products) could be packaged in containers and shipped to the mainland via a supply vessel and various composting units would be established throughout Hangaroa to treat natural waste. Thus a large part of the garbage could be treated on the mainland, rather than in the local landfill.

To date, Hangaroa is not equipped with a sewage treatment facility nor has it established a system to treat sewage waste; sewage is directly deposited into the ground and absorbed. This has caused some concern among community members because residents fear that natural water sources could become contaminated in the near future (MIDEPLAN, 2000). However, Honold *et al.* (1988) believe this is not a serious concern because the island's ground is extremely porous, acting as a natural sewage system absorbing waste and other products, thus preventing contaminants from leaking into the ocean.

5.2.2.3 Social Services

Education

The first school on Easter Island was established in 1914 under the direction of the Chilean Navy (Document, Ministerio de Educación, Santiago). It was not until 1934 that the first public school opened, administered by a female religious order until the late 1960's (Porteous, 1981). By the time a new school was constructed in the late 1960's, 54 percent of the Rapanui population remained illiterate (Porteous, 1981). The school operated at the primary level only, forcing islanders to attend schools on the mainland until 1978 when high school classes finally commenced at the school (Porteous, 1981).

Under the Chilean Ministry of Education, the existing facility, Liceo Lorenzo Baeza, educates both elementary and secondary students, as well as adults (Plate 39).

Initially built to accommodate only 500 students, the school today educates 975 students (Liceo Lorenzo Baeza Office Records, 2000). A continual increase in the enrolment of students has led to extreme overcrowding in the school, greatly decreasing the amount of instruction time for students. Presently, secondary classes are taught in the morning, elementary classes are instructed in the afternoon, and adult classes are offered in the evening (Plate 40).

Enrolment figures (Table 5.3) from the past decade indicate that the majority of students are registered at the elementary level and that there has been a consistent under-representation of students enrolled in secondary classes (grades nine through twelve). This can directly be correlated with population figures for this period (Figure 5.10); over the past decade, there has been a high representation of children under the age of fifteen. The under-representation of high school students also directly coincides with the absence of young people ages 15 to 19 in population figures at this time (Figure 5.10). Their absence can be attributed to the fact that many middle and high school students continue to be schooled on the mainland or abroad despite the introduction of secondary classes. A variety of grants and awards are also offered to high school students each year providing the opportunity to study off the island. In addition, it is apparent that there has been a steady enrolment of adults returning to school to complete elementary and secondary educations.

The student body is comprised of Rapanui (both parents are Rapanui), mainland Chileans (both parents are Chilean), and mixed (one parent is Rapanui and the other Chilean or foreign) students. Although the number of Rapanui students has gradually increased, there has been a substantial rise in the number of mainland Chilean and mixed students (Table 5.4). Over the past twenty years, the migration of

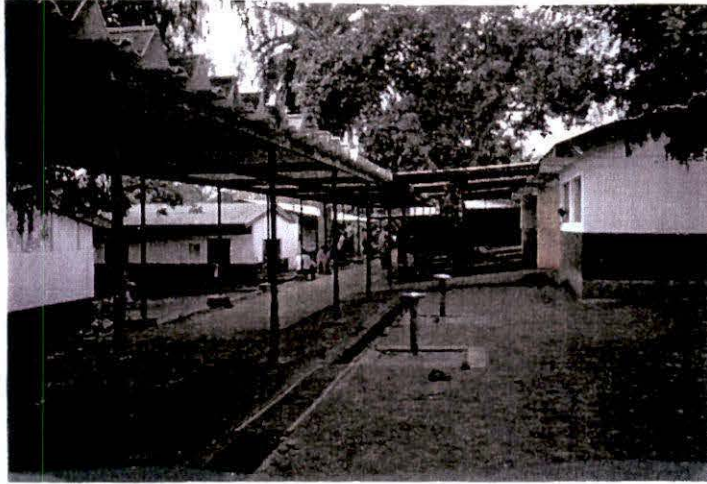


Plate 39 Initially built to accommodate only 500 students, close to 1,000 students are presently enrolled in the school



Plate 40 An afternoon elementary class



Plate 41 Built in the late 1970's, Hospital Hangarua continues to offer only basic medical attention to island residents

Table 5.3 School Enrolment 1990-1999

Year	Pre-School	1 – 8 year	9 –12 year	Elementary Adults	High school Adults	Total
1990	58	501	92	--	--	651
1991	68	532	108	--	--	708
1992	60	542	91	--	--	693
1993	84	594	60	11	31	780
1994	77	545	106	16	45	789
1995	79	576	115	29	46	845
1996	76	622	130	13	39	880
1997	96	633	123	5	39	896
1998	66	642	123	--	49	880
1999	87	658	158	8	35	946

Source: de C. Olivares San Juan, 2000.

Chilean couples from the mainland to Easter Island for the purpose of work (e.g. police force, air force, hospital, or school) or to relocate permanently has remained constant. In addition, marriages between mainland Chileans and Rapanui have become common, and marriages between Rapanui and foreigners are frequent. In 1988, of the 525 students enrolled, 35 percent were Rapanui, 42 percent were Rapanui/mainland Chilean, and 23 percent were mainland Chilean (Vargas Casanova, 1990). Between 1990 and 1999, there was a decrease in the proportion of Rapanui students. In 1990, Rapanui students accounted for 32 percent of the total student body and in 1999 they represented only 29 percent (Table 5.4). However, the representation of mixed students (father or mother Rapanui) increased; in 1990, this group comprised 42 percent of students and by 1999, this figure grew to 46 percent (Table 5.4).

Students receive instruction from both mainland Chilean and Rapanui teachers, but the majority of teachers are contracted from various locations in Chile. In 1996, there were thirty-six regular teachers and seven teachers who specialized in technical education (Plan Annual de Educativo Municipal, 1996). By the year 2000, the number of teachers employed totalled forty-five, thirty-five of whom were Chilean

and the remaining ten Rapanui (Liceo Lorenzo Baeza Office Records, 2000). Despite this increase in the number of teachers, parents continue to attribute problems among

Table 5.4 Ethnic Origins of Students 1990-1999

Year	Father and Mother Rapanui	Father or Mother Rapanui	Father and Mother Chilean	Total Students per Year
1990	213	279	159	651
1991	221	299	188	708
1992	210	294	189	693
1993	262	326	222	810
1994	273	319	197	789
1995	265	366	214	845
1996	292	376	212	880
1997	280	402	178	860
1998	288	398	194	880
1999	274	433	234	941

Source: de C. Olivares San Juan, 2000.

Rapanui students to the lack of sufficient educational instruction and the absence of Rapanui professors in the school. For example, in 1987, 35.3 percent of mainland Chilean students were granted an honours standing but only 9.7 percent of the Rapanui students received honours and 7.6 percent of the Rapanui students had to repeat the academic year (Vargas Casanova, 1990). As Vargas Casanova (1990) explains, this does not mean that Rapanui students were or are less intelligent, but rather they have to contend with socio-cultural problems and an imperfect system of instruction, which can affect their academic performance.

Instructional programs taught at the school are structured according to the national Chilean education curriculum; instruction therefore is taught entirely in the Spanish language. Consequently, there has been a decline in the use of the Rapanui language among students. Since the late 1970's, there has been a steady decline in the use of the traditional Rapanui language, especially among students. In 1977, 77 percent of native islanders spoke Rapanui, but by 1989, it was discovered that only 25

percent of native islanders were speaking in their traditional tongue (Vargas Casanova, 1990).

Until 1989, the traditional Rapanui language was taught to students, but due to an insufficient number of books and lesson materials, the program eventually ceased (RNJ, Spring 1989). Emphasis has been placed on the Spanish language within the curriculum in order for children to adapt to Chilean programs (RNJ, Spring 1989). Fearing the loss of their traditional Polynesian language, in the last decade, concerned teachers, parents, and residents lobbied for the re-introduction of the Rapanui language into the school curriculum. Today, students learn Rapanui in language classes and some elementary classes are instructed entirely in Rapanui. Nevertheless, as Makihara (1999) points out, although parents would like their children to speak Rapanui to understand and preserve their heritage, Spanish is considered the practical language and is necessary especially if children wish to study or work on the mainland.

As mentioned, students now have the opportunity to complete their high school education on the island. However, the school is not equipped to provide post-secondary instruction and it is unlikely to do so in the near future. Students wishing to pursue a university education must attend an institution on the mainland or abroad. In 1972, the government instituted a system of grants and awards available to those students wishing to pursue an education on the mainland or abroad. Since 1979, 30 grants and awards have been distributed each year to high school students (Vargas Casanova, 1990). In the last two decades, additional grants and awards have also been established.

Despite improvements, the quality of education continues to be a foremost concern for the Rapanui. The school faces a number of different obstacles, which

include a lack of educational resources for the quantity of students, the absence of technical/professional educational resources responding to local requirements and work, and a lack of overall support for education on the island from the Chilean Ministry of Education (Document, Ministerio de Educación, Santiago). In addition, the education infrastructure is inadequate and financial restrictions have placed constraints on the curriculum and instructional capabilities (MIDEPLAN, 2000). Presently, young people continue to have limited access to education and therefore are not equipped with the mandatory skills and training needed to succeed on Easter Island, the mainland or abroad (RNJ, June 1994). Furthermore, a strong acculturation process among students has contributed to the disarticulation of the traditional social order (Oficina de Ministerio de Educación, Santiago). It has been suggested that more Rapanui teachers be employed and measures be taken to make the school more independent and reinforce the Rapanui culture (RNJ, June 1994).

Currently, improvements to the education system are active. The municipality has proposed the construction of a new secondary school to solve the problem of overcrowding. The construction of this school is in the final stages of approval and is estimated to cost more than US \$800,000 dollars (RNJ, December 1999). The new school will function primarily at the high school level but is expected to offer some post-secondary classes.

Medical

Medical and health services on Easter Island depend on the Servicio de Salud Valparaiso-San Antonio (Health Service of Valparaiso-San Antonio, Chile). Porteous (1981) noted that medical services improved in the late 1960's when a twenty bed prefabricated hospital complete with generators, a laboratory, and an ambulance was donated by a Canadian Medical Expedition team. A new structure was built in 1976,

which today still functions as the primary medical facility (Plate 41). Since this time, medical services have slowly improved with the assistance of the state and outside donors. For example, in 1988, medical instruments and equipment valued at over US \$90,000 were donated (RNJ, Summer 1988).

It was difficult to secure medical data (e.g. number of consultations or medical illnesses) for the 1980's. Official records from the last decade were located and display a growing need for medical attention. In 1994, the hospital handled 7,642 medical consultations (Memoria de Gestión 1995) but by 1995, this figure had grown to 10,315 (Memoria de Gestión 1995). Three years later, doctors provided 13,945 medical consultations in such areas, for example, as dermatology, cardiology, and neurology (Memoria de Gestión 1998). Based on these figures, it appears there has been a gradual increase in health and medical problems among the Rapanui and other islanders. Although no extensive medical research has been conducted on the emergence of new diseases or conditions in the Rapanui community, the influx of foreigners and Chileans to Easter Island, changes in diet due to the increased consumption of imported foods, and the diffusion of diseases from other regions could account for changes in health conditions. For example, many islanders accredit an increase in the occurrence of obesity and heart conditions among the Rapanui to the consumption of packaged foods, products that were once foreign to the Rapanui diet. Medical services remain adequate, but the hospital is equipped to treat only minor cases and perform simple operational procedures. In 2001, three doctors, two maternity nurses, one regular nurse, a dentist, and a veterinarian staffed the hospital.

If any serious medical conditions arise that cannot be attended by island physicians, patients must be flown to Santiago to receive the necessary treatment. In 1994, 32 patients were flown to Santiago for medical attention (Memoria de Gestión

1994). This figure more than doubled in 1995; 74 islanders required medical treatment on the mainland (Memoria de Gestión 1995). Due to an insufficient amount of hospital staff, most notably doctors, a lack of medical expertise, absence of necessary medical equipment, and the limited number of flights to transport patients, the medical system has generated significant attention. Interviews suggest that many Rapanui are concerned with the quality of health services and stress the need for new facilities and specialized personnel in order to effectively treat the community.

In order to assist with medical cases, the Chilean Air Force supplies a medical team to travel to the island annually to provide specialized medical and dental attention to residents. Specialists in the fields of neurology, cardiology, optometry, and dentistry complete hundreds of examinations and perform complicated procedures and operations. This service is extremely beneficial because it provides treatment to those individuals who have serious conditions and cannot afford or are unable to travel to the mainland, such as the elderly.

5.2.2.4 Communication

In the early 1970's, communication services on Easter Island were satisfactory (Porteous, 1981). The island was equipped with a small radio station, a television transmitter to broadcast videotapes, and over 100 telephones. Prior to 1967, contact with outside visitors was limited to the arrival of the annual supply ship, but today the island population has unlimited communication with the global village through improved phone lines, fax machines, television, radio, Internet services, and air travel.

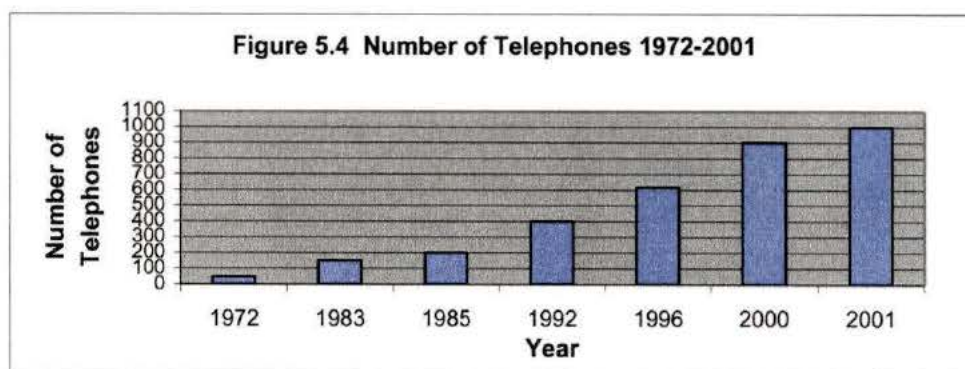
Television was first introduced on Easter Island in 1976 and comprised programs such as "I Love Lucy" and "Kung Fu" broadcasted by the Chilean government (RNJ, Summer 1988). In 1975, there were only ten televisions on the

island, but by 1982 this figure had grown to 632 and by 1987 it increased to 764 (Honold *et al.*, 1988). In 1995, the Consejo Nacional de Televisión (Chilean National Television Council) approved funding to transmit the Chilean channel "TVN", thereby significantly increasing the link between Easter Island and the outside world (RNJ, March 1995). Islanders now receive this one Chilean channel transmitted from Santiago. Although no figures were located, it can be assumed that today almost every household has at least one television.

"Te Mata o Rapanui", the public television station, funded by the municipality, was recently established. The local channel broadcasts weekly, showcasing programs about Rapanui culture, traditions, and community events. Interviews and programs are conducted in Rapanui and Spanish, but periodically interviews are performed in English and French. There being no local newspaper, this channel is considered extremely important because it serves as medium to inform the Rapanui community about social, cultural, and political issues and events. In addition, the channel provides an alternative educational medium for local youth, broadcasting segments on topics such as traditional medicine, archaeology, and the history of Rapa Nui.

Radio has also become an important information medium for the island community. There was an increase in the number of radios from 84 in 1973 to 910 in 1987 (Honold *et al.*, 1988). Today, Easter Island has three radio stations. A Chilean Navy station (broadcasted entirely in Spanish) is funded by the state and reports mainly on Chilean issues. This station also receives transmissions from the mainland and is able to broadcast other Chilean radio programs. A second Chilean station, "Chilean Polynesian Radio", is also conducted in Spanish but is operated by the Society for Communications and Culture, Ltd. (RNJ, October 2001). The

municipality funds the operation of “Manukena Radio”, the local Rapanui station, which broadcasts its programs primarily in the Rapanui language, but also in Spanish. Like public television, this radio station is particularly important because it reports on social, economic, and political issues in the native tongue.



Source: Entel Office, Easter Island, 2000.

Porteous (1981) reported that after 1972 there were over one hundred telephones on Easter Island. The popularity of telephones has grown significantly; today, almost every household and business has access to a telephone (Figure 5.4). The island received a new satellite station in 1990 from the Chilean phone company, Entel, replacing the original microwave system with twelve new channels (RNJ, Spring 1990). As a result, today there are over 1000 telephones. Improved telephone communication has further connected the island to the outside world with fax machines and Internet access. In 1998, the island had only twenty Internet connections, but by 2000 the number of connections had grown to over 100 (di Castri, 2000). A growth in the use of the Internet by islanders is directly linked to tourism; tourism operators use the Internet to promote tourism services, such as hotels, residenciales, and tour packages. The island also has full-time postal service with mail arriving from and leaving for Santiago and Papeete by plane.

5.2.2.5 Roads

Automobile access within Hangaroa and its outer perimeter was limited to fourteen roads in 1976, but by 1987, there were thirty-five roads, the majority of which were located in Hangaroa (Honold *et al.*, 1988). Porteous (1981) reported that during the early 1970's, improvements in this area consisted of the grading and widening of local roads (Plate 42). Paving dirt roads finally became a priority in 1987 under the *Isla de Pascua, Programa de Desarrollo 1986-1990*. As a result, the paving of streets began in conjunction with the construction of drainage gutters and sidewalks by 1989 (RNJ, Spring 1989) (Figure 5.5). Greater road accessibility has increased the demand for automobiles. For example, by 1994, approximately 1200 cars had been imported to Easter Island, providing one car for every two islanders (RNJ, March 1994).

The priority to pave roads has further become a major concern as the tourism industry has grown. In 1996, it was announced that US \$1.5 million dollars would be invested in road improvements (RNJ, September 1996) (Plate 43). At the expense of US \$8.9 million dollars, the coastal road from Hangaroa to the beach at Anakena was paved in 1998 (RNJ, June 1998). Paving of the coastal road raised concerns because increased tourist access to the different heritage sites (e.g. Rano Raraku and Tongariki) could have a detrimental impact on the archaeological environment. Consequently, stone walls have been erected to prevent vehicles from driving directly into sites (RNJ, September 1999). It is expected by the year 2005 that all the roads within Hangaroa and those leading to major tourist sites will be paved (Plate 44).



Plate 42 In the early 1970's, none of the roads in Hangaroa were paved. The paving of town roads did not become a priority until the early 1990's

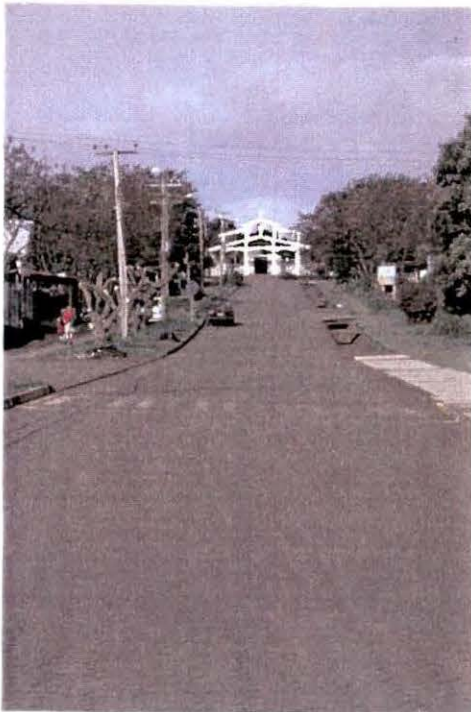


Plate 43 In 2001, many of the main roads within Hangaroa have been paved. Te Pito o Te Henua Street, leading towards the church



Plate 44 Some roads in Hangaroa remain unpaved and are difficult to travel. Within the next five years, all urban roads are to be paved

5.2.3 *Heritage Landscape*

Although the urbanization of Hangaroa and infrastructure developments have altered the physical appearance of Easter Island, it is also important to discuss the effects of development, but more specifically tourism development, on the heritage landscape.

Personal conversations with Rapanui community members confirmed that native islanders recognize tourism as their main economic enterprise, but understand its consequent impacts on the heritage landscape. Nero (1997) contends that the rapid destruction of the natural environment is the main problem faced by Pacific Islands today. Undoubtedly, an increase in the annual number of tourists has had a significant effect on the island's fragile eco-system and heritage sites. Yet, to date, no impact assessment or resource management studies have been conducted to survey the accumulative damage of past years, to assess present conditions of archaeological sites, or predict future problems. Rapanui officials cite an absence of funding as one of the main reasons why an impact assessment study has not been completed, but they are certain that one will be carried out in the near future. Community members stress the need for increased preservation efforts because Easter Island's unique landscape and its pristine heritage environments will account for the economic and cultural livelihood of future Rapanui generations.

Porteous (1981) noted garbage accumulation at important archaeological sites during his research, a problem that is still evident. A "lack of healthy ecological conduct" has been observed, as tourists discard trash at sites (Montero, 1991:66). Visitor behaviour, as Fagence (1999) points out, can be problematic and has been a growing concern for park officials, as well as the Rapanui. Recognizing this, trash cans have been installed at some sites and tour operators provide plastic bags for

tourists to collect unwanted garbage. Islanders have also been accused of environmental misconduct. Just as Porteous (1981) reported in the early 1970's, vandalism of archaeological sites continues to be a problem. In past years, individuals have been guilty of chalking and scraping petroglyphs in order to emphasize figures, as well as marking monuments (RNJ, March 1992).

Most importantly, large amounts of tourists can contribute to the destruction of Rapanui archaeological sites (Montero, 1991) (Plate 45). Fences have been erected around popular sites to prevent the entry of vehicles and signs have been posted prohibiting tourists from walking or climbing on the moai, ahu platforms, and petroglyphs. Despite these precautions, tourists on many occasions were observed walking on petroglyphs to take photographs or ascending ahu platforms to have photographs taken with moai (Plate 46). Although no data were located regarding the average number of tourists visiting the different sites on a daily basis, observations recorded at Rano Raraku and Tongariki showed that it was not unusual for two or three hundred tourists to visit these particular sites in one day during the high season. However, with the arrival of a cruise ship, popular sites could expect up to six or seven hundred passengers in one day. To lessen the environmental impact and avoid congestion at sites, tour operators stagger departure times and alternate routes, but it is impossible to coordinate this upon the arrival of cruise ships, whose passengers have only a limited amount of time to visit the sites.

Porteous (1981) further noted considerable damage at the ceremonial site of Orongo. Since this time, measures have been taken to decrease the impact of visitors to the area. Additional walking paths throughout the site have been created to divert tourists from fragile areas and visitors are not permitted to walk on or enter traditional



Plate 45 To date, no studies have been completed to assess the long-term impact of increased foot traffic on archaeological sites



Plate 46 Despite warning signs, tourists continue to walk on ahu platforms to view moai statues

stone houses (Plate 47). Obviously, the erosion of the ancient petroglyphs along the cliffs of Orongo remains a foremost concern due to increased visitor access (Plate 48). To decrease the impact of foot traffic, platforms have been laid in areas surrounding petroglyphs. Signs have also been posted prohibiting visitors from touching the petroglyphs. The close proximity of the ancient petroglyphs to the sea cliff has also contributed to the gradual depression of the designs as this particular area frequently experiences high winds and rains in the winter months (Plate 49).

Although the gradual degradation of the physical environment of Easter Island is evident in the contemporary heritage landscape, there are some factors which have played a role in decreasing the environmental impact of tourism compared to other small island destinations. Effects of tourists on the natural environment have to some degree been controlled because of tourism's high and low seasons. Although Easter Island receives tourists all year round, the majority of visitors arrive in the summer months (October through March), whereas there are fewer arrivals in the winter months (April through September). Thus, this island does not also experience a constant influx of visitors all year round. Furthermore, group tours assist in controlling visitor numbers and also can play an important role in managing environmental impacts (Schmidt as quoted in Pearce, 1992). As well, the urbanization of Easter Island has been restricted to the area in and surrounding Hangaroa, which therefore has prevented development in important ecological areas (Dasmann, 1982). Nevertheless, collective action by Rapanui and Chilean officials, as well as community members, must be taken to preserve the existing landscape for future generations, especially if tourism remains the only economic alternative for the Rapanui.



Plate 47 In order to preserve the archaeological sites at Orongo, tourists are prohibited from entering stone houses

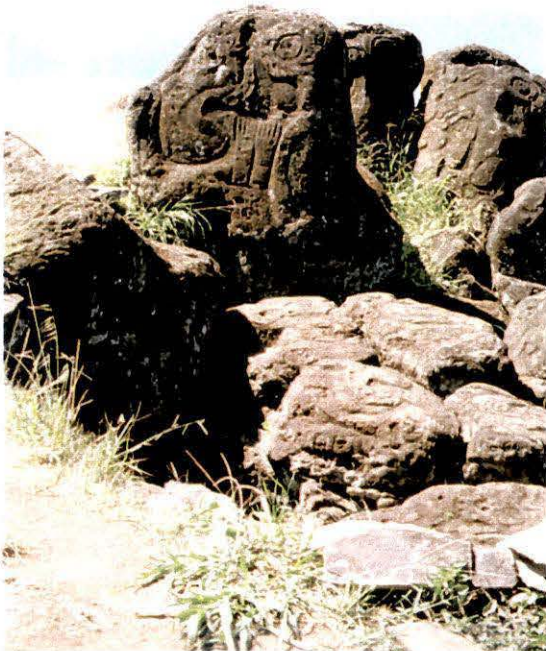


Plate 48 Tourists are asked not to touch the ancient petroglyphs at Orongo

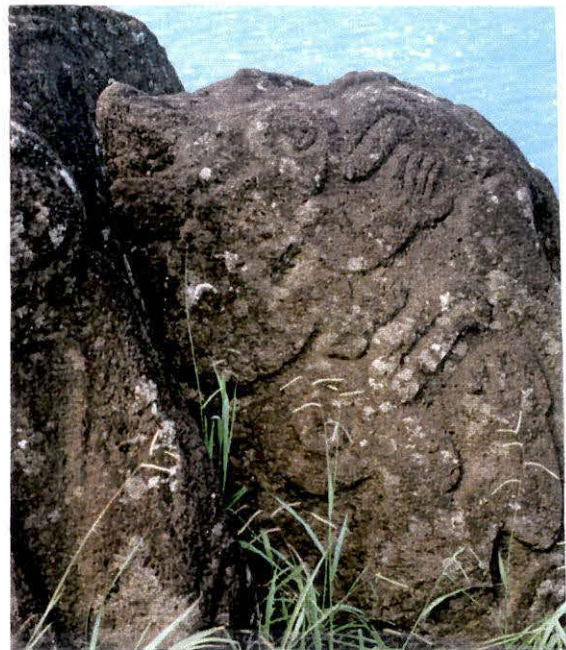


Plate 49 Aside from the impact of tourists, natural processes such as wind and rain contribute to the erosion of Rapanui petroglyphs

5.3 Economic Changes

5.3.1 Occupational Structure

Since the onset of modernization in the late 1960's, the population was comprised not only of Rapanui residents but also mainland Chileans who came to work for one of the many Chilean agencies (e.g. Air Force, Navy, police, governor's office, municipality, school or hospital). Porteous (1981) observed a noticeable transition from self-employment in agriculture to wage-labour in the 1970's as a result of the modernization process. In 1969, only 16.3 percent of the Rapanui population worked as skilled labourers and of that figure, a mere 3.5 percent actually worked in public services (e.g. governor's office, municipality, hospital, and school) (Porteous, 1981) (Table 5.5). Rather, 59.6 percent of the Rapanui were employed as unskilled labourers in activities such as agriculture, construction, and the private sector (Table 5.5). Accordingly, in the early 1980's, the greater part of Rapanui people were unskilled labourers; 58.8 percent of *jefes de familia* (head of the family) were unqualified workers, 17.1 percent were qualified workers, and a small percentage, 9.3 percent, occupied jobs in the areas of art and folklore (Vargas Casanova, 1990). The 1982 census recorded the different economic activities among the island community (Table 5.6). Mainland Chileans accounted for the large percentage of individuals employed in public or community services (43.1 percent). Positions held in the areas of electricity, water, transport, communication, financial services, and forestry would also be occupied by mainland Chileans. Just as Porteous (1981) reported, the Rapanui at this time would largely have been employed in the sectors of agriculture, fishing, construction, and commercial activities. Although no specific category was created for tourism activities, Table 5.6 shows that a significant number of Rapanui were employed in commercial activities classified as restaurants and hotels, and community

services which includes a sub-category listed as 'personal'. This could account for individuals who were self-employed in the area of tourism. As the table confirms, Chileans were generally employed as skilled workers whereas the Rapanui continued to occupy unskilled positions.

Table 5.5 Primary Occupations of Islanders 1969

Activity	Self-Employed	Skilled Labour	Unskilled Labour	Total
Agriculture, personal	9			9
Agriculture, CORFO			26	26
Fishing	34			34
Carving Artifacts	17			17
Construction			24	24
Commerce	5			5
Armed Forces		35		35
Public Services		10	64	74
"Private Sector"		1	19	20
Unemployed	3		35	38
Total	68	46	168	282

Source: Porteous, 1981.

Table 5.6 Economic Activities of Island Population 1982

Sector of Employment	Percentage of Population
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	11.2
Mining	0.1
Industry, manufacturing	5.9
Electricity, water, gas	1.0
Construction	9.0
Commercial, restaurants, and hotels	13.8
Transport, communication	5.3
Financial services	1.9
Community services, social and personal	43.1
Not very well specified	6.2
Looking for work for the first time	2.5

Source: Vargas Casanova, 1990.

The 1992 Census reported that the four important economic activities for the island population were: public administration and defence (23.84 percent); agriculture (11.36 percent); commerce (11.36 percent); and industry (11.27 percent) (de C. Olivares San Juan, 2000). The majority of the Rapanui continued to work in the areas

of agriculture, fishing, and industry (tourism) and mainland Chileans were employed in the areas of public administration and service, national defence, education, health, and commerce (Table 5.7). de Olivares San Juan (2000) attributes this trend to the higher levels of education and training that mainland Chileans possessed as compared to Rapanui workers. However, there has been a dramatic increase in the percentage of Rapanui working in public services since this time. Contemporary figures from 1994 display an increase in the number of Rapanui employed in public services; for example, at this time 72 percent of municipality employees were Rapanui (Table 5.8).

**Table 5.7 Economic Activities of Island Population 1992
(over the age of 15)**

Economic Activities	Percentage of Rapanui %	Percentage of mainland Chileans %
Agriculture, cattle, and forestry	17.57	4.21
Fishing	6.78	2.20
Mining	0.17	0.40
Industry – manufacturing	14.43	7.62
Electricity, gas, and water	1.22	2.00
Construction	9.22	7.62
Commercial – e.g. repair of cars, personal and domestic work.	9.74	13.23
Hotels and restaurants	6.96	5.41
Transportation and communication	9.39	10.02
Finances	0	1.40
Real estate, business, and contract work	3.48	3.41
Public administration and defence	9.04	21.84
Education	3.13	6.41
Health	2.43	6.21
Domestic servants	2.09	2.40
Outside organizations and agencies	4.00	5.61
Ignored	0.35	0

Source: de C. Olivares San Juan, 2000.

Rapanui who now possess the skills and training occupy positions originally reserved for mainland Chileans. Many Rapanui hold positions at the governor's office, municipality, hospital, school, post office, bank, airport, or with the Chilean Navy (Table 5.8). Such individuals work as secretaries, office clerks, nurses,

teachers, tellers, or serve as marines in the Navy. Compared to only 3.5 percent in 1969 (Table 5.5), in 1994, 39 percent of public service employees were Rapanui (Table 5.8). Because more Rapanui have post-secondary educations, have completed training programs, and acquired specialized skills, ethnic Rapanui can now fill positions once entirely dominated by mainland Chileans.

Table 5.8 Public Service Employees – Rapanui/Mainland Chileans 1994

Service/Institution	Rapanui	Chilean	Total
Provincial Government	4	3	7
Court House	2	4	6
Chilean Navy	N/A	N/A	N/A
Municipality	24	9	33
Police	1	29	30
Investigative Unit	0	5	5
Chilean Air Force	7	27	34
Hospital	15	24	39
School	13	37	50
Armed Forces	1	0	1
Agriculture Services (SASIPA)	4	1	5
National Park Service (CONAF)	13	11	24
R.P.C Terminal at Vinapu	5	8	13
Tourist Office (Sernatur)	2	1	3
Land Office	0	1	1
Civil Registry	1	0	1
State Bank	3	6	9
Judicial Office	1	1	2
Museum	3	2	5
Public Library	N/A	N/A	N/A
Post Office	3	0	3
Chilean Television Station	1	0	1
Center of Easter Island Studies	0	1	1
National Service of Fishing	1	0	1
Customs	1	0	1
Pre-School	3	1	4
Development Office (CONADI)	2	1	3
Total	110	172	282

Source: Memoria de Gestión 1994.

The development of tourism on Easter Island has also played a large role in changing the pre-existing occupational structure. The transition from a subsistence

agricultural economy to one based solely on monetary activities and services, such as tourism, has taken place in many Pacific Island societies (Lockwood, 1993). Porteous (1981) reported that during the mid-1970's, mainland Chileans usually held positions as professionals and clerks and were employed in the areas of food preparation and service in tourism; the Rapanui on the contrary were employed as laundry staff, room service attendants, and hotel maintenance. The roles have changed considerably over the past two decades. Today, a growing number of Rapanui are employed as professionals and clerks and occupy the majority of positions in tourism. With the exception of Hotel Hanga Roa, all of the hotels and residenciales in addition to the numerous restaurants, shops, tour agencies, and other related services are owned and operated by Rapanui businesspersons. Because the tourism industry, as Kloke (1975) explains, does not require its labour force to possess highly developed technical skills, the Rapanui have the opportunity to fill managerial positions. It was observed that the Rapanui, rather than mainland Chileans or foreigners, occupy almost all of the management positions and account for the majority of support staff in this industry. In contrast to Porteous's (1981) observations made in the 1970's, today migrating unskilled mainland Chileans or foreigners are often employed as kitchen staff (e.g. cooks and dishwashers), restaurant staff (e.g. waiters/waitresses), and in housekeeping (e.g. maids and laundry service).

The establishment of hotels, residenciales, restaurants, souvenir shops, and tour agencies, has further facilitated the demand for wage-labour. Over the past three decades, this shift in the occupation structure is much more evident because a large number of Rapanui now generate their income from wage-labour (e.g. cooks, waiters/waitresses, tour guides, store clerks, chambermaids, hotel clerks, and maintenance workers). Tourism has become the primary sector of employment and

for some individuals, their only source of income. As previously mentioned, approximately 90 percent of the Rapanui are employed in the tourism sector either directly or indirectly. Many Rapanui are self-employed; individuals own and operate hotels, residenciales, restaurants, souvenir shops, and tour agencies. The Rapanui have acquired the necessary skills to operate and manage hotels, restaurants, and other related services, as well as initiate the development of future tourism projects. In order to understand the demands and needs of the tourism industry, the Rapanui have educated and trained themselves and as a result, have built an industry that has proven sustainable and highly profitable.

Even though tourism is the primary source of employment for the Rapanui population, it is not uncommon for individuals to have secondary occupations. In the 1970's, Porteous (1981) reported that many native islanders had more than one source of income; for example, many Rapanui males were also fishermen, farmers, carvers, and worked in construction. In 2001, it was observed that a large portion of both men and women hold secondary occupations. Aside from primary occupations, many Rapanui hold secondary positions as musicians, sculptors, carvers, painters, and entertainers to supplement incomes. A small number of Rapanui continue to grow fruit and vegetables, which are sold to local grocery stores, restaurants, or in the public market. Almost entirely dominated by men, fishing also continues to be an important secondary occupation. Tourism has created a great demand for fresh seafood and a small number of fishermen supply fish to hotels, residenciales, and restaurants.

5.3.2 Integration into a Money Economy

International tourism has had a profound impact on traditional Rapanui society. By the late 1970's, Porteous (1981:232) described the impact of tourism on the Rapanui as "the disruption of long-established lifestyles". Tourism has enabled the Rapanui to become fully integrated into a money economy, which in turn has created new values and beliefs. Money, for example, was not commonly used prior to the 1960's; it has now become an integral part of Rapanui society. Today it is associated with power, affluence, social status, consumerism, materialism, and capitalism. Almost the entire Rapanui population has become accustomed to and dependent on a money economy. Erisman (as quoted in Matthews & Richter, 1991:131) explains this process through what is known in tourism studies as the 'commoditization theory': "destination societies and their environs are treated as commodities in tourism, and the touristic intrusion has resulted in social and cultural change, more in line with commercial values". As a result, the traditional Polynesian notion of 'community action' and sharing has been replaced to some degree with the ideology of individualism. Rochna-Ramirez (1996) explains that the introduction of tourism activities into traditional Rapanui society has been conducive to the growth of individualism and the desire for personal wealth. Lockwood (1993:14) further contends that a growth in money and material wealth among traditional Pacific societies "are increasingly taking the place of traditional criteria linked to kinship and community service for achieving social prominence". Social prominence associated with monetary wealth is clearly evident in contemporary Rapanui society with the emergence of a Rapanui upper class.

Because of the shift from agricultural subsistence to tourism, the Rapanui have become increasingly dependent on imported products. The demand for imported

goods has grown dramatically with the onset of tourism. Items like bottled water, carbonated beverages, alcohol, meat, poultry, packaged goods such as rice and pasta, as well as a variety of fruits and vegetables are imported for grocery stores, hotels, and restaurants to accommodate both local and tourist demands. The island's inclusion in a market system, as Lockwood (1993) points out, contributes to an increase in the consumption of manufactured goods, which largely replaces traditional subsistence produce. Kaitilla (1995) explains that a greater income allows individuals to purchase store bought goods, which is seen as an emblem of status and prestige.

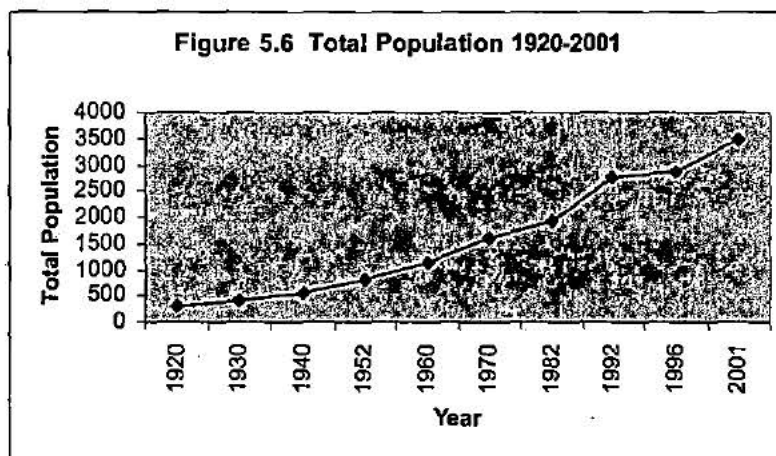
5.4 Social Changes

5.4.1 Population

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the population on Easter Island has grown significantly. In 1920, a mere 299 individuals were recorded but by 1970, the population had grown to over 1,600 (Figure 5.6). The last official population census was conducted in 1992 and as a result, population figures thereafter have been based on estimates generated from the local government and municipal offices. Estimates are derived from information collected from immigration records, birth and death registrations, and marriages. According to the 1992 Census, there were 2,764 inhabitants on Easter Island (Figure 5.6). By 1999, the total population was estimated at 3,460 (de C. Olivares San Juan, 2000). The present population is calculated at approximately 3,500 people. It is estimated that the population of Hangaroa will grow to over 4,000 by the year 2005 (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Santiago, 1993).

The influx of mainland Chileans has played a vital role in a steady growth of the island population since the 1970's. The Chilean population is comprised of

individuals who arrive to work at one of the many Chilean posts (e.g. Navy, Air Force, hospital, school, police, or ministries) or those who have permanently relocated to escape the pollution and crime that is characteristic of many mainland metropolitan areas. It was difficult to locate data, especially for the last two decades, which recorded the distribution of the population in terms of the number of Rapanui



Source: Porteous, 1981; Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional Rapa Nui, 1997.

residents and mainland Chileans. In the late 1970's, mainland Chileans accounted for approximately one-quarter of the population (Porteous, 1981). Out of a total population of 2,335, 725 were registered as mainland Chileans in 1981 (Vargas Casanova, 1990). Of that number, 64 percent were public service employees and 19 percent were permanent residents (Vargas Casanova, 1990). By 1987, mainland Chileans accounted for only 30 percent of the entire population (Vargas Casanova, 1990). Of the 701 mainland Chileans, 63 percent were public service employees and 36.7 percent were permanent residents (Vargas Casanova, 1990). Yet in the next decade, mainland Chileans expanded to represent a large percentage of the total population; in 1996, native Rapanui formed only 30 percent of the 2,870 inhabitants (RNJ, March 1996). Based on the above information, it is evident that the Rapanui

are becoming a minority group. Many Rapanui voiced their concerns about the constant influx of mainland Chileans who come to permanently reside on the island.

An increase in the occurrence of marriages between Rapanui and mainland Chileans, as well as foreigners, has been characteristic of recent decades. Both of the latter groups travel to Easter Island either for employment or pleasure purposes and it is not uncommon for relationships to develop with native islanders. Many Rapanui who travel to mainland Chile or abroad, often meet husbands or wives and return to the island with their new partners. In the Rapanui culture, individuals are not permitted to marry within their family; for example, cousins are not sanctioned to marry one another. During informal conversations with various Rapanui women, many discussed the challenges of finding a Rapanui mate due to cultural restrictions and stressed the possibility of mainland Chileans or foreigners as potential partners. Between the periods of 1970 to 1994, there were 140 marriages between Rapanui and mainland Chileans, which accounted for 48.1 percent of the total marriages (Makihara, 1999). During this same period, 27 marriages were officiated between Rapanui and foreigners (Makihara, 1999). Although no current data were located for Rapanui/Chilean marriages post-1998, other data show a large increase in the number of Rapanui/foreigner marriages. In 1998, 41 marriages between Rapanui and foreigners were recorded, 46.3 percent of which were with French citizens (Memoria de Gestión 1998).

It was hard to make comparisons between Porteous's (1981) findings in the early 1970's (Figure 5.7) and contemporary population trends because of the difficulty of locating similar data for the last two decades of the 20th century. For example, attempts were unsuccessful at locating present data that recorded the population of ethnic Rapanui and mainland Chileans as separate groups. Data were

only found concerning the breakdown of the general population (Rapanui, mainland Chileans, and foreigners) by age for the years 1982 (Figure 5.8), 1992 (Figure 5.9) and 1999 (Figure 5.10) thus allowing only general observations to be made.

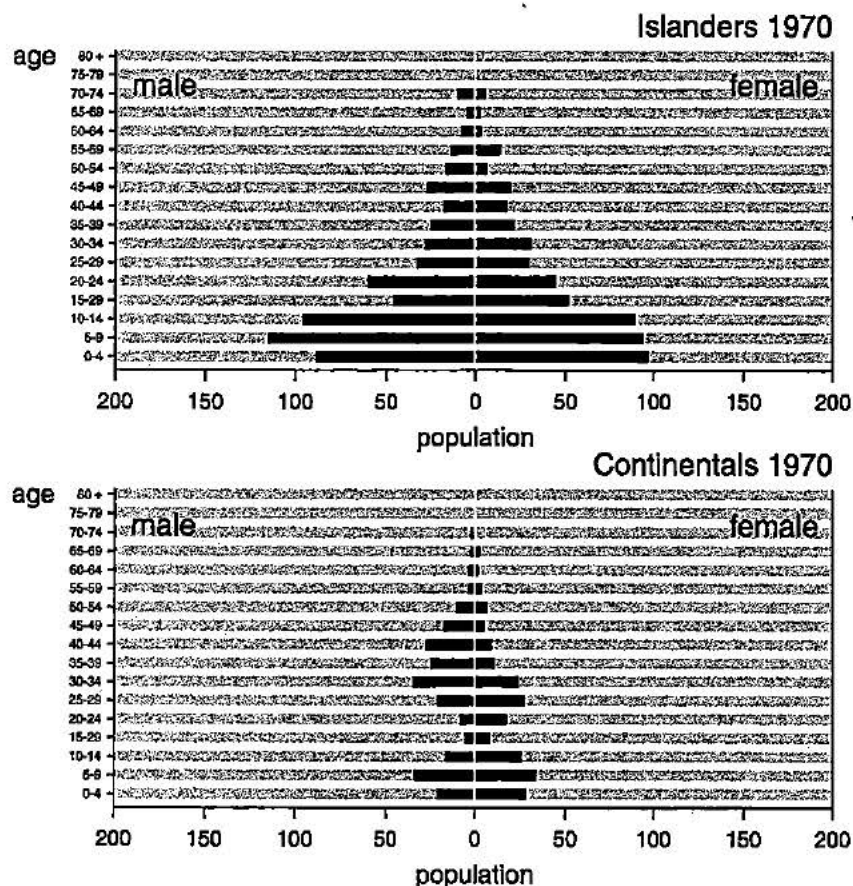
In 1970, Porteous (1981) reported a significant absence of Rapanui males age 15-19 because of their selection for mainland schooling and military service (Figure 5.7). There was also an underrepresentation of the elderly 65 and older, as Porteous (1981) explains, because of basic medical services and a lower standard of living at this time (Figure 5.7). Mainland Chilean population figures displayed a large representation of males (64 percent) and females (51 percent) between the ages 20-64 because of the large portion of mainland Chilean men, both single and those married with families, who worked for one of the Chilean agencies (Figure 5.7).

Contemporary population numbers display new trends at the end of the 20th century. There has been a consistent representation of young children age 0-14 and individuals age 20-39 since the early 1980's (Figure 5.8, Figure 5.9 and Figure 5.10). de Olivares San Juan (2000) explains that public service employees who come to work on Easter Island are usually married males who are accompanied by wives and small children. For example, the 1992 Census reported that 40 percent of the island population was not born on Easter Island, a percentage that was similar to data recorded five years earlier (de Olivares San Juan, 2000). Thus, mainland Chileans have been and continue to be an important group living on Easter Island. Although the data for 1982 do not distinguish between Rapanui and mainland Chileans, there was an underrepresentation of individuals age 15-19 (Figure 5.8). Just as Porteous (1981) reported in the 1970's, young adults continued to attend secondary schools on the mainland or abroad and some males left for military service. However, Figure

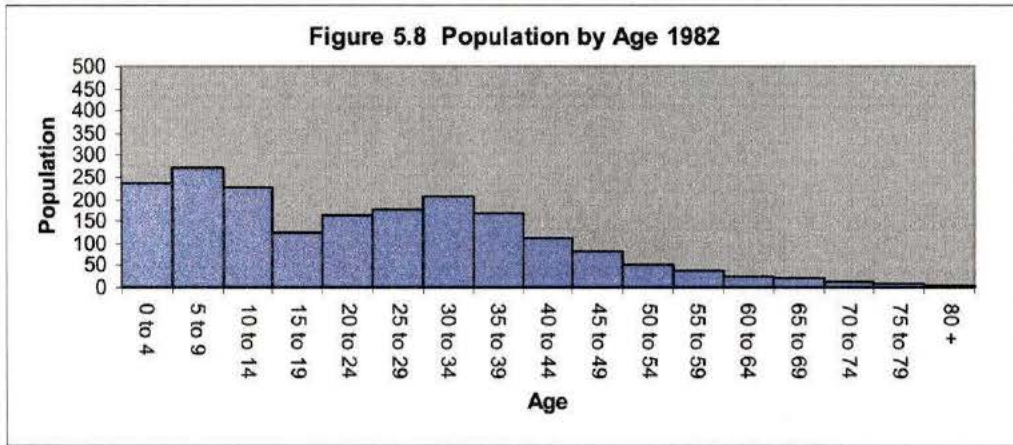
5.10 shows an increase in this group since 1982 which can be explained by a decrease in the number of students choosing to study abroad.

Whereas Porteous (1981) observed an underrepresentation of elderly persons, the data displays an increase in the elderly population (65 and older). It can probably be assumed that the majority of persons in this age group are Rapanui because a large portion of mainland Chileans, as the data has shown, are middle aged and stay only for determined periods of time. The percentage of the population age 65 and older grew from 3.4 percent in 1982 (Figure 5.8) to 4.9 percent in 1999 (Figure 5.10). The fact that medical services and living conditions have improved, probably has contributed to this increase in the life span of the elderly.

Figure 5.7 Population Pyramids of Islanders and Mainlanders 1970

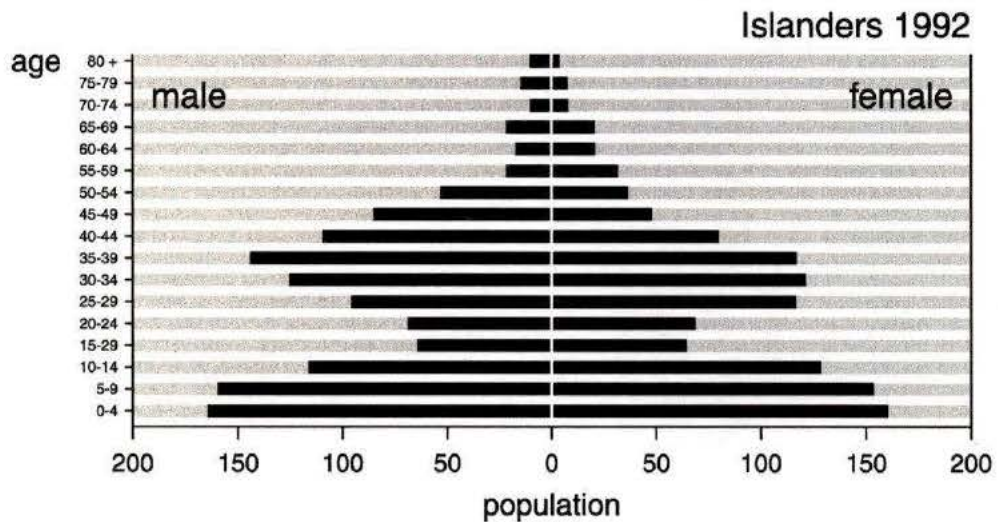


Source: Porteous, 1981.

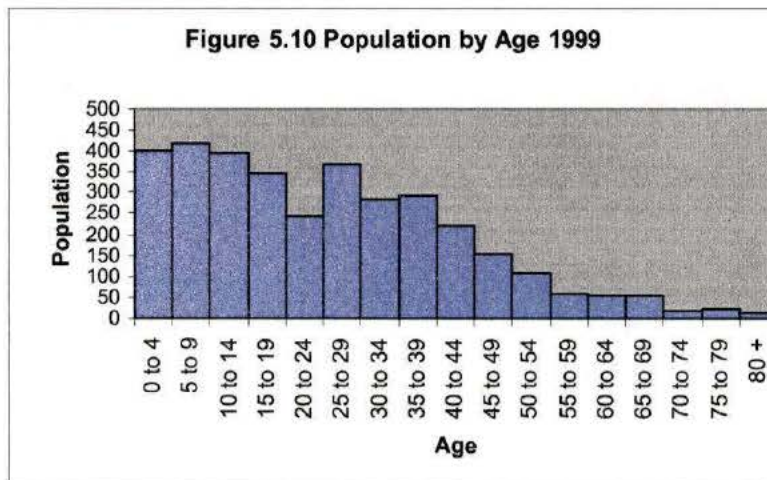


Source: Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional Rapa Nui, 1997.

Figure 5.9 Population by Age and Sex 1992



Source: Memoria de Gestión, 1994.



Source: de C. Olivares San Juan, 2000.

5.4.2 Social Structure

At the time of his research, Porteous (1981) noted that the process of modernization had altered traditional social divisions and further created new ones. Social divisions within Rapanui society are clearly apparent in the year 2001. The “nascent Rapanui middle class” that Porteous (1981) observed (e.g. steady employment, comfortable homes, and children attended university) is still evident today, but a Rapanui upper class has emerged in the late 20th century. This group is comprised of those individuals who hold important positions in public services (e.g. representatives of the provincial government or municipality and other public service sectors) or tourism (e.g. own and/or operate a large business). Individuals of the Rapanui middle class either operate a small business (e.g. restaurant, souvenir shop, or rental agency) or work as wage laborers in tourism (e.g. cook, waiter/waitress, or chambermaid) and usually supplement their income with a secondary occupation (e.g. artist or performer). The Rapanui lower class is comprised of those persons who are mainly unskilled. In the mid-1970’s, Porteous (1981) characterized this group in Rapanui society as poorly educated and without permanent work. Today they are most often employed on a temporary basis and earn money by selling artwork or handi-crafts and performing a wide variety of odd jobs (e.g. construction). Poverty among the Rapanui appears to be non-existent as most individuals can grow their own produce or fish and live on family land. Despite class distinctions, kinship in Rapanui society continues to be an important element.

In order to demonstrate the social divisions among Rapanui community members, Porteous (1981) observed housing characteristics and conditions in relation to class distinctions. In the 1970’s, Rapanui middle class homes reflected the “Chilean bourgeois ideal” and were characterized by furniture, tiled floors, hot water

systems, and a telephone for example (Porteous, 1981:227). These same observations hold true for contemporary Rapanui society. Larger, modern homes tend to be representative of the Rapanui's new upper class and are designed according to European or North American standards. Such homes are decorated with imported furnishings, tiled floors, televisions, video machines, standard appliances, computers, and other luxury items. Members of this group possess the income, for example, to purchase more than one car, educate their children abroad, and own more than one home. Middle class homes normally reflect the simple and standard architecture of the bungalow. On the basis of personal conversations with community members, it was apparent that a large number of Rapanui acquire funding for their homes through the Chilean government's subsidy housing program. Basic homes are furnished with the necessary furniture and moderately decorated, but they do provide a comfortable living environment. Homes of the Rapanui lower class remain similar to the homes described by Porteous (1981:229) as: "sparsely furnished and in a state of disrepair". Even though housing standards have improved for society as a whole, there are some individuals whose homes resemble small shacks and lack either running water or electricity. Cars and other luxuries are unobtainable or are simply not desired; indeed, horses rather than cars serve as the main mode of transportation.

Mainland Chileans continue to form a separate social group (Porteous, 1981) and fall into two separate groups: a) those employed in the public service sector (e.g. Navy, Air Force, or Police Department) and b) independent migrants who are self-employed (e.g. taxi drivers) or work in tourism (e.g. waiters/waitresses, chambermaids, or construction). Those mainland Chileans working for the Chilean Air Force and Chilean Police are provided with comfortable housing on the outskirts of Hangaroa behind the Mataveru airport and earn considerably higher wages than

most Rapanui, further alienating them from Rapanui society. For those mainlanders working or living independently on Easter Island, housing and property can be obtained through rental agreements with Rapanui landowners or by marriages with ethnic Rapanui.

5.4.3 Traditional Belief System

Foreign visitors to Easter Island have brought with them an array of customs, cultural norms, and languages, which over the last three decades have permeated traditional Rapanui culture. Erisman (as quoted in Matthews & Richter, 1991) contends that once a host society has become economically dependent on tourism, it also becomes culturally dependent on it. This is referred to as mass seduction theory; hosts form particular beliefs about tourists (e.g. being wealthy is normal) and based on this perception, hosts discredit their traditional values for new beliefs and as a result become culturally dependent (Erisman as quoted in Matthews & Richter, 1991).

Kakazu (2000:17) explains the extreme severity of this process as:

Both the host and the tourist carry their cultural identity on which they base their communications to find not only inspirations, excitements, but also deep conflicts through which local culture is gradually eroded and exposed for a constant change for better or worse to the extent that even the local people no longer remember their authentic culture.

Tourism has not, at this stage, impacted the Rapanui people to the degree described by Kakazu; traditional Rapanui culture, although affected to varying degrees, has not yet been completely abandoned or eroded. The Rapanui continue to preserve their ancient culture against the pressure of outside influences, for example, through the annual Tapati Festival, which celebrates the Rapanui culture and ancient traditions (Section 5.5.3). Today, the group most affected by tourism is the Rapanui's younger

generation. Youth on Easter Island have adopted various aspects of western cultures and lifestyles (e.g. clothing styles, mannerisms, and ideological values) as introduced by foreign visitors.

5.5 Political Changes

5.5.1 *Acculturation*

Since the early 20th century, the Rapanui have been influenced culturally by the strong Chilean presence on Easter Island and as a result, have become 'Chileanized' to varying degrees. Spanish has replaced the native tongue, the indigenous people have been governed under a particular colonial administration imposed by the state, and Chilean customs and lifestyles have been taught. As previously mentioned, tourism has also played a role in the acculturation of the Rapanui as they have been introduced to a variety of outsiders with different lifestyles, customs, and cultural norms (Prasad, 1987). Many Rapanui community members believe that the Chilean modernization process has seriously impacted Rapanui youth. Lockwood (1993:14) describes the impact of the modernization process on younger generations in Pacific societies:

Young people can barely remember the "traditional lifestyles" of their grandparents, and their values and aspirations now differ significantly not only from those of their grandparents, but also those of their parents.

The betterment of education services introduced a system entirely regulated by Chilean standards that has been instrumental in the assimilation of Rapanui youth. For the majority of Rapanui youth, Spanish has replaced Rapanui as their first language. At school, exposure to their native tongue is restricted to weekly language classes. Improvements in communication have introduced Chilean television and radio further exposing young people to contemporary ideologies and alternative

lifestyles. Lockwood (1993:14) explains that the 'western media' have played an important role in creating unrealizable aspirations for young people that commonly clash with traditional beliefs and values. As many community members point out, today's youth have become accustomed to mainstream Chilean society and as a result, they have gradually abandoned the traditional Rapanui way of life.

5.5.2 Dependency

For the Rapanui, the process of modernization has undoubtedly advanced social conditions, and with the growth of the tourism industry, economic conditions have improved. As long as the island's archaeology is preserved, tourism can be a long-term industry for the Rapanui. Funding for these changes has almost entirely been provided by the state; thus Easter Island has become increasingly dependent on Chile for ongoing social and economic assistance. A recent study produced by the Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación (n.d.) concluded that over the past thirty years, the island has failed to generate suitable conditions for social and economic development with their own resources because of their increasing dependency on the state.

Wilson (1991:497) is correct in stating that "a dependency mentality retards sustainable economic growth". Easter Island can be classified as what Lockwood (1993:85) refers to as a "welfare dependent society"; the welfare of the peripheral group is dependent solely upon the colonial administration. For the island of Tubai, welfare state colonialism has bettered the social and economic welfare of islanders and created numerous development possibilities (Lockwood, 1993). On the other hand, as Lockwood (1993:93) further contends, islanders from Tubai, like the Rapanui, have "given up their right to self-determination and the right to shape their own modern society" in exchange for economic development. Due to government

cutbacks in 1999, Easter Island has witnessed extreme economic dependency.

Rapanui concern is expressed as follows:

Just awhile ago, we were pounding our chest and saying that we were the jaguars of South America, and now we would not even pass for a wet cat. What is happening is that we are so dependent; we are like a raft drifting in the ocean and have to take care with the revolutionaries. We are all part of the government and thus more or less tied together, but on the other hand, we are disillusioned because we do not understand what is going on (RNJ, September 1999:85).

The relationship between Rapanui officials and the Chilean government is not collaborative, and in many instances, Rapanui officials are not integrated into the decision-making process regarding the current social and economic situation. Easter Island does not have the economic capacity to finance itself independently and therefore, has no option but to rely on assistance from the state. The Rapanui, like the Kanaks of New Caledonia, as Wilson (1991:497) explains, are caught in an “aid dependency circle”. This means that because both groups rely solely on public funds, they are entirely dependent on the source of this funding (Wilson, 1991).

5.5.3 Discontent and Resistance

The contested nature of contemporary development is reflected in the history of colonialism on Easter Island. After the island’s annexation in 1888, the Rapanui were incorporated into the colonial system of Chile. Prior to this, the Rapanui endured several phases of domination: the arrival of explorers, missionary intervention, and oppressive foreign administrations, such as Williamson-Balfour. Until its proclamation as a civil territory in 1966, the island’s people were forced to live under strict regulations enforced by foreign bodies and the state. Throughout these different periods, the Rapanui have periodically expressed their discontent towards foreign and national leadership through various forms of resistance. Porteous

(1981) suggests that the first act of defiance against foreign leadership occurred in 1877 with the murder of Dutrou-Bornier, the foreigner who assumed control of Easter Island in the late 1860's. Uprisings continued into the early 20th century; for example, as a response to their unfair treatment by Merlet, who ran the island as a sheep farm, Rapanui rebellions arose in 1914 (Porteous, 1981).

The Rapanui continued to express their discontent with Chilean leadership after the onset of modernization in the mid-1960's by protesting development strategies, land decisions, and the limited control that the Rapanui possessed in the overall planning process of island affairs. Porteous (1981:229) describes its effect:

Modernization, by increasing wants, invariably promotes discontent. After 1965 the islander's awareness of the outside world was enormously enhanced, and both Chileans and Americans presented new lifestyle models. However, Chilean attempts to impose rapid modernization upon the island were not found wholly acceptable by the permanent residents.

More specifically at this time, the Rapanui opposed infrastructure projects such as reserving land for new streets and the construction of housing for mainland Chileans (Porteous, 1981). As Porteous (1981:229) explains, modernization efforts by Chile involved more "planning for the people, rather than with them".

Thus, resistance towards present and future development plans is strongly embedded in the historical context. The imposition of colonial structures on traditional societies has initiated the systematic degradation of traditional social, cultural, economic, and political systems and structures. Resistance and protest has been demonstrated throughout the Pacific Islands in response to foreign presence in traditional societies. For example, resistance to foreign control increased in Western Samoa when traditional social, economic, and political sectors were integrated into the colonial administration (Colbert, 1997). Past colonial resistance must be

incorporated into contemporary issues in order to extract their meaning and evoke understanding. Bahri (1995:56) explains:

In recovering ancient history and placing it alongside the present, one is not asking for a reduction of disparate geopolitical experiences to one generic framework of human motivation and behaviour stripped of historical and material contexts, but rather for a sensitivity to the relationships between them in order to better understand both in ways that related to the here and now.

Inevitably, past experiences have shaped contemporary Rapanui society including their compliance with, and resistance to modernization efforts. Resistance is a part of the past, has become a part of the present and will remain in the future. Resistance has become a medium for expressing opinions and objections in an attempt to protect and preserve traditional societies. Hempenstall and Rutherford (1984:8) equate resistance and protest with indigenous people's fight for their existence within the colonial system:

Island politics during the age of territorial colonialism was, however, more often about social survival: the struggle for some share in the control of colonial society or at least for the right to contribute to its formation.

Like other Pacific Islanders, the Rapanui want to participate in the present and future development of their island, and actions of protest and resistance have created a platform on which their voices can be heard.

The proclamation of 1966, followed by improvements in infrastructure and the development of tourism, have transformed Easter Island into a neo-colonial state; the island continues to be involved in an intricate set of neo-colonial relationships with Chile, which have dictated the social, economic, and political development. Despite the fact that the island no longer operates under Navy rule and living standards have increased for native islanders, it still stands on the periphery of national interests; Easter Island serves as a military post in Pacific waters.

At the time of his research, Porteous (1981) explained that Chilean development plans were contested because of a lack of public consultation and the ignorance of traditional Rapanui values on the part of the state. Wilson (1991:503) explains that colonial systems often implement development projects that are “often maladapted to the local context”. Over the past three decades, the Rapanui have continued to resist particular aspects of development in order to voice their concerns. Tisdell (1993:241) explains that although the indigenous people of small islands possess an extraordinary amount of information regarding local conditions and the natural environment, they often lack the practical knowledge of “assessing new techniques, originating principally from abroad” thus, limiting the participation of indigenous people in modern development strategies. After speaking with community members, it was apparent that there is an absence of integrated planning efforts between the various Chilean agencies and Rapanui authorities, as well as community members. The Chilean state fails to involve the Rapanui in a public consultation process regarding the economic and social future of Easter Island. Consequently, due to the lack of economic resources, Rapanui administrators have relied on advice and subsidies from Chile, but Chile’s ignorance of the Rapanui has fostered conflicts and resistance (Tisdell, 1993). As discussed in the following chapter, resistance and conflict will continue if the development visions of Chile and the Rapanui fail to become integrated.

The Rapanui people have not only demonstrated resistance towards modernization efforts, but they have also displayed a strong resistance against the Chilean acculturation process. One particular event that exhibits this is the annual Tapati Festival. This festival, which began in 1968, is a celebration of Rapanui culture, which honours ancient traditions and customs. The festival is centered around



Plate 50 For the Rapa Nui Farandula and Costumes Festival each contestant's family creates a float that depicts an ancient legend

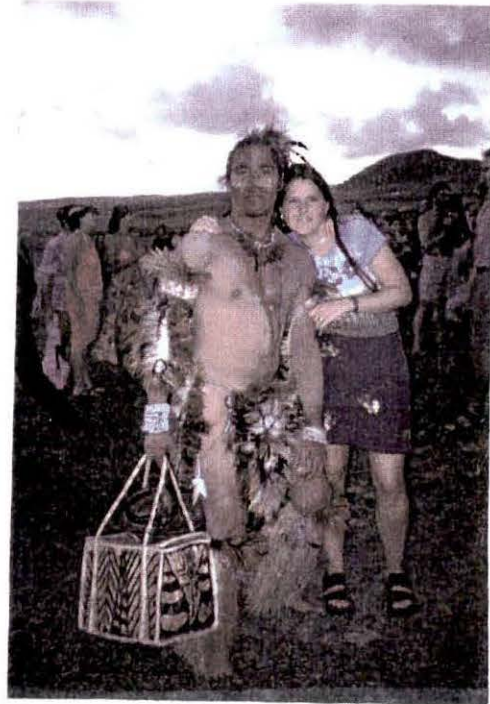


Plate 51 A competitor from the *haka pe'i* competition – competitors slide down a hill on banana trunks



Plate 52 Tapati events teach young children about the ancient Rapanui culture and traditions

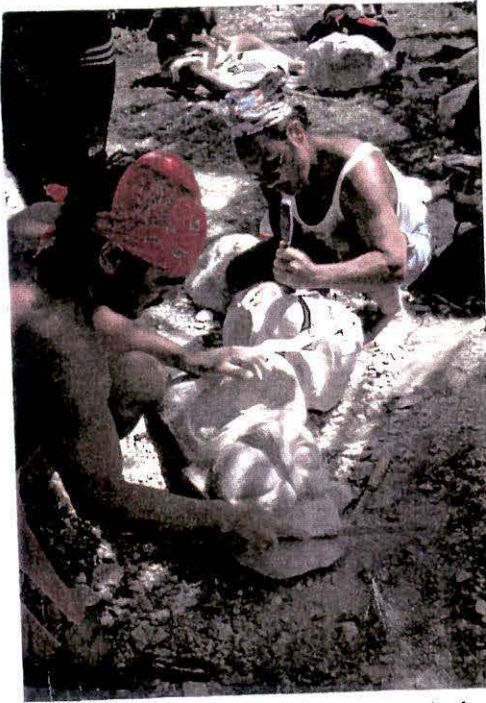


Plate 53 The island's best artists compete in the stone carving competition. Both men and women carve classical Rapanui designs

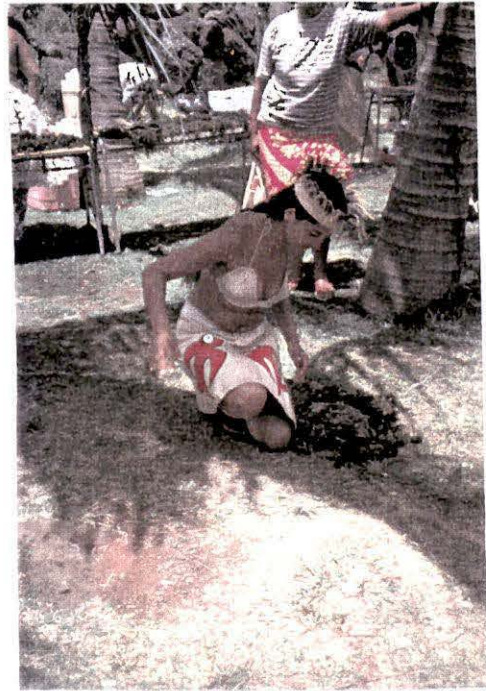


Plate 54 This contestant prepared fish on a *tuna ahi* – a stone barbecue



Plate 55 Men, women and children participate in one of the most important events, the Folklore Festival. Dance groups wear hand-made costumes of feathers, banana fibers and shells

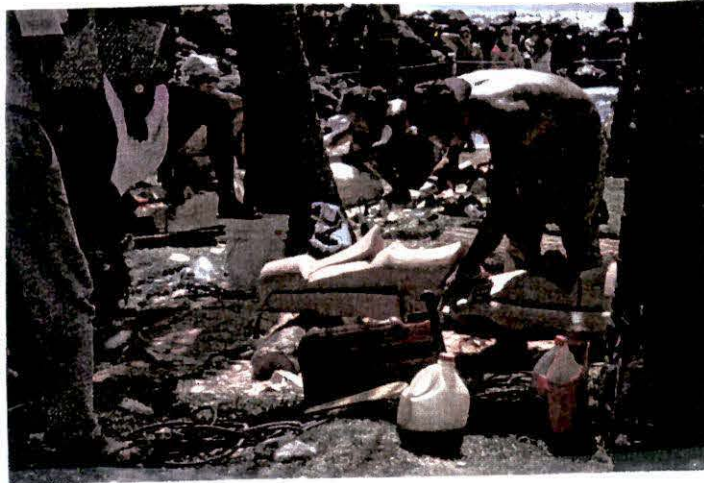


Plate 56 Competitors carve a moai out of wood. The use of hand tools is still common

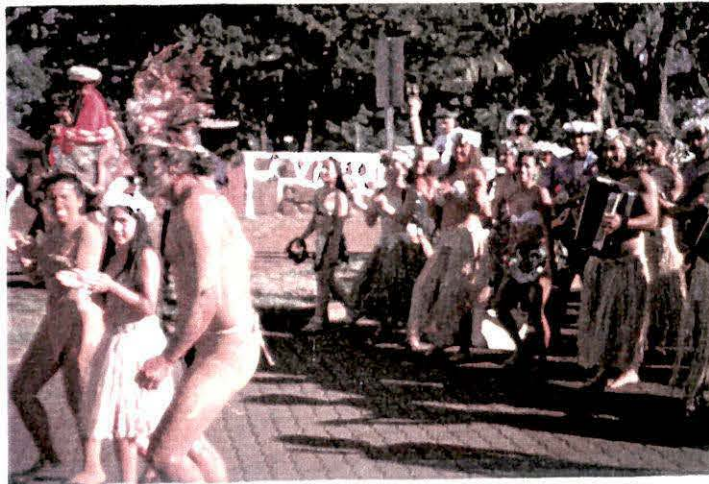


Plate 57 Family members display traditional costumes and the art of *tokona* (body painting) while singing and dancing at the Farandula Festival



Plate 58 On the final evening, the new Tapati queen is crowned

the coronation of the Tapati queen (Plate 50). Contestants are represented by family members (Plate 51-52) who must compete in a number of different events, such as stone carving (Plate 53), cooking (Plate 54), traditional dressmaking, dancing, singing (Plate 55), wood carving (Plate 56) and historical re-enactments (Plate 57). The family who generates the greatest amount of points after completing the different events wins the honour of crowning their contestant as the new Tapati queen (Plate 58).

Aside from a cultural celebration, Tapati is also a form of cultural preservation and resistance. With an increasingly strong Chilean presence on Easter Island over the last two decades, the Rapanui have experienced the effects of acculturation, especially among younger generations. Berry (1980:10) reminds us “the apparent domination of one group over the other suggests that what happens between contact and change may be difficult, reactive, and conflictual rather than a smooth transition”. The transition of the Rapanui into a Chilean neo-colonial system has been difficult and there has been protest and resistance. Tapati has provided a forum for the preservation of their cultural identity and a means to express their resistance to Chilean culture through the celebration and practice of Rapanui traditions and customs. After thirty-two years, Tapati is still the most important and promoted event. The theme of Tapati, as a form of cultural resistance, demonstrates their continued cultural resistance throughout a process of modernization and acculturation.

5.5.4 Rapanui Independence

As a result of the continual dismissal of Rapanui complaints by the state, some Rapanui are seeking the secession of Easter Island from the Fifth Province Valparaiso in which they currently reside. They would prefer the island became an autonomous

region within Chile. Gary, an anthropologist working on Easter Island, explains the Rapanui's quest for internal autonomy:

It doesn't mean they're going to rise and become independent and join French Polynesia. Enough Easter Islanders live in French Polynesia to know about the French, I mean that is where the Chileans got their ideas from. So they certainly don't want to become a part of French Polynesia, forget that one, they know very well how the French run the show....what they want is to be able to manage their own affairs, it's that simple.

Since the early 19th century, the Rapanui have never independently governed or managed island affairs; foreign and national bodies have always assumed control of the island and over native islanders. Gary supports the Rapanui's quest for some degree of autonomy, but suggests that 'free association' may be a successful alternative for the Rapanui. He makes a comparison to the island of Niue which was granted the status of free association with New Zealand in 1974:

Anyhow, they want that direct relationship and they don't want it mediated and that's the case with a lot of other places as well. That's why you get all of these small countries starting up....but free association is an excellent model and it's one that the French are looking at very seriously because their territories are developing in that direction....So free association but before that will come some measure of internal autonomy. It's been increasing, the role of the municipality, the municipality is becoming a kind of de facto government in a lot of ways...

As Nero (1997) and Lockwood (1993) explain, free association is a manageable option for Pacific Islands because of the fragility of their economies and the fact that small islands face difficulties like constrained resource bases, isolation, transportation restrictions, limited local markets, dependency on exports, and small local markets. It is uncertain if Chile would ever grant the island an independent status considering the geopolitical benefits of Chile's presence in Oceania. Furthermore, it is doubtful that the Rapanui could exist independent of Chile because the island's civil and

government administrations depend on the state for economic funding to administer island affairs.

5.6 Chapter Summary

Without the inception of air travel to Easter Island, it is uncertain if the Rapanui would have witnessed the same degree of social and economic change that has occurred since the late 1960's. Easter Island has witnessed some important changes over the past three decades; improvements in transportation, communication, social services and the rapid development of tourism have all contributed to the betterment of social and economic conditions. The modernization process has transformed Hangarua into an urban center offering many modern amenities to visitors as well as residents. Moreover, native islanders have observed the irrevocable environmental and social effects of the development process. Studies have yet to be completed to assess the long-term impacts of tourism on the island's fragile environment, nor has much attention been placed on the social impacts associated with the strong Chilean presence on Easter Island. Many Rapanui further fear the loss of their traditional language and culture because of the strong influence of the Chilean administration system. Tourism has also contributed to the growing social divisions among community members because of an increased dependency on the monetary system, as well as irreversible damage to the natural environment, which could have significant consequences for the long-term prosperity of the tourism market.

In attempt to control and regulate the impacts of future development, Rapanui authorities and community members are demanding their voices be heard and the opportunity to play a stronger role in future development plans. Chapter Six accords

a voice to these concerns and provides a medium for the Rapanui to discuss their visions about the future of development.

Chapter Six

The Future of Development on Easter Island

Development is a standard borne by those who would promote the interests of the affluent and the powerful as well as by those who would serve the unaffluent and the unpowerful; by those who would expand the realm of the most industrialized states and those who would shield the least-modernized from nefarious influences; by those who would stress the virtues of entrepreneurialship and individualism and those who would nurture community and collective concerns; by those who would pursue strategies of top-down initiative and decision-making and those who would advocate a bottom-up, or grass roots approach; and finally by those who would exploit or maim Mother Nature for the benefit of either business or labour in today's world, as well as by those who concern themselves with a bountiful and livable environment for future generations.

Knippers-Black, 1991:15

6.1 What is the Future of Development on Easter Island?

Porteous (1981:234) predicted that future development initiatives would remain in the hands of Chile because of its strong interest in Easter Island as a potential "resource base" in the Pacific Ocean. As demonstrated in social and economic improvements over the past three decades, Chile's presence on the island continues to be powerful, and plans to strengthen its presence in Oceania remain constant (e.g. construction of a new port). Consequently, development programs and strategies primarily have been carried out by Chile's various government agencies, both in Santiago and on Easter Island, and by the Chilean Navy. Government subsidies have funded the betterment of education and health services, the development of the tourism industry, regular maintenance to the airport and runway, and the promotion of tourism, all which have improved the overall situation for the Rapanui. As Cole and Parry (1986) point out, investment is necessary in the areas of infrastructure in order for tourism to succeed. Understandably, the role of the Rapanui in the modernization process has been limited as they do not possess the

economic resources required to administer Easter Island independently in order to sustain the current economic and social standards of island living.

It would appear on the surface that the Rapanui have few complaints about Chilean development initiatives because the general social and economic conditions have greatly improved since the late 1960's. However, the lack of control that Rapanui officials and representatives have over the different aspects of development has created conflicts between Chilean and Rapanui officials, but also among Rapanui officials. Since development strategies and plans have ultimately been implemented under the control of Chilean governments, the Rapanui are susceptible to Chilean decisions governing the island. Consequently, development programs and projects, in various instances, have furthered the specific objectives of Chile and ignored Rapanui development visions and concerns. Thus, the development process on Easter Island over the past three decades has stratified its participants into contrasting parties. Different groups with specific visions have produced an unstable social and economic development platform (Figure 6.1). For instance, political control over Easter Island and the extension of geopolitical power into the South Pacific is the main motivation for the Chilean State. The desire for economic gain lies behind the actions of Rapanui and Chilean developers, while Rapanui traditionalists contest different development projects to protect the island's heritage and cultural patrimony.

In an attempt to increase Rapanui participation in the development process, La Comisión de Desarrollo de Isla de Pascua (The Commission on Easter Island Development) was created under the Ley Indígena (Indigenous Law). This commission permits selected Chilean officials, Rapanui officials, and elected Rapanui community members to meet three times annually to make decisions regarding development plans and projects. The members of this Commission are:

1. Representative of the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation;
2. Representative of the Ministry of Education;
3. Representative of the Ministry of Land;
4. Representative of the Business Development Corporation;
5. Representative of the National Forest Corporation (CONAF);
6. Representative of the National Cooperation of Indigenous Development (CONADI);
7. The Rapanui Governor;
8. The Rapanui Mayor;
9. Six members of the Rapanui community to be elected for a period of four years, one of which should be the President of the Consejo de Ancianos (Matulic, 1995).

The general responsibilities of the Commission are as follows:

1. To analyze Rapanui needs for urban and rural land.
2. Evaluate land to be developed.
3. To enhance the island's rich culture and archaeology.
4. To formulate and execute development programs, projects, and plans, which are intended to increase the standard of living for the Rapanui community, to conserve the Rapanui culture, and to preserve and improve the island's environment and natural resources.
5. Collaborate with CONAF in the administration of Easter Island.
6. Collaborate with the National Council of Monuments about the conservation and restoration of the archaeological patrimony and Rapanui culture (Matulic, 1995:176).

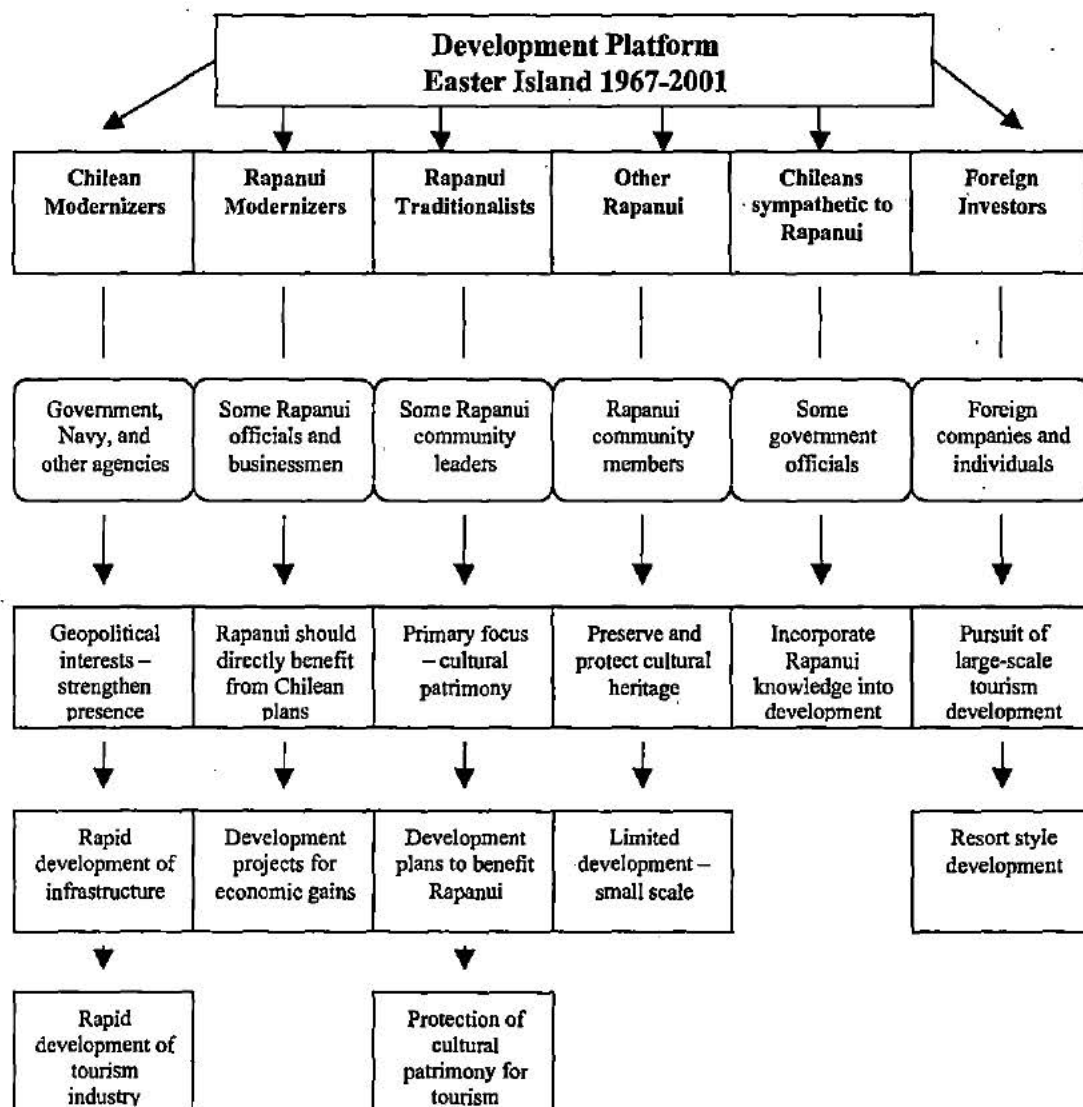
Most importantly, this commission functions to make the decisions regarding the future path of development for Easter Island; all future projects must be brought before this commission for its approval.

Even though its inception was only in the last three years, Rapanui community members have already begun to express discontent about the nature of the commission. In many informal conversations with Rapanui community members, the following concerns were expressed: a) additional meetings must be held in order to assess present economic and social conditions of Easter Island and future courses of action; b) Chilean representatives do not possess the knowledge necessary to make decisions regarding the future of development; c) too much time is spent discussing land issues rather than discussing specific development projects; and d) any interested

Rapanui community members should have the opportunity to attend meetings or have access to meeting minutes.

After five months fieldwork on Easter Island, it was evident that the future development of Easter Island would not be exempt from problems and conflicts between the different groups regarding potential projects and plans. Proposals for a new port, a monumental lighthouse, a resort/golf course, as well as the re-distribution of state land have stratified participants into opposing factions due to personal opinions and objectives. This chapter will examine the conflicts among Rapanui and

Figure 6.1 Development Platform 1967-2001



Chilean officials regarding future development projects. It will also explore alternative strategies proposed by participants for the development of Easter Island in the first decades of the 21st century.

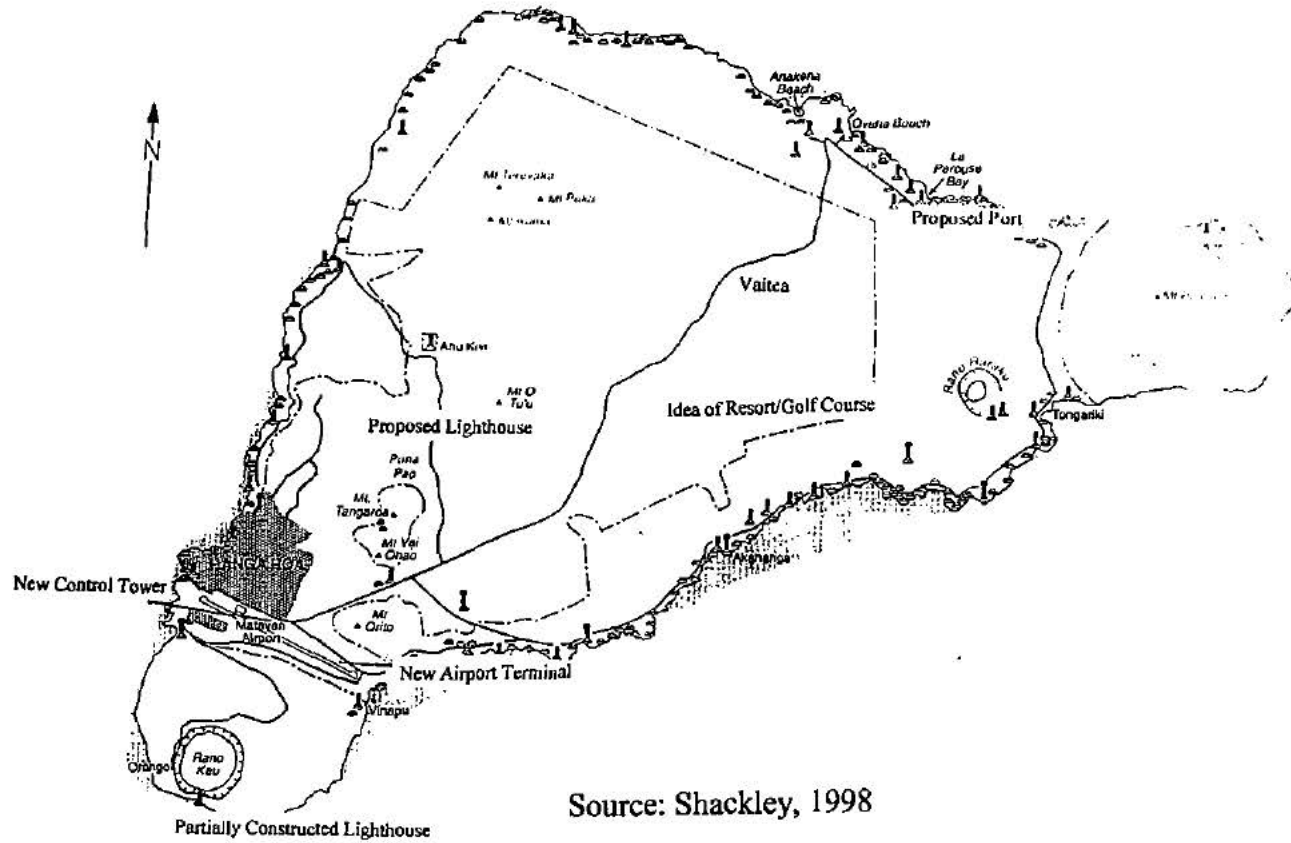
6.2 Proposed Modern Infrastructure Development Projects

Contemporary discussions of proposed development projects have focused on the construction of a new port, a monumental lighthouse, a new airport terminal and control tower, as well as the idea of a tourist resort complete with the island's first golf course (Figure 6.2). With the exception of the airport terminal, all of the above projects have been met with varying degrees of resistance from some Rapanui authorities and community members. Nonetheless, other Chilean and Rapanui authorities consider the above projects to be vital additions to the island's existing infrastructure because of the important part they could play in the future progress and modernization of Easter Island while imparting prodigious economic benefits.

6.2.1 The Port

Rapanui officials initially discussed the idea for a larger port in the late 1970's. Miles, an ex-Rapanui official and important businessman in the community, explained that a new port was imperative at that time because of the high demand for imported goods and the strong possibility of an export agriculture business, while a new port would also provide facilities for the protection of local vessels and visiting ships. The Chilean government granted approval for the project and different feasibility studies were conducted to determine a suitable location. The studies concluded that the most appropriate area for a new port was at Papa Haoa, located in

Figure 6.2 Proposed Development Projects



Source: Shackley, 1998

front of the Hotel Hanga Roa. However, funding for the project was withdrawn when a large earthquake occurred in Chile destroying major ports in Valparaiso, San Antonio and other locations. As a result, plans for a new port on Easter Island were postponed indefinitely.

A proposal for a new port re-emerged in the early 1990's, but was dismissed because of its potential ecological and social impacts. Yet in 1995 the intention to build a new port at La Pérouse was announced by the Chilean Ministry of Defence (Figure 6.2). Plans to construct the new port were re-established and justified on the basis that this new structure would make unloading cargo easier, incoming ships would be accommodated with a new harbour, and cruise ships could now unload their passengers more efficiently. Furthermore, the request for supplies by islanders had greatly increased and in order to meet such demands, cargo must be transported in a larger vessel (RNJ, June 1998). Valued at US \$50 million, the new port would be able to handle vessels up to 5,000 tons (RNJ, March 1995).

The construction of a new port has partitioned individuals involved in the development process into opposing factions. One of the major objections to the new port is its intended location, La Pérouse (Figure 6.2). The proposed area is said to be "untouched by modern civilization" and contains "priceless archaeological sites" (RNJ, June 1998:50). Understandably, the construction of a new port would inevitably have a significant impact on the existing landscape. Laura, an active Rapanui community member, explains one irreversible repercussion: "A new port in La Pérouse will destroy our archaeological patrimony, our inheritance". It would also contribute to the transformation of the natural landscape and its traditional representation because this is an area characterized by significant archaeological sites.

For this reason, the area has become a contested place. The moai, ahu platforms, and other monuments, make the history of Easter Island visible and tangible, and the presence of these structures reminds the Rapanui and visitors about the island's cultural heritage (Azaryahu, 1999). Azaryahu (1999:483) explains that conflicts arise when "adjacent activities and land use appear to determine the sacred tone of a place and to trivialize the memory it enshrines". The construction of a port on a heritage landscape creates an incompatible atmosphere combining the cultural importance of the area and the economic and political significance of a port. Moreover, the proposed construction of the port is located on territory that has been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and therefore is protected under the jurisdiction of the Rapa Nui National Park (RNJ, June 1998).

Several Rapanui officials are further distressed by the social, economic, and environmental contamination associated with a new port, regardless of its intended location. The construction of a new port is not entirely the main matter of interest, but rather the notion of what a larger port will attract with an increasing number of foreign vessels stopping at Easter Island. Problems such as garbage accumulation, water contamination, pollution, the arrival of more vessels, increased visitors, and the demands of ships placed on the Rapanui, were all concerns expressed by Rapanui participants. Tom, a powerful Rapanui political figure in the community, explains his opposition to a new port:

Personally, I disagree with it because the port brings more bad than good. The port brings garbage and it brings contamination. The port brings cargo ships that go from Australia and New Zealand to the States... and these ships carry containers, empty containers. If we build a port, no one is going to guarantee me that those companies will not go and make a special deal with the government of Chile that will allow their empty containers to be left on Rapa Nui while their ships go and get other cargo.

Laura explains other consequences:

As it is for the island today, I don't think we need a port. Obviously, a port has pros and cons. In the case of Rapa Nui, there will be more cons than pros. Why? A port on the island will create several problems, negative aspects such as contamination, immigration, and it's not the type of immigration that the island can control. Corruption, a port has that too. For the island, we have this idea and a dream to keep it an ecological, clean spot. It is as good for us as it is as good for our fauna. We survive on the sea. If we build a port, we will have an invasion of ships and it will be a place for the mainland and others to stop and go to Asia and other points. It will not be a Rapanui paradise anymore. It will not be a peaceful or a clean place.

Transformations of the traditional landscape, as well as its social implications for the Rapanui population, were themes connected to the idea of a new port. Participants equate the construction of a larger port with environmental and social problems that the Rapanui, until now, have not had to face. For this reason, many of the Rapanui participants were genuinely concerned with the irrevocable changes related to port activities. The disruption of the island's ecological integrity, in addition to the destruction of the island's pristine heritage landscape and the security of the Rapanui identity, were all serious concerns.

Aside from the visual pollution and various forms of contamination associated with a port, some Rapanui officials sincerely feel that Easter Island does not require a larger port. There was a consensus among numerous Rapanui participants that this structure is not imperative for the island's infrastructure because of its relatively small size and limited population, as well as the fact that few vessels stop at the island aside from the supply vessel, passing cruise ships, and private boats. Colin, a Rapanui community leader, explains his position:

They would like to build a port here. They want to construct a port and we, the people, don't want that. They can't build a port on this island because it is very small. How many inhabitants do we have here? There are only about three thousand

people here. That is not very many and they want to build a port? Why?

Malcolm, an ex-Rapanui official, shares Colin's concerns:

Personally, I am against the idea of a new port...my fear is that this island is very small. We have visitors that arrive by plane and that is much easier to control. We don't need massive tourism, rather the island needs selective tourism...and if a large number of people have access to this island, we are going to lose our control and moreover, it will mean the destruction of this island.

Those in opposition contend that the purpose of a new port would be to support the economic and political interests of Chile rather than those of the Rapanui. Tom strongly believes the idea for a new port is fuelled by the geopolitical intentions of the Chilean Navy and other government agencies on the mainland:

the Chilean Navy still has the mentality that we have to protect ourselves from the enemy. What enemies? Today, in the communication era, we don't need to send ships and airplanes anywhere. All we need to do is press a button and a missile is sent. You're done. Chile still has this old mentality and therefore if we build this port, they're going to say, okay, we need to protect Easter Island because we're worried that the French might come and take it, so let's send some ships to the island and we'll keep them there for the time being. I'm worried about that.

These participants feel that Chile ignores the potential problems connected to a new port and the impact on the environment and inhabitants, focusing instead on strengthening and securing its geopolitical position within Oceania. Gary discusses the importance of a port for the Chilean Navy:

It is also something pushed by the Chilean Navy. I have often thought and written that the Chilean Navy needs Easter Island but Easter Island doesn't necessarily need the Chilean Navy.... What I mean by that is that the Navy needs a reason to exist and Easter Island gives them that reason to exist.... a port has importance for the Chilean Navy to give them a *raison d'être* and some kind of display other than these *infanta marina* (marines).

The Chilean Navy's primary functions are firstly, to guard the island's coastline and marine waters and attend to the communication between Easter Island and any visiting foreign vessels. Their secondary function is to aid the island community in a variety of social activities, such as hospital maintenance. As it appears that the Navy's current responsibilities on Easter Island are rather limited, a new port would provide a military post within Pacific waters that could be administered and controlled by the Chilean Navy.

Nevertheless, other Chilean representatives also insist a port is necessary to increase tourism-related activities; for example, passengers from cruise ships could "disembark more easily" (RNJ, June 1998:51). Native islanders question the decision to construct a port to serve visitors who stay for brief periods of time and contribute little to the economy. Tom discusses his opposition to cruise ships and denounces their contribution to tourism:

For us tourist ships are the worst form of business. They don't leave any money on the island. The tourists eat on the ship, sleep on the ship, drink on the ship, dance on the ship and they don't leave anything on the island. When they come, they might take a car or a bus, go around and see some sites for half an hour, at the most an hour and a half and then go back to the ship again. We don't need that kind of tourism. Therefore we do not need to build a port that will cost us fifty or sixty million dollars for a ship to come and give us only one thousand pesos.

If a port is constructed to meet the needs of cruise ships (e.g. improve docking conditions), some Rapanui participants fear an increase in the number of ships stopping at the island. This undoubtedly would mean the arrival of more visitors, which intensifies their accumulative impact on heritage landscapes. This was a major worry of Colin:

This year ten boats with passengers came. If we construct a port, one hundred more ships are going to come. What is going to happen to the island?...it could not support the impact of the

number of people that would come here; the island could not sustain it. I ask that same person who wants to build a port and would like the entire island to be full of tourists, how long can the moai last if one hundred boats come?

Today, Rapanui authorities are already attempting to control the impact of more visitors arriving by plane, and are not prepared or equipped to deal with the probability of thousands of tourists coming by boat.

Although there was overwhelming Rapanui resistance to the idea of a new port, a few Rapanui participants felt that a new port would be a vital component of the island's infrastructure and an economic benefit for the Rapanui if the project were carefully planned and executed. Miles describes the assets of a new port:

Because it creates all kinds of activity associated with the life of the town and it includes an area for practicing sports, for paddling, for swimming, for all kinds of tourist activity. You have to realize that a small harbour on Easter Island is not going to bring a dozen or hundreds of ships every month, the truth is it's a luxury. We will have this infrastructure. If we design the port properly, it's not going to be a problem or an eyesore....go to some of these of these Polynesian islands and see how beautiful a harbour can be with gardens all around it.... It adds to the beauty of the town, it adds activities and it lets the Rapanui have a chance to create more jobs and participate in this game.

Miles agrees that the best location for a port is not La Pérouse because of its archaeological significance, but believes that if it were constructed in an appropriate area, this project would create additional employment, as well as increased economic activity in the area of tourism. Mark, an influential Rapanui leader, recognizes the concerns of the Rapanui, but shares a similar opinion to Miles:

I believe that a port is necessary...With a port things would be considerably easier, a lot easier. Of course not all of the sectors are in agreement to construct a port...Why should we build a port? We should in order to assist fishing boats, to assist boats that transport cargo to the island and most importantly for tourism. A new port is necessary because of the arrival of cruise ships; twelve cruise ships arrived this year. Tourism is important to the island because it is always going to be here.

Guy, a Rapanui director for a Chilean agency, also discussed the importance of a new port with respect to tourism, stressing the role it could play in attracting more cruise ships, which inevitably would contribute to a growth in revenue for the Rapanui. He further explained that the current process of unloading cargo and tourists is time-consuming, cumbersome, and expensive. For this reason, improvements are necessary to modernize port activities:

It is necessary to have a port on the island not only to help unload cargo, but a port would be an important part of tourism because a boat arrives sometimes with one thousand or more tourists but they cannot unload much of the time. The cruise ship has to wait offshore and if they are on a tight schedule, for example, if they are here for only one day and they cannot unload, they leave. This has a negative impact on development for the island. I think it is important that there is an opportunity to develop this project in regards to the transportation of cargo and also in respect to tourism.

Although these participants did recognize potential problems associated with a new port, they all agreed that with careful planning this structure would be a valuable asset for future infrastructure development because of its economic benefits:

Rather than constructing a new port in a pristine area, such as La Pérouse, participants suggested that the existing port facilities at Hanga Piko could be upgraded or expanded in an attempt to solve prevailing problems with supply ships. Participants agreed that rather than starting anew and installing the infrastructure needed for a port at a different location, time and money should be invested in improvements at Hanga Piko. Malcolm proposed the following solution for the existing port:

The main focus should be to upgrade the existing port facilities at Hanga Piko and make it larger. The basic infrastructure for a port already exists at Hanga Piko. With twenty million dollars they can improve the facilities at this location and extend its length in order to provide access to larger boats.

Consequently, such a plan would save the Chilean government millions of dollars in construction costs, materials, and labor and, more importantly, eliminate unwanted environmental impacts.

To date, plans for a new port remain inactive. It was difficult to locate any of the feasibility studies completed in the 1970's or any proposals for a new port in the last decade. Various representatives at the Ministry of Public Works in Santiago were contacted, but no interviews were granted. Personal conversations with ministry personnel confirmed reports of past interest in Easter Island as a possible site for a new port, but denied any intentions by the ministry for a new port in the near future.

6.2.2 *The Lighthouse*

In past years, the Chilean Navy has attempted to construct a monumental lighthouse on top of Rano Kau, near the ceremonial village of Orongo (Figure 6.2). The Navy contends a new lighthouse will "mark an important step in Chile's national sovereignty of Easter Island" (RNJ, June 1992:39). If erected, the structure will stand as a symbol of glory for the Navy and provide a visual representation of Chile's control. Furthermore, the lighthouse is thought to provide "protection and sovereignty" for Easter Island (RNJ, December 1992:76).

The Navy proposal has been met with continual resistance for a number of reasons. First, several lighthouses exist on Easter Island already. Second, the proposed location of the lighthouse is problematic as it has been observed that the chosen site is situated in an area where its light could not be seen from the north or east (RNJ, December 1992). Third, its location is in close proximity to the sacred site of Orongo, and would severely impact the visual aesthetics of the area. Tom describes its impact on the site of Orongo: "I mean imagine being at Orongo, you see

this beautiful nature and boom, you see a sixteen meter lighthouse in front of you". This area too has become contested because this lighthouse would jeopardize the cultural significance of Orongo in order to serve the military intentions of the Navy. Successful protest stalled the construction of this first lighthouse on 8 November 1992, when one hundred and fifty community members, opposed to the lighthouse erection, marched to the Mayor's residence (RNJ, December 1992).

In 1998, despite these actions, plans were announced by the Chilean Navy to erect a new lighthouse on the summit of Maunga O'tu'u (RNJ, September 1998) (Figure 6.2). Arguments supporting the lighthouse allege that this monument will aid local fishermen in distress, but other opinions assert that fishermen rarely encounter problems (RNJ, September 1998). For the Rapanui, a new lighthouse is unnecessary not only because of its expense, but also because it is seen as having symbolic and geopolitical importance rather than practical value.

No documented information was located either on Easter Island or in Santiago regarding the proposal for a new lighthouse. A representative from the Ministry of Public Works in Santiago denied any interest in the erection of another lighthouse stating that the ministry recognizes Rapanui discontent towards it and therefore has no intentions of pursuing the plan further. This was also confirmed throughout interviews with both Rapanui and Chilean participants and, as a result, discussion on this subject was limited.

6.2.3 The Airport Terminal and Control Tower

The Chilean Ministry of Public Works, Direction of Airports, has approved the construction of a new terminal building on Easter Island and construction is scheduled to begin within the next five years (Figure 6.2). With the possibility of

more airlines flying to Easter Island in the distant future and the number of tourists growing each year, this new terminal will have the capacity to handle more passengers, as well as offer modern services to residents and tourists. There is little or no expected impact on the surrounding environment as the new terminal building will be built in close proximity to the existing runway.

The old terminal building will not be destroyed, but rather there have been suggestions that it be used for community purposes; for example, it could be transformed into a cultural center for the display of Rapanui artwork. An interview conducted with a representative from the Ministry of Public Works in Santiago confirmed that there are no plans to expand or lengthen the existing runway at this time or in the near future. The construction of a new terminal has not been met with any degree of resistance or protest from the Rapanui. All of the participants interviewed agreed with the ministry's plans and stressed the importance of the new structure to modernize airport services.

A new control tower, equipped with modern telecommunication and satellite services, will be erected to replace the existing aging tower (Figure 6.2). Resistance has not been directed at the construction of the new tower, but towards its proposed architectural design. Community concerns were expressed when several designs were presented to the Development Commission to build the tower in the form of a moai. Some Chilean and Rapanui officials believe this particular architectural design would represent the ancestral importance of the moai, as well as create a unique cultural landscape for tourism. Bob, a long-serving Rapanui government official, envisions a control tower in the shape of a moai as a unique addition to the natural landscape:

The intended design of the new control tower is a large moai with a pukau on top of its head. It is similar to the original stone moai. They are going to place lights in the head that will shine out of its eyes. I saw the design the other day and it is very

impressive.

Rapanui and Chilean officials, like Bob, believe this type of a structure could serve as a cultural attraction for visiting tourists.

On the contrary, a large number of Rapanui have contested this proposal citing that a control tower constructed in the shape of a moai is not only distasteful, but also a form of disrespect towards the Rapanui culture and their ancestral heritage. In a second interview with Miles, he discussed his opposition to the intended design:

I am critical of those architects who engage in this idea. They should be more creative and not copy from ancestral images and shapes. Leave the moai where they are, where they have more value than a building....It's trivializing the moai and I don't want that on Rapa Nui. We're genuine and we're authentic.

The moai image has become an international icon representing the cultural heritage and patrimony of Easter Island and its ethnic people, but unfortunately it has also been transformed into everything from bottles of alcohol to patio lanterns. Many Rapanui take offense at the commercialization of the moai and consider it as a display of insolence towards the Rapanui culture and its people. Miles further expresses his disapproval:

But it's trivializing something that we pay more respect to and I feel that the moai is more mystic and real than fake cartoons for example. When I see a Toyota truck driving around, this cartoon where a moai is pushed off and the cartoon says that a Toyota truck is stronger than a moai, some people may like it, but I think it's vulgar.

Because of the cultural heritage and historical significance of the moai, the general Rapanui feeling is that the moai image should not be reproduced in a manner which reduces or trivializes its traditional meaning.

Architectural plans for the control tower have temporarily been postponed because of strong community resistance to the project. During my first field season, a

group of Rapanui residents began circulating a petition against the proposed design and collected signatures to be presented to island administrators. Native islanders are not arguing the need for a new control tower, but are disputing the idea that it must be designed in the shape of the moai.

6.3 Proposed Land-Use Change

At the time of the annexation of Easter Island by Chile in 1888, the Rapanui believed they were signing over their sovereignty to the South American country, but not their ancestral rights to the land. Unknown to the Rapanui, full control of Easter Island would come under Chilean rule including the allocation and distribution of ethnic property. Historically, land on Easter Island was divided among ten different clans with each group claiming right to a particular territory (Rochna-Ramirez, 1996). In 1933, El Consejo de Defensa del Estado de Chile (The Chilean Council of State Defence) inscribed the entirety of Easter Island as fiscal property thus abolishing the original land rights of ethnic Rapanui. Subsequently, as Rochna-Ramirez (1996:41) states, "Indigenous rights did not exist in the national legislation nor was it considered by the government". Throughout the Pacific Islands, indigenous peoples have been alienated from ethnic lands during colonial periods; for example, under colonial systems, 81 percent of the land in New Caledonia was under state control and in the Solomon Islands, 61 percent of alienated land was retained by a single multi-national corporation (Larmour, 1982). Like other Pacific Islanders, the Rapanui have repeatedly fought to re-claim their ancestral rights to state governed land.

Throughout the 20th century, different Chilean governments have made attempts to rectify the situation through the deliverance of land titles to Rapanui who already occupied parcels (Allende government 1971-73), by implementing a system

which allowed Rapanui access to land parcels from a section of non-fiscal property in Hangaroa (Pinochet government 1979), and by the creation of Ley Indígena in 1994 to protect the land rights of all ethnic peoples in Chile (Alywin government 1990) (Makihara, 1999). However, Tom contends that despite these efforts on behalf of the Chilean government, Chile cannot return land which it originally did not own.

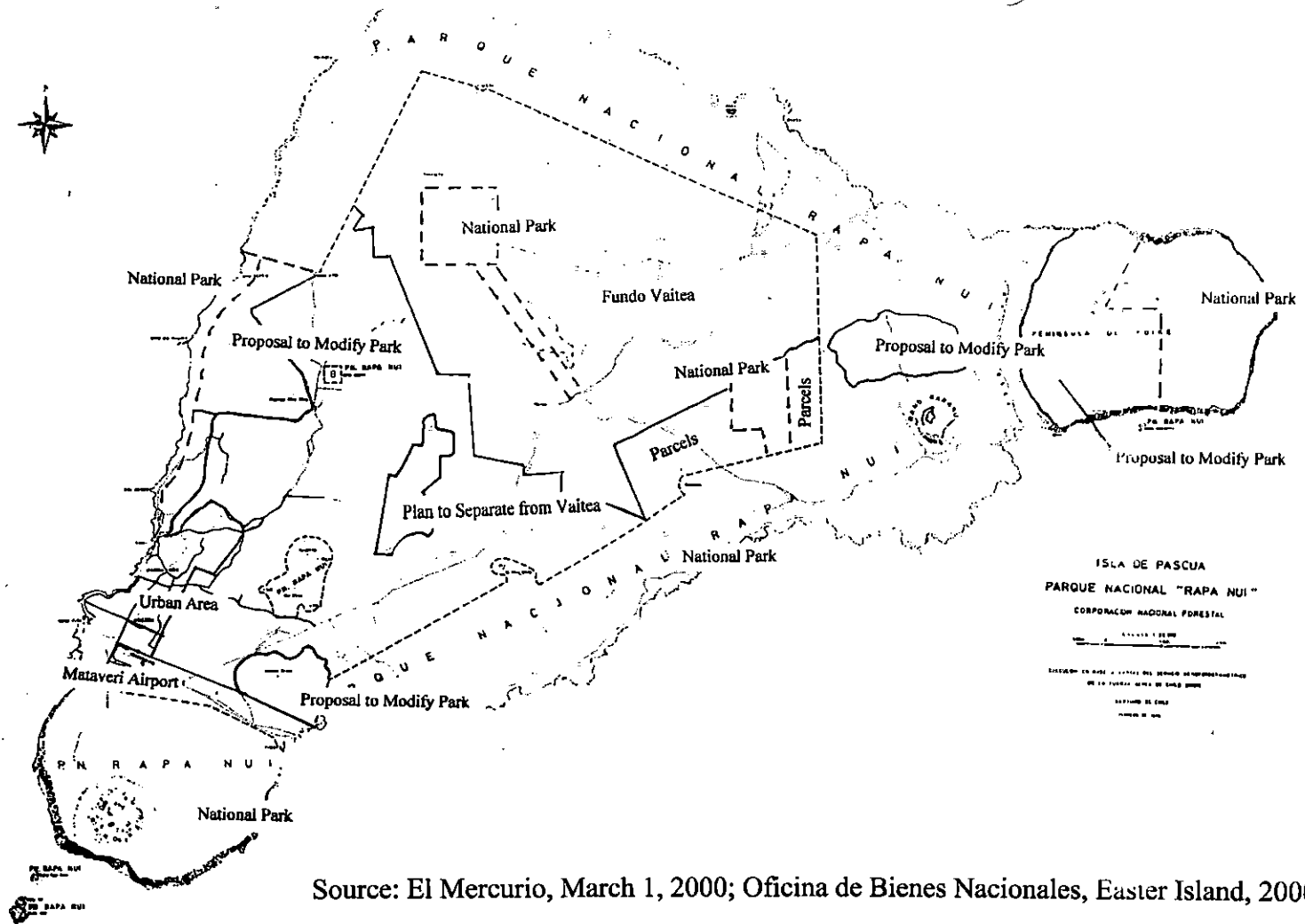
Presently, this struggle endures as the Rapanui concentrate on reclaiming rights over the Fundo Vaitea (Figure 6.3), which has remained under foreign and state control for decades. The Chilean government has promised the distribution of land parcels within Vaitea (approximately five hectares in size), to those Rapanui who still do not own land. Once this process is completed, the Rapanui will finally have regained their rights to Vaitea and have the opportunity to develop the land as they see appropriate.

Prior to discussing the future development of Vaitea, it is important to provide a brief overview of current land-use, as well as an examination of some of the problems associated with the proposed process of land distribution.

6.3.1 Current Land-Use

Prior to the creation of the National Park in 1935, land-use on Easter Island could predominantly be classified as urban (the town of Hangaroa) and rural (remaining land outside the town boundaries). After 1935, boundaries to protect archaeological sites were established thereby distinguishing National Park land from urban and rural areas. The following is a brief description of the four types of land-use on Easter Island (16,600 hectares).

Figure 6.3 Future Land-Use of Easter Island



Source: El Mercurio, March 1, 2000; Oficina de Bienes Nacionales, Easter Island, 2000

Urban Sector (500 Hectares) – Hangaroa

When the foreign company Williamson-Balfour began to administer Easter Island as a sheep ranch in 1893, the remaining native islanders were forced to the confines of Hangaroa. Following the dismissal of the company in the late 1950's, native islanders remained immured in the tiny town and unable to leave its boundaries without permission from the Chilean Navy. As a result, Hangaroa is both the island's only town and inhabited area on Easter Island. In 1966, Chile finally proclaimed the island as a civil territory and the Rapanui were permitted outside the limits inscribed by previous administrators. Despite this, urban development since this time has remained concentrated in Hangaroa. As the population and demands for land have grown, residential development has extended to the immediately adjacent rural areas.

Rural Sector (4,311.24 Hectares)

Parceled land outside of the urban limits of Hangaroa is classified as rural. Those parcels that have already been delivered to Rapanui families are utilized primarily for dwelling purposes (e.g. houses), agricultural purposes (e.g. small gardens for local consumption), or tourism purposes (e.g. hotel or residenciale). With an increasing population and the constant demand for land, it is believed that development will begin to radiate from the center of Hangaroa into the unused rural peripheral areas.

Fundo Vaitea (4,722.75 Hectares)

Located in the interior of Easter Island, Fundo Vaitea is currently uninhabited and is administered by the Chilean agency SASIPA (Society of Agriculture and Services Easter Island Ltd.). This sector consists of the best farming land, but is primarily utilized by SASIPA for a small cattle ranching operation and the production of fruit. The Chilean government is currently in the process of dividing the area into

individual land parcels (approximately five hectares in size) to be delivered to the Rapanui. There are no plans or regulations regarding the future use of the parcels; individuals may use the land for personal use (e.g. dwelling units), tourism (e.g. build small cabins), cultivation (e.g. producing vegetables and fruits for local consumption), or raising cattle (e.g. producing meat for local consumption). It is believed that a small section of Vaitea will be reserved for future tourism development by the state, but it is uncertain at this point what this portion of land will be used for.

National Park (7,066.01 Hectares)

In 1935, the Rapa Nui National Park was established to protect the cultural patrimony of Easter Island, which includes the moai (stone heads), ahus (ceremonial platforms), and other significant monuments. The Chilean agency CONAF was established in 1962 and thereafter began to administer and manage the Rapa Nui National Park. UNESCO designated Easter Island as a World Heritage Site in 1995 marking its archaeological importance at the international level. The park comprises eleven different sectors, each defining important and valuable archaeological sites.

6.3.2 Contemporary Land-Use Issues

The Rapanui Fight for Ownership

Despite the efforts of previous years, the Rapanui still have limited influence and control over the distribution of state land. After speaking with participants, it was apparent that unresolved problems exist between the Rapanui and the Chilean government in respect to land titles, ownership, and Rapanui participation in land-use decisions.

Of the 16,600 hectares of land, approximately 1,500 hectares are under Rapanui ownership with the remaining land under the control of SASIPA (Fundo

Vaitea) and CONAF (Rapa Nui National Park) (RNJ, September 1998). By 1988, title to only 30.4 percent (217 hectares) of the urban sector had been delivered to native islanders (Rochna-Ramirez, 1996). The remainder of the area was labelled as fiscal property (9.9 percent) and land which had not yet been inscribed (59.7 percent) (Rochna-Ramirez, 1996). There is a consensus among the Rapanui that all of the land should be ethnic property because historically, native islanders claimed ownership of the land.

As a result of the colonial process, the Rapanui have been alienated from a large percentage of their land. Academic literature on Pacific land disputes explores the strong cultural bond between Pacific peoples and ancestral land. Colbert (1997:28), for example, discusses the cultural relationship between the Kanaks of New Caledonia and their land and how they have been affected by the process of land alienation: "Losing it means losing identity, losing contact with ancestors, losing the very basis of family and tribal organization". Fijians use the term *vanua* to describe the relationship between indigenous people and their land (King, 1997). King (1997:208) explains the significance of this term: "the concept of *vanua* is inseparable from the people who originate from that land and from their socio-economic and political concerns". For the Rapanui, their ancestral land is as much a part of their culture and heritage as are their language, customs, beliefs, and values. The Rapanui feel very strongly about their native land and are adamant about its return: "Historically we have defended this right with our blood, and we swear to fight for this right until we die" (La Opinión Pública, 1998).

Tom explains that despite the agreement negotiated with Chile in 1888, the entirety of Easter Island's property belongs to the Rapanui:

Rapa Nui belongs to the Rapanui. In 1888, we signed a treaty with Chile and we gave Chile the sovereignty of the

island. You can come and place your law, raise your flag, do whatever you want on the island, but the property is private, it's ours. In 1933, Chile passed a law without our consent and said that the whole island becomes government property by occupation. That is, how do you say it in English, taking the land illegally.

Rapanui participants recognized the fact that Chile holds supremacy over Easter Island, but repeatedly stressed that the Rapanui maintain ancestral rights to the land and therefore should ultimately regain total control of island property. Laura describes the ongoing plight of her people:

The Chilean state did not actually protect the island. Instead, from the very beginning, they rented the island with all the people on it. They rented it and they ran all the people to the area that today is called Hangaroa and they took over the land. That has been our fight, our historical fight to re-vindicate our right over the land.

The Rapanui have witnessed the control held by foreign lessees and national administrators over ethnic land, how this control has transformed and shaped their landscape, and consequently, the continual oppression of Rapanui in respect to land titles. The Rapanui are also demanding title to fiscal property to meet subsistence needs. Historically, on many Pacific Islands, colonial governments neglected to admit there was a demand for land by native islanders and, on the contrary, foreign bodies occupied unused land (Larmour, 1982). Many Rapanui are requesting land because they do not have a place to construct dwelling units and/or practice farming for subsistence purposes. Rapanui participants reiterated that many young married couples do not have access to land in order to raise and provide for their families.

In 1993, in a further attempt to solve land problems, both the municipality and the provincial government on Easter Island brought forth proposals for the division of fiscal property. The governor suggested that because there was a strong interest in agriculture from new generations, 1,200 hectares be allocated to native islanders in

the area of Vaihu located outside of Hangaroa (Rochna-Ramirez, 1996). The municipality proposed the origination of a new town in the sector of Hanga Tetenga, located approximately twelve kilometers from Hangaroa (Rochna-Ramirez, 1996). This area would be sectioned into parcels measuring one or two hectares, providing families with a sufficient amount of land for subsistence purposes and, at a later date, the municipality intended to build a school, police station, and other necessary services (Rochna-Ramirez, 1996). Also at this time, the Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales (Ministry of Land) recommended that 600 hectares of land on the south side of Maunga Terevaka be assigned to Rapanui awaiting land (Rochna-Ramirez, 1996). However, none of the proposals were approved by the state and therefore were never fully realized.

Problems with Land Distribution

Over the last decade, in an attempt to accommodate Rapanui demands, the Chilean government implemented a system of re-distributing parcels of land to ethnic Rapanui. Nonetheless, it was reported in 1998 that the Rapanui voiced complaints against the delivery of 200 parcels because the assigned land was merely of symbolic value; most of the land contained valuable archaeology and therefore parcels could not be used for agriculture or cattle ranching (*El Mercurio*, July 9, 1998). Many participants felt the government's efforts ignored the actual needs of the people. Malcolm discussed the faults of this process:

Today, they have been delivering a large quantity of parcels. We have found this delivery to be difficult because they have done, in my opinion, no planning for the delivery of this land....they delivered the land without looking at the quality of the soil or without looking at the actual area. It was delivered without the creation of a plan. It was disorganized because they did not pay respect to what land is archaeological or what places had little agricultural value for development.

Laura expresses her frustration towards the distribution process:

They started delivering land that was useless, useless for agriculture, useless for the cattle, and I believe that is terrible. Whoever decided to do it that way, they did not consider the needs of the islanders....I have one, two parcels of land, I mean my aunt and other family members have this land but there is an ahu on their land. It's archaeological, but it's their land. I think the priority for land distribution should be three-fold: analyze the land to assess if it can be delivered or not; examine the needs of the people; and protect the archaeological sites.

In an effort to solve land disputes, the government distributed parcels of land but failed to analyze areas prior to delivery. Allotted parcels were not assessed with regard to levels of agricultural productivity or the presence of archaeological artefacts. The Rapanui now have requested that the Fundo Vaitea, the most productive land for farming, be allocated to them (RNJ, September 1998).

In order to avoid making the same mistakes as in previous years, Colin believes that various factors must be considered before allocating areas for redistribution. First, the entire surface of Easter Island should be examined rather than analyzing particular areas only; therefore, all land can be studied to best assess its value (e.g. suitability for agricultural purposes versus cattle ranching). Second, land which is considered archaeologically valuable must under no circumstances be disturbed or distributed. Thirdly, the various demands for land-use made by the Rapanui must be examined (e.g. dwelling purposes versus agriculture production). Lastly, the specific type of land-use chosen by an individual will determine the location of the parcel, as well as its size.

In 1999, plans were made to distribute parcels of land from within the Rapanui National Park (RNJ, December 1999). Approximately 425 hectares from inside park boundaries would be returned to the Rapanui people in the form of individual parcels, measuring four to five hectares in size (*El Metropolitano*, January 4, 2000). This decision has created an ongoing debate between Rapanui and Chilean officials,

as well as community members, as to whether or not protected areas should be included in the re-distribution of state land. Under the 1976 Management Plan for the Rapa Nui National Park, the stated role of CONAF was to be:

Fundamentally orientated towards the restoration and protection of the archaeological patrimony that represents the most important value of the Rapa Nui National Park. With this purpose, it will be to protect and restore the monuments and archaeological sites to their historical-natural state (Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional Rapa Nui, 1976:49).

Consequently, within park boundaries, CONAF has a responsibility to carry out management strategies to ensure the conservation and protection of heritage sites and adjoining land. Opposition has questioned not only the motives of the state, but also whether it is appropriate or legal to re-distribute land from within an area that has been designated as protected. Furthermore, the Rapa Nui National Park is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and therefore land within the park should not be included in the re-distribution process (*El Metropolitano*, January 4, 2000). Community adversaries also stress that the protection of the archaeological heritage is absolutely necessary for the long-term prosperity of tourism. Rapanui community members, as well as some Chilean officials, strongly believe a study should be completed prior to this action in order to assess the archaeological and agricultural value of proposed areas (*El Mercurio Valparaiso*, December 28, 1999).

As Marsh (1987) explains, conflicts between park agencies and indigenous peoples arise when parks occupy large areas, and when such parks produce little economic benefits for locals as a result of insufficient natural resources and increasing populations. With an increase in the demand for subsistence land, there appears to be an inadequate amount of land available for distribution. It was reported in 2000 that 800 Rapanui were registered at the island's land office waiting for individual parcels; approximately 4,000 hectares of land will be needed to meet these demands (*El*

Metropolitano, January 4, 2000). Based on these figures, there is not a sufficient amount of land in Fundo Vaitea.

Rapanui and Chilean officials contend that because there is such a strong need for land, all available land must be delivered to those now waiting (*El Metropolitano*, January 4, 2000). The majority of Rapanui and Chilean officials agreed it was acceptable to distribute land from within park boundaries for subsistence purposes as long as the designated areas contain no archaeological monuments. Tom acknowledges the importance of protecting all archaeological sites, but supports the re-distribution of any state land that does not possess archaeological value:

Coming back to your question if I agree with taking some of the park's land to give to the people, I do agree because when they parceled the island as park and non-park, today there are many areas where there is no reason for them to be parkland. There are many areas that don't have moai, that don't have caves, that don't have petroglyphs, and that don't have any human settlement from the past. These areas could be given to the people.

As Tom and other participants point out, there are areas under the administration of CONAF which have no archaeological significance, and which, therefore, could be apportioned to awaiting Rapanui. Once land within Vaitea is distributed, the only vacant or unused land suitable for subsistence purposes is located within the boundaries of the National Park.

Kingsley, a CONAF official in Santiago, clarified that only 400 hectares of land would be taken from the National Park and that park boundaries would be redefined to exclude these particular areas. Some Chilean officials believe that there is no need to conduct a study of the affected area citing that a previous study completed by the University of Chile, which identified and mapped the island's archaeological sites, can be used as a guideline (*El Mercurio*, January 7, 2000). Gary was indifferent to the question because interference by outsiders in local politics can

cause problems. However, he did provide an interesting explanation for Rapanui interest in parkland:

You see the park is too much ideologically like the company. It still occupies the same kind of land, although that isn't their intention. The previous bloke here [park official]...he got chucked off the island precisely because he opposed islander demand to open up parts of the National Park. Now some islanders are on his side and said yes that's a good idea, the park preserves the archaeology and we live with that, you know with the tourists, but the islanders are wanting to break out of this prison. I mean it isn't a prison, but you know the way it is, break out of the structure.

Island territory beyond the boundaries of Hangaroa has been administered either by foreign or national entities, thus preventing Rapanui involvement in land-use decisions. The designation of park areas under the authority of CONAF has also denied the Rapanui their right to participate in the administration of parklands. Thus, as Marsh (1987:35) explains, national parks can be viewed as 'foreign institutions':

National Parks like many components of tourism are part of the "cultural baggage" of the Western world that has been imposed in colonial times or imported since with varying degrees of local understanding and approval.

As discussed by Gary, the Rapanui would like to disassemble this system of control that the Chilean state has implemented to manage heritage sites, all of which historically were presided over by the Rapanui.

Rapanui participants are averse to the idea of re-distributing land already appointed as protected areas. Miles emphasizes the ecological importance of the park and the absolute need to protect it:

Personally, I am against the idea of giving land that is already assigned to the National Park because I think the National Park concept, perhaps, fits better for Easter Island because it means you take care of the culture and the natural resources, that you are more concerned about the eco-system and that you are more focused in the direction of biological and cultural conservation, which is the richness of this remote place. It is the resource for our survival.

We're thinking of conserving this archaeological site for the benefit of the people and tourism is a logical industry connected with that.

For Miles, protecting the ecological integrity of the National Park is directly linked to the prosperity of tourism for the Rapanui. Hence, its protection is vital in order to ensure the future of tourism. Guy shares the same sentiments as Miles:

No, we have to have a clear understanding in regards to the matter of providing land for the people. I believe it is important that there is equal land for the people but land should not be taken from the park. For example, all of the land in the sector Rano Kau or Orongo, nothing should be touched, everything in the sector Rano Raraku, which is a very large area, nothing should be touched.

Already there has been some construction in close proximity to archaeological sites. A house, for example, has been built directly behind Ahu Tongariki, one of the island's most significant ceremonial platforms and destinations for tourists. Most of the participants firmly believe that parklands should not be compromised because there is a sufficient amount of land in Vaitea available for future distribution. Some Chilean officials have also voiced concerns regarding the number of cattle grazing within sites and believe the problem will escalate if land from the park is utilized for raising cattle. The grazing of cattle within park boundaries has already contributed to the erosion of the natural landscape, as well as the destruction of archaeological sites because they are currently permitted to roam freely (*El Día de La Serena*, January 7, 2000). Stone walls have been erected around important sites to prevent their intrusion, but animals still manage to gain access. CONAF has also encountered problems with individuals who have illegally occupied land within the park to raise cattle and some Chilean officials explain that if land is returned for this purpose, the objectives of the park will be compromised (CONAF Document, October 8, 1998).

6.4 Future Development of Vaitea

The delivery of land within Vaitea to ethnic Rapanui is pivotal because since 1888, foreigners and different Chilean agencies have administered this area. This process of distribution will finally return expropriated land to the Rapanui from the control of the state, providing an opportunity for the Rapanui to own and develop the land.

The future development of Vaitea is particularly interesting first, because it remains untouched by modern development and second, there is no land-use plan or regulations to assist with its development. These two factors could have a significant impact on the transformation of the Vaitea hinterland. Once the process of land distribution is complete, it remains uncertain how this sector will be used or organized. Individuals may choose to utilize land for dwelling purposes, agricultural produce may be grown for personal or local consumption, or individuals may decide to develop their property into small residenciales or other tourism services. The development of the delivered land will depend on the choices made by the Rapanui. In each interview, participants were asked to discuss their thoughts regarding the development of Vaitea in the near future. Although similar themes did arise, this part of the research was especially interesting because of the diversity of answers provided by participants.

6.5 Possible Development Alternatives for Vaitea

6.5.1 Re-claiming Ancestral Rights

A large number of Rapanui participants said that first and foremost, aside from an opportunity to develop this area, the Rapanui were finally re-claiming their rights

to Vaitea, thus irrevocably returning the land into the hands of ethnic Rapanui. Miles reflects on the vestiges of the island's colonial history in respect to Vaitea:

Vaitea, as I told you, has always been the umbilical cord of colonialism on this island. When Williamson-Balfour came here, they hung on to Vaitea and when the Chilean Navy was running the island, they kept hanging on to Vaitea as well. When CORFO was in charge of same land, they too hung on to Vaitea and when CORFO changed to SASIPA, it was still the same thing....But what I would not like to see is that this umbilical cord remains attached to colonialism; yesterday it was sheep or cattle but today it is the resort.

This sector has repeatedly been transferred from one colonial institution to another and, for the first time, it seems that the colonial ties to this particular area will be broken. Tom expresses his anger about the historical fight of the Rapanui to regain their rights to Vaitea:

We are now getting to the point that Chile or the government of Chile understands and says alright, we agree that the land is yours and we will give it back....This is a constant fight for us, for the government of Chile to recognize that the land is ours. Many times I have had meetings with the government and they ask what are you going to do with the land? Why do you need the land? It's my land. It's my property. I will do what I am going to do with my land.

As a result of this process, Chile will no longer have the political authority to control land-use in Vaitea. As Tom points out, the Rapanui will not have to explain their actions or justify their choices regarding land-use change in Vaitea. Kingsley acknowledges the significance of the theme of land ownership for the Rapanui:

Principally, they, the Rapanui people, associate the theme of land with ownership more than the development of these areas. They simply want to put their name on the land. The theme of land ownership is very important to the Rapanui. If you look at the parcels that have already been delivered, the majority of the people have not done anything with the parcels, but it is the point of recognition, the point that they are recognized as the owners of the land...

A key term used in the above passage is 'recognition'. Through the reversion of the land ownership from SASIPA to the ethnic people, the Rapanui finally will be recognized as the legal owners of this area.

As mentioned earlier, many Rapanui simply need land for subsistence purposes. Malcolm explains that some Rapanui who still do not possess any land, have actually begun to occupy areas without official titles from the state:

For the people that still do not have access to land, this has fueled a lot of problems in the delivery process. It has made people occupy land illegally from areas in La Pérouse and also in Anakena. There are a lot of Rapanui people who, without authorization from the state, are demanding ownership of the land. They are living and working in different areas on the island and accepting ownership.

What Malcolm has described is not an unusual action for individuals who have been displaced from an area. Exhausting all possible measures, individuals feel they have no other alternative but to claim the land illegally.

6.5.2 *Rural Development*

Based on informal conversations with different community members, there was a general consensus that land delivered within Vaitea would commonly be developed for dwelling or subsistence purposes. This answer was repeatedly provided from both Rapanui and Chilean participants during interviews. Rural development of this area would include the construction of homes, farming practices either for personal or local consumption (e.g. tomatoes, lettuce, taro, pineapple), or raising livestock (e.g. cattle or horses).

6.5.3 *Urban Development*

Inevitably new settlement will begin upon the delivery of parcels. Participants were asked to discuss their thoughts regarding the possibility of concentrated urban development in Vaitea. Vaitea is an ideal location for a second town; existing roads make accessibility relatively simple and electrical and water services are already present to serve the few existing houses in the area. Gary agreed that concentrated settlement outside of Hangaroa is eventually going to occur and further agreed that Vaitea would be a suitable location. He points out that urban development in Vaitea would give the Rapanui the opportunity to remove themselves from the instituted colonial settlement pattern of Hangaroa:

There will be another town on the island. Vaitea would be a good location. It's got good rain forest, good soil, I mean that's why the company chose it. It was the English-Scots owners of Williamson-Balfour that selected Vaitea and developed it.... For such a long time, they [the islanders] had been confined here [Hangaroa] as you know until 1966, they had to have a pass to go outside... They want to break away for emotional reasons but also for practical reasons.

Until 1966, the Rapanui were confined within the boundaries of Hangaroa and any urban development beyond its inscribed perimeters was prohibited. Gary explains further:

But the point is that they, the islanders, do want to have, and this is the point that [name of individual] made to me when I saw him last...to have another settlement. That would break the concentration here. Now [name of individual] has already done that, he's got his restaurant half way up the road to Anakena and people are, the authorities are really upset by [name of individual] having done that, but he said bugger them.

Some native islanders have already begun to develop parcels near the center of the island, which as Gary suggests is 'breaking the concentration' of planned development by the state.

Unlike Gary, the majority of participants spoke in opposition to a second town, stating that there is an ample amount of land in Hangarua and its surrounding areas and therefore development outside its limits is unnecessary. Tom recommends that first, urban development within Hangarua begin to extend vertically rather than horizontally, and second, that when additional land is needed, horizontal expansion can occur towards the north end of the town. Miles agrees with Tom's strategy for future urban development:

I will encourage change in some of the rules here in order to allow growth upward within the existing area and slowly moving toward the north end of the town, and even toward areas where electricity and water are already in place....but we have to make use of all the land right here in Hangarua. The island is so small and therefore we should think more in terms of vertical rather than horizontal growth.

Additional levels could be built onto existing buildings and new structures could be designed to include two levels instead of one. Both participants adamantly rejected the large-scale vertical development that is characteristic of other island tourist destinations and added that development within Hangarua would remain characteristically on a small scale.

Malcolm too feels that urban development should be restricted to Hangarua; the community should focus on improving infrastructural conditions and services in this area rather than attempting to implement new infrastructure for a second town:

I am Rapanui and I am particular to not creating another town because I want to preserve the only important industry that we have [tourism]. People want to expand to different areas on the island and they want to construct more but it is going to fuel a type of development that is not going to benefit the Rapanui people. The idea is to transform Hangarua into a beautiful place but to develop only in this area and leave the rest of the island how it is, untouched. The tourists come to look at the island, but if you construct another town, it is going to need water and lights and other services, and in the end the entire island will be developed.

Mark, like Malcolm, strongly believes that at this time, urban development should be limited to Hangaroa. However, he admits that a second town may be a possibility in the distant future:

It is possible to create a second town in another part of the island, but I see it in the very far future. We have to work with what little urban development we have here because everything is concentrated in a specific place. If we have another town in a farther place, for example, on the other side of the island, in the southwest sector of Vaihu, it means that we have to build another school, another police department, to have light and water services installed, and it increases the cost for the state. We need to optimize what we have today, utilize the total surface of the island but focus development within the urban sector only.

The cost associated with the establishment of a second town in Vaitea was also a main preoccupation with participants. Aside from electricity and water, no other services exist; an entirely new infrastructure of social and economic services would have to be implemented.

6.5.4 Tourism Development

Another alternative for the development of Vaitea is tourism. Because tourism is the most important economic activity for the Rapanui, it can be assumed that development will continue within the industry. The *Programa de Desarrollo Productivo Isla de Pascua* (2000) (Productive Development Program for Easter Island) stated that one of the main objectives for future tourism development is to diversify tourism activities; island entrepreneurs should become engaged in alternative types of tourism, for example, ethno-tourism, agri-tourism, adventure tourism, and eco-tourism. Miles explained that tourism-based development is a strong option for the area of Vaitea because land owners could convert land parcels into small residenciales offering tourists the opportunity to escape Hangaroa and

experience the island through such activities as hiking, biking, and horseback riding.

Miles describes his vision for tourism-based development:

We can make use of that land for eco-tourism or agro-tourism rather than just having fancy hotels all around the island. Rapanui families can have five or six beautiful cabins on the landscape with a little swimming pool and perhaps some beautiful gardens or some cows to milk or a horse to ride and whatever else they can advertise for families to come from the mainland in the summer. They can spend two months in that cabin which provides extra income for that Rapanui family.

This is probably one of the best economic alternatives for the development of Vaitea.

All of the participants agreed that tourism is the island's economic livelihood and that in the future, development initiatives should not only focus on improving existing services, but also emphasize the creation of new projects.

As previously mentioned, absent from the contemporary landscape of Easter Island are the five-star resorts characteristic of other island destinations. Although large-scale tourism development has successfully been discouraged to date, there are both Rapanui and Chilean officials who do support this type of development. Plans for such a resort project emerged in 1999, when it was reported that SASIPA proposed to reserve an area within the Vaitea hinterland for a 'tourist project' that would include the island's first golf course (*El Mercurio*, November 21, 1999) (Figure 6.2). Although a representative from SASIPA, when interviewed, denied any involvement of the agency in such a venture, this 'tourist project' is reported to be a resort, which would be complemented with a golf course. Understandably, this project has generated a significant amount of discussion because of its potential impacts not only on the landscape, but also on the island's economy.

The majority of Rapanui participants adamantly opposed the idea of resort/golf course primarily because of the amount of capital required to fund a

project of this size; many Rapanui simply do not have the amount of money necessary for large-scale resort development. Furthermore, Rapanui businesspersons are unable to obtain loans from the state bank. For this reason, the construction of a resort/golf course would unquestionably demand capital from foreign investors. The threat of foreign involvement in the tourism industry was a reoccurring theme during interviews. To date, the tourism industry, with the exception of the Hotel Hanga Roa, has remained under the control of the Rapanui; there is no foreign involvement or investment in tourism. Rapanui participants fear the presence of a resort would disrupt the existing Rapanui market, inevitably creating economic problems for the Rapanui such as revenue losses and competition for hotel and residencial proprietors. Rapanui hotels and residenciales, for example, would be forced into competition with the resort. Guy discusses one of the problems:

A person from the outside, a capitalist with millions of dollars, could eliminate Rapanui tourism because with millions he could construct a marvel here and there would be no more tourists for the others....we would lose everything. This is one of things that we have to be concerned about. It is very attractive to form a partnership with a foreigner that has ten million pesos and he says to us, you provide the land and we will build on it. It is very attractive and it is also very beneficial but only for one person or perhaps two. What is going to happen to the rest of the people?

For the past three decades, tourism has sustained the economic livelihood of the Rapanui, allowing widespread participation in a market which has been and continues to be secure and dependable. Unlike other Pacific Islands, Easter Island's tourism economy is not dependent on financial aid from foreign companies, and native islanders do not have to compete with international resorts, or be employed by foreigners. Furthermore, Easter Island lies on the periphery of the global economy and as Britton (1987:131) explains, like Tonga, such an island has the "advantage of

retaining sovereignty over both its tourism assets and policies governing the rate, and style of tourist-plant development”.

Like Guy, other participants were concerned that such a project would benefit a few individuals rather than serving the entire community. Currently, most Rapanui have an opportunity to participate in the tourism industry either directly or indirectly. Because tourism is almost entirely owned and operated by the Rapanui people, the money earned remains in the hands of the Rapanui; they are also not required to pay taxes to the state nor is any money repatriated to foreign companies. Malcolm discusses the on-going threat of foreign participation in Rapanui tourism:

In 1965, the island became exposed to national and world activities. Since this date, there has been an interest from outsiders who would like to enjoy the benefits of the island. Today, in 2000, there are still people who are interested in looking at how the island can be developed but for their own benefit. I want to protect the natural resources and the small businesses on the island because the Rapanui or ethnic people, have to protect the resources of their past ancestors. This project that they are interested in, for the Rapanui, it will only mean a job; the Rapanui people will not manage this project. This has repeatedly been done; outside interest groups use the people who have the land, but the project is managed from the outside. If they are able to construct a resort here, this force that is driving it is going to cause the Rapanui to become resentful....we don't want to be employed as gardeners, nor the support staff of a hotel that is not ours.

Malcolm is concerned with the subordinate role the Rapanui would play if a resort was to be built. When resorts or other tourism related services are owned and operated by foreign bodies, it is common for management positions to be filled by foreigners whereas locals are employed as service and custodial staff. Samy (1975:111) conducted research in hotels in Fiji that were under ownership by foreign companies and observed the following employment patterns:

Local participation in hotel employment is not only minimal and of a menial nature, but it is also based on racial and ethnic criteria. Expatriate and local Europeans occupy top-paid

managerial and executive positions involving far greater economic and social benefits. This racial pattern of job distribution in the hotel is institutionalized and is based largely on prejudice and stereotypes.

As has been discussed in Chapter Four, the Rapanui have always managed the tourism industry; foreign investment in tourism would, therefore undeniably compromise their positions within the industry.

The proposed location of the 'tourist project' has further contributed to ongoing resistance against land-use decisions made by the Chilean government. First, the land within Vaitea is considered to be one of the most productive areas for agriculture. Second, although the Chilean government has promised to restore ownership of Vaitea to the ethnic Rapanui, resort development implies the reservation of a portion of land within Vaitea for 'tourist development'. The Indigenous Law was created by the state to protect the land rights of Chile's indigenous populations, but as Malcolm explains, development can be controlled through politics:

We know the intention of this process. Our land is supposedly protected with the creation of the *Ley Indígena*, but despite this law, the government is still able to reserve part of this land for recreational use, for example, tourist activities, all which would be under the control of the President of the Republic.

As Malcolm points out, the power of Chilean political institutions will allow the state to maintain some degree of control in this region. As it is designated as fiscal property, the Rapanui would have no rights regarding land-use decisions in this particular area. As King (1997:212) explains, resort development fundamentally involves the "privatization of public space".

Although there was extreme opposition towards this idea, some Rapanui participants believe a resort is a feasible alternative for tourism, but only if the Rapanui were to administer and control such a project:

No, we think there are two alternatives for this type of

project. One, the Rapanui could manage this project on their own. Second, it could be developed with outside partners. However if it could be managed solely by the Rapanui, this would be better....If someone has the resources and the knowledge to manage a project like this, we could do it without assistance from anyone.

Miles also firmly believes that business partnerships with foreign groups could be established to successfully develop a resort, which would benefit all of the Rapanui people:

Several times in history people have wanted to build a hotel at Anakena and the last time it was in Vaitea, the middle of the island. The disagreement of course is that if there is this idea, let us the Rapanui manage it and of course they change the topic and it's harder to deal with and the government turns away... We disagree that people from the outside can come and develop as they want on an island that we feel is ours. We do agree in creating partnerships; they provide the capital and we provide the space on the island. It's our capital, not the government of Chile's capital. It's ours and the government should be proud that we have the capital to share and develop.

The Rapanui hope to possess the most valuable asset to any tourist project: the land. Foreign investors, in Miles' opinion, can provide the capital required to develop this land. Through partnerships, the Rapanui would have an opportunity to participate in a project of this scale, make decisions regarding land-use plans, share in the economic benefits, and play an important role in the management and administration of the project.

Despite extreme opposition, some Rapanui and Chilean officials support the idea of a resort/golf course in Vaitea because of the associated benefits. Such individuals contend that this 'tourist project' would create temporary and permanent employment for the Rapanui, as well as generate a significant amount of revenue. For

Tom, the positive aspects heavily outweigh the negative:

Yes, because if you have a resort for a couple that comes from British Columbia.... I can offer them a championship golf course or I can offer them a cricket course or an environ-

mental class. I can take them hiking for a couple of days or I can take them camping. Instead of spending three days, they are going to spend five or six or seven days, one week perhaps. Is it better to spend three days or seven days? It is better to spend seven days.

As Tom explains, this 'tourist project' could serve as a secondary attraction for visitors. Thus tourists would stay for longer periods of time to enjoy the services of a resort, which in turn further stimulates the island economy. Kevin, a Chilean official working on Easter Island, shares Tom's opinions regarding the economic advantages of a resort and golf course:

A golf course would benefit everyone.... the tourists that come to Easter Island, they come for the archaeology, archaeology, archaeology, and nothing else. Really there is no beach or coral reef here...I was told that there is a lot of interest in a golf course especially from the Japanese tourists. They will stay one or two days extra just to play golf. Two days playing golf. I believe that a golf course is a good alternative because it would create additional employment opportunities and the Rapanui would earn more money because of the increase in the amount of tourists coming to play golf.

Tom and Miles contend that a golf course is a positive land-use alternative to the existing barren landscape of Vaitea. Tom clarified this point during a second interview:

The one time I was asked about it, I said it was not a bad idea. At one time Vaitea was the headquarters for sheep shearing and you had herds of animals come there and destroy the place. I don't see what the problem is having tourists playing golf on this land. You solve the problem of erosion, you give money to the people working, you generate money to restore archaeological sites, and you keep the place clean and beautiful. What is the big deal?

Miles shares the same opinion:

Personally, I believe this golf course would create a beautiful landscape. It is better than having wild plants and horses full of flies all around. If I see a landscape that is green and nicely watered and now and then you have someone walking on it, what is wrong with that?...it takes only twenty hectares of land to create a dream garden. Today, there are more than

twenty hectares of land that people have plowed indiscriminately and they are abusing the archaeological sites and the soil. If there is somebody that will spend a lot of money trying to make the grass grow beautifully, I would applaud that person.

Both gentlemen concurred that a golf course would create a landscape which would be aesthetically pleasing to both tourists and residents. Such a landscape is also expected to attract more visitors and increase tourism activity. In addition, Tom argued that money generated from a resort and golf course could be used to finance ongoing projects such as the restoration and preservation of archaeological sites. As Tom points out, funding from the Chilean government is limited and therefore the Rapanui must begin to think about an alternative means to produce future funding:

Suppose you say no to this project and I tell you that I have archaeological sites that need to be maintained. The government of Chile is poor. Its government has a lot of problems and he's not going to give you the money. The world is not going to give you money either because the world has its own problems. How do we go about getting the money to maintain those sites? By generating it ourselves. How do you do it? One of the ways to do it is by having a resort where you can entertain people that care about those sites.

For Tom, the protection and preservation of the archaeological patrimony should be the foremost concern for future development plans, but without sufficient funding this is not feasible. Economic cutbacks from the state have forced island administrators to explore alternative sources of funding in order to preserve the island's heritage for future generations.

Both Tom and Miles believe that the idea of a resort and golf course is faced with a great amount of opposition and resistance because community members immediately focus on the negative aspects of the project rather than analyzing its potential advantages. Tom explains:

It's because they don't know what it is. It's normal for a person to focus on the negative aspects about something that he or she knows nothing about rather than saying yes...

First, they always look at the negative points. This is normal but if I come to you and I explain the benefits, the pros and cons of a project or an idea, and you still decide that your decision is no, this is after you have learned about it...but if your answer is no before I explain to you what it is, I don't see a reason for you to say no.

Historically, the Rapanui have displayed negative sentiments towards prospective large-scale tourism projects. Tom feels the Rapanui people must begin to examine both the negative and positive aspects of a project in order to accurately assess its merit for the island. Miles concurs with Tom's reasoning:

I will not be biased against it but not necessarily in favor. But I will say for everyone, it's good to debate it and not get stuck with an already established bias. There are many people who write and already have a bias and then they want to impose their bias because they control the pen and paper....They try to pass their idea along to the readers, but I think we should be open-minded about such projects.

Miles further attributes the anti-development attitudes of the Rapanui public to the external influence of international organizations and publications, which impose their opinions of proposed development projects on native islanders. King (1997) suggests, however, that indigenous peoples commonly reject this pattern of tourism development because they are not accustomed to this particular type of landscape, whereas those who are familiar with resort environments accept it. To date, the Vaitea hinterland has not been utilized for any type of tourism development.

It is important to note that at present, this 'tourist project' and golf course is simply a concept; no formal proposals or plans have been brought before the Development Commission. It is uncertain at this point if this idea will be pursued in the near future because of the significant amount of Rapanui opposition.

6.5.5 *Large-scale Agricultural Development*

As an alternative to tourism, a small number of Rapanui participants believe that an export industry could be established on Easter Island; land parcels suitable for agricultural production could grow produce (e.g. pineapples) to be sold in foreign markets. Produce already grown on an all year round basis includes tomatoes, camote, taro, lettuce, watermelon, cucumber, and cabbage (Programa de Desarrollo Productivo Isla de Pascua, 2000). Other produce, such as green beans, corn, broccoli, cauliflower, and carrots are currently grown between the months of September and December (Programa de Desarrollo Productivo Isla de Pascua, 2000). Colin believes that the island must begin to diversify its economy and examine other types of development such as an export industry:

The people have to begin to look at other alternatives such as the development of agriculture; for example, the development of agriculture in the areas of pineapples, bananas, guavas, papayas, mangos, and cherimoya. There are many things that could be produced on the island and then exported to Chile or other markets...

Bob too supports the production of local produce for the purpose of commercialization:

For example, we produce a lot of products on the island that would be suitable for much larger commercial centers like Santiago....I believe that the government needs to provide economic assistance to farmers because the island, for example, is the only place in Chile that produces pineapples and they should assist us with the export process in order to sell them in places like Santiago.

An export industry on Easter Island would enable the island economy to participate on an international level, thus generating further income for the Rapanui. Currently, the majority of capital invested in development is allocated to tourism, but Miles believes money could also be invested into large-scale agricultural production:

On the other hand, Easter Island has 16,600 hectares of land of which I estimate over 5,000 hectares is good quality land. Such parcels are scattered all over the island....and with this land we could create an income of over 5 million dollars a year for the people by simply producing things like pineapples where we have a captive market: mainland Chile....In other words, Easter Island has a comparative advantage over mainland Chile because of its climate and fertile soil...

Acknowledging problems such as the island's extreme location from other markets and the high cost of transportation, participants were asked how the Rapanui could combat these barriers. Transporting produce by ship was immediately disregarded because of the lengthy travel time involved. Air transport was considered the most efficient and quickest way to export produce; planes arriving from Santiago and Papeete transport cargo to Easter Island, but return with very little cargo. Produce from Easter Island could therefore be transported on return flights.

Gary believes the export of agricultural products is a viable option for the Rapanui, but he disagrees with the proposed strategy of exporting products to Chile or other Latin American markets. He proposes that the Rapanui focus on establishing an export route to Tahiti because of its close proximity and high demand for imported goods. Here he describes the benefits of establishing an export partnership with Tahiti:

But all those fruits and vegetables, tomatoes you can't grow [in Tahiti], lettuce you can't grow, all that stuff comes from France or Australia or New Zealand, but this place is closer and in fact Bornier sold those products because you can sail in a small ship.... He built a ship here and sailed back and forth in ten days to Tahiti bringing back the same sort of stuff they import from Santiago...but selling, that was the goal, selling his sub-tropical European style products to Tahiti. That's the natural export place.

Rather than limiting the market to pineapples, the Rapanui could also export produce, such as tomatoes and lettuce, which cannot be grown in Tahiti due to unsuitable

climatic conditions. Additionally, it would be more economical for Tahiti to import produce from Easter Island rather than their current suppliers in Australia and New Zealand.

On the contrary, a larger number of participants feel that Easter Island does not have the capabilities to compete in the world market because of its limited size, extreme distance from other markets, and a restricted labour force. Moreover, there is a lack of knowledge among agriculturalists about new technology, the different types of horticulture and fruit produce, controlling plagues and diseases, fertilization techniques, and the management of structural costs (Programa de Desarrollo Productivo Isla de Pascua, 2000). Moreover, it would be difficult for Easter Island to compete with other Latin American countries that already maintain monopolies over the export of tropical produce. Kevin discusses some of the potential problems the island would face:

We are in front of a Latin American market that is very large...Mexico grows the best mangoes and Guatemala does too. Ecuador, Peru, and Colombia also produce mangoes. In Mexico you find the best quality of mangoes, better than the quality that we could produce....It is very difficult to compete on such a small scale as here....We cannot compete, for example, with a banana producer that has 400 hectares of banana and a farmer here that has only one and a half hectares. We don't have the machines, we don't have the technology, we don't have anything.

The cost of exporting produce, as well as high production costs, would further prohibit this form of business (Programa de Desarrollo Productivo Isla de Pascua, 2000). Participants feel that before farmers begin to focus their attention on cash crops, the island needs to focus on the lack of local produce available to supply the present population, as well as meet the demands of a growing tourism industry. Produce must already be imported from the mainland for both local and tourist consumption, which in turn increases local produce prices (Programa de Desarrollo

Productivo Isla de Pascua, 2000). Tom voices his apprehensions about an export business on Easter Island:

Tourism takes all of the fish and tourism takes all of the vegetables. It's not enough for the current population. Therefore, let's stop thinking about exporting produce and let's start thinking about our island, our people, our local consumption. We don't have enough production for local consumption. Once we have a large amount of produce such as agricultural produce or fish, then we can start to think about exporting it. Suppose we do have a large production of pineapple or avocado, we have too much and then we need to export it but where do we export it to? To Chile? Are you going to compete with Chile given the cost of transportation?

An export industry is further restricted by factors such as: seasonable weather conditions (e.g. high winds during winter months limit the type of produce grown); the absence of large irrigation systems; the introduction of plagues and diseases by foreign plants; certain areas are unsuitable for agricultural production; competition with tourism for future land-use; and the relatively small size of parcels limits production quantity (Isla de Pascua, Program de Desarrollo, 1986-1990). These participants strongly believe that the large-scale development of agriculture is not a realistic alternative for the Rapanui economy. Rather, there was a consensus that future development initiatives should continue to focus on tourism. In relation to future agricultural development, emphasis will be placed on advancing the knowledge of local farmers in agricultural techniques and management strategies to stimulate the growth of agricultural produce and diversify its production in order to decrease the amount of produce imported from the mainland (Programa de Desarrollo Productivo Isla de Pascua, 2000).

6.6 Potential Problems Associated with Future Land-Use

6.6.1 *Lack of Management Strategies*

Despite the potential benefits related to development in Vaitea, all of the participants agreed that initiatives could have the potentiality to be extremely disorganized and thus detrimental to the landscape because of the absence of a development plan or strategy. Without any guidelines or restrictions for development plans or projects, Miles strongly believes, for example, that the existing landscape in Vaitea could be transformed into a 'shantytown'. He theorized that without a strong land-use program or regulations steering development plans, the land delivered could be mismanaged:

There's one thing called returning the land and there's another called knowing what to do with the land...I agree with returning the land, but without advice, without subsidizing the development of that land, I think it will be problematic....this area will be in the hands of more than 500 families. Each one of these families will need at least \$10,000 just to fence their area and to start thinking about what to do with it....Not only do they not have any idea of what to do, but they don't even have any economic support to do so. You also have that problem. We are taking a big risk of losing this area. We are thinking of turning 7,000 acres of island landscape into a shantytown.

A scenario such as the one described by Miles would be attributed to the lack of knowledge possessed by the Rapanui about sustainable farming practices and/or development strategies, as well as a lack of economic support from the government to assist with development projects. Many Rapanui are awaiting the delivery of land to build homes and begin farming, but Miles fears if individuals do not have the resources to adequately develop their land, the area will become a settlement of makeshift housing:

Rather than looking out beyond Hangaroa and seeing the wild landscape, all clean and clear, you will, in the future, see an eyesore. You will have to imagine it being like, how do you say in English, shacks made out of corroded tin,

fences of barbed wire oxidized and rusted, and plants of every kind. It will not be organized and this is not good. There's no control over what is going to happen after the people get their hands on the land.

All of the participants strongly believe development in Vaitea must be regulated at some level in order to avoid potential problems, as well as irreversible modifications of the present landscape. Paul, a Chilean official working on Easter Island, discussed the significance of instituting a development plan for the area of Vaitea upon the completion of the delivery of state land to the Rapanui:

But they don't consider the consequences of the projects. I don't know if it is voluntary, but these problems occur because they do not consider other alternatives. They do not consider the other impacts: environmental; cultural; social; and economic....The island needs a development plan, a plan to regulate the development of the land and to regulate all of the projects for the island...

As Paul points out, in order to avoid potential problems, development strategies must analyze the social, economic, and environmental impacts of future projects in order to abstain from mistakes made in previous years.

6.6.2 *Lack of Economic Resources*

Rapanui participants also expressed frustration because they are unable to obtain loans from banks or use their land as collateral to further develop their property. As discussed earlier, many individuals do not have access to the economic resources necessary to improve existing businesses or create new ones. Colin expresses his discontent towards this prohibition:

The Rapanui do not have access to credit from the bank, for example, to build something new or to develop the land for their family. In this sense it is wrong. It is difficult because I have, for example, five parcels or two parcels and I can't leave it for my children in the future or my grandchildren because I can't use it to access credit or borrow money to build a hotel or a residence or a factory....What are you going to do with this land if

you can't put it up as capital to access resources in order to help your family in the future?

Upon delivery of state land, how do individuals begin to strategize without the economic resources to facilitate development? It is evident that the Rapanui have the desire and intentions to develop land, but they are severely limited in how they can utilize it because of a shortage of capital.

6.6.3 Foreign/National Request for Land

Rapanui concerns also focus on requests made by mainland Chilean migrants and foreigners to purchase ethnic land. Mainland Chileans and foreigners, who either reside on Easter Island or visit temporarily, have been seeking land for personal business ventures. Interviews with community members resulted in a general consensus that land should be distributed only to ethnic Rapanui and that mainland Chileans and foreigners should not have any legal right to acquire land. The Ley Indígena's rules specifically reserve the right of ownership of land to ethnic Rapanui, but the regulations governing land titles are confusing and allow mainland Chileans and foreigners access to land through marriage with ethnic Rapanui (RNJ, December 1994). Thus, some Rapanui propose that revisions to the Ley Indígena be made guaranteeing the allocation of land to ethnic Rapanui only (RNJ, December 1994). However, Chilean authorities have rejected revisions, such as the above, to the Ley Indígena on the basis that alterations to the existing laws questions native peoples' constitutional right to property (RNJ, September 1998).

6.6.4 Limited Control

One of the main themes that emerged while conducting interviews was the lack of control that ethnic Rapanui have over island territory and land-use decisions

despite their received ancestral rights to the land. Aside from parcels already owned by Rapanui people in and around Hangaroa, the remainder of the island is administered by the Chilean agencies CONAF (National Park) and SASIPA (Vaitea). As a result, the Rapanui have absolutely no power regarding the current administration of either of these areas. Contest regarding land-use planning initiatives is not merely a fight to gain access to or the right to the development of land, but a fight to gain control over local "decision-making power" about the future of the land (Halseth, 1996:1281). As in Halseth's (1996) study on the contested nature of land-use plans in the Columbia Valley, British Columbia, the Rapanui are concerned about the future of their community and the nature of their 'place'.

Many complaints have been voiced regarding the lack of Rapanui participation in the administration of National Park land. The Rapanui support the creation of the National Park to protect heritage sites, but are indignant because they have no control or authority governing the cultural patrimony of the various ceremonial sites and moai, since jurisdiction falls under the state. For instance, if a moai or ahu has been damaged and requires repairs, Rapanui authorities must receive approval from CONAF in Santiago before carrying out any form of action. Archaeological statues and monuments culturally belong to the Rapanui, but the latter are denied any involvement in the decision-making process regarding the management and protection of sites, nor do the Rapanui receive any of the revenue collected from entrance fees. Rapanui community members contend that sacred places should not remain dependent on outside services, yet the protection of cultural heritage sites continues to be dependent on funds generated from tourism (RNJ, December 1994).

Both Rapanui and Chilean officials have recommended that a new council, comprised of Rapanui representatives, work with CONAF to co-administer the Rapa

Nui National Park and make decisions regarding future land-use within the park. Paul admits that the Rapanui should play a stronger role in the management of parklands and agrees that increased community participation in the future is necessary:

We want to create an administration council that is integrated with more Rapanui people...Creating a space for Rapanui participation so that they always know that the park is theirs because in reality, this is the truth, it is their patrimony. By law, we administer Chilean national parks, but the idea is to strengthen the presence of the Rapanui community in the management of the park.

Although he agrees the Rapanui should play an integral role in the future administration and management of the park, he believes that at this point, they lack the practical knowledge and training to successfully manage the park independently.

6.7 Chapter Summary

The process of development over the past decade has proceeded at a particularly rapid rate. It can be predicted that future development plans will continue at a significant pace. This chapter has demonstrated the contested nature of development with particular reference to proposed infrastructure improvements and land reform. The variety of Rapanui and Chilean stakeholders involved in development processes, and their contradictory beliefs and concerns, have been instrumental in creating conflicts concerning the future of development on Easter Island. Furthermore, the dominance of the Chilean state and its geopolitical objectives in conjunction with a lack of Rapanui participation in the development process, as well as a disregard of Rapanui values and concerns by Chile, has been conducive to the creation of an unstable development platform. Many participants stress the disorganized nature of development in the past. Without collective planning

between the Rapanui and various state agencies, the future of development is likely to continue on this path.

Chapter Seven Conclusion

Traditionalism – a symbol of liberation from colonial subordination and the reclamation of an independent character.

Lawson, 1997:16.

The first half of this thesis provides a historico-geographical account of the development of Easter Island from 1967-2001. This process of development began with Chile's geopolitical interest in Easter Island as the only landmass in the South Pacific under the administration of a Latin American country. Under the colonial administration of Chile, changes were immediately implemented to transform the tiny island into a Chilean military post amidst Pacific waters. Further development was inevitable with the arrival of the first commercial flight in 1967; increasing visitors to Easter Island forced planning agencies to establish a tourism service-based industry in order to accommodate the demands of visitors. Finally, the increased number of mainland Chileans and foreigners coming to Easter Island at this time exposed the Rapanui to alternative lifestyles and ideologies. In the late 1960's, the Rapanui people demanded participation in island affairs and the betterment of existing living conditions.

These three motivations for the development of Easter Island initiated the rapid process of modernization that has occurred over the past three decades. As discussed in Section 2.2.1, traditional Rapanui society has undergone a transition from a state of 'underdevelopment' (agriculture subsistence and no industry) to one of modern development (tourism as the main economic enterprise) as a result of modernization efforts by the Chilean state. In the early 1960's, Easter Island's period of 'underdevelopment' was characterized by economic, social, and political

conditions that were basic compared to that of mainland Chile and other western societies. Porteous (1981:163) writes that at this time Easter Island was:

...an anachronism, a semi-subsistence society where barter and payment in kind remained prominent exchange mechanisms, and where information regarding the outside world filtered through irregularly by radio or via the annual boat.

Modernization theorists explain that the transition from the 'underdevelopment' to the 'development' of a society is a natural or evolutionary process; in the case of Easter Island, as Porteous (1981) explains, corporate sheep ranching replaced an agricultural subsistence economy, and was itself superseded by the service industry of tourism in the early 1970's (Section 2.2.1).

Similar to the development path prescribed by modernization theorists, the development of Easter Island has occurred through five stages of change (Table 1,2). Porteous (1981) describes a shift from subsistence agriculture to tourism in the early 1970's, and as a result, development plans since this time have focused on infrastructure improvements in the areas of transportation, communication and the urbanization of Hangaroa. During the 1980's, emphasis was placed on the betterment of education and health services for native residents but most importantly, development strategies concentrated on the development of a tourism industry. In the last decade of the 20th century, plans continued to concentrate on developing the tourism industry and the urbanization of Hangaroa. In contrast to the early 1970's, the town of Hangaroa has expanded to include numerous hotels, residenciales, restaurants, tour agencies, and other related services.

This industry has created alternative forms of employment and produced a significant amount of revenue for the Rapanui. Rostow proposed that development takes place through a 'trickle down effect' (Section 2.2.2); the economic growth generated by the tourism industry has been dispersed to the majority of Rapanui

people. Today, the greater part of Rapanui work either directly or indirectly in the tourism sector. Given the island's limited economic prospects, tourism has become the most important and only viable industry. Even though Rostow believed that foreign aid and investment are important components of the development process (Section 2.2.2), to date there has been no foreign involvement or investment in the tourism industry on Easter Island. More importantly, the Rapanui have maintained almost complete control over this industry by discouraging foreign involvement or development. Development has continued on a micro level promoting small businesses that are owned and operated by Rapanui families. The process of modernization has allowed the Rapanui to 'catch-up' with already developed western societies (Section 2.2.1), such as metropolitan Chile, and transformed traditional Rapanui society into a modern society whereby the Rapanui people now have access to the majority of modern amenities offered in the western world, have become totally immersed in a monetary based economy, and the tourism industry has almost completely replaced earlier lifestyles.

It cannot be disputed that development plans implemented by the different Chilean governments and agencies have in fact played a large role in improving social and economic conditions for the Rapanui. Infrastructure improvements, the betterment of social services, the development of tourism, and the further urbanization of Hangaroa have, for the most part, proven beneficial. This thesis also shows however that despite this progress, the modernization process has initiated irrevocable economic, social, and political changes that have transformed traditional Rapanui society and its physical environment to varied degrees. As discussed in Section 2.3.2, the development of tourism on small Pacific Islands such as Easter Island, facilitates

the need for continual infrastructure improvements, contributes to economic dependency, and alters traditional social structures.

Physically, the process of development has assumed a large role in altering the traditional landscape. The plantation-like appearance of Hangaroa as reported by Porteous (1981) in the 1970's has largely been transformed into a small urban center and its landscape has been altered to include hotels, restaurants, grocery stores, souvenir shops, and other businesses. Tourism has also been conducive to the gradual degradation of the natural environment and the island's fragile eco-system. Economically, progress has altered traditional occupational structures and tourism has caused the Rapanui to become totally dependent on a foreign monetary system, which has promoted new values ultimately contributing to the dismissal of the traditional ideological system by some Rapanui. Socially, development has facilitated changes in the areas of population, social structure, and altered traditional belief systems. Politically, development has contributed to the gradual acculturation of the Rapanui people, but over the past three decades, the acculturation process has occurred at a much faster rate.

One of the largest problems that Rapanui administrators face is their complete dependence on the Chilean state for social and economic assistance; Easter Island does not possess the resources required to administer its affairs independently of Chile. In opposition to modernization theory, dependency theorists explain that the process of development, aside from stimulating economic and social progress, can also be conducive to creating relationships of dependency; the economic relationship between Rapanui administrators and the Chilean state is determined by the dominant power structure: Chile (Section 2.2.3). In this relationship, Chile acts as the 'metropolitan core' supplying Easter Island or the 'periphery' with economic and

social subsidies in return for the island's service as a military post. This relationship has created Easter Island's condition of dependency or underdevelopment because as Frank points out, the 'real development' of peripheral societies can only occur if such societies become autonomous by separating themselves from the center or core (Peet, 1999:109). Even though Easter Island is administered under a neo-colonial system, Rapanui officials remain underrepresented in the decision-making process concerning development strategies and continue to be economically dependent on Chile for future development endeavours. Rather than appointing Rapanui officials as active members within the development process, the relationship established by Chile has placed the Rapanui in a subaltern position rendering them subordinate to Chile (Sections 2.3.1 and 3.2).

Operating within a postcolonialist framework enabled me to examine the subaltern position of the Rapanui within a neo-colonial system in relation to their role in the development process (past and present), as well as incorporate historical anti-colonial resistance in an attempt to understand contemporary Rapanui opposition to the development process (Sections 2.5 and 3.2). The Rapanui's subordinate position has meant the lack of Rapanui participation in the development process over the past three decades, and as a result, different aspects of island development have been and continue to be contested by Rapanui officials and community members in the 21st century because of their lack of power and absence within a pre-established colonial structure. As explained in Section 2.6, Pacific islanders as well as the Rapanui, historically, have protested foreign administrators in order to express their opinions concerning imposed social and economic change because of their subordinate position in relation to colonial administrators.

As discussed in this thesis, the contested nature of development has divided individuals involved in the decision-making process into opposing factions. Without increased Rapanui involvement in future development initiatives, conflicts between these groups will remain active and resistance towards state agencies and the development process will continue to mount. This was demonstrated in the second half of the thesis when participants voiced their objections towards proposals for a new port, lighthouse, and tourist project citing that such projects reflect, for example, Chilean or foreign interests rather than the needs of the Rapanui people. Postcolonialism accredits the Rapanui with a platform to actively declare their discontent towards future development plans and acknowledge their existence with a neo-colonial system (Section 2.5)). After years of foreign and national control, the Rapanui are also fighting to re-claim ancestral rights to the Fundo Vaitea. This challenge to the Chilean state by the Rapanui people is not only to resume their control over ethnic land, but also reflects the need for land as well as for the right to develop this area under Rapanui leadership.

It is uncertain at this point what changes will evolve as a result of future development plans initiated by both Chilean agencies and Rapanui authorities. The second half of the thesis does not attempt to make any recommendations in regards to future development strategies but exposes the different opinions and concerns about future development plans and discusses the position that Rapanui officials and community members would like to occupy in the future. As this thesis demonstrates, the Rapanui are demanding to play a stronger role in the decision-making process concerning future plans. As the Rapanui fight to assume a stronger presence in the development process, they also fight to preserve their cultural identity within a world which continues to evolve and progress.

Conducting research in an international setting was a challenge and as a result, some limitations are evident within this research. The fragmented nature of documents and records collected proved problematic, for example, due to the unavailability of data for particular time periods, incomplete data sets, and inadequate methods of collecting statistical information. Collecting data in a second language placed limitations on the research because of the problems associated with direct translations; data therefore had to be translated within their social and economic context in some instances. I recognize that there is an underrepresentation of female participants; however, the majority of the individuals involved in the decision-making process regarding Easter Island development plans are mainland Chilean and Polynesian Rapanui males. Lastly, I must recognize my inexperience as an academic researcher. Prior to conducting this research, I had limited knowledge of the research methods and little experience in their application.

Nevertheless, I believe my findings to be valid and my research to be rigorous. Baxter and Eyles (1997) argued that the rigour of qualitative research may be demonstrated by the incorporation into the research design of up to eleven strategies (Table 7.1). Of the published work they investigated over the period 1986-1995, only three of the thirty-one projects were found to use more than seven of these strategies. As Table 7.1 shows, nine of these strategies were used in my Easter Island research, indicating a high degree of rigour and the likelihood of research validity.

Because of the absence of literature concentrating on Easter Island contemporary development issues, this thesis is valuable because it provides a descriptive account of the progress of development for the period 1967-2001. More

Table 7.1 Baxter and Eyles (1997) Qualitative Research Strategies

Strategies	Strategies Used on Easter Island	Remarks
1. Rationale for methodology – qualitative methods are the most (or only) appropriate way to address the research question.	X	Qualitative methods utilized to address research questions (Chapter Three)
2. Multiple methods – more than one method is used.	X	Four methods are used (Chapter Three)
3. Respondent – a description of the respondents is provided.	X	Respondents are described in detail (Chapter Three)
4. Interview quotations – the words of the respondent may be read.	X	Respondents' words are quoted (Chapter Six)
5. Interview practices – details of how interviews were conducted is provided.	X	Explanation of the interview process (Chapter Three)
6. Procedures for analysis – a description of how data were converted/condensed is given.	X	Discussion of data analysis (Chapter Three)
7. Immersion/lengthy fieldwork - necessary to develop rapport with respondents and enable a deep understanding of the research.	X	Five months field work in total were completed over two field seasons (Chapter Three)
8. Revisits – respondents are revisited to clarify meanings and build rapport.	X	Second and third interviews were completed with different respondents to clarify meanings (Chapter Three and Chapter Six)
9. Verification by respondents – respondents were contacted to verify interpretations.	In part	For some respondents, in conjunction with second and third interviews
10. Appeals to interpretive community – an existing theory is supported by the research findings.	X	Discussion of findings in relation to existing published research and theory (Chapter Two and Chapters Four through Six)
11. Rationale for verification – rationale showing that there is agreement between interpretations and meanings of respondents is given.	?	Unsure

Source: Baxter and Eyles, 1997:507.

importantly, the second half of the thesis creates a forum for the Rapanui to voice their concerns regarding future development plans. Modernization has occurred at a

rapid rate since the late 1960's and it appears as though it will continue to in the 21st century. Development projects like a new port or tourist project, which many Rapanui participants fear, are very real possibilities in the near future. Land reform has also become an important topic and land-use change, especially in the Vaitea hinterland, is inevitable. This thesis will further provide an understanding of the contested nature of development on Easter Island due to conflicting viewpoints and visions. Lastly, this thesis provides a base-line study that can be used as a starting point for further research on such topics.

References

- Abraham, F.M. (1980). *Perspectives on Modernization: Toward a General Theory of 3rd World Development*. Washington: United Press of America.
- Aeropuerto Internacional Mataveri. (2000). *Office Records*. Isla de Pascua.
- Asian Development Bank (1996). *Sociocultural Issues and Economic Development In The Pacific Islands*.
- Asian Development Bank. (1997). *Roundtable Proceedings on Sociocultural Issues And Economic Development in the Pacific Islands*. Volume II.
- Auty, R. M. (1995). *Patterns of Development, Resources, Policy and Economic Growth*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Autoridades de Rapa Nui Aseguran que Continuara Entrega de Tierras. (1999 December 28). *El Mercurio Valparaiso*, p. 16
- Azaryahu, M. (1999). "McDonald's or Golani Junction? A Case of a Contested Place in Israel." *Professional Geographer* 51(4): 481-492.
- Bahri, D. (1995). "Once More with Feeling: What is Postcolonialism?" *Ariel* 26(1): 51- 82.
- Bahn, P.G., Beardsley, F.R., Delsing, R., Drake, A., Hurst, N., Lee, G., Liller, W., MacIntyre, F., McCall, G., Mills, P., Morin, F., Stevenson, C.M., Wallin, P., And H. Martinsson-Wallin. (May 2001). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 15(1): 54-55.
- Bahn, P.G., Beardsley, F.R., Delsing, R., Drake, A., Hurst, N., Lee, G., Liller, W., MacIntyre, F., McCall, G., Mill, P., Morin, F., Stevenson, C.M., Wallin, P., And H. Martinsson-Wallin. (October 2001). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 15(2): 123-128.
- Bauman, E. (1998). "Re-dressing colonial discourse: Postcolonial Theory and the Humanist Project." *Critical Quarterly* 40(3): 79-89.
- Baxter, J. and J. Eyles. (1997). "Evaluating Qualitative Research." *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers* 22: 505-525.
- Beck, P.J. (1990). International Relations in Antarctica: Argentina, Chile and the Great Powers. In Morris, A. (Ed.), *Great Power Relations in Argentina, Chile and Antarctica* (pp.101-131). London: The Macmillian Press.
- Berry, J. (1980). Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation. In A. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation, Theory, Models and Some New Findings*. Boulder: Westview Press.

- Briguglio, L., Butler, R., Harrison, D., and W.L. Filho. (Eds.) (1996). *Sustainable Tourism in Islands & Small States: Case Studies*. New York: Pinter.
- Britton, S. and Clarke, C. (Eds.) (1987). *Ambiguous Alternative, Tourism in Small Developing Countries*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Britton, S. (1987). Tourism in the Pacific Island States. In Britton, S. and Clarke, C. (Eds.), *Ambiguous Alternative, Tourism in Small Developing Countries* (pp. 113-139). Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Browett, J. (1985). "The Newly Industrializing Countries and Radical Theories of Development." *World Development* 13(7): 789-803.
- ✓ Budd Precht, R. (1990). *Presente y Pasado del Asentamiento en Isla de Pascua*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile, Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo.
- Cámara de Turismo. (2000). *Estudio Sobre Calidad de Los Servicios Y Satisfacción de Los Turistas en Isla de Pascua*. Isla de Pascua.
- Chappell, D.E. (1999). The Postcontact Period. In Rapaport, Moshe (Ed.). *The Pacific Islands Environment & Society* (pp.134-144). Hong Kong: Bell Press.
- Colbert, E. (1997). *The Pacific Islands. Paths to the Present*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Cole, R.V. and T.G. Parry (Eds.) (1986). *Selected Issues in Pacific Island Development*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies.
- Conlin, M.V and T.Baum. (Eds.) (1995). *Island Tourism, Management Principles and Practice*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Consejo de Ancianos o Jefes Rapanui. (1994, August). *La Propiedad de la Tierra Rapanui*. Isla de Pascua.
- Collier, J. (1967). *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method*. USA: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Cooper, C., Fletcher, J., Gilbert, D., and Wanhill, S. (1996). *Tourism: Principles & Practice*. Essex: Longman Group Limited.
- Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (2000). *Programa de Desarrollo Productivo*. Valparaíso.
- Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena. (2000). *Ley Indígena, Ley No° 19.253*. Temuco.
- Corporación Nacional Forestal. (1997). *Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional Rapa Nui*. Santiago.

- Corporación Nacional Forestal. (1976). *Plan de Manejo Parque Nacional Rapa Nui*. Santiago.
- Cowan, G. (1975). Cultural Impact of Tourism with Particular Reference to the Cook Islands. In Finney, B.R., and Watson, K. (Eds.), *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific* (pp.79-86). Honolulu: Center for Pacific Studies
- Creswell, J.W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Dasmann, R.F. (1982). The Environmental Impact of Tourism. In Rajotte, F. (Ed.) (1982). *The Development of Tourism in the Pacific. Papers And Proceedings of a Pacific Wide Conference Held by Satellite* (pp. 48-52). Trent University: Environment and Resource Studies Program.
- de C. Olivares San Juan, E.A. (2000). *Isla de Pascua Diagnóstico Educacional*. Valparaíso: Universidad de Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación, Dirección de Programas Especiales.
- Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M., and Nero, K. (Eds.) (1997). *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Denoon, D. (1997). New Economic Orders: Land, Labour and Dependency. In Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M., and Nero, K. (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands* (pp. 218-252). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Denoon, D. (1997). Land, Labour, and Independent Development. In Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M., and Nero, K. (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands* (pp. 152-183). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Denzin, N.K. and Y.S Lincoln (Eds.) (1998). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Dexter, L.A. (1970). *Elite and Specialized Interviewing*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- * di Castri, F. (2000). "Scenarios of Tourism Development in Easter Island". * *International Journal of Island Affairs* 8(3) :27-40.
- Gobernación Provincial (2001). *Office Records*. Isla de Pascua.
- Dunn, K. (2000). Interviewing. In Hay, I (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods*. (pp. 50-81). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- En Propiedad: Tensión En Pascua Por Tierras. (1998, July 9). *El Mercurio*, p. IC.
- Entel Chile. (2000). *Office Records*. Isla de Pascua.

- Esteva, G. (1992). Development. In Sachs, W., *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power* (pp.6-25). London: Zed Books.
- Eyles, J. and D.M. Smith (Eds.) (1988). *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairbairn, T.I.J. (1985). *Island Economies*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Fagence, M. (1999). Tourism. In Rapaport, M. (Ed.), *The Pacific Islands Environment & Society* (pp.394-403). Hong Kong: Bell Press.
- Finney, B.R. and Watson, K. (Eds.) (1977). *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific*. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Studies.
- Firth, S. (1997). Colonial Administration and the Invention of the Native. In Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M., and Nero, K. (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands* (pp.253-288). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- X Fischer, S.R. (Ed.) (1993). *Easter Island Studies*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Forsyth, P. (1986). Economic Problems of International Transport for the South Pacific Island Economies. In Cole, R.V. and T.G. Parry (Eds.), *Selected Issues in Pacific Island Development* (pp.176-207). Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies.
- Fox, M. (1975). The Social Impact of Tourism – A Challenge to Researchers and Planners. In Finney, B.R., and Watson, K. (Eds.), *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific* (pp.27-48). Honolulu: Center for Pacific Studies.
- Fundación Empresarial Comunidad Europea Chile. (1999). *Informe de Asistencia Técnica Evaluación de Castro de la Planta Turística de Isla de Pascua*. Santiago: Eurochile.
- Gaffaney, T.J. (1995). "Linking Colonization and Decolonization: The Case of Micronesia." *Pacific Studies* 18(2): 23-51.
- Glesne, C. and A. Peshkin. (1992). *Becoming Qualitative Researchers*. White Plains: Longman.
- Gobernación Provincial Isla de Pascua. (1995). *Memoria de Gestión 1994*. Ministerio del Interior, República de Chile.
- Gobernación Provincial Isla de Pascua. (1996). *Memoria de Gestión 1995*. Ministerio del Interior, República de Chile.
- Gobernación Provincial Isla de Pascua. (1999). *Memoria de Gestión 1998*. Ministerio del Interior, República de Chile.

- Guba, Egon G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills CA: Sage.
- Greenhill, P. (1981). *So We Can Remember: Showing Family Photographs*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.
- Guba, Egon G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Halseth, G. (1996). "'Community' and Land-Use Planning Debate: an example from rural British Columbia." *Environment and Planning A* 28: 1279-1298.
- ✓ Hempenstall, P. and Rutherford, N. (1984). *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, Institute of Pacific Studies.
- Henningham, S. and R.J. May. (Eds.) (1992). *Resources, Development and Politics in the Pacific Islands*. Bathurst: Crawford House Press.
- Harrison, D. (1988). *Sociology of Modernization and Development*. London: Unwin Hayman.
- Hettne, B. (1990). *Development Theory and The Three Worlds*. Essex: Longman Scientific and Technical.
- Hettne, B. (1995) (2nd Ed.). *Development Theory and The Three Worlds*. Essex: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Hodder, Ian. (1994). The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture. In Denzin, N. and Y.S Lincoln (Eds.), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 393-403). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Honold, Correa y Asociados, Consultores. (1988). *Estudio Territorial Urbanístico de Isla de Pascua y Reformulación del Plan Regulador Comunal de Hangaroa. Etapa II: Proposición de Alternativas Memoria Explicativa*. Valparaiso: Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, Secretaria Ministerial.
- Institute for Polynesia Studies. (1982). *The Politics of Evolving Cultures in the Pacific Islands: Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Institute for Polynesian Studies*. Hawaii.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. (1993). *Resultados Oficiales Censo de Población (1992) – Población Total País, Regiones Comunas Por Sexo y Edad*. Santiago.
- Isla de Pascua Se Privatiza, Preocupación Internacional por la Tierras de los Moais. (1999, November 21). *El Mercurio*, p. D16.
- Jaffee, D. (1990). *Levels of Socio-Economic Development Theory*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

- Jupp, J. (1982). Custom, Tradition and Reform in Vanuatu Politics. In *The Politics of Evolving Cultures in the Pacific Islands: Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Institute for Polynesian Studies* (pp. 143-158). Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies.
- Kakazu, H. (1994). *Sustainable Development of Small Island Economies*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Kakazu, H. (2000). "Sustainable Tourism Development for Small Islands with Particular Emphasis on Okinawa". *International Journal of Island Affairs* 8(3):15-20.
- Kaitilla, S. (1995). "Principles, Practices, and Conflicts of Customary Land-Use Rights: Emerging Socioeconomic Exchange Systems in Papua New Guinea." *Pacific Studies* 18(4): 95-).
- Kearns, R. A. (2000). Being There: Research Through Observing and Participating. In Hay, I (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods*. (pp. 103-121). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- King, R. (1993). The Geographical Fascination of Islands. In Lockhart, D.G., Drakakis-Smith D., and J. Schembri (Eds.), *The Development Process in Small Island States* (pp.13-37). London: Routledge.
- King, R. (1997). *Creating Island Resorts*. London: Routledge.
- Kloke, C. (1975). South Pacific Economies and Tourism. In Finney, B.R., and Watson, K. (Eds.), *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific* (pp. 3-26). Honolulu: Center for Pacific Studies.
- Knippers- Black, J. (1991). *Development in Theory and Practice, Bridging the Gap*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Knox, J. (1982). Resident Visitor Interaction: A Review of the Literature and General Policy Alternatives. In Rajotte, F. (Ed.), *The Development of Tourism in the Pacific. Papers and Proceedings of a Pacific Wide Conference Held by Satellite*. (pp. 76-107). Trent University: Environment and Resource Studies Program.
- Kozmetsky, G., Matsumoto, H., and Raymond W. Smilor. (Eds.) (1988) *Pacific Cooperation and Development*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Laite, J. (1988). The Sociology of Development. In Leeson, P.F. and M.M. Minogue (Eds.), *Perspectives on Development* (pp.160-193). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Larmour, P. (1982). New Patterns of Entrepreneurship and Politics in Papua New Guinea. In *The Politics of Evolving Cultures in the Pacific Islands: Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Institute for Polynesian Studies* (pp. 159-184). Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies.

- Larrain, J. (1989). *Theories of Development*. Southampton: The Camelot Press.
- Lawson, S. (1997). The Tyranny of Tradition: Critical Reflections of Nationalist Narratives in the South Pacific. In Otto, T. and Thomas, N. (Eds.), *Narratives of Nations in the South Pacific*. (pp. 15-32). The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Lee, G. (Ed.) (1986). "The Runway Controversy." *Rapa Nui Notes* 1:1.
- Lee, G. (Ed.) (Summer 1987). "Development Under Way." *Rapa Nui Notes* 4:2.
- Lee, G. (Ed.) (Fall 1987). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Notes* 5:1.
- Lee, G. (Ed.) (Winter 1987-88) "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Notes* 6:1,7.
- Lee, G. (Ed.) (Summer 1988). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Notes* 2(2): 12.
- Lee, G. and A. Davis-Drake (Eds.) (Spring 1989). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 3(2): 10.
- Lee, G. and A. Davis-Drake (Eds.) (Spring 1990). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 4 (1): 10.
- Lee, G. and A. Davis-Drake (Eds.) (Fall 1990). "What's New in Hangaroa" *Rapa Nui Journal* 4 (3): 48.
- Lee, G. and Alan Davis-Drake (Eds.) (Winter 1990). "What's New in Hangaroa" *Rapa Nui Journal* 4 (4): 49,52.
- Lee, G. (Ed.) (December 1991). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 5(4): 64.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (March 1992). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 6(1): 12-14.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (June 1992). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 6(2): 39-40.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (September 1992). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 6(3): 57-58.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (December 1992). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 6(4): 75-77.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (March 1993). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 7(1): 18-21.

- Lee, G. (Ed.) (March 1994). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 8(1): 21-24.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (June 1994). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 8(2): 46-48.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (September 1994). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 8(3): 81-82.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (December 1994) "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 8(4): 116-117.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (March 1995). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 9(1): 25-28.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (September 1995). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 9(3): 88.
- Lee, G. and F. Morin. (Eds.) (March 1996). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 10(1): 24-25.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., and T. Liller. (Eds.) (June 1996). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 10(2): 45-47.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., and T. Liller. (Eds.) (September 1996). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 10(3): 63-65.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., and T. Liller. (Eds.) (December 1996). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 10(4): 117-118.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., Liller, T., and A. Padgett. (Eds.) (March 1997). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 11(1): 41-45.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., Liller, T., and A. Padgett. (Eds.) (June 1997). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 11(2): 95-97.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., Liller, T., and A. Padgett. (Eds.) (March 1998). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 12(1): 22-26.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., Liller, T., and A. Padgett. (Eds.) (June 1998). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 12(2): 48-55.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., and T. Liller. (Eds.) (September 1998). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 12(3): 88-93.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., Liller, T., and A. Padgett. (Eds.) (December 1998). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 12(4): 122-124.
- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., Liller, T., and A. Padgett. (Eds.) (September 1999). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 13(3): 84-86.

- Lee, G., Morin, F., Drake, A., Liller, T., and A. Padgett. (Eds.) (December 1999). "What's New in Hangaroa." *Rapa Nui Journal* 13(4): 120-121.
- Leys, C. (1996). *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory*. Islington: James Curry.
- Li, Peter. (1981). *Social Research Methods An Introduction*. Toronto: Butterworth.
- Liceo Lorenzo Baeza. (2000). *Office Records*. Isla de Pascua.
- Linnekin, J. (1997). Contending Approaches. In Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M., and Nero, K. (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands* (pp. 3-31). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Linnekin, J. (1997). New Political Orders. In Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M., and Nero, K. (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands* (pp. 185-215). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lockwood, V., Harding, T.G. and Wallace, B. (Eds.) (1993). *Contemporary Pacific Societies. Studies in Development and Change*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Lockwood, V. (1993). An Introduction to Contemporary Pacific Societies. In Lockwood, V., Harding, T.G. and Wallace, B. (Eds.), *Contemporary Pacific Societies. Studies in Development and Change* (pp.1-18). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Lockwood, V. (1993). Welfare State Colonialism in Rural French Polynesia. In Lockwood, V., Harding, T.G. and Wallace, B. (Eds.), *Contemporary Pacific Societies. Studies in Development and Change* (pp.81-98). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Lodeiro, A. (2000, January 4). La Batalla en Ombligo del Mundo. *El Metropolitano*, p.6.
- Lofland, J. and L.H. Lofland. (1995). *Analyzing Social Settings, A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Loizos, P. (1993). *Innovation in Ethnographic Film*. Chicago: Manchester University Press.
- Loomba, A. (1998). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Marsh, J.S. (1987). National Parks and Tourism in Small Developing Countries. In Britton, S. and Clarke, C. (Eds.), *Ambiguous Alternative, Tourism in Small Developing Countries*. (pp. 25-45). Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Matthews, H.G. and L.K. Richter. (1991). "Political Science and Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 18: 120-135.

- Matulic, G.E.Z. (1995). *Recopilación de Leyes Chilenas Sobre Indigenas Con Especial Referencia a la Etnia Rapa Nui*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile, Facultad de Derecho.
- McCall, G. (1981). *Rapanui, Tradition and Survival on Easter Island*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- McCall, G. (1994). (2nd Ed.) *Rapanui, Tradition and Survival on Easter Island*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- McElroy, J.L., de Albuquerque, K. and E. L. Towle. (1987) "Old Problems and New Directions for Planning Sustainable Development in Small Islands." *Ekistics* 323/324: 93-100.
- Michel, M. (1995). "Positioning the Subject: Locating Postcolonial Studies." *Ariel* 26(1): 81-99.
- Mikihara, M. (1999). *Bilingualism, Social Change, and the Politics of Ethnicity on Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Chile*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services.
- Miller, J. and B. Glasner. (1997). The 'Inside' and the 'Outside': Finding Realities in Interviewing. In Silverman, D (Ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* (pp.99-112). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Ministerio de Educación. *Documento: Historia de la Educación Formal en Isla de Pascua*. Santiago.
- Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación (MIDEPLAN) (2000). *Documento de Información Comunal: Region de Valparaiso, Provincia de Isla de Pascua, Comuna de Isla de Pascua*.
- Mishra, V. and B. Hodge. (1994). What is Post (-) Colonialism? In Williams, Patrick and Laura Chrisman (Eds), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (pp.276-290). Cambridge: University Press.
- Montero, M.R. (1991). "Some Thoughts on Rapa Nui Tourism and its Impact on the Island's Cultural Heritage." *Rapa Nui Journal* 5(4): 66.
- Municipalidad, Isla de Pascua. (1996). *Plan Annual de Educativo Municipal*. Isla De Pascua.
- Nero, K. (1997). The Material World Re-made. In Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M., and Nero, K. (Eds.). *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands* (pp. 359-396). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nuevo Uso del Suelo en Isla de Pascua. (2000, May 10). *El Mercurio*.
- ODEPLAN (Oficina de Planificación Nacional). *Plan de Desarrollo de Departamento de Isla de Pascua 1971-1976*. Santiago: ODEPLAN.

- ODEPLAN (Oficina de Planificación Nacional). *Isla de Pascua, Programa de Desarrollo 1986-1990*. Santiago: ODEPLAN.
- Oficina Provincial Isla de Pascua, Parque Nacional Rapa Nui. (1998, October). *Ocupantes Anakena*. Isla de Pascua: Jefe Provincial CONAF Isla de Pascua.
- Otto, T. and Thomas, N. (Eds.) (1997). *Narratives of Nations in the South Pacific*. The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Pascuenses Temen Efectos de Invasión Turística a al Isla. (1998, August 16). *El Mercurio*.
- Patton, M.Q. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Pearce, P.L. (1982). *The Social Psychology of Tourist Behaviour*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Pearce, D. (1989). *Tourist Development*. England: Longman Scientific & Technical.
- Peet, R. with E. Hartwick. (1999). *Theories of Development*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Piden Detener Entrega de Terrenos en Isla de Pascua. (2000, January 7). *El Día de La Serena*.
- Porteous, D. (1981). *The Modernization of Easter Island*. Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria.
- Porteous, D. and S. Smith. (2001). *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Prasad, P. (1987). The Impact of Tourism on Small Developing Countries. In Britton, S. and Clarke, W. (Eds.), *Ambiguous Tourism, Tourism in Small Developing Countries* (pp. 9-15). Suva: University of the South Pacific.
- Preston, P.W. (1985). *New Trends in Development Theory. Essays in Development and Social Theory*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Rajotte, F. (Ed.) (1982). *The Development of Tourism in the Pacific. Papers and Proceedings of a Pacific Wide Conference Held by Satellite*. Trent University: Environment and Resource Studies Program.
- Rapaport, M. (Ed.) (1999). *The Pacific Islands, Environment & Society*. Honolulu: The Bess Press.
- Rapley, J. (1996). *Understanding Development Theory. Essays in Development And Social Theory*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Ray, S. and H. Schwarz. (1995). "Postcolonial Discourse: The Raw and the Cooked." *Ariel* 26(1): 147-166.
- Reid, H.E. (1967). *A World Away, A Canadian Adventure on Easter Island*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd.
- Rochna-Ramirez, S. (1996). *La Propiedad de la Tierra en Isla de Pascua*. Santiago: Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena.
- Rodman, W.L. (1993). The Law of the State and the State of Law in Vanuatu. In Lockwood, V., Harding, T.G. and Wallace, B. (Eds.). *Contemporary Pacific Societies. Studies in Development and Change* (pp. 55-66). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Routledge, S. (1919). *The Mystery of Easter Island*. London: Hazell, Watson and Viney.
- Routledge, P. (1997). "The Imagineering of Resistance." *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers* 22: 359-376.
- SASIPA. (2000). *Office Records*. Isla de Pascua.
- Samy, J. (1975). Crumbs From the Table? The Workers Share of Tourism. In Finney, B.R. and Watson, K. (Eds.), *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific*. (pp. 111-124). Honolulu: Center for Pacific Studies.
- Schoenberger, E. (1991). "The Corporate Interview as a Research Method in Economic Geography." *The Professional Geographer* 43(2): 180-189.
- Schuurman, F.J. (1993). *Beyond The Impass, New Directions in Development Theory*. London: Zed Books.
- Seidman, I.E. (1991). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Research in Education and the Social Sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Seidman, I.E. (1998). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Research in Education and the Social Sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Selwyn, P. (1978). *Small, Poor and Remote: Islands at a Geographical Disadvantage*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- SERNATUR. (2000). *Office Records*. Isla de Pascua.
- Smith, M. (1982). Resetting the Bones of Culture: The Beginnings of Micronesian Land Registration. In *The Politics of Evolving Cultures in the Pacific Islands: Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Institute for Polynesian Studies* (pp.90-110). Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies.
- Smith, S.L.J. (1988). "Defining Tourism: A Supply-Side View." *Annals of Tourism Research* 15: 179-190.

- Smith, V.L. (1992). Boracay, Philippines: A case Study in "Alternative Tourism". In Smith, V.L. and Eadington, W.R. (Eds.), *Tourism Alternatives* (pp. 135-157). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Smith, F.M. (1996). "Problematising Language: Limitations and Possibilities in 'Foreign Language' Research." *Area* 28(2): 160-166.
- ✓ Stevenson, C.M., Lee, G., and F.J. Morin. (Eds.) (1998). *Easter Island in Pacific Context, South Seas Symposium*. Santa Barbara: The Easter Island Foundation.
- Suda, Z. (1981). Socioeconomic System as a Variable in the Modernization Process. In Mustava, A., Holzner, B. and Suda, Z. (Eds.), *Modernization Theory, Research and Realities*. (pp.53-74). Boulder: Westview Press.
- Szirmai, A. (1997). *Economic and Social Development*. Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall Europe.
- Tisdell, C. (1993). "Project Appraisal, The Environment and Sustainability for Small Islands." *World Development* 21(2): 213-219.
- Urry J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage Publications.
- Vargas Casanova, P. (1990). *Isla de Pascua – Base para la Formulación de un Programa de Desarrollo – Arqueología, Antropología y Urbanismo*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile – Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo, Instituto de Estudios Isla de Pascua.
- Vellas, F. (2000). "International Tourism and Air Transport in Small Islands". *International Journal of Island Affairs* 8(3): 21-26.
- Verhelst, T. G. (1987). *No Life Without Roots, Culture and Development*. Trans. Bob Cumming. London: Zed Books.
- Walker, R. (ed.) (1985). *Applied Qualitative Research*. Aldershot: Gower.
- Wilson, D. (1991). "Sustainable Development in New Caledonia." *Pacific Affairs* 64(4): 489-505.

Appendix 1
Letter of First Contact
(English Version)

Name
Position
Address
Town/City, State
Postal Code

Date

Dear Sir,

I am conducting research for my Master's Degree in Geography at the University of Victoria, British Columbia in Canada. My project is titled "*The Development of Easter Island 1967-2001*" and will document the social, economic and political development of the island since the arrival the first commercial flight in 1967. Furthermore, I am interested in examining future development visions of the island as seen through the eyes of international, national, and Rapanui stakeholders.

I am coming to Hangaroa at the beginning of May 2000 for three months and would like to meet with you to discuss future visions for the development of Easter Island. I wish to speak with you because of the significant role you have played in the development of the island.

Participation in this research would involve meeting with me for an informal interview in which you will be asked questions regarding the future development of the island (e.g. land reform, major changes in infrastructure, future projects, effects on the economy and heritage landscapes, and National Park maintenance). Participation in this research is completely voluntary. Results of the research will be disseminated in the form of a written thesis and will not be used for commercial or any other purposes.

If you have the time and are able to participate, please send a reply to:

Tania Shephard-Toomey
Department of Geography
University of Victoria
P.O. Box 3050
Victoria, British Columbia V8W 3P5
Canada

I can also be reached by phone at (home) (250) 384-4677 or by email: ttoomey@uniserve.com.
I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Tania Shephard-Toomey
University of Victoria
Department of Geography

Appendix 2
Consent Form for Participation in the Study
(English Version)

“The Development of Easter Island 1967-2001

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *The Development of Easter Island 1967-2001* that is being conducted by Tania Shephard-Toomey. Tania Shephard-Toomey is a graduate student in the department of Geography at the University of Victoria, BC, Canada and you may contact her if you have further questions by calling (250) 721-7345 (work) and (250) 384-4677 (home) or email: ttoomey@office.geog.uvic.ca.

The research is part of the requirements for a degree in Geography and it is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Douglas Porteous. You may contact the supervisor at (250) 721-7330 (work) and (250) 381-5592 (home).

The purpose of this research project is to produce a historico-geographical account focusing on the social, economic, and political development of Easter Island since the construction of the first airstrip in the late 1960's. The two questions to be examined are:

1. How has Easter Island been managed since 1967?
2. What are the future development visions of the hinterland held by international, national, and local stakeholders?

The objectives of the research are thus to provide a descriptive analysis of development since 1967 and to examine future development visions of the hinterland by various stakeholders.

Research of this type is important because it will provide a current account of the development of the island producing an important base-line study of the social, economic, and political development since 1967. It will further provide an understanding of the contested nature of development on Easter Island due to conflicting viewpoints and visions.

You are being asked to participate in this study because of your participation in the past and/or present social, economic, and political development of the island.

If you agree to participate in this research, your participation will include responding to a set of semi-structured questions regarding future development visions and initiatives on the island. The interview will last between one and two hours. You will be asked to participate in a follow-up interview if necessary. There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

The potential benefits of your participation in this research include providing an understanding of current development issues as well as future visions regarding the social, economic, and political development of the island.

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study, your data will be used in the research with your permission. If you do not wish the data to be included, collected data will immediately be destroyed.

In terms of protecting your anonymity, your name and position will be coded with pseudonyms as soon as the research commences. Coded information will be stored in a locked compartment in a secure location.

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by coding all collected information. Collected data will be contained in a locked compartment in a secure location. Access will be restricted to myself and my supervisor.

Data from this study will be disposed of following the completion of my thesis dissertation. Tape cassettes will be erased, electronic files will be deleted, and all written material will be shredded.

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others through a written thesis. Final copies will be provided to the Easter Island museum and library in Hangaroa.

In addition to being able to contact the researcher and the supervisor at the above phone numbers, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Associate Vice President Research at the University of Victoria (250-721-7968).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researcher.

Participant Signature

Date

A COPY OF THIS CONSENT WILL BE LEFT WITH YOU, AND A COPY WILL BE TAKEN WITH THE RESEARCHER

Appendix 3
Interview Questions

Respondents were engaged in a conversation regarding future visions concerning proposed infrastructure projects (e.g. new port, lighthouse, idea for a resort/golf course, and new airport terminal/control tower) and the development of the hinterland (e.g. Fundo Vaitea and portions of the Rapa Nui National Park). Respondents were asked similar questions on each of the above topics. In some cases, questions were slightly modified if respondents required clarification on a question or failed to answer a question.

Interview 1

There have been discussions over the years to build a new port in La Pérouse. Do you think the island needs a larger port?

- What are the benefits and/or risks associated with a new port?
- Do you agree with its intended location (La Pérouse)?
- What are the impacts on the surrounding environment?
- Can improvements be made to the existing infrastructure at Hanga Piko?

The Chilean Navy has proposed the construction of a “monumental lighthouse”. Would this lighthouse serve any purpose?

- Do you agree with its intended location?

A new airport terminal is to be built in order to modernize services. Do you support this decision?

A new control tower will be built in the near future, however, it has been proposed that it be designed in the form of a moai. What do you think about this idea?

The state is in the process of delivering land from Vaitea to awaiting Rapanui. Why is the return of this area so important to the Rapanui people?

- Are there any problems associated with the delivery process?
- Once land has successfully been delivered, how will the area be developed? Rural Development? Urban development? Tourism? Agriculture?
- Are there any potential problems with the development of this area? For example, there are no development plans or regulations governing development.

To attend to the demand for land, the state has proposed that suitable areas from within the Rapa Nui National Park be portioned for subsistence use. Do you agree with this?

- What are some of the impacts this might have on the archaeological sites?

Interview 2

A second interview was conducted only if further questions arose or information provided from the first interview required clarification.

Appendix 4
Interview Guidelines for Participants
(English Version)

“The Development of Easter Island 1967-2001”

Interview Guidelines

The development of Easter Island is being researched in order to provide a descriptive analysis of the social, economic, and political development since 1967 and to examine future development initiatives as envisioned by international, national, and local representatives. Your participation will involve an informal interview approximately one to two hours in length. If necessary, a follow-up interview will be conducted. The purpose of the interview is to have an open discussion about future development visions and initiatives regarding non-inhabited land on Easter Island (e.g. National Park land). Topics will include: land reform, major changes in island infrastructure, future projects (airport and port development), the effects on the economy and heritage landscapes, National Park maintenance, and land control issues.

Prior to the interview attempt to read over the questions below and if possible, write down anything that you feel is important to the questions. Please keep in mind that there are no “correct answers”. If you have any questions prior to or after the interview, please contact me by phone or email.

Interview:

This interview will discuss your thoughts regarding future development visions and initiatives concerning non-inhabited land (National Park and surrounding areas) on the island. What should non-inhabited land be used and why? Tourism? Infrastructure improvements? Farming? How could such changes be implemented? Who has the right to make such changes? What are the benefits or risks involved with such changes? How would such changes affect local Rapanui people? (positive or negative). The cultural patrimony of the island? The National Park? What changes should not occur and why?

Follow-up Interview:

If necessary, you will be asked to participate in a brief follow-up interview. This interview will be conducted if I have further questions or require clarification on the information you have provided. This interview will be shorter, approximately 45 to 60 minutes in length.

Tania Shephard-Toomey
 Student Researcher

Telephone: Hotel number
 Email: ttoomey@office.geog.uvic.ca

VITA

Surname: Shephard-Toomey Given Names: Tania Margaret

Place of Birth: Rochester, Minnesota

Educational Institutions Attended:

University College of the Fraser Valley 1992 to 1997

Degrees Awarded:

B.A. University College of the Fraser Valley 1997

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis to users of the University of Victoria, and to make copies only for such users in response to a request from the library or any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the university designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain by the University of Victoria shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis:

The Development of Easter Island 1967-2001

Author



Tania Shephard-Toomey
April 24, 2002