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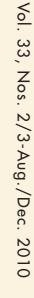## Studies

The Jonathan Napela Center for
Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY HAWAI'I

PACIFIC STUDIES

A multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study
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PACIFIC STUDIES

GENEALOGIES

ARTICULATING INDIGENOUS ANTHROPOLOGY IN/OF OCEANIA

Guest Editors
Ty P. Kāwika Tengan
Tēvita O. Kaʻili
Rochelle Tuitagavaʻa Fonoti

PACIFIC STUDIES

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SPECIAL ISSUE

GENEALOGIES: ARTICULATING INDIGENOUS ANTHROPOLOGY
IN/OF OCEANIA

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GENEALOGIES: ARTICULATING INDIGENOUS ANTHROPOLOGY IN/OF OCEANIA

Ty P. Kāwika Tengan
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He miki oe Kane;	You are active, Kāne;
He miki oe Kanaloa.	You are active, Kanaloa.
O Kane hea oe?	Which Kāne are you?
O Kanaloa hea oe?	Which Kanaloa are you?
O Kane inu awa;	You are Kāne the 'awa drinker;
O Kanaloa inu awa.	You are Kanaloa the 'awa drinker.
Mai Kahiki ka awa,	From Kahiki came the 'awa,
Mai Upolu ka awa,	From 'Upolu came the 'awa,
Mai Wawau ka awa.	From Vava'u came the 'awa.
E hano awa hua,	Homage to the frothy 'awa,
E hano awa pauaka,	Homage to the well-strained 'awa,
Halapa i ke akua i laau wai la e!	May the essence reach unto the gods!
Amama, ua noa,	The tabu is lifted, removed,
Lele wale aku la ka pule e.	The prayer flies away.

This chant is a Kanaka ʻŌiwi Maoli (Indigenous Hawaiian) prayer used in an offering of *ʻawa* or *kava* (Piper methysticum), an Oceanic plant whose root is pounded and brewed into a soporific drink for ceremonial and social purposes.[1] The prayer is also a genealogy of the ʻawa, citing its origins in the ancestral homelands of Tahiti, Marquesas, Samoa (ʻUpolu) and Tonga (Vavaʻu), and referring to Kanaloa (Tangaloa/Tagaloa/Tangaroa), a common ancestor for people from Eastern Moana/Oceania. As with all genealogies, this one tells a story; or rather, it creates a context for the telling of stories. Also, genealogies create the conditions for debate, particularly when it comes to making claims on status, rank, authority, and mana (spiritual power, prestige), especially in matters of succession. We would like to suggest that articulating visions of anthropology's future, at least from an Indigenous Oceanic perspective, can be done only through genealogical work—the search for, production, and transformation of connections across time and space.

In this introduction, we recount our journey through the four consecutive meetings (2005–2008) of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) where we talanoa (Halapua 2003), debated, and enacted our genealogies as Indigenous anthropologists. All of the contributors to this special issue but two (Anae and Barker) attended at least one meeting. At the last three ASAO meetings, Tengan recited the chant above as we conducted articulated ʻawa/ʻava/kava ceremonies in San Diego, California, Charlottesville, Virginia, and Canberra, Australia. The nineteenth-century Hawaiian intellectual David Malo recorded this particular chant as a part of a ritual that dedicated and blessed a newly constructed *waʻa* (canoe).[2] Born around 1793, Malo was trained as a traditional genealogist for the ruling chiefs and educated at the first American missionary seminary in the islands. Along with other Hawaiian scholars, he interviewed knowledgeable elders and collected traditions, histories, stories, chants, and genealogies that both Native Hawaiians and anthropologists (and Native Hawaiian anthropologists) draw upon today in their efforts to reconstruct ancient lifeways.

One might be tempted to call Malo and his cohort of oral historians the first Indigenous ethnographers of Hawaiʻi, but they had their own name—the *ʻAhahui ʻImi i nā Moʻolelo Kahiko* (Association for the Seeking of Ancient Histories and Stories) (Arista 2007, x; Chun 2006, xiv–xv; Kamakau 1865). Contemporary Kanaka Maoli scholars are looking at the writings of their nineteenth-century forebears not only for their findings but also for their frameworks. Hawaiian historian Noelani Arista argues for *ʻimi loa*—a term embedded in the older Indigenous association's name—as a mode of Indigenous inquiry. The definition provided in the Hawaiian dictionary,

first-authored by the prolific twentieth-century Hawaiian ethnographer Mary Kawena Pukui,[3] reads: "to seek far, explore; distant traveler, explorer. *Fig.*, one with great knowledge or avaricious for knowledge" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 100).

Indeed, genealogies lead us to seek far into our past for answers to modern-day questions of who we are, where we belong, and where we are going (Kame ʻeleihiwa 1992, 19–23). Indigenous peoples of the great *Moana* (Pacific Ocean) today have returned to genealogies in their efforts to reconnect with ancestors, living relatives, and birth sands[4] in a multitude of cultural and political projects (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2005). One of the watershed moments came with the construction and sailing of a Hawaiian–Polynesian double-hulled voyaging canoe called the *Hōkūleʻa,* which began initially as an effort by University of Hawaiʻi anthropologist Ben Finney to put to rest any academic questions of Indigenous colonization of the Pacific two millennia prior (Finney 2003; Tengan 2008, 54–55). To do this, Finney worked with other Native Hawaiians and locals to form the Polynesian Voyaging Society and to build the canoe. They enlisted the help of master navigator Mau Piailug, from Satawal (in the Federated States of Micronesia), to help steer her on a voyage to Tahiti using only the stars, winds, currents, and natural elements. The 1976 voyage was a success, leading many Pacific Islanders to look anew at a genealogy of voyaging and exploration—one of ʻimi loa (Finney 2003; Diaz 1997).

The waʻa—hewn from upland forest trees, lashed together with interconnecting sennit fibers and propelled by wind-filled sails of woven pandanus—is perhaps the most potent of oceanic vessels for connection and linkage between people, place, and gods. A number of scholars have argued for the centrality of the canoe as metaphor for Pacific studies and identity formation because it focuses attention on cultural epistemologies and ontologies, our ways of knowing and being that highlight the rooted, routed, and collective nature of such undertakings (Diaz and Kauanui 2001, 322; Hau'ofa 2008:81; Teaiwa 2005).

We approach anthropology similarly but with an emphasis on the place of genealogy. As such, we highlight the importance of *cordage*, the primary symbol and embodiment of genealogical lines of connection. The Hawaiian term *ʻaha* refers to braided sennit cords, religious ceremonies, and chiefly assemblies. Traditional genealogists carried knotted ʻaha as they recited genealogies such as the Kumulipo. As Māhina (this issue) relates, the Tongan art of lashing is a genealogy of intersecting lines and spaces. In Moana societies, braided cords *ʻaha/ʻafa/kafa* were the primary materials for *lalava*, the ancient art of lashing. The relations between ʻaha/ʻafa/kafa

and genealogy is metaphorically expressed in the Tongan saying, *"kafa taha,"* that signifies the Indigenous idea that people who are connected are bound together by a single cord. The ʻaha/ʻafa/kafa also marks kinship rank. For instance, the Fijian kava bowl has a sennit cord with a cowrie shell that points toward the highest ranking chief in the circle. Finally, the ʻawa ceremony we conducted at the ASAO was an ʻaha; in the canoe ceremony, it is conducted after the lashing has been completed and the vessel is ready to be launched.

In the next section, we provide our own brief narratives of our individual journeys that brought us to anthropology (see Fig. 1). In our life stories, we point to the ways that our subjectivities (like those of our other contributors) are formed at the intersection of multiple lines of personal, familial, cultural, educational, and professional genealogy. In subsequent sections, we recite the genealogy of our ASAO sessions while also documenting those events ethnographically as sites of Indigenous anthropology. We examine the themes of indigeneity, articulation, and genealogy that served as frameworks for our conversations. Also, we draw upon the ideas presented in the contributions to this special issue, seeking to weave together various strands of knowledge and culture to form a *fala* (pandanus mat) upon which future Indigenous anthropologists and their supporters may gather together to sit and drink of the blood in the kava bowl as we search for "the cord brought by Tangaloa from above" (Hauʻofa 2008, 180). It is with cordage that we stitch together the sails of matting to propel our canoe further into the ocean realm of Tangaloa. Bound by lineages of gods, land, and sea, we search for new ways to relate to community, academy, and each other.

Origin Stories: Our Genealogies

Tengan: My father is a third-generation Okinawan American from Oʻahu and a retired Lieutenant Colonel in the U.S. Army. My mother is a retired prosecutor from Maui and is Hawaiian, Portuguese, and German. My routes go through army bases (in Germany, the United States, Hawaiʻi), Catholic schools and churches, Kamehameha High School for Native Hawaiians, Ivy League Dartmouth College, and the verdant valley of Mānoa and its University of Hawaiʻi (UH) campus. Elsewhere, I have spoken about my struggles reconciling my ʻŌiwi and my anthropological identities (Tengan 2001, 2005, 2008, 25–29; White and Tengan 2001, 398–89). For genealogical purposes, I'd like to go back to a particularly meaningful point of departure.

In high school, I accompanied a performing arts group from Kamehameha Schools that was part of a delegation from Hawai'i in attendance at an important ceremony at the *marae* (temple site) of Taputapuatea on the island of Ra'iatea, Society Islands. The event marked the rebirth of Polynesian voyaging and navigation sparked by the *Hōkūle'a* and Mau Piailug (Finney 2003). I was sent not as a dancer, chanter, or musician but as one of three student government leaders whose job it was to obtain "Hawaiian leadership skills" by joining the Kamehameha performing arts group, taking part in their daily activities, and learning through doing. When I look back on it now, it was the first time I did Indigenous ethnography. It changed my life forever because I found a profound sense of (re)connection to the people, land, and spirits of Kahiki/Tahiti, from whence came my ancestors on their canoes, carrying communities, life, and 'awa. Although I did not know it at the time, two of my future mentors were also in attendance there: Ben Finney, UH professor of anthropology, and Sam Ka'ai, master craftsman, former crewmember, and 'awa ceremony conductor for the *Hōkūle'a*.

I went on to complete a Bachelor of Arts degree in anthropology and Native American studies at Dartmouth College, writing an honors thesis on Hawaiian voyaging canoes and cultural nationalism. Then I returned to Hawai'i for my graduate studies, where the collective background and knowledge of my committee members Geoffrey White, Ben Finney, Noenoe Silva, Christine Yano, and Vilsoni Hereniko represented an articulation of Indigenous and nonindigenous intellectual and political traditions rooted in/routed through Hawai'i and the Pacific. I met other 'Ōiwi graduate students, including Lynette Cruz, Kēhau Abad, Kekuewa Kikiloi, and Lahela Perry; together we imagined a more relevant, responsible and meaningful Hawaiian anthropology and archaeology. I took classes in Hawaiian language and Hawaiian studies from *kumu* (teachers) including Haunani-Kay Trask, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Puakea Nogelmeier, Laiana Wong, and Kekeha Solis, and I visited *kūpuna* (elders) and *mānaleo* (native speakers) such as Harry Fuller, Lolena Nicholas, Eddie Kaanana, Tuti Kanahele, Lydia Hale, and Kawika Kapahulehua (the first captain of the *Hōkūle'a*).

Perhaps the most important event for me was the "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge" symposium convened by Vince Diaz and Kēhaulani Kauanui at Santa Cruz in 2000.[5] They offered the traditional Carolinian navigational concept of *etak* (triangulation) "as a native style of analysis and mode of politics" (2001, 316). They write, "As a technique for successful travel, whose urgent stakes are the peoples' survival and stewardship of place, triangulating among moving islands in a fluidic pathway involves a

clear and unambiguous sense of one's place at all times. . . . To lose one's place, to not know where one's island is, or to no longer be possessed by that island, is to be perilously lost at sea" (p. 317). I felt like I was on the canoe of Māui, the great navigator, chief, demigod, ancestor, and trickster of Polynesia known for "fishing new lands from the bottom of the sea" (Kameʻeleihiwa 2003, 15). The ancient Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogical chant Kumulipo, which tells of the creation of the world and the emergence of people, notes that Māui's task required not only the guidance of his ancestors (the stars), but also the procurement of the mystical cord and fishhook Mānaiakalani that would enable "*O ka lou [a]na o na moku I hui ka moana kahiko.*" Queen Liliʻuokalani, the Hawaiian monarch illegally overthrown by the U.S. military and White businessmen in 1893, translated this line as, "When the hook catches land, twill bring the old seas together" (Liliʻuokalani 1897 [1978], 77). This line is especially fruitful to think with as we consider the work of genealogy (the cord and the hook) in connecting people, gods, lands, and seas in an effort to reclaim knowledge and contest imperialism in the Pacific. It was there on the edge of Oceania that the descendants of the ancient Moana were brought together in a moment of cultural, intellectual, and political ferment. It is this mana and connection that I have sought to replicate as I have worked with Kaʻili, Fonoti, and all the other participants in our ASAO sessions and beyond. At home in Hawaiʻi, I have had the privilege of joining other ʻŌiwi archaeologists and anthropologists led by Sean Nāleimaile who have formed a group called Nākiʻi Ke Aho, a name given to us by Aunty Ulu Garmon that translates as "The Cord is Tied" and reminds us that we are bound to our *kuleana* (responsibilities) to ensure the integrity of our sacred places.

Kaʻili: My genealogical pathways to Indigenous anthropology are riddled with detours. At the early age of five, I started my many years of transnational travel between Tonga and the United States. My parents, Tēvita and Lakalaka, lived in Kolofoʻou, Tongatapu, and my maternal grandparents, Tonga and ʻAna Mālohifoʻou, lived in Salt Lake City, Utah. I attended elementary, junior high, and high schools both in Tonga and in the United States. In the United States, my grandfather bequeathed to me knowledge of "traditional" Tongan culture. This "home school" was my introduction to "the study of culture." In college, I took a different route from the study of culture. I studied accounting and psychology as an undergraduate student. After my graduation from college, I worked as an accountant and, later, as an assistant to a clinical psychologist. Several years later, I returned to school and studied for a master's degree in social work. It was during my years as a social work graduate student that I stumbled upon anthropology. Up to this point, I had never taken a single anthropology class. As a social worker, I encountered many Tongans and Samoans. While working

with them, I developed an interest in the intersection between culture and social work. It was during this time that I began to ask my grandfather serious questions about Tongan culture—that is, kinship, language, oratory, protocols, oral traditions, genealogies, etc. My interaction with my grandfather was my first "fieldwork" or "homework" (see also Teaiwa 2004). Also, I searched for writings on culture. This search led me to works by Frantz Fanon, Edward W. Gifford, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, Haunani-Kay Trask, Masiu Moala, Teresia K. Teaiwa, Bell Hooks, Helen Morton (1996), and Cathy Small. In addition, I read the writings of Indigenous Tongan scholars such as Futa Helu,[6] Epeli Hau'ofa, Sione Lātūkefu, 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, and 'Okusitino Māhina. Also, I became involved with organizations such as the National Tongan American Society, Pacific American Foundation (PAF), the National Pacific American Leadership Institute (NAPALI), the Tonga Research Association (TRA),[7] and the Lo'au Research Society (LRS). Along the way, I began to envision myself as an anthropologist. My vision of anthropology was also influenced by the heroic legends of freedom fighter Māui and the social architect/seer Lo'au. I made up my mind to be an anthropologist after I read 'Okusitino Māhina's seminal Tongan article *Traditions and Conflicts: A Look at the Past from the Present* (1992b), Epeli Hau'ofa's groundbreaking article *Our Sea of Islands* (1994), and Cathy Small's well-known ethnography *Voyages: From a Tongan Village to American Suburbs* (1997). Even though I was very critical of the imperialism and colonialism of anthropological studies, I was determined to pursue a doctorate in anthropology. My decision to study anthropology was somehow a return to my roots—to the subject that was first introduced to me by my grandfather. In 2000, I began my doctoral studies in sociocultural anthropology at the University of Washington (UW) in Seattle. At UW, I studied under Miriam Kahn, who was mentored first by Margaret Mead and later by Jane Goodale (Kahn 1981). Miriam Kahn provides me with a direct genealogical links to Franz Boaz, the father of American anthropology. Kahn—my professor—was mentored by Margaret Mead, and Mead was mentored by Franz Boas. I am well aware of the controversial nature of Margaret Mead's works in Oceania. However, I acknowledge her in my genealogy because she is one of my intellectual ancestors. Also at the University of Washington, I studied under Barbara McGrath, who did fieldwork among Tongans in both Tongatapu and Seattle. Also, I took courses from Rick Bonus, a Filipino-American Ethnic Studies professor who mentored Pacific Islander students at the University of Washington. Even though I had great mentors at the University of Washington, I must confess it was not always what I expected. After a year of taking graduate courses on the core theories of cultural anthropology, I was disheartened by the

lack of Indigenous theories and worldviews in my anthropology courses. I began to search for writings on Indigenous Moana concepts. I came across the works of Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa (1992), Vilsoni Hereniko (1994, 2000), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Kēhaulani Kauanui, Vicente M. Diaz, Melenaite Taumoefolau, Manulani Meyer, Sitiveni Halapua, David W. Gegeo, and Konai Helu Thaman. At UW, I selectively attended public lectures by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Haunani Kay-Trask, Nainoa Thompson, Kauanoe Kamana , William "Pila" Wilson, and Eva Nani'ole. In addition, I read and debated articles on Native/Indigenous anthropology (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984; Narayan 1993). Up to this point, I had no idea of native/Indigenous anthropology. After reading the articles, I googled "Indigenous anthropology," and lo and behold, I came across Ty Kāwika Tengan's exciting and groundbreaking work on 'Ōiwi anthropology in Hawai'i (Tengan 2001; White and Tengan 2001). I was elated to find a fellow Oceanian who was working on Indigenous anthropology. I immediately emailed Ty. A few days later, Ty replied. For the next few years, Ty and I corresponded via email. In 2001, I attended the Tonga History Association (THA) Conference in Salt Lake City, Utah. The conference provided me with an opportunity to discuss my ideas with scholars of Tongan history and culture. During the conference, I met up with 'Okusitino Māhina, and we talked briefly about *tā* and *vā*—the Tongan sense of time and space. This conversation was not only my introduction to the ideas of tā and vā, but it sparked my interest in the Indigenous concepts of time and space ('Okusitino Māhina, pers. comm., April 3, 2001). Since 2001, the Indigenous concepts of tā and vā have become very influential in my development as a Moana anthropologist (Ka'ili 2008; Māhina this issue). Today, I am one of the leading proponents of the Indigenous-based Tā–Vā (Time–Space) Theory of Reality (Māhina this issue).

One of the pivotal moments in my journey toward Indigenous anthropology transpired in 2003. I had the opportunity to sail, as part of the NAPALI program, on the legendary *Hōkūle'a* from O'ahu to Moloka'i. Bruce Blankenfeld, one of the crew members of the 1978 *Hōkūle'a* voyage, was our captain (Finney 2003, 111). During the voyage, I was in awe of my ancestors' ability to persevere and navigate the open sea. In the closing ceremonial oration, after the voyage, I paid homage and expressed gratitude to our captain, Bruce, by addressing him as a *"toutai"*—a sea warrior. Toutai (or Tautai), a prestigious title, was used throughout the Moana societies. The title points to the genealogical linkages among Oceanians.

In 2004, I reconnected with Ty and encouraged him to organize a session on Indigenous anthropology in the 2005 ASAO Conference. He agreed only if I co-organized it with him. Thus, Ty and I co-organized our first

Indigenous anthropology session in the ASAO Conference in Līhuʻe, Kauaʻi.

Fonoti: Ironically enough, my formal "entry point" into the discipline of anthropology was at ASAO Kauaʻi in 2005, where I first met my advisor Miriam Kahn. At the time, I was based in the American Studies Department at the University of Hawaiʻi in Mānoa and knew I wanted to pursue a doctorate but was uncertain of the discipline to which I wanted to commit. After hearing my paper/presentation, which was loosely based on my master's thesis exploring the tradition of *ta tatau* within the Samoan diaspora, Kahn encouraged me to apply to the University of Washington's anthropology program where Kaʻili was also based. My initial reaction was one of shock; as a young Samoan woman, I was adamant about not wanting to study anthropology in the same way Margaret Mead had infamously produced *Coming of Age in Samoa* (Mead 1928). I was far too wary of the colonial and historical legacy through which *papalagi* anthropologists garnered and upheld reputations as communities within our beloved Oceania were plundered and violated. Furthermore, I detested the callous manner by which many papalagi anthropologists had extracted scientific and empirical data to produce disheartening case studies and doctoral dissertations for self-motive and gain (Wendt 1976; Hauʻofa 2008). Perhaps out of an indignant sense of obligation to Oceanic communities who had been exploited by anthropologists, I was convinced that the trajectory of anthropology was at best demoralizing and counterproductive for Indigenous Pacific peoples. If the discipline had done more "harm" to our communities, how could I consider becoming an anthropologist in lieu of these contested histories? For many of us who claim Oceania as our "home," the discipline of anthropology is synonymous with the colonial encounters and entanglements that have threatened our traditional epistemological ways of knowing.

As a diasporic Samoan, I spent an inordinate amount of time living between sites within our beloved Moana/Oceania; I was born in Auckland, New Zealand, raised in American Samoa and Samoa (formerly Western Samoa) and spent much of my adulthood on Oʻahu in Hawaiʻi. My positionality as an Indigenous Samoan ethnographer committed to articulating and documenting the lived experiences of intergenerational families within diasporic Samoan communities such as west Seattle in Washington, where my dissertation research is currently based, is a conscientious attempt to understand how Samoan families, particularly youth, negotiate specific identity claims associated with *faʻasamoa* as they make sense of places and spaces once they move away from the familiarity of the homeland.

Indigenous Anthropology: Līhuʻe 2005

In February 2005, Kaʻili and Tengan organized an informal session on "Indigenous Anthropology in/of Oceania" at the annual ASAO meeting on the island of Kauaʻi in Hawaiʻi. The event attracted over forty participants, at least half of whom were Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders from all of the major (if still arbitrary) cultural areas of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia; admittedly though, it was very Poly-centric, with an unusually high number of Native Hawaiians in attendance because of the location. Representatives came from colleges and universities across Hawaiʻi, the United States, Canada, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Samoa, Japan, and Taiwan and one from the Papua New Guinea National Museum. Cultural anthropologists were joined by archaeologists, political scientists, cultural geographers, and Pacific Studies scholars. Also, there were at least two participants from Kauaʻi. This international and interdisciplinary breadth points to the ways in which the project of Indigenous anthropology articulates with other forms of engaged scholarship, such as Native Pacific Cultural Studies (Diaz and Kauanui 2001).

We posed the following questions at the outset: What happens when the distinction between the "native" and the "anthropologist" is blurred when the "home" becomes the "field" or when none of these terms seem to apply at all? What do Indigenous perspectives and politics bring to anthropological practice, and what can anthropology offer Indigenous peoples? Indeed, is the concept of indigeneity even useful anymore? If so, how do Indigenous peoples construct and maintain identities and communities in Oceania specifically, and can or should anthropology be a part of those processes?

These queries sprang from a genealogy of feminist, minority, Native, and Indigenous critique within the discipline. Delmos Jones's call for a "native anthropology" that involved "a set of theories based on non-Western precepts and assumptions" (1970, 251) was followed by the reflections of Beatrice Medicine (Lakota) on "Learning to be an Anthropologist and Remaining 'Native'" (1978). On the international front, the 1978 Berg Wartenstein symposium on "Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Cultures" (Fahim 1982) brought together a number of Indigenous anthropologists, including Epeli Hauʻofa of Oceania. Faye Harrison later argued that "an authentic anthropology" could only emerge with a reconciliation of "critical Western and Third and intellectual traditions," a transformation that would need to "come out of the experiences and struggles of Third World peoples in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, and 'the belly of the beast,' namely the 'internal colonies' within the so-called First World" (1997, 2). On the other hand, Kirin Narayan

rejected the fixed distinction between "native" and "nonnative" anthropologists and instead embraced multiplex identities and enactments of hybridity (1993, 94–95). In her 2002 review of the native anthropology literature, Lanita Jacobs-Huey argued that "foregrounding *native* in relation to anthropology, or oneself as a *native* anthropologist, can act as an empowering gesture and critique of the positioning of natives in the stagnant slot of the Other" (p. 800).

At the time of our first ASAO session, Indigenous anthropologists in Oceania had produced a small but important literature on the field. As Māhina (this issue) notes, debates ongoing in the broader discipline found regional articulations in Hauʻofa's (2008, 3–10) critique of outsider anthropology in the Pacific and Professor Ron Crocombe's (1975) reply problematizing insider–outsider boundaries. This exchange inspired Hauʻofa's poem "Blood in the Kava Bowl" (2008, 180–181) that charged "the professor does not know./ He sees the line but not the cord/ for he drinks the kava not tasting its blood" (p. 180). As Selina Tusitala Marsh (1999, 166) points out, "The metaphorical umbilical cord connects all Pacific peoples genealogically to their spiritual parent, the Polynesian god Tangaloa. The familial

FIGURE 1. **Ty Tengan, Tēvita O. Kaʻili, Rochelle Fonoti. 2008 ASAO Annual Meeting, Canberra, Australia.**

relationship between those of common spiritual, mythological parentage means shared identities and knowledge of which the professor is ignorant."

Commenting on the relationship between Pacific Islanders and the field of anthropology in 1975, Hau'ofa bemoaned that "after so many years of involvement, we have produced only one native anthropologist, the late Dr. Rusiate Nayacakalou," with himself as a "poor second" (2008, 8).[8] Louise Morauta was more optimistic in her appraisal of Papua New Guinean anthropology, which she argued was being "decolonised in a more fundamental sense than has so far been described" (1979, 561), because Papua New Guineans were taking up anthropological research in their own ways and for their own purposes and with social and political action as an integral component (p. 566). Māhina later disputed "the insider–outsider distinction as having no intellectual worth, except in the political domain where it rightly belonged" (this issue). Katerina Teaiwa, whose personal and professional trajectories had been shaped by multiple displacements, suggested a focus on "homework, rather than fieldwork" and underwent a process of "unlearning anthropological *and* indigenous authority" (2004, 216).

FIGURE 2. **Kava Ceremony. 2006 ASAO Annual Meeting, San Diego, California.**

On Kauaʻi, we too were looking to displace some old anthropological and Indigenous "truths." Our use of the term "Indigenous" (capitalized), as opposed to "native" (uncapitalized), stemmed from our desire to foreground the claims of Aboriginal Indigenous peoples (defined often in opposition to settler and post-settler nations). Partly this was in contrast to authors such as Narayan and Jacobs-Huey whose writings tended to conflate native with insider. We acknowledged that Indigenous was also often used too loosely and that Native (with a capital N) signified a political meaning of the term in line with our focus on indigeneity. As Diaz (2006, 577) has noted, "In Native Pacific studies, it has become almost customary to underscore the N of Native as a corrective against another historical and cultural effect of colonialism: the conflation between self-identified Native peoples and the nativism of 'local' discourses created by settler colonialism."

Against such colonial impositions, Kanaka Maoli scholar J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (whose genealogy goes back to Kauaʻi) has argued that *moʻokūʻauhau* (genealogy) is the more appropriate anchor for claims to indigeneity. The term moʻo can mean "succession, series, lineage" while kūʻauhau refers to "genealogy, pedigree, old traditions, genealogist, to recite a genealogy," (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 171, 253). Kauanui expounds on other meanings:

> *Moʻo* is also the word for lizard and lizard-like supernatural beings. The imagery of the *moʻo* lizard with visible vertebrae and *kua moʻo* (vertebrae backbone, or to link something together) "is apt and obvious as a simile for sequence of descendants in contiguous unbroken articulation," where one traces his or her genealogy in steps, just as one can follow the vertebrae of the spine (Handy and Pukui 1972, 197; Kaeppler 1982, 85). It is interesting to note that the word *ʻauhau* is used to mean an assessment, tribute, levy, or tax, which indicates the reciprocal relationship between the common people, the chiefs, and the land (Kauanui 2008, 37).

Indeed, some of the most ancient and prestigious chiefly lines (in particular, the Nanaulu) are traceable Kauaʻi, which is itself the geologically oldest of the major Hawaiian Islands. At Kēʻē, in the land division of Hāʻena on the northern tip of Kauaʻi, the moʻo woman Kiliʻoe stands in the form of a huge stone. Hawaiian studies professor and Kauaʻi Native Carlos Andrade writes, "At one time it was a *pōhaku piko* (umbilical cord stone), a place where people would hide the dried remnants of umbilical cords from their babies that fell off some days after their birth. One purpose of this ritual was to connect the child spiritually to the land of his or her birth"

(2008, 61) an instance of cords binding successive generations of people to place and deities.

Cognizant of the need to recognize, honor, and seek permission from the Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Maoli of Kaua‘i, Tengan coordinated the opening ceremonies for the conference with his friend and colleague Kēhaulani Kekua, kumu of the traditional hula seminary Hālau Palaihiwa o Kaipuwai of Kaua‘i. Ka‘ili performed an oral Tongan *fakatapu*, in the opening oration of our session, to honor the *tapu*/sacredness of the *fonua* (land) and the *tangata‘ifonua* (Indigenous people) of Kaua‘i. He specifically acknowledged the sacredness of Olokele/Olotele—significant mounts in Kaua‘i, Tutuila, and Tongatapu.[9] The common name of these mounts clearly points to the genealogical linkages among Hawaiians, Samoans, and Tongans. Ka‘ili wanted to highlight the returning of Moana/Oceanians to Olokele in Kaua‘i, an ancestral land, to re-member and recite ancient genealogies. Ka‘ili concluded his fakatapu by paying homage to the senior Moana scholars at the conference: Vilsoni Hereniko, Albert Wendt, Loia Fiaui, Unasa L. F. Va‘a, and ‘Okusitino Māhina. Although this was a matter of following proper protocol for Tengan and Ka‘ili, for others in the association it was more about the performance (and fetishization) of culture and indigeneity.[10] Equally lost upon most ASAO members was the genealogy of land embedded in place names around them. Our meeting was held in the district traditionally known as Puna, which Andrade explains "is the namesake of an *ali‘i* [chief] whose daughters married Mō‘īkeha, a voyager celebrated in the orature of Hawai‘i who traversed the seaways connecting the southern islands known today as the Society Islands to Kaua‘i. Puna also references a connection to an older land, the Punaauia district in Tahiti" (Andrade 2008, 28–29). Though unbeknownst to most of our own Indigenous participants, the interweaving of our genealogies in that space and time reproduced ancient patterns of connection even as it created new ones.

Of course, many important divisions remained. This is to be expected in an area as large and diverse as the Pacific, which has experienced multiple and uneven waves of colonial and neocolonial presence. In our session, distinctions of race, class, gender, generation, genealogy, island origin, nationality, language, and tradition militated against a broadly accepted understanding of indigeneity. Recognizing this, as well as the real differences in political and economic struggles across Oceania, we chose to abandon any search for a final definition of who did or did not count as Indigenous. Instead, we chose to allow for a breadth of Indigenous expression and connection in line with Teaiwa's (2004, 230–31) conceptualization of Pacific peoples and places "as specific, different, and connected individuals or groups . . . with respect to *each other* in past and present," looking "beyond connections limited to the cultural areas problematically named

Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, for example to connections and differences (or the production of connections and differences) between and within these areas." It is here that an expanded sense of "articulation" came to serve as an avenue for thinking about Indigenous anthropology.

Articulation: San Diego 2006 and Charlottesville 2007

At our working session[11] in San Diego the following year, Rochelle Fonoti joined us as a co-organizer. We chose to focus on "articulation," a term that indexed our interest in the processes by which the concepts of indigeneity and anthropology were "put together" in theory, practice, identity, politics, and cultural production. Here we use it in the sense that James Clifford, Stuart Hall, and Antonio Gramsci have invoked the concept as a way of thinking about tactical alliances made in the hooking and unhooking of elements that form a cultural ensemble (Clifford 2001, 477–78). Rather than focus on issues of authenticity, articulation looks at the ways that

FIGURE 3. **Rochelle Fonoti, Dionne Fonoti, Ping-Ann Addo, Katerina Teaiwa, Lisa Uperesa. Indigenous Anthropology Session, 2008 ASAO Annual Meeting, Canberra, Australia.**

"cultural forms will always be made, unmade, and remade" as communities draw "selectively on remembered pasts. The relevant question is whether, and how, they convince and coerce insiders and outsiders, often in power-charged, unequal situations, to accept the autonomy of a 'we'" (Clifford 2001, 479). We do not claim to be the authentic voice of Indigenous Oceanic anthropology. We do claim to have a set of responsibilities and rights that need to be acknowledged, even as we are constantly remaking them.

We opened our session with an 'awa/'ava/kava ceremony that articulated the Hawaiian, Samoan, and Tongan traditions of kava drinking with which each of us was familiar (see Fig. 2). Tengan provided Hawaiian 'awa and *'apu* (coconut shell cups) and offered the chant that this paper opens with, a canoe launching prayer that located Kahiki (Tahiti, or any far off lands), 'Upolu (in Samoa and Tahiti Nui), and Vava'u (in Tonga and Tahiti Nui) as the ancestral homes from which Hawaiian 'awa and people came. Fonoti mixed the 'ava in the Samoan *tanoa* ('ava bowl) that she secured through her maternal *'aiga* ('Aiga Sā Leniu) in Oceanside, California who also joined us at the meeting. Ka'ili crossed the fala (pandanas leaf mats) on which we were sitting—his own woven in the Tongan style and the other a Samoan one from the Fonoti family. Also, he took the first cup outside and poured it onto the earth on which we were guests to honor the tangata'ifonua. He returned and proceeded to serve a cup to each of the participants in our session—from oldest to youngest—and also those who joined us as audience members.

As scholars committed to Indigenous and alter/native research practices, we felt it was important to begin our session in a meaningful way and to welcome each other as friends and relations connected through familial, cultural, geographic, and academic lineages. As Unasa Va'a notes (this issue), the kava ceremony becomes "an occasion for negotiating social space (*va*)" and "imbibing the spirit and mana of the ancestors." In this vein, Melani Anae (this issue) stresses the importance of reciprocity and *teu le va* (tending to social and sacred space between) as cultural reference points in the native anthropological project (see also Ka'ili 2005, 2008; Lilomaiava-Doktor 2009; Refiti 2009; Tuagalu 2008; Wendt 1999; Māhina and Va'a this issue). She writes, "the centrality of reciprocal relationships and the saliency of mutual respect and understanding amongst all parties involved in all research relationships [are] sacrosanct." Va'a relates one origin story of kava (which is different than the one with which we opened in the chant), urging us to "look at such through the eyes of the people who own the myth in the first place." Here a call to empathy is also marked

by a politics of authority and ownership, which is precisely the work of articulation.

Following the ceremony, Tēvita O. Kaʻili, Victor Narsimulu, Ping-Ann Addo, Rochelle Fonoti, Dionne Fonoti, and Che Wilson gave papers that spoke to a variety of themes including (though not limited to) Moana-based tā–vā (time–space) theory, Rotuman epistemology, nonindigenous yet "Native" positionality, Samoan representation through tatau and film, and the different houses of Maori learning. Mark Henare was present in the audience and provided insightful comments on discussions of *whakapapa* (genealogies) of genetically modified organisms (Roberts et al. 2004). We closed our session with another ʻawa/ʻava/kava circle. ʻOkusitino Māhina led our *talanoa* (discussion) with a critical reading of Epeli Hauʻofa's 1975 poem "Blood in the Kava Bowl" (Hauʻofa 2008, 180–82), and he challenged each of us to not only look at the substance but also the form of Indigenous anthropology. Animated discussion followed, and all present felt that a number of extremely important ideas and positions had been articulated, if not yet fully resolved.

Figure 4. **Ty Tengan, ʻOkusitino Māhina, Siosiua Lafitani-Tofuaʼipangai, Unasa Vaʼa, Tēvita O. Kaʼili. 2008 ASAO Annual Meeting, Canberra, Australia.**

We followed the 2006 ASAO working session with another in Charlottesville, Virginia, in February 2007. We again opened and closed with the sharing of kava, and in addition to the returning contributions of D. Fonoti, Narsimulu, and Wilson, new papers from Andrew Moutu, Patricia Fifita, and Esther Tinirau raised issues of ontology and ritual in Papua New Guinea, Tongan medicine and modernity, and Maori attachments of people to the land. We were joined in the audience by Lisa Uperesa, whose input as someone dealing with her own "halfie-status" and as living in the "long shadow" cast by Margaret Mead gave us new ways to complicate our genealogies (see her essay, this issue). In our closing talanoa, Māhina performed and analyzed songs of the *fangufangu* (nose flute), the melodies of which reminded us of other ways of knowing and being.

Our day-long discussions and our late night kava drinking in the Omni Charlottesville Hotel lobby (where we rearranged the couches into a kava circle) led us to arrive at the theme of genealogies as a productive place for thought and practice. We felt that it was not only useful to trace our respective intellectual genealogies but also to articulate the interconnectedness that inevitably positions advocates, anthropologists, and cultural practitioners within actual communities.

Genealogies: Canberra 2008

For many Indigenous anthropologists who claim Oceania/Moana as their home, the practice or tradition of citing one's genealogy is critical in gauging what one's identity is in relation to vā. Therefore, genealogy as an index of articulation for Indigenous anthropology within Oceania allows us to further assess the various ways the Native/Indigenous anthropologist is bound to her particular field site or community. Genealogy is also inextricably bound with sense of place; the vā or space/place inherently determines or shapes what then becomes manifested in one's fieldwork and ethnographic data. Through tracing our intellectual development as Indigenous anthropologists to Euro-American anthropologists (such as Boas, Mead, Benedict, Bateson, etc.), we are inadvertently connected to each other within the discipline. By acknowledging these connections or ties, how does this inevitably affect our respective work as Kanaka Maoli/Moana/Pacific Islanders/Oceanians?

Even though genealogy was relatively dormant in our previous sessions, it erupted with intensity as the central concept of our 2008 meeting in Canberra, Australia (see Figs. 3 through 5). There new papers given by Katerina Teaiwa, Lisa Uperesa, and Micah Van der Ryn joined those of D.

Fonoti, Addo, and Māhina. Lily George contributed significantly as an audience member who arrived at ASAO unaware of our session but already foregrounding whakapapa in her own paper for another session on Indigenous struggles (see George in this issue). In addition, Samoan anthropologist Unasa L. F. Va'a and Tongan doctoral student Siosiua F. P. Lafitani Tofua'ipangai made several insightful contributions to our discussions.

In keeping with the tradition of our past meetings, our session was organized around an 'awa circle. Ritual items for our kava circle were made possible by our Moana/Oceanian connections in Canberra. Tofua'ipangai provided us with a tāno'a (kava bowl). Katerina Teaiwa, the Pacific Studies convener at the Australian National University and one of the original participants in the Kaua'i session, lent us one of her mats. Tofua'ipangai and members of his kava club performed beautiful Tongan traditional songs during our session. Also, we were generously hosted by Teaiwa at the Pacific studies facility. The following day after our session, Tofua'ipangai, Luseane Tuita, and the Phoenix Performing Arts of the Pacific, staged a special performance for members of our session at the Holo Boomerang— one of the Tongan community centers in Canberra. After the performance, Ka'ili gave a Tongan oration (*lea fakamālō*) to pay homage and respect to the Indigenous people of Canberra and to express our group's heartfelt appreciation to the performers and their hospitality.

The process of "rearticulating" the various interactions we experienced during our session in Canberra also prompts us to consider the significance of place when certain locales or sites in/of the Pacific are designated as possible venues for academic conferences and forums. This concern inevitably raises the question of the extent Indigenous communities are involved and included with such meetings or conferences. After heavy snow storms delayed ASAO Conference Proceedings in 2010 in Washington, DC, a number of people questioned the feasibility of continuing the rotation of venues for future meetings. If ASAO continues to rotate meetings between the Pacific, West Coast, and East Coast, how accessible or relevant will these meetings be for Indigenous Pacific Islander scholars? Also, what does it mean to host a meeting in Pacific sites such as Canberra or Kaua'i? One of ASAOs objectives in choosing venues in the Pacific is to allow for the organization to interact or engage with Indigenous communities, but to what extent is this actually achieved?

For us, sites such as Canberra and Lihū'e have prompted us to draw upon existing social networks to facilitate critical elements of our sessions. For instance, securing a tāno'a for our session was achieved by using our

Moana connections. In 1999, Ka'ili (who was living in Utah as the time) first met Tofua'ipangai online via the planet-tonga.com—one of the largest Tongan online communities at the time. Ka'ili and Tofua'ipangai were part of a group of diasporic Tongans who actively participated in the debates on Tongan cultural issues (i.e., language revitalization). In addition, they were members of the Lo'au Research Society (LRS)—a transnational Tongan research group. In terms of fonua (land/people) genealogy, Ka'ili and Tofua'ipangai are both descendants of people from the island of Hā'ano in Ha'apai, Tonga. Several weeks before the 2008 meeting in Canberra, Ka'ili e-mailed Tofua'ipangai in Canberra and asked him for a kava bowl for our session. This connection gave us the opportunity to obtain the tāno'a and include members of the Canberra Tongan community in our session.

Genealogical ties also provided us with the foundation for an Indigenous anthropological framework for engaging Moana people—whether in Kaua'i, San Diego, Charlottesville, or Canberra. Moana people are Indigenous to Oceania highlights one of the major claims made by Hau'ofa—the sea is a common heritage for all of us (Hau'ofa 2008).

Genealogy gave us a framework for acknowledging other Indigenous people, at least to the extent that we could. It was quite depressing for our group to see the relative absence of Indigenous people, such as Native Americans and Aboriginal Australians, in our ASAO meetings in San Diego, Charlottesville, and Canberra. In the ASAO conference in Canberra, only one Aboriginal woman, Ms. Matilda House, was officially involved in the scheduled program. Ms. Matilda House, an Indigenous Ngambri woman, was only involved in the opening event, and (to our knowledge) she did not participate in any of the other conference activities. In addition, no other Native people participated in the other conference meetings. This marginalization of Indigenous peoples was quite disappointing for many of us. Ironically, the ASAO conference in Canberra occurred on the same week that the Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, gave a formal apology to the Aboriginal people for the Australian government's abduction of an entire "stolen generation" of children from their families. Although several of the ASAO participants attended the formal apology event in Canberra, ASAO failed to create a culturally meaningful space within the conference for Aboriginal voices. In each of our sessions, we made a conscious effort to acknowledge the Indigenous people of the conference places—Līhu'e, San Diego, Charlottesville, Canberra—by paying homage and respect to them in the opening portion of our 'awa ceremony (see above).

In all of our Moana cultures (Hawaiian, Tongan, Samoan), the act of acknowledging and expressing respect to the Indigenous people of the land

and the place is crucial for opening events (meetings, gatherings, performances). This form of opening ceremony is best done by people who have knowledge of the genealogy of the people of the land and of the place.

Genealogy is concerned with the intersection, interweaving, and interconnection of people, titles, and lands, as well as ideas and academic disciplines (see Māhina, George). Genealogy is socially arranged in different ways in different cultures (see Māhina). In our sessions, Māhina and George explained some of the numerous notions of genealogy in Oceania, such as *hohoko* and whakapapa. In addition to the concepts mentioned by Māhina and George, there are other concepts of genealogy in Oceania, such as *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogy) in Hawaiian, gafa (genealogy) in Samoan, and *'uhinga* (genealogical ties of people, land, sea, animals, plants, etc.) in Tongan (Taumoefolau 2010). These multifaceted concepts of genealogy, both Moana and non-Moana, provided the foundation as well as the springboard for conceptualizing and practicing Indigenous anthropology.

Figure 5. **Rochelle Fonoti, Ping-Ann Addo, Lily George. Holo Boomerang, Canberra, Australia, 2008.**

Māhina employs his new general Tā–Vā (Time–Space) Theory of Reality to critically examine the concept and practice of genealogy. One of the claims of the Tā–Vā Theory is that time and space, or form and substance, always intersect in reality. It is within this claim that Māhina views geneaolgy as an intersecting temporal–spatial, formal–substantial, human phenomenon across nature, mind, and society. This intersection in genealogy "is connected with human procreation, where the two opposite sexes, i.e., men and women, are physically intersected in the process, with their combined genes transmitted through generations" (see Māhina). Genealogy, according to Māhina, also reflects the Moana arrangement of time and space in plural, cultural, collectivistic, holistic, and circular modes (see Māhina). This is evident in how Moana genealogy emphasizes collective (i.e., kinship relations) and holistic (i.e., human-land connections) modes.

George explores similar aspects of whakapapa—the Maori concept of genealogy. She maintains that whakapapa grounds and connects her to other Maori, to all the lands and people of Aotearoa and (through shared history) to other Indigenous people of the world (see George). George argues that whakapapa are "epistemological frameworks" for establishing connections, relations, and contexts. Whakapapa is methodology, history, and stories of the *tupuna* (ancestors). It is also "the inalienable link that binds us to the land and sea, to people and places, to time and space, even when we are not aware of it." Whakapapa provides a solid foundation or a "standing place" for researchers whether or not Indigenous, who go into the field carrying their genealogies and histories.

Our contributors examine not only ancestral geneology, but also intellectual genealogy. Within the context of the Tā-Vā Theory, Māhina views intellectual genealogy as the cross-fertilization (intersection) of ideas between teachers and students, citing his own experiences with his teachers. Barker and Fonoti (this issue) write from the vantage point of instructors who have co-taught courses at the University of Washington in order to provide students with both "insider" and "outsider" perspectives and build capacity among Indigenous diasporic Islanders. They write, "Through collaborative teaching we not only assist with the goal of training future Indigenous researchers, but we also build the capacity of everyone to recognize and appreciate the strengths of combining different positionalities and expertise." On the other hand, George provides an example of intellectual genealogy by reciting the whakapapa of anthropology in Aotearoa. In a similar fashion, Uperesa considers the "weight of biographical and intellectual genealogies" in her work, particularly as she and her interlocutors (many of whom are family) are constantly reevaluating each other based on an evolving knowledge of anthropology and its past.

Addo critically examines the concept of genealogy, especially its use to forge idiomatic kinship between herself and her Tongan "informants." Addo, a Caribbean woman of Chinese and west African descent, illustrates how Tongans accepted her Caribbean/west African (misperceived as "Black American") genealogy, but rejected her Chinese genealogy in order to selectively forge "fictive kinship" relations with her. This stems from the anti-Chinese sentiments among Tongans that are based on their experiences of neocolonial economic domination by the Chinese in Tonga. As a member of her informants' "kin," Addo directly challenged their rejections of her Chinese genealogy. Addo shows that, as an "ethnographer of color" (and not as an "Indigenous ethnographer"), she became conscious of the shifting forms of idiomatic kinship.

Conclusion

We recite the above names because they have begun to create a new genealogy for Indigenous anthropology in/of Oceania. The most important goal of our sessions and this collection has been the making and maintaining of relationships that create the context for sharing *aloha* (affection and empathy) and producing mana, a spiritual power and potency that has marked our interactions.

We do not want to romanticize this endeavor either. Much was said about the need for us to attend to the ways that our genealogies have divided as much as they have unified us. The Indigenous is by no means a homogenous category, and its efficacy as a unifying identity is dependent upon the context. We hope that this special issue creates a genealogy for the next generation of Indigenous Moana/Oceanian anthropologists and also provides them with a point of reference, a connection, and a set of relations to enter into the messy work of Indigenous anthropology.

NOTES

1. See Finney (2003, 71–72) for a discussion of the revival and rearticulation of Hawaiian ʻawa ceremonies in the context of modern day Polynesian voyaging.

2. The original text from which this chant is drawn is found in Malo (1951: 129–30). This chant has been slightly modified in its present-day usage by members of the Hale Mua, the Hawaiian men's organization from which Tengan learned this (see Tengan 2008).

3. For more on Pukui see White and Tengan (2001, 390–91) and Losch (2003).

4. The Hawaiian term "one hānau" or "birth sands" metaphorically refers to one's homeland or birthplace. It is a particularly apt metaphor when thinking of beaches as places for

first crossings of peoples from their canoes or ships, a la Dening (1980, 2004) and the final resting place of the sacred burials found in sand dunes.

  5. Articles from the symposium were published in a special issue of *The Contemporary Pacific* (Vol. 13, No. 2). The introduction by Diaz and Kauanui (2001) includes a schedule of the symposium events, art installations, and participant names.

  6. See Māhina (this issue) to read about the intellectual genealogical ties between Māhina and Professor Futa Helu.

  7. Formerly known as the Tonga History Association (THA).

  8. For a recent examination of the life and work of Nayacakalou as an Indigenous anthropologist, see Tomlinson (2006).

  9. In Tonga, Olotele is the name of the Tuʻi Tonga's (King of Tonga's) residence in Lapaha, Tongatapu (Māhina 1992a:163).

10. One colleague (White American male) came up to Tengan afterward with a big smile and said, "I didn't know you could chant like that! That was great!" Although this was certainly meant to be a compliment, it also suggested that the most relevant aspect for some was the "show."

11. The ASAO structure encourages sessions to go through three stages of "informal session," "working session," and "symposium," with the intent of presenting refined and publishable papers in the third year.

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TĀ, VĀ, AND MOANA: TEMPORALITY, SPATIALITY, AND INDIGENEITY

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In fond memory of the late Dr. Garth Rogers, the late Rev. Dr. Sione Lātūkefu, the late Professor Epeli Hauʻofa, and the late Professor Futa Helu, who are behind us, in the past, yet before us, in the present.

This article is derived from the common theme of an ASAO symposium— "Genealogies: Articulating Indigenous Anthropology in/of Oceania"—which raises critical questions of some conflicting spatiotemporal, substantial-formal, and (functional) nature. From reasons that will follow, I would like to make it clear from the outset that I will adopt the ethnographic indigenous-based, internally mediated name Moana in place of the problematic foreign-led, externally imposed label Oceania or, for that matter, Pacific (Kaʻili 2005, 2007; Māhina 1999a, 2008c). Some of the questions relating to anthropology and indigeneity in relation to Moana anthropology and Moana cultures will be focused on critically. As an exercise in realist critical anthropology, where indigenous culture as its actual subject matter of historical investigation is approached philosophically, this article will critique the contradictory spatiotemporal, substantial-formal (and functional) relationships within and across anthropology as an academic discipline and culture as a human practice. Of special interests will be a critical examination of genealogy as an "intersecting" temporal-spatial, formal-substantial (and functional) human phenomenon, across nature, mind, and society (see Bott 1982; Gailey 1987; Herda 1988, 1995). Such a critique will be made in the broader context of the newly emerged general time-space theory of

reality based on Moana concepts and practices tā and vā, Tongan for "time" and "space" (Māhina 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2004c, 2008b, 2008c; also see Kaʻili 2005, 2007; Kalāvite 2010; Potauaine 2010; Williams 2009).

Time, Space, and Reality: A General *Tā-Vā* Theory

Over the past decade, I have been developing a new general tā-vā (time-space) theory of reality (Māhina 2008b; Māhina, Kaʻili, and Kaʻili 2006; Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina 2007) with a number of Moana scholars, notably, Dr. Tēvita O. Kaʻili, Dr. Nuhisifa Williams, and Dr. Telēsia Kalāvite (Kaʻili 2005, 2007; Kalāvite 2010; Williams 2009), who are in the forefront in its continuing advancement. This time-space theory is based on the Moana concepts and practices tā and vā,[1] Tongan for "time" and "space." Given both the generality and the formality informing the theory, it enters all fields of studies, as in the case of anthropology and education. By advancing this novel tā-vā theory, Dr. Kaʻili, Dr. Williams, and Dr. Kalāvite effectively utilized it in their investigations of Tongan migration and Pacific education, respectively. The critical unraveling of their subject matters of inquiry demonstrated the conflicting spatio-temporal, substantial-formal (and practical) underpinnings of migration and education as disciplinary practices and forms of social activity.

Several of its general and specific tenets include the following:

- that ontologically tā and vā are the common medium in which all things are, in a single level of reality;
- that epistemologically tā and vā are socially arranged in different ways across cultures;
- that all things, in nature, mind, and society, stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to conflict or order;
- that conflict and order are of the same logical status in that order is in itself an expression of conflict;
- that tā and vā are the abstract dimensions of *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content), which are, in turn, the concrete dimensions of tā and vā; and
- that tā and vā, like fuo and uho, are indivisible in both mind as in reality (cf. Adam 1990; Anderson 1962, 2007; Harvey 1990, 2000; Mitchell 2004).

On both the ontological and epistemological levels, a series of idealist, dualist, and relativist problems are caused by the separation of mind from spatiotemporality, substantiality-formality, and the failure of mind to comprehend spatiotemporal, substantial-formal (and functional) conflicts at the

interface of human cultures (Anderson 1962, 2007; Helu 1999; Māhina 1999c, 2004b; Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina 2007). From a realist viewpoint, as opposed to an idealist assertion, the problems caused by separation of mind from reality demonstrate the historical fact that errors in thinking are a problem of mind but not of reality (Māhina 1999c, 2004b, 2008b, 2008c; Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina, 2007).

Generally, in the Moana, time and space are culturally ordered and historically altered in plural, cultural, collectivistic, holistic, and circular modes, in stark contrast to their usual cultural ordering and historical altering in the West, in singular, technoteleological, individualistic, atomistic, and linear ways (Māhina 1999c, 2004a, 2004b, 2008c; Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina 2007). Whereas the Tongan time-space sense is philosophically informed by a realist expression of empiricism, classicism, and aestheticism, the Western view is problematized by a strict idealist impression of rationalism, evolutionism, and relativism (Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina, 2007).

The plural, cultural, collectivistic, holistic, and circular nature of Moana thinking and practice about time and space are reflected in their formal, substantial (and functional) arrangement of the past, present, and future. Herein, people are thought to walk forward into the past and walk backward into the future, both taking place in the present, where the past and future are constantly mediated in the ever-transforming present (Hauʻofa 2000; Māhina 2004b, 2004c, 2010b; Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina 2007).[2] The past has stood the test of time and space, and it must therefore be placed in front of people as a guidance in the present, and because the future has yet to happen, it must be placed to the back of or behind people in the present, where both past and future are symmetrically negotiated in the process. In the West, however, the past, present, and future are lineally structured, with future and past placed in the front and back of people in the present, in a singular, technoteleological, and evolutionary manner.

The West and the Moana, for example, have entered into ongoing relations of exchange since their initial point of contact. These continuing exchange relations or points of intersection are largely asymmetrical and more often than not favor the West. This form of asymmetry is expressed in terms of time-space, form-content (and functional) contradictions at the axis of Western and Moana cultures, within and across nature, mind, and society (see Hauʻofa 1993; Huntington 2004).[3] These spatiotemporal, substantial-formal (and utility-driven) conflicts are prevalent across the whole physical, psychological, and social realms, as most evident generally in the fields of development, governance, and education (see Gailey 1987; Helu 1999; Lockwood 2004; Māhina 1997, 2004b).

As a post–World War II, Western-driven concept and practice, development can be defined as a capitalist economic instrument for the supposed mediation of cultural and historical conflicts at the crossroad of traditionalism and modernity. Similarly, governance can be characterized as a post–Cold War, Western-led concept and practice, a democratic political tool for the proposed negotiation of cultural and historical tensions at the intersection of modernization and globalization (see Gailey 1987; Hau'ofa 1993; Lawson 1996; Lockwood 2004; Māhina 2004a). In reality, economics and politics, like culture and history, are indivisible entities. However, the enforced dualistic separation of development from governance, like the severance of utility of education from its quality or division of knowledge application from knowledge production, amounts to serious problems, commonly faced by Moana peoples across the whole physical, psychological, and social spectrum. These physical, emotional, and social problems are caused not only by the separation of mind from reality but also by the failure of mind to understand intercultural conflicts between the West and the Moana (Māhina 2002a).

The growing existentialist sense of anthropocentrism, egocentrism, and utilitarianism beneath Western capitalism and democracy, as are Western science[4] and technology, has been largely responsible for the singular, technoteleological, individualistic, analytical, and linear fashion in which time and space are organized (Māhina 2004b; Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina 2007; cf. Hau'ofa 1993; Harvey 1990, 2000; Huntington 2004). This rather alarming trend is evident in the world political economy, as in the control of flow of material, intellectual, and human resources across boundaries, localities, and identities. Such a disturbing drift is made manifest in the rupturing of the mutually holistic, symbiotic human-environment relationships, ideologically sanctioned by development and governance as highly contradictory human phenomena (Adam 1990; Harvey 1990; Hau'ofa 1993; Māhina 1992; Mitchell 2004).

Moreover, both development and governance make use of education as a political economic tool for the exertion of Western control over the Moana. The distinction between quality of education and its utility, education, and training or knowledge production and knowledge application has been problematized in the context of development and governance. Herein, training is given precedence over education, utility of education over its quality, or knowledge application over knowledge production, thereby privileging the technical over the critical (see Hau'ofa 2005; Helu 1999; Phillips 1980). This kind of education strictly engages in turning out doers rather than both thinkers and doers. Sadly, this is reflected in the whole Moana region being consumer led rather than producer led (Māhina, 1997, 2004c).

Education needs to be, at best, both critical and technical, with the critical taking primacy over the technical. A consistent shift from Western imposition to mediation of tensions at the intersection of Western-Moana cultures has been long overdue.[5] With Western capitalism exacted and executed scientifically, technologically, economically, politically, and, worse still, militarily, it runs the risk of democratic ideals being systematically albeit ideologically undermined (Helu 1999; Lawson 1996; Māhina 1999c, 2004b).

Disciplines and Subject Matters

Academic disciplines are temporally and spatially, formally, and substantially (and functionally) organized along the "fault lines" of nature, mind, and society and taken to be subject matters of investigation, largely ranging from the physical through the mental to the social sciences, as in the case of astronomy, psychology, and anthropology (Anderson 1962; Helu 1999; Huntington 2004; Māhina 1999c). The distinctions between subject matters, as those between disciplines, are fluid rather than rigid in nature. All academic disciplines are concerned primarily with the independent operations of things as they objectively are, in one level of reality, and in opposition to their subjective imagining in terms of what we would prefer them to be (Anderson 1962; Phillips 1980; Māhina 2008a, 2008c).

Interests in the independent temporal-spatial, formal-substantial operations of things, in a single order of being, are the primary focus of all academic disciplines, while the concerns with their functional value are themselves secondary (Anderson 1962; Phillips 1980; Māhina 1997, 1999c). Thus, the academic disciplinary focus is concerned primarily with the intrinsic characteristics of the fuo and uho (form and content) of things, in a single level of reality, involving the production of knowledge through trial and error, that is, observation, experimentation, and verification. The application of knowledge, produced in this intellectual and practical process extrinsically for human use, is a matter of secondary importance. By implication, the logical order of precedence in the scheme of things that knowledge production always precedes knowledge application (Helu 1999; Māhina 1999c, 2008a, 2008c).

Anthropology and Culture

All academic disciplines and their corresponding subject matters of study are temporally and spatially, formally, and substantially connected. These intrinsic yet contradictory spatiotemporal, substantial-formal connections,

defining all subject matters of investigation within and across nature, mind, and society, constitute the primary focus of all disciplinary practices (Māhina 1997, 1999c; also see Anderson 1962; Helu 1999). A consideration of *ʻaonga* (function) of things follows after their form and content have been established in the process, pointing to the historical fact that the epistemological questions are secondary to the ontological questions. In the case of astronomy, psychology and anthropology, for example, their time-space, form-content disciplinary interests are tied in with the behavior of the celestial bodies and working of the human mind as their fields of inquiry respectively (see, e.g., Velt 1990). Likewise, the subject matter of study for the disciplinary practice of anthropology is itself culture.

Culture has a multiplicity of definitions, generally classified into the anthropological and classical types. Anthropologically, culture is defined as the totality of human endeavors, such as techniques, beliefs, rituals, art, religion, and kinship. In classical terms, however, culture is defined as making up of the best and permanent forms of human activity that endure over time and space (Anderson 1962; Hauʻofa 1993, 2000, 2005; Helu 1999; Māhina 1997). This classical definition can best describe the identity of a people, made up of the things that last over time and space. Of the two definitions, the classical view is by far the most philosophically conclusive in that it has the capacity to historically account for both the synchronic and the diachronic dimensions of culture. As a human practice, culture is made up of historically intersecting forms of social activity, that is, conflicting cultural concepts and practices, which basically constitute the principal focus of anthropology, with realist critical indigenous anthropology as no exception (Māhina 1999c, 2004b, 2004c).

Anthropology "In" and "Of" Moana

While all brands of anthropology are characterized by their unified disciplinary focus, involving the critique of the autonomous working of things as they positively are, in a single level of existence, they are simply differentiated by their separate subject matters of inquiry. Such fields of study of different types of anthropology, be they Moana, African, or Asian anthropology, which commonly focus on how things work freely in reality, are themselves culture bound, temporally, spatially (and functionally) demarcated by their relative formal, substantial (and pragmatic) arrangements within and across cultures (Māhina 1999c; cf. Hauʻofa 1975, 2000, 2005).

Herein, a number of problematic questions arise that include, inter alia (Hauʻofa 1993, 2000; Māhina 1999c, 2004b) the following: What is indigenous anthropology? Is it Moana, African or Asian anthropology, as in the

case of British, American, or French anthropology? In a way, indigenous anthropology often refers to its subject matter and place (e.g., culture of Moana, Africa, or Asia) and confined "to" and practiced "in" those localities. This is opposed to its Western sense, say, British, American, or French anthropology, with a reference to anthropologists as practitioners, such as Malinowski, Boas, or Levi-Strauss (Hau'ofa 1993; Helu 1999; Ka'ili 2005, 2007; Māhina 1999c).

The distinction between indigenous anthropology "in" and indigenous anthropology "of" Moana is highly problematic, with the former ideological in nature and the latter historical in character (see Crocombe 1975; Hau'ofa 1975, 1993, 2000, 2005; Māhina 1999b; Wesley-Smith, 1995). Anthropology is far more than a confinement to both history and geography, as in Moana anthropology conducted strictly in and restricted only to the place called Moana. Rather, it can be asserted that indigenous anthropology focuses on an historical set of independent physical, psychological, and social characteristics, defined as Moana cultures. This state of affairs, that is, Moana culture, defines the subject matter of investigation of Moana anthropology. A number of serious theoretical and practical flaws of the rationalist, evolutionist, and relativist kind arise when we confine Moana anthropology to a specific temporality and locality. Many of these problems are evident when Moana peoples conceptualize and practice their cultures "away" from and "outside" of the Moana in such places as Australia, Canada, and the United States (Māhina 1999c; cf. Hau'ofa 1975, 1993, 2005). Herein, indigenous anthropology "of" Moana, as opposed to indigenous anthropology "in" Moana, becomes a truly meaningful form of Moana thinking and practice.

Anthropology, History, and Social Genealogy

From a general tā-vā theoretical perspective, I explore genealogy in the context of the disciplinary and social relationships between anthropology and history. Given that all things, in nature, mind, and society, stand in ever-lasting relations of exchange, then anthropology, genealogy, and history are subject to the same logic. Ceaseless as they are, these exchange relations exist in the form of order and conflict. When such relations of exchange acquire order, it results in a condition of symmetry, and, on the other hand, when conflict is inherent in the process, then a state of asymmetry results. Symmetry takes place when these relations of exchange move in equal but opposite ways. In reality, then, order and conflict are logically of the same status, with order as a form of conflict (Ka'ili 2005, 2007; Māhina 2008b, 2008c; Williams 2009).

In disciplinary terms, both anthropology and history deal with contradictory spatiotemporal, substantial-formal relationships within and between order and conflict as changing human entities, taking place across nature, mind, and society (see Māhina 1992). With order and conflict having the same historical status, where order is thought to be synonymous with conflict, then it can be argued that both anthropology and history are concerned primarily with intersecting, intertwining, or conflicting human relationships, where their form, content (and function) are dealt with on the physical, psychological, and social levels. As forms of social activity, culture and history are merely human phenomena, spatiotemporally, substantially-formally (and functionally) differentiated only by their varying rhythms of change, with the former occurring at a slower pace and the latter at a faster rate (Māhina 1992).

Strictly, genealogy, like culture and history, is a human phenomenon. Like culture and history, genealogy is a form of formal, substantial (and practical) intersection, defined by an intermingling of irreconcilable physical, psychological, and social tendencies. Following the general tā-vā theoretical tenet, specifying all things, in nature, mind, and society, as relating in eternal relations of exchange, human genealogy can, thus, be defined as formal, substantial, and functional intersections, linking people physically, emotionally, and socially. Basically, genealogy is connected with human procreation, where the two opposite sexes, that is, men and women, are physically intersected in the process, with their combined genes transmitted through generations (see, e.g., Bott 1982; Gailey 1987; Herda 1988; Moala 1994; Wood-Ellem 1999). This process of genetic transmission results through the interface of connection and separation, behaving in circular modes. In reality, connection and separation, like order and conflict, are one and the same; that is, connection is equal to separation. While genealogy is essentially physical in nature, it is also both emotional and social in character. As a human phenomenon, genealogy is emotionally viewed and, by the same token, socially arranged in different ways in different cultures.

The Tongan word for genealogy is *hohoko*, literally meaning "connecting repeatedly" (see, e.g., Bott 1982; Herda 1988, 1995; Rees 2002). The root word is *hoko*, which means several things: an event, occurrence, or affair that is taking place; connecting or tying together two or more things; ascending to occupy a title, role, or position; being next in line, as in order of persons, events, or things; and a person inheriting another's physical, emotional and social attributes. The expression *hoko tete'e* refers to a person who inherits largely many of the physical, emotional, and social characteristics of his or her forebears. The phrases *fakahoko fāmili* (connecting

family), *fakahoko kāinga* (connecting extended family), and *fakahoko toto* (connecting blood) commonly refer to the act of vitalizing and revitalizing physical, emotional, and social connections between genealogically related members of a kin group (see, e.g., Gailey 1987; Helu 1999; Moala 1994). Genealogically, the word *toto* is used to mean people who are blood related and an analytical way of talking about the genetically coded DNA (Māhina 2002b).

The thinking and practice hohoko is symbolically likened to a tree, as in the Tongan *lea heliaki* (proverbial saying): *ʻOku vaʻavaʻa he ko e tangata* (It branches out [like a tree] because it is people) (see Māhina 1992, 2004c; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2007; cf. Gifford 1929; Martin 1981; Moala 1994; Rabone 1845; Taliai 1989). As a befitting imagery for genealogy, a real tree, like a symbolized human tree, produces and reproduces *vaʻa* (branches), like the production and reproduction of *haʻa* (lineages), carried out by means of connection and separation. On the emotional level, members of a kin group who are active and proactive in the revision and standardization of genealogical links are said to be *mata fāmili* (family-oriented-loving face), *mata kāinga* (kin-oriented-loving face), *mata ʻofa* (loving-hearted face), and *fai fāmili* (family-focused-loving face).[6] These proverbial expressions point to members of a kin group who are actively engaged in the social process of *tauhivā*, that is, the maintenance of exchange relations within the social unit, on the material, emotional, and social levels, through the performance of their *fatongia* (social obligations; see, e.g., Kaʻili 2005, 2007; Māhina 2002b; Taliai 1989).

As evident, there are formal, substantial, and functional connections between mata and hohoko, in physical, emotional, and social terms. There is an established way in which Tongans can read the genealogical connections of people on the physical features of their faces. Like the connections between *mata* and hohoko, there are those formally, substantially, and functionally linking mata and *tufunga lalava*, the material art of line-space intersection. As a material art, tufunga lalava is concerned with the production of *kupesi*, complex, elaborate, and beautiful geometric designs, by means of intersecting *kafa kula* (red *kafa-sinnet*) and *kafa ʻuli* (black *kafa-sinnet*), used for holding together house and boat parts.[7] In terms of gender relations, kafa kula and kafa ʻuli are treated as *tangata* (male) and *fefine* (female), respectively (Māhina, Kaʻili, and Kaʻili 2006; Potauaine and Māhina 2009). The interlacing formal, substantial, and functional relationships between red and black colors exist within and across the natural, psychological, and social realms, as in *ava kula* (red hole) and *ava ʻuli* (black hole) in nature, *maama* (enlightenment) and *fakapoʻuli* (ignorance) in mind, and *vā lelei* (good relation) and *vā kovi* (bad relation) in society.

The term *kupesi* means two things, namely, mata (facial DNA-induced attributes of people) and kupesi (spiral DNA-like geometric designs). As a technological instrument, *me'afaka'ata* (microscope) functions to bring black-based "inside" of DNA onto the red-led "outside," in the same way that tufunga lalava, as an artistic device, transforms things from their abstract dimensions to their concrete forms. In both cases, me'afaka'ata and tufunga lalava produce DNA and kupesi-related images by means of lineal-spatial, formal-substantial intersection, with the former by way of black-based "inside" and red-led "outside" tendencies and the latter by means of black kafa-sinnet and red kafa-sinnet (Helu 1999; Māhina 2002b; Potauaine and Māhina 2009; Rees 2002). The readability of such facial features is often uttered: "'*Sio hifo ki ho matá ko e kupesi 'atā pē ho'o tamaí 'oku pāpaaki maí*" ("Look at your face where your father's own design is rightly imprinted; see, e.g., Rabone 1845; Taliai 1989; Tu'inukuafe 1997).

By way of gender relations, there exists a relevant Tongan lea heliaki with a bearing on hohoko, which says, *'Oku fakahokohoko toto 'a fafine ka e fakahokohoko hingoa 'a tangata* (Blood connects through women, and titles through men). By extension, this proverbial saying is borne in the gender division of labor, where the mutually inclusive roles of men and women are merely demarcated in terms of "difference" rather than by way of "status." This is reflected in the proverbial saying *'Oku falehanga 'a fafine pea 'oku hanga ka e tōkanga 'a tangata pea 'oku manga* (Women possess the house, measured by the hands, and men possess the garden, measured by the feet) (Māhina 2004c; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2007; cf. Moala 1994; Rabone 1845; Tu'inukuafe 1997; Taliai 1989). Generally, men are responsible for the production of ngāue, which includes cultivation of crops, domestication of animals, and deep-sea fishing, while women are in charge of the production of koloa, such as fine mats and bark-cloths (Māhina 1992).

In my critical engagement in developing the tā-vā theory of reality (Māhina 2002b, 2004c; Ka'ili 2007; Potauaine 2005; Williams 2009), I have encountered the fact that time and space, as ontological entities, are epistemologically classified along gender lines, in formal, substantial, and functional ways, within and across nature, mind, and society. The epistemological classifications of time and space, therefore, have a bearing on genealogy. This is seen in the treatment of red kafa-sinnet and black kafa-sinnet as male and female, respectively. Belonging in the male realm are tā (time), fuo (form), kula (red), *la'ā* (sun), *'aho* (day), *mo'ui* (life), and maama (enlightenment), and in the female domain are vā (space), uho (content), black 'uli (black), *māhina* (moon), *pō* (night), *mate* (death), and fakapo'uli (ignorance; Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006; cf. Māhina 2002b; Rees 2002).

Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine, a master of architecture scholar currently working on his thesis, finds that, in Tongan architecture, *fale* (house) is a woman[8] (Māhina, Dudding, and Māhina-Tuai 2010; Potauaine 2010; Potauaine and Māhina 2009). When it comes to the construction of fale, it is said that men are responsible for the fuo and women for the uho. By fuo, reference is made to the task of house building and uho to all the activities, such as birth giving, child rearing, child upbringing, and weaving, taking place inside the house. The word for the umbilical cord is uho, bearing some genealogical relevance. On the other hand, children with the same mother are referred to as *uho taha* (unified umbilical cord), and those with different mothers are referred to as *uho tau* (warring umbilical cord). Like house building, formally considered a male-centered form of activity, men are likewise said to be in charge only of the fuo of the child (see Potauaine 2005; Potauaine and Māhina 2009).

Culture, History, and Intellectual Genealogy

Figuratively, on the intellectual level, connections between teachers and their students can be viewed in genealogical ways. Such genealogical and intellectual connections record the social intercourse of teachers and students as well as the cross-fertilization of their ideas, involving the production of knowledge. My intellectual formation relating to anthropology began some four decades ago, when, in 1972, I entered 'Atenisi University in Tonga, where I studied Tongan culture under the late Professor Futa Helu. A number of courses, such as Tongan poetry, Tongan music, Tongan dance, Tongan royal kava ceremony, and Tongan oral history, were offered in the Tongan Culture program. There were several culture teachers—poets, musicians, choreographers, orators, and oral historians—who assisted Professor Helu in teaching the Tongan Culture program, such as Malukava (Tēvita Kavaefiafi), Pilvi Moa, Falekāono (Taipaleti Falekāono), Sēmisi 'Iongi, Peni Tutu'ila, Nausaimone Tutu'ila, and Ula Matatoa (Tāufa Nau) (Mēhina 1992, 2004c, 2005b).

At this time, I had my first introduction to anthropology when I took a course on anthropology of religion, together with an exposure to kinship terminologies, taught by anthropologist Professor Steve Carrigues. Given the overall classical emphasis of 'Atenisi on criticism as a way of life, there were other compulsory courses made available, such as classical languages, pure mathematics, physics, English literature, art history, philosophy, and logic, among others. There was also the formation of a number of extracurricular activities, for example, Friday Night Kava Debaters Society and Afokoula Singers, with the former engaging staff and students in critical talking on almost anything and everything and the latter specializing in

classical Tongan songs and dances and featuring refined works of such great poets as Queen Sālote, Malukava, Afuhaʻamango (Ula), Taitusi Fūnaki, Uēlingatoni Liu, and many others (see, e.g., Helu 1999; Hixon 2000; Kaeppler 1993; Māhina 1992, 2005b, Moyle 1987; Wood-Ellem 2004; cf. Feldman 1980) . Mutually, the aims of both curricular and extracurricular activities serve to aid the formation of critical thinking of both teachers and students in their interactive partnership in constant search of knowledge.

The teaching of courses in philosophy and logic ranging from Greek philosophy through continental philosophy and British philosophy to North American philosophy, as well as formal logic and symbolic logic, was the critical intellectual thread that tied together all courses taught across disciplines (Māhina 1992, 2004c, 2005b). Apart from Tongan culture, Professor Helu also taught alternately philosophy and logic courses throughout the three-term academic year. Professor Helu studied philosophy and logic under the most controversial and influential atheist Australian philosopher, the late Professor John Anderson, Challis Professor of Philosophy, at Sydney University in the late 1950s. Professor Anderson, who, with both rigor and originality, developed realism as a major branch of philosophy into what has come to be known as Sydney realism (Anderson 1962, 2007; Phillips 1980; cf. Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982).

As a philosophical system, Professor Anderson's realism basically advances a theory of independence of reality. Accordingly, this theory puts forward a view that all things exist independently on a single level of reality, (spatiotemporality or four-sided dimensionality), where they are logically connected in eternal relations of exchange. It hinges on the traditional dispute between realism and mind-dependent theories. For realism, the dispute is about ways of being and not about ways of knowledge, arguing that epistemological questions are secondary to ontological questions. Philosophically, realism recognizes the centrality of both complexity and conflict to existence in general (Anderson 1962; Gleick 1987; Māhina 1999c, 2005b; Rimoldi 2004). Through realism, Professor Anderson was led to speak on a group of major topics across entire disciplines, as well as forms of activity across the whole social spectrum, connected with his closely unified but widely ranging views. Evidently, my realist critical anthropology, underpinned by realism, classicism, and aestheticism, puts it in direct conflict with mind-centered anthropological theories, notably functionalism, structuralism, structural-functionalism, poststructuralism, and postmodernism (Māhina 1999c; Rimoldi 2004).

My anthropological view of culture has been hugely influenced by my early exposure to both philosophy and logic at ʻAtenisi University. The impact of philosophy and logic in my thinking resulted in the working out

of my realist critical anthropology position. In 1980, I entered the University of Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand, where I consolidated my study of anthropology and sociology for a double-major BA degree. There, I came in close contact with a contemporary of Professor Helu at Sydney University, Dr. Max Rimoldi, an economic anthropologist. Like Professor Helu, Dr. Rimoldi also studied philosophy and logic under Professor Anderson in the late 1950s. Given our shared genealogical intellectual connections, Dr. Rimoldi and I continued to commonly promote realist critical anthropology. In reality, however, this common critical engagement was truly met with real intellectual and political resistance (Māhina 1986, 1992, 1999c, 2004c, 2008c; Rimoldi 2004). Despite many obstacles, this critical intellectual partnership culminated in the production of my MA thesis (Māhina 1987), supervised by the late Dr. Garth Rogers and Dr. Rimoldi. During both my undergraduate and my postgraduate years, Marxist anthropologist Dr. Rimoldi and Marxist sociologist Dr. David Bedggood introduced me to Marxism, a conflict and materialist theory that played a crucial role in my intellectual formation (see, e.g., Māhina 1999c, 2004b).

While undertaking my master's studies, I met the late Professor Epeli Hauʻofa, Tonga's first and foremost anthropologist, not to mention the Moana, for the very first time in 1985. An anthropology PhD graduate of the Australian National University, Professor Hauʻofa, together with Rev. Dr. Lātūkefu, and I share a common intellectual genealogy. As a visiting fellow, his wide-ranging expertise was drawn on in talks that materialized in the formation of the Centre for Pacific Studies at the University of Auckland. My contact with Professor Hauʻofa continued in force through our common support of ʻAtenisi when we were both involved in many of its curricular and extracurricular activities (Hauʻofa 2005; Māhina 2005b). As one of my PhD thesis (Māhina 1992) examiners, Professor Hauʻofa critically appraised both its strengths and its weaknesses, allowing for the refinement of my realist critical anthropology. Over the years, our shared interests in anthropology, art, and literature increasingly gained momentum in drawing us closer together, especially in light of his unique personality, mentality and sociality, and beautiful sense of humor as well as the originality of his scholarship and creative writings (see, e.g., Hauʻofa 1983, 1993, 1995, 2000, 2005).

My introduction to the work of Professor Hauʻofa took place in my first year as an MA scholar when he engaged the late Professor Ron Crocombe in an interesting debate on a number of issues relating to problematic relationships between Pacific anthropology, Pacific anthropologists, and Pacific people. Professor Hauʻofa (1975: 283–89) argued against the manner in which anthropologists imposed their own cultural values on the cultures of others, as in the case of Professor Marshall Sahlins, whose anthropological

practice was informed by pseudoevolutionary and neoclassical economic perspectives. In reply, Professor Ron Crocombe (1975: 1–9) problematized the issue of insiderism-outsiderism as far from being an ultimate, arguing a case for both its plurality and flexibility. In his seminal essay "Our Sea of Islands," Professor Hauʻofa (1993) called for a total shift in the thinking and practice of Pacific/Moana peoples, from seeing Oceania/Moana as "islands in the far seas" to viewing it as "our sea of islands," that is, from a condition of domination to a state of liberation.[10]

In an article, "Theory and Practice in Anthropology: Pacific Anthropology and Pacific Islanders" (Māhina 1999c), I belatedly joined the debate by disputing the insider-outsider distinction as having no intellectual worth, except in the political domain where it rightly belonged, given both its universality and its particularity (Māhina 1992, 2004b). By rethinking Moana/Pacific Islands studies, predominantly yet problematically in functionalist and relativist ways, Wesley-Smith (1995) reviewed the history of the discipline within and across a number of international tertiary institutions as well as its politically led, utility-driven rationales, essentially dealing with the "what does" question to the relative exclusion of the "what is" question.

At the completion of my MA degree with First Class Honors in anthropology (Māhina 1986), in 1986 I rejoined ʻAtenisi University, where I taught courses in anthropology, sociology, and Tongan culture. In late 1987, I took up a PhD scholarship from the Australian National University, Australia, where I studied Moana/Pacific history under the supervision of Dr. Neil Gunson, Dr. Deryck Scarr, and Professor Donald Denoon (Māhina 1992, 1999b). It was here that I came in close affiliation with Tonga's most senior Moana/Pacific historian, Rev. Dr. Sione Lātūkefu, who was a senior fellow in the Department of Pacific and Asian History, where he did his PhD degree under the supervision of Dr. Gunson (see, e.g., Lātūkefu 1968, 1974). As an original and substantial contribution, I developed a realist philosophical theory of the study of mythology, oratory and poetry, based on Tongan artistic and literary device heliaki, meaning symbolically saying one thing but really meaning another (Māhina 1999b, 2003b, 2011; Māhina and ʻAlatini 2007). From a realist philosophical angle, symbols are taken to be merely "pointers" to reality (Anderson 1962; Helu 1999; Māhina 1992, 2004c, 2005b). It therefore calls for a rigorous distinction made between the symbolic and the historical, thereby giving both written history and oral history the same logical status, differentiated only by the respective media in which they are transmitted in time and space.

As a further refinement on this new line of theoretical development, heliaki has been found to have two types: qualitative, epiphoric heliaki and associative, metaphoric heliaki (Māhina 2004c, 2005a, 2008b, 2008c; cf.

Crittenden 2003). The former involves the exchange of qualities between two closely connected objects, events, or states of affairs—for example, la'ā (sun) for *tu'i* (monarch) and *la'ātō* (sunset) for mate (death)—and the latter to be the exchange of qualities between two culturally and historically associated objects, events, or states of affairs—for example, *Taulanga Tuku mo Failā* (City of Sails) for Auckland and *'Otumotu Anga'ofa* (Friendly Islands) for Tonga. Basically, the eternal relations of exchange in both cases of heliaki exist in the form of intersection, where conflicting spatiotemporal, substantial-formal (and functional) relationships between objects, events, or state of affairs are symmetrically mediated in the creative process.

After completing my PhD degree in 1992, I was appointed to a lectureship position at the newly established Auckland's Massey University–Albany Campus, Aotearoa New Zealand, in 1993. As a foundation member, I was responsible for teaching several Moana-related courses and curriculum development, as well as postgraduate supervision, in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work. In mid-1994, I moved back to the University of Auckland, where I was appointed a lecturer in anthropology at the Tamaki Campus. As a double appointment, my colleague Dr. Penelope Schoeffel-Meleisea and I were in charge of setting up the Anthropology of Development program. During my time at the University of Auckland, I introduced new courses in Pacific/Moana political economy and Pacific/Moana arts, teaching them until I left in 2008 for Auckland's Massey University. My former teachers Dr. Rimoldi and Dr. Steve Webster and I collaborated in teaching an MA course in economic anthropology, with a specific focus on culture and development, which I continued to teach after their retirement in 2003.

I took leave of absence from the University of Auckland between 1997 and 1999, when I was appointed director of 'Atenisi Institute, taking over from my former teacher Professor Helu. In addition to being director, I was also appointed dean of 'Atenisi University, where I was professor of Tongan studies. Both the diversity and the multiplicity of cultural and intellectual experiences in thinking, teaching, and writing over the years inspired me into critically rethinking both old and new problems in novel ways. When I resumed my position at the University of Auckland in 2000, I had already actively engaged in the development of the new general tā-vā theory of reality (Māhina 2002a, 2002b, 2003b, 2004a, 2004c, 2005b, 2008b, 2008c), which I began to present in seminars and international conferences. I have published extensively on this theory, mainly in the form of book chapters and journal articles, ranging from culture, history, and political economy through art, literature, and language to education, research, and transcultural psychology.

My supervision of both Moana and non-Moana students, as well as connection with other scholars through other media, has ignited great passions in them for use of the theory. In 2001, both Dr. Ka'ili and Dr. Williams came across the tā-vā theory for the first time when I presented a paper relating to some aspects of it at a Tongan History Association (TRA) conference held at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, United States.[11] Subsequently, both of them applied the theory in the investigation of the respective subject matters of their doctoral projects, taking the lead in its further advancement (Ka'ili 2007; Williams 2009). Dr. Ka'ili examined migration as a human phenomenon, involving spatiotemporal movement of people in time and space (Ka'ili 2005, 2007). On the other hand, Dr. Williams critiqued education as a dialectical spatiotemporal, formal-substantial (and practical) transformation of the human intellect from ignorance to knowledge to skills (Williams 2009; cf. Māhina 2008c). Dr. Ka'ili, Dr. Williams, Fetongikava Dr. Viliami Uasikē Lātū (2006), a former student, and I have continued to work on a number of book projects, some of which have resulted in single-authored, coauthored, and coedited published books.

Several other PhD scholars have embraced the theory in their inquiry and research, such as Helen Erana Ferris-Leary, Micah van der Ryn, Sione Vaka, Leonaitasi Hoponoa, Siosiua Lafitani Pouvalu Tōfua'ipangai, and Malia Talakai, from across Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, and The Netherlands. Their topics of investigation range from dance and architecture through mental health and youth to intellectual property and policy. As a common focus, they deal with time-space, form-content (and practical) intersecting human meanings, that is, conflict. A couple of master's students of architecture, Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine (2005, 2010) and Bruce Moa, are utilizing the theory in their inquiry into Tongan architecture. In their separate projects, they collectively inquire into material art of architecture as formally and substantially (and functionally) intersecting *kohi* (lines) and vā (spaces), with wood, stones, steel, and glass as a medium and human use as its function.

A group of us villagers from the village of Tefisi-Nga'akau on the island of Vava'u, Tonga, got together in 2003 to form the Tefisi-Nga'akau Village Education and Development Trust (TEVDT), legally registered in both Tonga and Aotearoa New Zealand. The aims and objectives of the TEVDT are to promote education in the community, with knowledge production taking the lead over knowledge application, on all levels and in all contexts. Our Dr. 'Okusitino Māhina Education Centre was officially opened in 2007, together with the establishment of Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research (VACIAR), of which I am founder-director

(Māhina, Potauaine, ʻAlatini, Māhina-Tuai, Māhina, and Māhina 2007). The idea is to establish a small teaching-based and research-led university for Vavaʻu, given the extremely high demand, but because of a lack of resources, VACIAR is currently research based and publication driven. VACIAR has formed two publishing arms in New Zealand: Loʻau Research Society Publishing and Kula-ʻUli Publishing, with the former for academic publications and the latter for children's books.[12]

Art as Genealogy of Times and Spaces

Art as genealogy of times and spaces suggests that art is a form of intersection of lines and spaces. Apart from form, beat, or cycle, time manifests itself by way of line. On the one hand, genealogy as a form of humanity is an outcome of formally, substantially (and functionally) intersecting physical, emotional, and social tendencies. On the other, art is a form of human activity, a product of temporally, spatially (and practically) intersecting material, psychological, and social entities. Deriving from the general tā-vā (time-space) theory of reality, art can, thus, be defined as tā-vā (time-space) transformation, where conflicts in *fuo-uho* (form-content) are symmetrically mediated to produce *potupotutatau* (harmony) (Māhina 2004a). This state of harmony is itself *mālie* or *fakaʻofoʻofa* (beauty). Therefore, the form and content of subject matters of art under the creative process, such as language for poetry, sound for music, and bodily movements for dance, are spatiotemporally transformed from a condition of *felekeu* (chaos) to a state of *maau* (order).

The art exhibition "Genealogy of lines: Hohoko e tohotohi" at the Govett-Brewster Art Gallery for contemporary arts in New Plymouth, Aotearoa New Zealand, in 2002, by internationally renowned Tongan tufunga lalava artist Sopolemalama Filipe Tohi, exhibited his new works produced in novel forms and media on the material art tufunga lalava. Based on my exhibition floor talk, I wrote a chapter titled "Tufunga lalava: The Tongan art of lineal and spatial intersection" (Māhina 2002b), published in the exhibition catalog "Genealogy of lines: Hohoko e tohitohi" (Rees 2002). Coincidently, the word *tohi*, as in the last name of the artist Tohi, means "writing," defined by a multiplicity of intersecting lines and spaces. Therefore, Tohi, like tufunga lalava, is "intersector of lines and spaces." The older form of tohi is kohi, as seen in their elongation, that is, *tohitohi* and *kohikohi*. The entire heavens, configured by intersecting celestial bodies in the form of a huge gridlike, web-type kupesi (geometric design) called *kupenga* (fishnet),[13] of extreme navigational significance, are called *kohi-ʻa-Velenga*, literally "writing-of-god-Velenga" (Māhina 1992, 2002b; Rees 2002; cf. Velt 1990).

Tongan art can be generally divided into three types: *faiva* (performance), *tufunga* (material), and *nimamea'a* (fine) arts (Māhina, 2002b, 2008b, 2008c). Conversely, Tongan art is genealogically connected in temporal and spatial ways within and across the three genres. All three terms—faiva, tufunga, and nimamea'a—are constitutive of time and space. The words faiva, tufunga, and nimamea'a literally mean "do-time-in-space," "beat-space," and "hand-marking-time-space," respectively. Also, the word *nimamea'a* literally means "fine-hands," hence the naming of fine arts nimamea'a. Generally, faiva and tufunga are male dominated, and nimamea'a is female centered. It is interesting to take note of the classification of Tongan art into three genres and its alignment to a distinction between body itself and outside-of-body. Performance arts are found to be based on *sino* (body centered) and both material and fine arts on *tu'asino* (non–body centered). Common to all three arts is, in fact, the intersection of either human meanings or lines and spaces or a mixture of both.

In Tonga, at least in ancient times, most, if not all, forms of social activity were classified under the three types of arts. It is, therefore, not surprising to see the high level of refinement and attainment associated with many, if not all, arts. The overseeing of such forms of social practice was in the hands of ha'a professional classes[14] who carried them out with a high degree of specialization. All forms of human activity were produced with both quality and utility. The same was true of arts, where both quality and utility were mutually, symbiotically in coexistence. Although things were made primarily for consumption, when it came to production, quality took precedence over utility. Not only were things made to be faka'ofo'ofa (beautiful),[15] but they were equally made to be 'aonga (useful). Both the *ngaohi* (production)[16] and *tufotufa* (distribution) were controlled by ha'a professionals, leaving *faka'aonga* (consumption) more a matter of generalized public enterprise. The strict control over both production and distribution, as opposed to consumption, meant that knowledge and skills connected with such professions were the possession of a privileged specialized few (Māhina, 1992, 1999b, 2008b).

The transformative, investigative, and communicative nature of art relates to both its intrinsic and its extrinsic qualities. The former deals with "what-is-of-art," that is, art for art's sake, while the latter with "what-does-of-art," that is, art in society (Anderson, Cullum, and Lycos 1982; Māhina 1999a, 2002b, 2004a, 2005a, 2008c). By intrinsic qualities, reference is made to such qualities as *tatau* (symmetry), potupotutatau (harmony), and mālie (beauty) internal to art. On the other hand, the extrinsic qualities are *māfana* (warmth), *vela* (fieriness), and *tauēlangi* (climaxed elation). There is, then, a suggestion of a formal-substantial transformation of fiery, energy-like matter, a sustained spatiotemporal movement of emotional states from

warmth to fieriness to climaxed elation. While the internal qualities of art are strictly spatiotemporal, the external ones are essentially sociofunctional. As a process, the internal qualities of art precede their external qualities, defined as outcome (Gell 1998; Thomas 1995; cf. Kaeppler 1993; Layton 1991; Hereniko 1995; Moyle 1987). The term *tauelangi* literally means "reaching-the-sky," pointing to a dialectical time-space movement of sustained series of conflict and resolution, as in the case of poetry, music, and dance. The association with *langi* (sky) depicts an emotional state of some "divine" experience characteristic of this noble feeling.[17]

The differentiation between mālie (good) and *palakū* (bad) works of art hinges on the distinction between their internal and external qualities (Māhina 2005b). The impact of good works of art, in contrast to bad works of art, on both performers and viewers is materialized in terms of warmth, fieriness, and climaxed elation. Good works of art internally display tatau, potupotutatau and mālie/fakaʻofoʻofa, resulting in the generation of external feelings of māfana, vela, and tauēlangi. All good works of art are, by their own nature, symmetrical, harmonious, and beautiful. In poetry, music, and dance, for example, the production of these intrinsic qualities is carried out by artistic and literary devices: heliaki, *tuʻakautā*, and *hola*, respectively. As devices, they further spatiotemporally subdivide formal and substantial divisions of meanings, tones, and bodily movements through a continuous chain of separation and connection or conflict and resolution.[18] The term *hola*, literally referring to "escape," is often interchanged with the respective words *kaihaʻasi* and *haka-funga-haka*, literally pointing to "steal" and "movement-on-top-of-another." Likewise, the word *tuʻakautā* literally means "beat-outside-beats," a reference to a beat inside yet outside two existing beats. Like heliaki, a time-space, form-content subdivision of human meanings, tuʻakautā and hola are expressed as a subdivision by means of a repetition of defined intersection and mediation, with mediation itself a form of intersection (Māhina 2003b, 2004c, 2005b, 2008c; cf. Helu 1999; Kaeppler 2005; Moyle 1987).

In existing literature on Tongan art, faiva has been mistakenly observed to consist entirely of *faiva taʻanga* (poetry), *faiva hiva* (music), and *faiva haka* (dance) (Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993, 2005, 2007; Moyle 1987). Such an error in thinking is clouded by their naturally closer formal, substantial, and functional relationships, when a poem is composed, then put to a song and a dance. As a matter of fact, Tongan faiva is more extensive than has been earlier thought and includes the locally developed arts *faiva heulupe* (pigeon snaring), *faiva fānifo* (surfing),[19] and *faiva fuhu* (boxing) as well as the introduced arts *faiva ʻakapulu* (rugby playing), *faiva kilikiti* (cricket playing), *faiva tekapulu* (bowling), and many others. By extension, the fact

that tufunga lalava (house kafa-sinnet lashing), *tufunga langafale* (house building), and *tufunga fo'uvaka* (boat engineering) are in close formal, substantial, and functional proximity does not mean that tufunga is confined to them. There are other tufunga, such as locally developed *tufunga fonua* (social engineering), *tufunga lea* (speech designing), and *tufunga tātatau* (tattooing), as are introduced arts such as *tufunga langauafu* (wharf engineering), *tufunga langa'ā* (fence building), and *tufunga ngaohihala* (road building), among others (see, e.g., Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006).

Tongan arts are genealogically connected within and across all three genres, either as a conflict in human meanings or as an intersection of lines and spaces. Take, for example, *faiva fakaoli* (comedy) and *faiva fakamamahi* (tragedy), both of which deal with mediation of contradictions in thinking. Comedy is concerned with the mediation of conflicts at the interface of *ngalivale* (absurdity) and *ngalipoto* (normality), with *kata* (laughter) as its outcome. Similarly, tragedy involves negotiation of contradictions in thinking at the interface of *anga'i manu* (animality) and *anga'i tangata* (sociality), resulting in *fakamā* (shame). As works of mind, comedy and tragedy are an inquiry into human conditions, including mind. In comedy, transformation from self-ignorance to self-knowledge is celebrated through laughter, with self now being conscious of the commission of an error. A parallel transition underlies tragedy, where failure of conformity to a specific moral code is condemned through shame, allowing for self-reflection on such a behavior typified as animalistic (Māhina 2008b, 2011; see also, e.g., Chapman and Foot 1976; Hereniko 1995; Piddington 1963; cf. Feldman 1981).

Generally, material arts are connected with intersecting lines and spaces, as shown by *tufunga tātatau* (tattooing) and *tufunga tāmaka* (stonecutting). In tattooing, the intertwining lines and spaces are expressed by means of *vaitohi 'uli* (black ink) and *kili kula* (red skin), with *sino* (body) merely a *vaka* (medium). The word *vaitohi* literally means "line-marking-fluid," that is, a time marker of body as space. Not that time and space are separate, as if time is privileged over and distinct from space, for both entities are inseparable in reality. The tempo lining of body as a spatial entity is done in terms of kupesi, produced by tufunga lalava as a master art of linealspatial intersection. While tattooing and stonecutting share things in common, they do differ in others (Māhina 2002b, 2005b, 2008c). Common to both art forms are line-space interlacing, as well as both deriving from kupesi, differentiated by their separate contents, with tattooing and stonecutting made through tempo making of body and stone as their respective media. The devices used for line marking of body and stone are named *hui* (needle) and *toki* (adze), respectively, and their sharp points are called *mata'i hui* (eye of the needle) and *mata'i toki* (eye of the adze).[20] The "eyes"

or sharp points of such tempo-making tools are themselves a form of intersection. Their temporal configurations as spatial entities demonstrate the divisibility of tā-vā and fuo-uho on both abstract and concrete levels.

Like material arts, fine arts are concerned principally with line-space intertwining. Fine arts include *nimameaʻa lālanga* (mat weaving), *nimameaʻa kokaʻanga* (bark-cloth making), and *nimameaʻa tuikakala* (flower-design plaiting) (Māhina 2002b, 2005b, 2007, 2008b, 2008c). As clear in both mat weaving and bark-cloth making, their individual contents are made up of formally interlacing lines and spaces made up of leaves and barks of pandanus and mulberry plants. The carefully processed leaves and tree barks are their medium. As for *fala* making, the preparation of dried leaves is called *tohi feʻunu*, that is, the creation of finely produced, lining threads of leaves (Māhina 2002b; Rees 2002). The word *feʻunu* literally means "multiple-shifting," that is, symmetrical mediation of interlacing, line marking threads of dried, treated leaves. Like the devices hui and toki for tattooing and stonecutting, the instrument for tohi feʻunu is called *kapa tohifeʻunu*, literally meaning "line-marking metal," and its intersected, sharp point *mataʻi kapa*, that is, "eye of the metal."[21] In *ngatu* making, the production of intersecting lines and spaces is done in the form of intertwining treated *koka kula* (red koka tree sap) and *tongo ʻuli* (black tongo tree sap), based on kupesi derived from tufunga lalava. Like the device kapa tohifeʻunu for mat weaving, the intersection-produced instrument used for ngatu making is *foʻifā*, a sharp-pointed, brushlike pandanus fruit.

Conclusion: A Matter of Implication

The specificity underpinning this article is a particular theoretical, practical, and ethnographic approach to the generality underlying the unique theoretical, practical, and ethnographic theme of the symposium. By articulating the spatiotemporal, formal-substantial (and functional) relationships between anthropology and indigeneity on the one hand and Moana anthropology and Moana cultures on the other, I situated the problematic issues arising in the broader context of the general tā-vā theory of reality. In doing so, I found theory, practice, and ethnography at the base of both essay and symposium in close spatiotemporal, substantial-formal, and functional affinity. From a of tā-vā theoretical view, genealogy merges with the fact that all things, in nature, mind, and society, enter into eternal relations of exchange where conflict and order are mediated through symmetry. As a human phenomenon, genealogy is about people who cross paths in physical, emotional, and social ways, culturally ordered and historically altered through intersection and separation. By way of articulation, I critiqued both

cultural and historical tensions in temporal-spatial, formal-substantial, and practical connections within and across social, intellectual, and artistic and literary genealogies. As established, intersection and mediation, separation and connection, or conflict and resolution, like time and space or form and content, are inseparable in reality. Like all exchange relations, within and across nature, mind, and society, genealogy embraces both conflict and resolution, with resolution itself a form of conflict.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Glossary of Tongan Words, Idioms, and Proverbs

Words

ʻaho	day; symbol for men
ʻakapulu, faiva	rugby playing, art of
ʻaonga	useful
faʻa, haʻa	cultivators and domesticators, class of
faiva, haʻa	performance artists, class of
fafine	plural for women
faiva	performance art
faiva, haʻa	performance artists, class of
fakaʻaonga	make use
fakamamahi, faiva	tragedy, art of
fakaʻofoʻofa	used for tufunga; see mālie
fakaoli, faiva	comedy, art of
fakapoʻuli	darkness; symbol for ignorance
fala	mat
fānifo, faiva	surfing, art of
fatongia	social obligation
fatu	formal word for create
faʻu	create

fefine	woman
felekeu	chaos
fe'unu	dried line-marking leave threads
fuhu, faiva	boxing, art of
fonua, tufunga	social engineering, art of
fo'u	same for fa'u
fo'uvaka, tufunga	boat building, art of
fuo; fōtunga	form
fuo-uho	form-content
ha'a	professional class
haka, faiva	dance, art of
haka-funga-haka	dance device; see hola and kaiha'asi
heliaki	poetic device
heulupe, faiva	pigeon snaring, art of
hiva, faiva	music, art of
hola	dance device; see kaiha'asi and haka-funga-haka
hoko	connect; join
hohoko	genealogy
hui	needle
kā	Hawaiian for tā
kafa	sinnet
kaiha'asi	dance device; see hola and haka-funga-haka
kakano	content; flesh
kanoloto	content
kapa tohife'unu	device for line-marking dried leave threads
kata	laugh; laughter
kavenga	social burden
kilikiti, faiva	cricket, art of
koka kula	red koka tree sap
koka 'uli	black tongo tree sap
koka'anga, nimamea'a	bark-cloth making, art of
koloa	women's wealth
kuongaloto	literally "age-in-the-middle"; present
kuongamu'a	literally "age-in-the-front"; past
kuongamui	literally "age-in-the-back"; future
kupe	intersect
kupenga	fishnet; spider's web; master kupesi
kupesi	geometric design
kula	red; symbol for men
la'ā	sun; symbol for men
la'ātō	sunset; symbol for death
lakalaka	sociopolitical poetry; dance genre
lalava, tufunga	kafa-sinnet lashing, art of
langa'ā, tufunga	fence building, art of
lālanga, nimamea'a	mat weaving, art of
langafale, tufunga	house building, art of
langauafu, tufunga	wharf building, art of
langi	sky; symbol for the divine
lea, faiva	speech giving, art of

lea, tufunga	speech designing, art of
maama	light; symbol for enlightenment
maau	poem; order
māfana	warmth
māhina	moon; symbol for women
mālie	beauty, used for faiva; see fakaʻofoʻofa
mata	eye; face
mate	death; symbol for women
moana	ocean; symbol for life and death
moʻui	life; symbol for men
mate	death; symbol for women
nimameaʻa	fine art
nimameaʻa, haʻa	fine artists, class of
nimatapu, tufunga	dead handling, art of
noa	zero; nothing; state of balance
ngalipoto	normality
ngalivale	absurdity
ngaohi	make
ngaohihala, tufunga	road building, art of
ngatu	bark cloth
ngāue	men's wealth
papa fānifo	surfing board
peau fisihina	white, foamy waves
pō	night; symbol for women
potupotutatau	harmony
punake, haʻa	poets, musicians, and dancers, class of
sino	body
tā	time
taʻanga, faiva	poetry, art of
tangata	men
tatau	symmetry
tauhi vā	keeping sociospatial relations
tātatau, tufunga	tattooing, art of
tau	war
tauēlangi	excitement ; climaxed elation
tā-vā	time-space
tekapulu, faiva	bowling, art of
tohi feʻunu	line-marking leave threads for weaving
toki	adze
toto	blood; blood relations
toutai, haʻa	navigators and deep-sea fishermen, class of
tatau	symmetry
tuʻakautā	music device
tuʻasino	nonbody
tufunga	material art
tufunga, haʻa	material artists, class of
Tuʻi Tonga	ancient dynasty
Tuʻi Kanokupolu	third dynasty

uho	content; substance; space
ʻuli	black; symbol for women
ʻulumotuʻa	socials institution based on men
vā	space; substance; content; relation
vaʻa	branch
vā kovi	bad sociosptial relations
vā lelei	good sociospatial relations
vaka	boat; medium
vela	burn; fieriness
wā	Hawaiian for vā

Idioms

angaʻi manu	animality
angaʻi tangata	sociality
ava kula	red hole; symbol for men
ava ʻuli	black hole; symbol for women
fai fāmili	activating family ties
faiva mālie	good work of art; see tufunga fakaʻofoʻofa
faiva palakū	bad work of art; see tufunga palakū
fakahoko fāmili	strengthening family ties
fakahoko kāinga	strengthening extended-family ties
fakahoko toto	strengthening blood ties
hoko teteʻe	fully inheriting physical, emotional, and social traits
mata fāmili	family-loving face
mata kāinga	extended-family-loving face
mata ʻofa	loving-hearted face
mata afi	eye of the fire
mata ʻita	eye of the anger
mata lemu	eye of the chewing, i.e., rectum
mata sio	eye of the seeing, i.e., eyes
mata ʻusi	eye of the biting, i.e., anus
mataʻi hele	eye of the knife
mataʻi hui	eye of the needle
mataʻi laʻā	eye of the sun
mataʻi peni	eye of the pen
mataʻi polosi	eye of the brush
mataʻi toki	eye of the adze
moana ʻuliʻuli	deep black ocean; symbol for women
tufunga fakaʻofoʻofa	good work of art; see faiva mālie
tufunga palakū	bad work of art; see faiva palakū

Proverbs

Kohi-ʻa-Velenga
(Writing-of-Velenga, i.e., god of Navigation)
ʻOku fakahokohoko toto ʻa fafine ka e fakahokohoko hingoa ʻa tangata
(Blood connects through women and titles through men)

'Oku falehanga 'a fafine pea 'oku hanga ka e tōkanga 'a tangata pea 'oku manga
(Women possess the house, measured by the hands, and men possess the garden,
     measured by the feet)
'Oku va'ava'a he ko e tangata
(It branches out [like a tree] because it's people)
'Otumotu Anga'ofa
(Friendly Islands, i.e., Tonga)
Sio hifo ki ho matá ko e kupesi 'atā pē ho'o tamaí
(Look at your face where your father's design is rightly imprinted)
Taulanga Tuku mo Failā
(City of Sails, i.e., Auckland)

NOTES

1. In Hawai'i, for example, tā and vā exist as *kā* and *wā*, translated as "time" and "space" (Ka'ili 2005, 2007).

2. The Tongan words for the past is *kuongamu'a*, literally meaning "age-in-the-front"; present *kuongaloto*, literally meaning "age-in-the-middle"; and future *kuongamui*, literally meaning "age-in-the-back" (Hau'ofa 2000; Ka'ili 2007; Māhina 2008c; Māhina & Nabob-Baba 2004b).

3. Huntington (2004) suggests that the twenty-first century will be characterized more by cultural than ideological, political, and economic conflicts.

4. For example, the scholarly treatment of such issues as identity and sustainable development is existentialist in mode. Rather than treating identity as a set of independent variables, such as culture, language, beliefs, and techniques, to which self can freely relate, these are made to be self-centered, a form of self-centrism that is conflicting through and through. Likewise, sustainable development is strictly, problematically anthropocentric in its formulation that it systematically excludes the environment from the equation (see, e.g., Māhina 1999c, 2004b).

5. There has been a consistent call among Moana scholars, notably Professor Konai Helu-Thaman (2005) and Professor Sitaleki 'Ata'ata Finau (2008), for "cultural democracy," that is, the incorporation of Moana cultures and languages in Moana curricula as well as Moana health, where Moana peoples can freely use their cultural concepts and practices without reservation and fear.

6. The Tongan word *mata* means two things: "face" and "eye" (see, e.g., Potauaine and Māhina 2009).

7. The three material arts *tufunga lalava*, tufunga *langafale*, and *tufunga fo'uvaka* are temporally-spatially, formally-substantially, and functionally connected in the same way that the three performance arts *faiva ta'anga*, *faiva hiva*, and *faiva haka* are unified by means of time-space, form-content, and function.

8. Like *fale*, *vaka* is also regarded as a *fefine*. So, fale and vaka are symbolized as a fefine and, in turn, fefine a symbol for both fale and vaka (see, e.g., Potauaine and Māhina 2009).

9. Malukava was a poet laureate, and Falekāono and Ula Matatoa were orators.

10. There has been an increasing infestation across a number of academic disciplines and social practices of Moana cultural models, such as *kakala*, *mālie-māfana*, *fa'afaletui*, *talanoa*, *fonua*, and *fonofale* (see, e.g., Helu-Thaman 2005; Māhina 2008c), as a response to such a call by Professor Hau'ofa (1993) for a complete overhaul in Moana thinking and practice. While this emerging trend is more than welcome, it must be pointed out that most, if not all, of these models have yet to be connected to reality, given the fact that models are merely symbolic "pointers" to real things in time and space (Anderson 1962, 2007; Māhina 1999c, 2008c).

11. After the Utah TRA conference, I also gave another paper titled "Tā, Vā and Faiva: Time, Space and Art" at a philosophy conference held at the University of California, Chico, where I began to apply the time-space theory to art and literature.

12. VACIAR has involved in the publication of ten single-authored, coauthored, and coedited academic books as well as a co–guest-edited special issue of a journal, not to mention book chapters and journal articles. Kula-'Uli Publishing in New Zealand, in conjunction with VACIAR, has published the first three books of its new series on Moana children's stories. A revolutionary, cutting-edge project, the new series utilizes classical Tongan abstract modes of *talanoa* (storytelling), *tāfakatātā* (image producing) and *tāfakalanu* (image coloring), informed by artistic and literary devices *heliaki* (intersecting human meanings), *kupesi* (intersecting images), and *kula'uli* (intersecting red-black colors).

13. The term *kupe*, as in *kupesi* and *kupenga*, means "intersect," with kupenga as "place of intersection." The naming of a heroic and daring Maori navigator who discovered Aotearoa Kupe probably had a bearing on ancient Moana navigation and voyaging.

14. In ancient times, especially the era of Tu'i Tonga dynasty, *ha'a* divisions were connected with *fatongia* (economic functions), such as *ha'a tufunga* (professional class of material artists), *ha'a toutai* (professional class of navigators and deep-sea fishermen), *ha'a fa'a* (professional class of crop cultivators and animal domesticators), and *ha'a punake* (professional class of poets, musicians, and dancers), among many others. When the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty came to power, the nature of ha'a was radically changed to political functions, now associated with titles and persons, such as Ha'a Ngata, divided into Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and Ha'a Ngata Tupu. Ngata was first Tu'i Kanokupolu (see, e.g., Māhina 1999a, 2008c).

15. The terms *mālie* and *faka'ofo'ofa* both mean "beauty" or "beautiful things," the subject matter of investigation of aesthetics, that is, the science of beautiful things, with the former applied to *faiva* and the latter to *tufunga* and *nimamea'a*.

16. The word *ngaohi* is often interchanged with *fa'u* and *fatu*, as in *fa'u vaka* (boat construction) and *fatu ta'anga* (poetry composition), respectively. Another variation of fa'u is *fo'u*, as in the material art *tufunga fo'uvaka*.

17. Some dance scholars view this "divine" effect to be orgasmic in nature.

18. All good works of art are said to be *mālie*, that is, beautiful, in the case of *faiva*, or *faka'ofo'ofa*, that is, beautiful, in the case of *tufunga* and *nimamea'a*. When, for instance,

the performance art *faiva ʻakapulu* is considered *mālie*, it simply means that the offensive team outdoes the defensive team, with players on the offense breaking through the defense. By this, reference is made to players on the attack making breaks in between opponent players by scoring points. Such breaks are a form of time-and-space subdivision between players.

19. As an ancient Moana art form, *faiva fānifo* is conducted at the constantly shifting spiral, vortexlike interface of moana *ʻuliʻuli* (deep black ocean) and *peau fisihina* (white, foamy waves), mediated by the device *papa fānifo* (surfing board), which must be at one with the surfer.

20. The word *mata* means "face" and "eye," both of which have a bearing on genealogy. A number of emotionally led facial expressions include *mata ʻofa* (face of the loving), *mata kāinga* (face of the kin-centered loving), *mata ʻita* (face of the anger), and so forth. On the other hand, eyes are classified in different ways, such as *mata sio* (eye of the seeing), *mata ʻusi* (eye of the biting, i.e., anus), *mata lemu* (eye of the chewing, i.e., rectum), and many more. Tools are characterized in terms of eyes, as in *mataʻi polosi* (eye of the brush), *mataʻi peni* (eye of the pen), *mataʻi hele* (eye of the knife), and so on. Also, natural occurrences are described by way of eyes, as in *mataʻi laʻā* (eye of the sun), *matā matangi* (eye of the winds), and *mata afi* (eye of the fire; Potauaine and Māhina 2009). All these instances of mata are a form of intersection, where conflicts are mediated in the process, where they are symmetrically transformed from a condition of crisis to a state of stasis.

21. In tattooing, for example, the sharp-pointed *mataʻi hui*, that is, eye of the needle, intersects the skin, then mediates it with black ink. Likewise, in painting, the sharp-pointed *mataʻi polosi*, that is, eye of the brush, separates the canvas and then connects it with colors.

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INDIGENOUS ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE
KAVA MYTH IN MANU'A

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THE CONCEPTS OF INDIGENOUS ANTHROPOLOGY, genealogy, positionality, and mythology affect the way we look at the values, beliefs, and practices of our own indigenous societies. Specifically, these concepts can assist in the description and analysis of the Samoan myths about the origins of *kava*.

In this article, I explain how the concepts of indigenous anthropology, genealogy, positionality, and mythology affect the way we look at the values, beliefs, and practices of our own indigenous societies.

More pertinent, these concepts are employed to assist in the description and analysis of the Samoan myths about the origins of kava. For ease of reading, I have used the Anglicized word *kava* instead of the Samoan *ava*.

The present article is the outcome of my participation in two of the ASAO sessions on indigenous anthropology held in Kauai, Hawai'i, in 2005 and Canberra, Australia, in 2008 and one session on the kava also at the Canberra session in 2008.

In the early sessions on this topic of indigenous anthropology—that is, at Kauai in 2005 and San Diego in 2006—there was general discussion on the theme of genealogy in part because of the great importance that Pacific Islanders give to this topic.

Finally, after the Canberra and Santa Cruz (2009) meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, genealogy has come to

emphasize genealogical connection not just to Oceania (Moana) but also to intellectual tradition.

As a topic in itself, indigenous anthropology is not new because before the Kauai meeting, it was already being extensively discussed by many authors, including Hauofa (1975), Ka'ili (2005), Māhina (1999), Morauta (1979), Tengan (2001), White and Tengan (2001), and others.

Indigenous anthropology can, therefore, be defined as anthropological research conducted by indigenes (in this case, Pacific Islanders), that is, the employment of Western concepts of anthropology and relevant methodologies to describe, interpret, and analyze social phenomena in the Pacific Islands through the worldviews of the indigenes.

Naturally, there is no one way of describing, interpreting, and analyzing such social phenomena because of the differences in cultures, religions, and economic and social institutions, even among the indigenes of the Pacific Islands, also referred to as Moana (Ka'ili, 2005; Māhina, 1999).

That is to be accepted, but at the same time, this openness to variable explanations provides a richness and a depth to understanding sociocultural phenomena in Moana and enforces the truth of the maxim *e pluribus unum* (from many to one).

That is to say, while the hypothetical superstate of Moana includes many Pacific countries, cultures, and languages, they share many things in common and hence encourage a philosophical outlook called the Pacific Way.

Genealogy in Moana usually refers to biological connections, parents, children, and their descendants and is attested to through genetic markers, but it can also refer to mythic connections, as is often the case with adopted children and other co-opted members.

More important here, genealogy also refers to other kinds of connections, for example, intellectual connections, referring to teachers and educational institutions. Many American anthropologists, for instance, have been trained in the Boasian tradition of anthropology because their teachers were students of students of Papa Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology.

Many British and other Commonwealth anthropologists were trained in the anthropological tradition of Cambridge University, a tradition that was originally founded on that of anthropologists trained by Bronislaw Malinowski.

It is to this intellectual tradition that I belong because my first supervisor at the Australian National University in 1984 was Professor Derek Freeman, who was supervised for his PhD by Meyer Fortes, who was a student of the great Malinowski. Not only that, but my alma mater, the Australian National University, was dominated by Cambridge-educated anthropologists.

Positionality, as the word suggests, is the intellectual position or stance that one adopts in relation to a topic. In my view, this is an important distinction in literary productions and other kinds of intellectual productions because one always writes from a distinctive viewpoint.

In the case of indigenous anthropologists like myself, I tend to write from a cultural and therefore Moana point of view as distinct from an "other," or Western, point of view. Because of cultural differences among anthropologists, these two different viewpoints may be contradictory and sometimes lead to tension.

When such tensions result, there is often an attempt by the dominant cultural group, in this case, Western or *palagi* anthropologists, to downplay the importance of what indigenous anthropologists have to say simply because their views do not conform to the Eurocentric point of view of the majority.

The refusal to face "facts," to admit difference in social and scientific opinion, will probably lead sooner or later to fragmentation of these dominant cultural groups as minorities break away to form their own small circles of academic and professional societies.

Indigenous anthropology, therefore, is characterized by the tendency to be different from the mainstream perspectives of the majority because, first, their numbers are small and, second, their perspectives are geared toward their own traditional social realities in relation to Western, capitalistic, palagi realities.

Mythology, the study of myth, has many meanings. But as used here, it is closer to what Maurice Leenhardt (1979) means by myth, that is, a lived reality, a psychological experience grounded in the roots of traditional custom and history. In short, it is the language of emotion, of how people should feel in particular social contexts.

But it is more than just emotional experience. For it is also the ordered experience of *ta* and *va*, of time and space (Māhina 2004): of time as measured in the cycles of the moon and flower-bearing trees of the forest and of space as measured in the forms of obeisance shown to one's chiefs or king.

In fact, ta and va are legitimated by mythic experience just as the latter is also legitimated by ta and va. The mutual dependency of these two key tropes results in the obliteration of time, as understood in the West, and the elevation of spatial relationships (cf. Māhina 2004, 2009).

Thus, in Moana culture, ta and va may be construed as intellectual constructs and myth as an emotional experience that is considered mythical yet real. It is mythical because it is based on feeling and emotion and real because it is experienced.

The two combined represent the *do kamo* of Leenhardt, or the true, authentic person, the modern citizen of Moana, who, in Leenhardt's eyes, is a person of education who is rooted in the traditions of one's society. This is the essence of Moana culture.

Intellect without spirituality, as represented by emotion, is a nihilistic form of existence; that same can be said of emotion without its intellectual appurtenances. This is the challenge of the modern period, for Moana, indeed for the world!

The Kava Myth

Having said that, by way of introducing the kava myth in Samoa, the perspective that is accorded the myth should now be more transparent. It is the product of indigenous anthropology, a description and commentary by an indigenous Samoan anthropologist, focusing on customary and traditional experience.

The anthropologist employs the tools of modern anthropology in his or her attempt to explain the myth. He or she is at the same time influenced by noted scholars of traditional societies, such as Maurice Leenhardt among the Kanaks in New Caledonia and above all by his own former supervisor, Professor Derek Freeman, at the Australian National University.

The myth is described and analyzed from an indigenous, Samoan point of view. It is perceived conceptually as a lived reality; that is to say, while the story may not be true in the literal sense, it is true in a figurative sense, provides a charter for the origin of the kava drink, and inculcates the emotions suitable for the various stages of the kava ceremony, among others.

When Samoans talk about the genealogy of the kava (*gafa o le ava*), they are talking about the origins of the kava and how it spread around the Samoan islands. Kava refers both to the plant and to the drink made from it. There are many varieties of the plant, and Samoans prefer some to others because of their superior taste. Therefore, some varieties are more popular than others.

In Samoa, kava was used in connection with religious rituals. For instance, kava was said to have grown out of the (dead) body of an ancestor, and therefore the juice made from it symbolized the body of that ancestor. By drinking the juice in the context of a kava ceremony, one was in fact imbibing the spirit and mana of the ancestors, and the ritual thus constituted a communion service.

But the act of drinking is not just a symbolic one because the kava does have a narcotic effect on the body. It abets a psychophysical state that

facilitates acts of mental attunement with the ancestors, and therefore it belongs to kinds of drinks that are associated with religious ceremonies in other parts of the world, both past and present. The wine may have this effect in Christian ceremonies, for instance.

Archaeologists estimate that the lapita settlers, from whom the Samoans are descended, had settled the Samoan archipelago by at least 1000 BC (Bellwood 1987; Kirch 1984; Green 1979; Jennings 1979). The kava plant was almost certainly one of the plants these settlers brought with them from their Oceanic homeland in the Bismarck Archipelago. It is known and extensively used for the same purpose in other parts of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

Therefore, as a biological phenomenon, the kava plant has a long history that stretches back to the mists of time in the migrations of the Austronesian peoples into the South Pacific. What is new in Samoa, however, is the ceremonial use of the kava as a drink connected with the ancient religion of the Samoans and with their social etiquette.

What this signifies is that the genealogy of the kava refers to this ceremonial use in the context of the worship of personal gods, family gods, village gods, district gods, and national gods (Turner 1861). For the kava was both drunk and offered to the gods in the privacy of an individual's home or in the public domain of a village or district meeting.

The use of kava both as food and as a component of a highly complex ritual evolved in importance over the centuries and, like the Samoan fine mat, the *ie toga*, may truly be called one of the *mea sina* (treasured possessions) of Samoa.

The kava ceremony in Samoa, for instance, is one of the most elaborate rituals of welcome and worship in Samoan culture (*aganu'u Samoa*). There is a set protocol to which all parties must adhere, including welcoming remarks (*tuvaoga*), presentation of the kava by the host and visitors (*sufiga o le ava*), formal acknowledgment of the gifts of the kava root (*folafolaga o le ava*), and speeches of welcome and thanks (*lauga*).

In the actual ceremony, the ceremonial drinking of the kava drink would be held according to the dictates of Samoan chiefly protocol, followed by the presentation of a gift by the guests (*lafo* in the form of money, similar to the Maori kohu) and a lavish meal for all (*fono o le ava*). In the old days, there would also have been a *poula*, or traditional entertainment at night.

These various stages of the kava ceremony constitute separate rituals that must be performed in the correct manner; otherwise, the hosts would be put in a bad light because of their ignorance of the correct protocol. The kava ceremony is thus not just a simple ceremony for drinking kava, as is being done today commercially, but also an occasion for negotiating social space (va).

There are several versions regarding the origin of the kava. Basically, these may be divided into two: one emanating in Eastern Samoa (the Manu'a version) and one emanating in Western Samoa (the Western version).

There are some similarities (and some differences) between the two versions. Similarities include the "fact" that the kava plant grew from the body of a dead ancestor who requested that any plants that sprouted from his grave should be used for the benefits of his relatives. The plants were the sugarcane and the kava.

The differences were that in the Manu'a version, all events took place in Manu'a; that is, in Samoa, while in the Western version, the events took place in Fiji, and the plants were brought to Samoa by the dead ancestor's brother and sister, who swam across the ocean. There are some Samoan scholars who argue that Fiji is actually Fiti-uta in Manu'a, but that is another story.

It is the Manu'a version, however, that is generally regarded as the more authoritative of the two versions from several perspectives: Manu'a is regarded as the birthplace of Samoan culture, of its arts and crafts; general population movements of the past appear to have occurred in an east-to-west direction, with Savaii in the west being the last Samoan island to be populated. Space will not permit me to elaborate on these general beliefs at this time

Thus, this article concerns the Manu'a version about the genealogy of the kava. It is about the first known kava ceremony involving only two leading characters, Tagaloa-ui and Pava; it is about the ceremonial use of the kava by the Sa Tagaloa family; the violation of a prohibition, or *tapu*, pertaining to the kava; the attempt to punish the violator of this tapu; the breakup of the Sa Tagaloa family; and the spreading of the kava to other parts of Samoa.

Tagaloa-ui Son of the Sun

According to the Manu'a myth, the Sun was a cannibal. The people suffered. So, in an attempt to "tame" the Sun, the boy Lua and his sister Ui conspired to put an end to the Sun's cannibalism, and to this end they argued about who was to carry out their mission.

The sister, Ui, won the argument, and so when morning came, the girl went to the place where the Sun rose. She spread out her legs directly opposite the Sun's face (Kramer 1994, 551). The Sun thereupon agreed to give up his evil ways provided that Ui became his wife, which was, after all, what Ui had intended all along.

The Sun also made the girl promise that when she gave birth to his son, he was to be named after them. That is to say, he was to be called Tagaloa-Ui, made up of the Sun's name, Tagaloa, and that of the girl.

When she returned to her brother, they talked about running away and so swam in an easterly direction toward the Atafu islands, in the Tokelaus. While there, they stole a bird and a shell trumpet belonging to Li'i, another refugee from the Sun's wrath.

The brother and sister continued their swimming, this time south toward the Manu'a islands, carrying with them Li'i's goods. They landed at the place now called Saua, but Lua never made it to land, for he died and sank below the waves carrying with him Li'i's shell trumpet.

Ui continued on to land with the sultana bird she had stolen (Kramer 1994, 551). The bird ran away while Ui gave birth to the Sun's son on the beach. At that time, the golden plover (*tuli*) came along and told Ui to tell the boy his name, and that was how the boy got the names for his limbs: the knee, *tulivae*; the elbow, *tulilima*; and the top side, *tuliulu*.

Soon after, another bird came and sucked the boy's nose, and that was how this bird came to be called the *miti*. The mother and child then went up to the coconut plantation and lived there. This place came to be called Faleniu, the house of coconuts. The boy himself came to be called Tagaloa-ui, in accordance with the Sun's decree (Kramer 1994, 552).

After a lengthy sojourn in the coconut plantation, Ui died, and Tagaloa-ui now set out to find other people living in the area. That was how he came into contact with Pava and his two children, whose house "stood on a hill above a running stream." Tagaloa-ui told the boys to fetch their father, and they did so.

But Pava did not approach in the usual manner. He covered himself with taro leaves and floated down the river to where Tagaloa-ui was bathing. Tagaloa-ui opened the taro leaves, only to find Pava, who laughed and thought it was a great joke. Not so Tagaloaui, who became angry and told Pava he was a bad man because he played tricks on others.

The stage was now set for what is reputed to be the first kava ceremony in Samoa involving Tagaloa-ui and Pava and acknowledged in the famous expression *O le taeao na i Saua*, meaning the morning (great historical event) at Saua. This expression is often used in kava ceremonies even to this day.

Pava fetched a kava root that he deposited in front of Tagaloa-ui, who instructed the young men to prepare it while he conducted a conversation with Pava. Tagaloa-ui complained about the wild kava plants that scratched him and the difficulty of finding his way, thus the origin of the expression *saua i ava*, meaning "threatened by the kava" (Kramer 1994, 552).

While the two were drinking their kava, Pava's young son was fooling around the kava bowl, and despite warnings from Tagaloa-ui to Pava to control his son, Pava did not heed the advice. Finally, the boy fell into the kava bowl, and Tagaloa-ui reacted by hitting him with the rib of a coconut leaf, cutting him in two.

Tagaloa-ui offered Pava one-half of his son, and he kept the other half for a kava meal called fono o le ava. Pava's grief was great, and he would not eat. Seeing this, Tagaloa-ui felt sorry for his host and so pasted the two parts together, bringing the child back to life. This act is commemorated in the clapping of hands in a kava ceremony before cups of kava are served. The ceremony then resumed. But before they rested, they pledged to continue their kava drinking the following day.

The next day, Pava again went to dig up a root for their kava drink, and again the young men prepared the kava as the two men continued with their friendly conversation. Tagaloa-ui was having a stomachache from drinking too much kava and no food, so he asked Pava for some snack to go with the kava. Pava then sang:

> *E u i fea fono o le ava?*
> *E u i tai fono o le ava:*
> *Se 'ata'ata, se manini saupata.*
> *Se sagaga, se 'ava'ava.*
> *Se asopolata, se igaga,*
> *Se aloama, se vana,*
> *'Atoa 'uma mea, 'o i le moana.*

The song referred to fish and other food from the sea. When he had finished, the food from the sea came as if magically on their own and filled up the house. Then again he sang:

> *E u i fea fono o le ava?*
> *E u i uta fono o le ava.*
> *Se toa alaga, se pua'a fata,*
> *Se fa'i o se aupata,*
> *Se 'ulu o se ma'afala,*
> *Se ufi e 'eli i le palapala.*

The song referred to foods from the land, including fowl, pigs, bananas, breadfruit, and yams. When he had finished, these foods again came as if magically on their own and filled up Pava's house.

According to the myth, Tagaloa-ui was exceedingly glad because of the abundance of food for the kava. This kava ceremony came to be called the *Taeao na i Namo*, meaning "the morning" (great historical event) at Namo. Both of these two "mornings," or great historical events at Saua and Namo are commemorated in the Samoan kava ceremonies even to this day. And both occurred in Manu'a, even though some *matai* (chiefs) in Western Samoa claim that they referred to different events and that both occurred on the big island of Savaii, which, from both historical and traditional accounts, were settled much later than Manua.

After the kava session with Pava, Tagaloa-ui bade farewell to Pava and continued on his way in his search for other residents of the island and their communities. And perhaps this is a suitable place to conclude this particular myth about the first kava ceremony in Samoa.

In this particular myth, the kava is a wild plant whose properties as a drink were, however, well known to Pava. The kava session by Pava and Tagaloa-ui gave rise to aspects of the kava ritual that were later to be incorporated into the kava ceremony.

These include the formal welcome (by Pava to Tagaloa-ui), the presentation of the kava root as a gift (by Pava to Tagaloa-ui), the clapping before imbibing the kava drink (by Tagaloa-ui in restoring the life of Pava's son), and the participation in a sumptuous feast, fono o le ava (provided by Pava).

Although many of the events in the myth may be regarded as magical, this should be construed as only a literary device calculated to heighten the importance of the various aspects of the kava ceremony.

Sa Tagaloa and the Culture Hero, Lefanoga

In the beginning of Samoan history, which archaeologists have dated to about 1000 BC (cf. Jennings 1979 and others), there were no chiefs (matai) in Samoa, only the family of Tagaloa, or Sa Tagaloa for short (Mailo 1972).

According to High Chief Mailo, chairperson of the Historical Commission of American Samoa in the 1950s, the matai system had not yet evolved, and the archipelago was ruled by a council of elders based in Manu'a, the oldest and most easterly island of the Samoan group.

The elders were all called by the same name, Tagaloa, and the only way of distinguishing between them was the use of a suffix—Tagaloa-ui, Tagaloa-leniu, Tagaloa-lefau, and so on—while the high god came to be called Tagaloa-lagi, the male ancestor of all the Tagaloa, who was also synonymous with the Sun. (Many myths show that the early Samoans were a Sun-worshipping community.)

In the second myth (Kramer, 1994, 562), the Manu'a legend continues. Tagaloa-ui has found other humans on the island of Ta'u, where Saua is located on the eastern end, and has found a niche for himself and his family.

As a member of the Sa Tagaloa council, which today would be the equivalent of the village council, Tagaloa-ui and his son Taeotagaloa were entitled to attend the council meeting. Noninitiates—people not considered elders of the Sa Tagaloa family—were prohibited from attending the meeting on pain of death. This meeting was held at regular intervals in heaven (*lagi*), which may be translated as the mountains of Tau island.

The story goes that Tagaloa-ui's young son, by the name of Lefanoga, often saw his father and elder brother leave at night and was burning with curiosity to find out why. So the next time the two left at night to attend the Sa Tagaloa council, Lefanoga followed at a distance, unknown to them. Imagine therefore the shock of the council when Lefanoga emerged in their midst. For nobody had ever entered the council chamber uninvited.

Regardless of Tagaloa-ui's prestige and mana, regardless of the fact that the boy's mistake was an innocent one, the conclusion was inevitable: the punishment was death. He was ordered to bring the kava roots from Logopapa, where they grew wild, in the expectation that he would be killed by the poisonous plants.

But it was not to be. With a normal human being, death would have been the inevitable result, but Lefanoga was equipped not only with tremendous strength but also with exceptional skill. He succeeded in overcoming the wild, poisonous plants and managed to bring the kava for the council to consume. The cosmic battle between Lefanoga and the kava plants is commemorated in a Manu'a chant (Kramer 1994, 562) as follows:

O le 'ava na ia saia	*The kava was hewn off by him*
O uso na ia tu'ia	*The root was struck by him*
Na ia suatia, na ia fulia	*Dug up, toppled over*
Na ia fa'amanumanutia	*And its branches torn off*
Na ia lafo ia, na ia faataia	*Thrown to the ground, its weight tested*
Na ia savalia'iina, telea'iina	*Gone away with it, run away*
Ta'alili, ina ta'alili le 'ava	*There was roaring and trembling*
Le 'ava i Logopapa	*By the kava in Logopapa*
Lulu le malae i lulu pa'u	*The malae shook when the root*
(Lefanoga) fa'ataupa'u	*Fell down and Lefanoga fell with it*

The next few lines would suggest not only that Lefanoga survived the physical and mental test against the magical powers, as it were, of the kava plants

but also that, because of his victory over the plants, he had in effect tamed the plants, enabling the Sa Tagaloa council to use the drink derived from them for a ceremonial purpose.

The kava ceremony between two individuals—the son of the Sun, Tagaloaui, and the son of Man, Pava—has been transposed onto that of the wider community. So Lefanoga's victory marks the formal introduction of the kava into the affairs of humans.

That the wild kava has been tamed, socialized, to become the link between the ancestors and their descendants attests to the spiritual links between the living and the dead and serves the needs of society through common worship in the form of the kava ceremony. Thus,

'Ava i tou fasia, tou maia	The kava is cut for you, now chew it
Satagaloa i tou taumafatia	You Tagaloa people can now drink it
Vaitina na ia taofia	The vaitina piece, however, I will keep
O le aso ula lenei, o le aso fiafia	This is a happy day, a day of joy
Na ifo, na ifo ai mea a le lagi	I shall take these things down from heaven
I le Fale'ula ma le 'aumaga pa'ia	To the Fale'ula and [aumaga paia]
E tapua'i ava, na toia	Blessings may the kava bring you, planted
I se papapapa ma se ma'ama'a	On cliffs and rocks
Ata se le'aulu ma se le'apua	The trunk of the le'aulu and le'apua
Tatou te taumafa ava e, ava o Saua	Let us drink the kava, the kava of Saua
Ava o Leituomanu	The kava o Leituomanu

The test imposed by the Manua council did not end there, for there were two more (Mailo 1972; Mailo, pers. comm.), but again Lefanoga managed to pass these with honors, and this was why he was accorded a prestigious manaia title, *Siliaga* (invincible conqueror). After his death, Lefanoga was to be deified and become the god of several pre-Christian Samoan communities.

For instance, the ancient god of the important district of Saleimoa in Western Samoa was called Lefanoga, who was incarnated in the owl (*lulu*). The owl's favorite food was rats (*imoa*), and that was how the district got its name: *sa* means "prohibited," and *imoa* means "rat." It was forbidden to

the people of that district to kill rats because these were reserved as food for the owl, the incarnation of Lefanoga. It also shows that this culture hero, Lefanoga, was not a figment of the imagination.

According to this myth, Saua is the birthplace of the Samoan kava, the parent (*matua*) so to speak, and from here, on the eastern side of Tau, the main island of the Manua group (consisting of Tau, Olosega, and Ofu islands), the kava plant and ceremonial use spread to other parts of Samoa. The spread of the plant therefore was from east to west, that is, from Manua to Tutuila and Aunuu, to Upolu, and finally to Savaii.

Whether of course this is historically true is another matter, but a strong case can be made for the ceremonial use of the kava because it is generally accepted, even in the west, that the traditional form of the Samoan government (e.g., rule by elders and later by matai or chiefs) began in Manua and from there spread to the west. This applies equally to the royal genealogies of the god Tagaloa-lagi, Tui Manua, Tui Atua, Tui Aana, and the more recent Malietoa title.

Kava Root Spreads

The myth affirms the kava's beginnings in Manu'a. From there it spread outward, first to Olosega, the island next to Ta'u, and then to Tutuila and Aunuu, all islands now part of the territory of American Samoa under the control of the U.S. Congress. Places specifically mentioned include Fagalele and Osogavasa, Aunu'u, Puava, Masefau, Lenau, Fagafue and Aoloau, and Leone, all in the east. From there, the kava spread to the western isles (Kramer 1994, 562) as follows:

Tuitele ma Lualemaga	*Tuitele and Lualemaga*
Ia sauni sa oulua malaga	*Both of you prepare for a journey*
Ina oso ava i Vini ma Tapaga	*Take the kava to Vini and Tapaga*
Ava ai Aleipata	*That also Aleipata may have kava*
A fa'asavali le gafa o ava	*[Continuing the kava's genealogy]*
Ava ai Falealili, ava ai Saga	*The kava got to Falealili and Saga*
Ava ai Siumu ma Safata	*It got to Siumu [and] Safata*
A fa'asavali le gafa o ava	*[Continuing the kava's genealogy]*
A e gau le ata i le itu Anoama'a	*Its trunk broke at the Anoama'a side*
Na ava ai le Tuamasaga	*And Tuamasaga received kava*
A fa'asavali le gafa o ava	*[Continuing the kava's genealogy]*
Ava ai Aana, ava Lefaga	*Aana received kava and Lefaga*
A fa'asavali le gafa o ava	*[Continuing the kava's genealogy]*

Ava ai Manono, ava ai le olo	*Manono received kava and its fort*
A fa'asavali le gafa o ava	*[Continuing the kava's genealogy]*
Sole, o Fune ma Fotu, na iai le tolua i ava	*Fune and Fotu, you two planted kava*

A few lines in the English translation have been altered for the sake of convenience. For instance, "*A fa'asavali le gafa o ava*" is translated in the main text as "*Further wandered the progenitors of the kava.*" In order to fit the words into a single line, the original translation has been changed to "*Continuing the kava's genealogy.*"

In some respects this may be more accurate because *fa'asavali* means "made to walk" (e.g., a child); genealogy refers to pedigree, the list of ancestors, who married whom, and who were the children. In this context, fa'asavali is being used metaphorically and refers more to revealing information about the processes of pedigree, namely, the origin and spread of the plant from east to west. Of course, it is more than just an alleged statement of fact: it has every mark of also being a political statement by the chiefs and orators of Manu'a.

Other comments on the text are that Tuitele is a high chief of the village of Leone, while Lualemaga is his counterpart in the village of Aasu, both in American Samoa. The fact that they are asked to prepare for a journey to take the kava to Aleipata, the neighboring district in Western Samoa, signifies that travel was frequent between Tutuila and Upolu in pre-Christian times.

So obviously, the kava root was transferred from place to place not by ordinary untitled people but by high chiefs, again signifying the importance of kava as a cultural icon. The kava has become domesticated. It is no longer just a natural plant it has also become a symbol of Samoan sociality of the highest order.

As a leading orator of Manu'a, Fofo Sunia (1997, 66), said, "*E sili ona taua le ava i aganuu faatino uma a Samoa.*" This translates as "Kava is the most important aspect of Samoan cultural practice." A controversial view but close enough to the truth. In support of his opinion, Sunia refers to the use of the kava in many Samoan rituals, such as at public meetings (*fono*), at house and church dedications (*umusaga ma faaulufalega*), in reconciliation between aggrieved parties (*ifoga*, *faaleleiga*), in engaging the services of a church minister (*osiga o le feagaiga*), in village council meetings (*fono a le nu'u*), and so on.

The myth does not mention the names of people who took the kava to other parts of Western Samoa, but presumably, as in the case of Tuitele and Lualemaga, they were also chiefs. At that time, many people in the

west would have gladly welcomed any innovation from Manu'a, considered the homeland of the Samoan people, Samoan arts and crafts (*faiva faatu-fugaga*), and language and culture (*gagana ma le aganuu*) in general (cf. Sunia 1997; Mailo 1972).

Manono's fort referred to is clearly Apolima, very handy and impregnable. According to Kramer's (1994, 628) notes, Fune and Fotu refers to the villages of Safune and Safotu, respectively, and the kava land, Toluaiava. According to the Savaii tradition, a culture hero by the name of Sao brought its kava direct from Fiji.

But according to the Manu'a tradition, Savaii exchanged its kava from Manu'a for a fat hen. Perhaps it is an example of another political statement from the Manu'a chiefs to put Savaii in its place, a minor one at that, especially as the myth says derogatively (Kramer 1994, 564), Savaii is a place without chiefs and therefore not recognized in the Samoan chiefly hierarchy.

The nature of the genealogy of the kava is quite clear, however, from the text, a genealogy that is accepted by a wide cross section of Samoan chiefs and orators in both Samoas. In the more important kava ceremonies, such as historical occasions and the reception of VIPs, it is not uncommon to hear orators refer to this Manu'a genealogy while performing the function of announcing kava root gifts (folafolaga o le ava). A knowledge of this genealogy would contribute greatly to the prestige of a Samoan chief, especially an orator. For knowledge is power.

The kava that was used in the meeting between Tagaloa-ui and Pava was obtained from wild plants that grew in Saua. There is no reference to its origins. But other myths seek to explain the origin of the kava. For example, a popular version has it that it originated from a plant that grew on the grave of Avaalii, son of the god Tagaloalagi (Aumua 2002; Mailo 1972, 2:22). And, of course, there is the Upolu and Savaii version that it grew from the grave of an ancestor and was brought from Fiji to Samoa.

These versions, however, must be construed as political statements that seek to legitimize the existing social orders of various sectors of Samoan society. Why then should the Manu'a version appear to be the more authentic version? The answer is it goes to the very beginning of Samoan society, to the Sun god and his son, Tagaloa-ui, and therefore enjoys a kind of precedence that the other versions (those for Upolu and Savaii, hence, *tolu-ai-ava*, three origin stories) do not have.

Which was the first kava ceremony? Mailo (1972, 2:10) argues that the first kava ceremony marked the installation of the first chief, or matai, in Samoa, Tagaloa-leniu, who had defeated his brother Tagaloa-lefau in a battle to determine the position of chief of the Sa Tagaloa family. Wars were often the way to determine chiefly power.

However, it appears that this particular kava ceremony marked the installation only of the first matai of Samoa and not necessarily of the Sa Tagaloa council of elders, who received the kava from the hands of the culture hero, Lefanoga. That is to say, the context needs to be taken into account when considering what constitutes the first kava ceremony.

While these different versions do complicate the question of precedence in time, one must adopt a diachronic perspective to give meaning to the various histories. One must look at the very beginning of Samoan settlement and the introduction of this particular plant, which is widespread in Polynesia. One must also look at the evolutionary history of the kava as a socialized drink in the different periods of Samoan history.

The kava ceremony itself must be perceived as a simple one in the beginning that later increased in complexity as Samoan society itself evolved to where it is today. The complexity of the Samoan kava ceremony increased with the political evolution of Samoan society, from one governed by the Sa Tagaloa elders, as in prehistoric times; to one governed by district chiefs, such as Tui Manu'a, Tui Atua, and Tui A'ana; and finally to one ruled over by myriad chiefs, both *ali'i paia* and *tulafale* (sacred and secular chiefs).

The kava plant is undoubtedly one of the many Southeast Asian plants brought by the Austronesians to Oceania, Remote Oceania, Central Pacific, and Polynesia by the lapita people, and this view is supported by linguistic evidence (see, e.g., Bellwood et al. 1995). The calming, soporific, and other soothing properties of the plant must have been evident quite early to the lapita settlers; otherwise, they would not have carried it with them to most of the islands they settled in the Pacific. The use of the kava in ritual, however, evolved over time and varied from society to society.

This is also what happened in Samoa. It was at first a simple drink from a plant that grew rapidly and spread in the wilds. Then it became part of a ritual, and this is the significance of the kava ceremony by Tagaloa-ui and Pava, first at Saua and then the next day at Namo. This is why the event continues to be articulated as one of the great events in Samoan history.

The ritual was perpetuated by the Sa Tagaloa council after Lefanoga conquered the ferocious kava plants in an epic battle at Logopapa, where they grew in abundance. Indeed, Sa Tagaloa wanted to put Lefanoga to death for his transgression in attending the meeting uninvited, but the consequence was ultimately beneficial because it enabled Sa Tagaloa to utilize the kava plants for their own purpose.

The scandal that resulted from Lefanoga's transgression, however, was to slowly lead to the disintegration of the Sa Tagaloa government. Mailo himself claimed that this incident was responsible for the mass migration of Samoans to the east (Mailo, pers. comm.). And the Tagaloa title itself gave way in importance to other titles that subsequently came into being.

The new leaders that emerged came to be known as Tui Manu'a, Tui Tonga, Tui Atua, Tui Aana, Tui Uea, and so on. During their time, beginning around AD 1, lapita gradually gave way to plain pottery until, by about AD 500, pottery had practically disappeared in the Samoan islands. The new material culture emphasized woodwork (e.g., tanoa) over pottery.

These leaders and others continued the traditions of the Sa Tagaloa council, including especially the kava ceremony. So when Mailo claims that the first kava ceremony was held to mark the bestowal of the first matai title on Tagaloa-leniu (Mailo 1972, 2:10), it was not really the first kava ceremony as such but only the first kava ceremony associated with the emergence of the new matai class, one that continues to rule Samoa even today.

Conclusion

How does this myth relate to indigenous anthropology, genealogy, positionality, and mythology? Simply this: that in considering the meaning and messages of myth, that we should look at such through the eyes of the people who own the myth in the first place. This is the primary role of indigenous anthropologists because, if we do not do it, who will do it for us?

Genealogical connection, as I stated in the beginning, refers to intellectual influences on the development of indigenous anthropologists. These provide the tools needed for their work. But it is not enough. Indigenous anthropologists should also have if not biological, then at least cultural links to their subject. They must possess the cultural ethos of the people they are studying. For lacking this, they will also lack intellectual coherence.

Positionality refers to the indigenous anthropologist's stance on a given topic, and here again intellectual development of the highest order is required if an indigenous anthropologist is to make anthropological sense of his indigenous world. But such knowledge needs to be supplemented by a deep learning, understanding, and appreciation of one's cultural values, beliefs, and practices.

The marriage of intellectual achievement and *verstehen*, an understanding and appreciation of one's indigenous worldview, provides the essential springboards for developing that unique perspective on social and cultural issues. The indigenous anthropologist is therefore more than just another anthropologist: he or she is also a proactive member of his cultural milieu. He or she fights for his or her beliefs.

Mythology is the heart and soul of the indigenous world, as exemplified in the Dream Time of the Australian aboriginals, in the *Solo o le Va*, the creation myth of the Samoans, and so on. This is because myths generate

the feelings and emotions appropriate for everyday events of the indigenous peoples. Without these, we as indigenes are in danger of losing our identities and therefore *our* raison d'être in the world of being.

In August 1983, Professor Derek Freeman of the Australian National University was the keynote speaker at the first graduation of the Iunivesite o Samoa, an indigenous university owned and operated by the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. I was among six students who graduated B.A. My major was Samoan studies.

At that ceremony, Professor Freeman said that there were five stages in the development of anthropology. Four have been completed, and we are now entering the fifth.

The first stage was dominated by the missionaries, who studied and recorded the cultures of the small communities they were trying to convert to Christianity, such as John Williams, John Stair, George Turner, and George Brown in Samoa.

The second stage was dominated by the so-called armchair anthropologists and was characterized by many of the European and American anthropologists of the nineteenth century, such as Edward Tylor and James Frazer of England. These were the people who depended on the data supplied by others, often the missionaries.

The third stage was dominated by men and women who did not just sit in their armchairs but went out to study the indigenous people at their own habitats, such as the Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski among the Trobrianders. These were today's active, pioneer anthropologists.

The fourth stage is the one we are now passing through: highly trained anthropologists who excel in various fields of theoretical and applied research and well versed in both the past and the modern methodologies of the discipline.

The fifth stage is that of the future, one dominated by indigenous anthropologists who have more than their discipline's interest at heart, for they are also concerned with the cultural integrity and preservation of their societies.

These are not just empty words, Professor Freeman argued. For there are many lessons that the Western societies can learn from small communities like Samoa, such as the importance of *faaaloalo* (respect), *tapuaiga* (praying for others' success), and ifoga (begging for forgiveness). These values and others, he maintained, will be the most valuable contributions that small communities can give to the world in the future.

The indigenous anthropologist's contributions therefore are, first, to set the record straight in the description and analysis of elements of his or her own culture and, second, to provide useful models that others can use for the improvement of their own societies.

There is one final question to be considered. Why place the Manu'a version of the kava on a high pedestal in comparison with say the Upolu and Savaii versions? I have already referred to the reasons for the primacy of the Manu'a version.

In my view, the kind of kava version an orator will use in his or her speech will depend to a large extent on the nature of his or her audience. If the audience consists mostly of Upolu people or if the subject of a meeting concerns Upolu only, then most probably the Upolu version of the kava will be used. The same for Savaii.

But when people from all three island groups are assembled, then the Manu'a version is the one most likely to be used because there is a general consensus that Manu'a was first settled by Samoans (per oral traditions) and was the birthplace of Samoan language, culture, arts, and crafts.

Another possible reason was that as Samoans moved westward over the centuries; they carried with them and amended the oral histories they originally brought with them from Manu'a. The overall effect would be that the myths and legends would appear to have originated in Upolu or Savaii rather than Manu'a.

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TEU LE VA: TOWARD A *NATIVE* ANTHROPOLOGY

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The Samoan word *va tapuia*, includes the term "*tapu*," within. The term liter-
ally refers to the sacred (tapu-ia) relationship (va) between man and all things,
animate and inanimate. It implies that in our relationships with all things,
living and dead, there exists a sacred essence, a life force beyond human
reckoning. The distinction here between what is living and what is dead is
premised not so much on whether a "life force," i.e. *a mauli* or *fatu manava*
exists in the thing (i.e. whether a "life-breath" of "heart beat" exudes from it),
but whether that thing, living or dead, has a genealogy (in an evolutionary
rather than human procreation sense) that connects to a life force. The va
tapuia, the sacred relations, between all things, extends in the Samoan indige-
nous reference to all things living or dead, where a genealogical relationship
can be traced. (His Excellency Tui Atua Tupua Tamosese Efi 2007, 3)

My Genealogy[1]

AS A NEW ZEALAND–BORN SAMOAN WOMAN, (mother, daughter, sister,
aunt, niece), born and bred in inner-city Auckland, I often wonder when
the significance/importance/salience of our Samoan *measina* (Samoan
cultural references)—*tautua, faʻaaloalo, feagaiga*, the va and *teu le va*—
materialized for me. Was it in the warm embrace of my *ʻaiga* in New
Zealand and the many relatives from Samoa who boarded with us and then
moved on? Was it in my schooling years at AGGS,[2] where I felt like a
brown fish out of water but where I developed a real love of learning? Was
it my experience of Newton Church,[3] where I learned to embrace Pacific

cultural diversity and the tensions/joy involved therein? Was it in my "radi-cal" Polynesian Panther years where I learned to make a line in the sand and say "Enough!" And where I learned that the biggest form of protest for an ethnic minority was to succeed and then use that success for the betterment of "our" people (see Anae, Iuli, and Burgoyne 2006)? Or was it closer to home, where Samoan parental discipline and being the youngest girl in a family of eight siblings alerted me to both seemingly inequitable positionings to tautua and fa'aaloalo (everyone else on the planet it seemed, especially my elders. . .) and positionings of favor (I was my father's pet)? Then there were the many *fa'alavelave*, *si'i*, and *fono* occasions I attended/ witnessed/participated in with my father and brother (both *matai*) and family?

I think momentum was gained about these understandings as I matured, formed relationships with diverse groupings of individuals/people, became a mother and matai (and therefore able to both give *and receive* tautua and fa'aaloalo from others) and during my empowering years at University, where I was able to formalize my theorizing of New Zealand *fa'asamoa* and ethnic identity for New Zealand–born Samoans, my *native* research methodology, and become the champion for ethnic-specific considerations Pacific in research praxis in some contexts, and more recently impel the construction of the Fale Pasifika and complex as the University of Auckland's commitment to the burgeoning numbers of Pacific students, and the acknowledgement of Auckland as the Polynesian capital of the world (Anae cited in Phillips 2006, 232; see also Anae 1997, 1998b). As a teacher, I have gained the title "Pacific scholar" from my students and others. Most recent-ly there have been the honors which have been bestowed on me—the Samoan chiefly title of Misatauveve and New Zealand State Honors, the palagi title of QSO.[4]

After all, everything around me—literature, media, the art world, movies, critics, island-born Samoans—keeps telling me that I, as a New Zealand–born Samoan am a product of the Pacific diaspora, and there is an assump-tion that therefore I am on the hyphen, a hybrid, a schizophrenic, displaced, an assimilated person, not a "real" Samoan because I do not speak mother tongue (Hey! But I understand Samoan! And I understand and practice fa'asamoa values. Does that count?), an academic (and therefore not a "community" person), a middle-class snob (if only they knew I didn't say "hello" because I didn't have my glasses on!!). . . the list goes on.

So why was it that despite all this, I have felt very "Samoan" and have tried to act out being Samoan also in all my various capacities. This "materialization" of feeling secure about being Samoan and knowing that I am Samoan cannot be pinpointed to any one thing/event(s) nor any one

time in my life. All I know is that as a young girl, my earliest feelings of being "different" to my New Zealand peers/society/culture has matured into the exposing/understanding and reconciling that I am my Samoan parents' child and a product of the faʻasamoa that they brought with them to New Zealand—a *Niu Sila* faʻasamoa which has flourished through our Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church, Newton, our ʻaiga in New Zealand, Samoa and elsewhere, and my family's commitment to our roles and responsibilities to our ʻaiga (extended and Church) materialized through faʻalavelave (my father, brother, nephew, and sister-in-law are also matai).

It is this very "difference" that has allowed me to succeed in New Zealand and has allowed me to maintain my identity as a Samoan born in New Zealand. And as such I am able to contribute immensely to wider New Zealand society in being able to use my dual cultural "world views" and understandings with which to optimize my relationships at all levels to obtain positive outcomes for Pacific peoples in New Zealand. I put this down to my understanding of the tenet/principle/concept/cultural references (for it is all these and more) of va, and teu le va, as it has materialized for me.

Efi's quote at the beginning of this chapter describes how va tapuia refers to the sacred (tapu-ia) relationship (va) between man and all things, animate and inanimate. Moreover he states that a va tapuia exists where a genealogical relationship can be traced, not necessarily through blood ties, but through relationships which have evolved through interactions between people and things in the va tapuia thus generating "a sacred essence" a "life force" beyond human reckoning.

Put simply, my reading of this is, that if one views all reciprocal relationships (va) with others as sacred, then the relationship will be more valued, and nurtured more closely. The teu le va cultural reference (see Anae 2007) uses Efi's notion of va tapuia and genealogy and focuses on the centrality of reciprocal relationships in the development of optimal relationships. But it also focuses on *how* to teu le va or how within the va there is (inter)action by parties involved and this requires that one regards these (inter)actions as sacred in order to value, nurture, and if necessary tidy up the va—the social and sacred space that separates and yet unites in the context of va tapuia experienced in relationships. This is not to say that to teu le va in all one's relationships is doable nor an easy process. More often than not, it is complex, multilayered and fraught with difficulties. But if all parties have the will, the spirit and the heart for what is at stake, despite the hiccups along the way, then positive outcomes will be achieved.

I contend that the teu le va cultural reference is fundamental in moving beyond merely the identification, description, and understanding of the va

to points of interaction between parties in a win-win situation which benefits all parties and which upholds the moral, ethical, spiritual dimensions of social relationships for all participants/people/stakeholders involved in these relationships. As such teu le va incorporates fa'asamoa—the holistic framings of its associated institutions and concomitant values (see Anae 1998a)—as a way of knowing, of living and acting out of and within our multileveled social, cultural and political relationships. This understanding of teu le va is from my perspective as a Samoan woman born in New Zealand and my own particular life experiences.

In this chapter I extend this understanding of teu le va to proffer my redefinition of a *native* anthropologist (read researcher). It is based on my genealogy as a Samoan anthropologist and Pacific researcher in New Zealand, and how I have learnt to teu le va in anthropological spaces with the discipline, the academy, my colleagues, my work, and my own Samoan (read Pacific) research participants and communities. In doing so teu le va provides a philosophical, methodological and ontological cultural reference with which to carry out research with all research stakeholders for positive outcomes. An exploration of the Samoan (and other Pacific) discourses on va, teu le va and teu le va in the New Zealand context has been discussed elsewhere (Shore 1982; Duranti 1981; Lilomaiava-Doktor 2004; Anae 2007; Tamasese, Peteru, and Waldegrave 2007; Va'ai 2002; Tupa Tamasese Tupuola Efi 2007; Aiono Fanaafi Le Tagaloa 1996; Lui 2003; La Va 2009; Stefano 2002; Wendt 1996).[5] This chapter thus focuses on concepts of native research as defined and experienced by me. As such it is hoped that my genealogy, not as an indigenous anthropologist but as a *native* anthropologist as redefined in this chapter—this chapter contains excerpts from other research (Anae 1998b) will provide space for those of us as practising Pacific researchers to sit back and reflect on what we are doing, who are we doing it for, why we are doing it, and what we will be doing with the results of our research. That is to say it provides a space to consider philosophical, ontological, ethical, and methodological issues as *native* researchers and how we can teu le va with all parties involved in the research process.

I draw on insights provided by other non-Western anthropologists and scholars to explore notions of indigineity, nativeness and and insidedness and my own lens as a Samoan anthropologist to proffer a redefinition of native anthropology for those of us born in the diaspora.

On Becoming an Anthropologist-Insider/Outsider/Native?

My love and fascination for anthropology began in my first year at the University of Auckland (or has it always been there?) in the early 1970s.

Some of my life experiences have been documented elsewhere (Anae 1998a, 2003). I remember my friend Sally and I spending most of our mornings in the University cafe doing the *New Zealand Herald* crossword. Soon we became the center of attraction for our mates—Maori and Polynesian radicals and others on campus. Other students who would rally to help us solve the daily crossword were fellow Polynesian Panthers (Will Ilolahia, Wayne Toleafoa, Norman Tuiasau) our Maori mates in Nga Tamatoa (Hana and Sid Jackson, Tame Iti, Graham Smith), some of the very first Samoan All Blacks and lawyers . . . and it was from this activity that the usual social events of the day were planned—pub crawls, drinks at the Kiwi tavern, a day at the beach, going to the movies, spending time in the Library, or hanging out at coffee bars in Queen Street sipping real coffee. This didn't include the host of parties that were had. How we managed to pass exams and graduate, I still wonder about.

In those days Pacific Studies didn't exist. Maori Studies was still ensconced in the Anthropology Department, and Linguistics was just being offered. There was no Maori Meeting House or marae, Engineering students were performing derogatory mock hakas at graduation and being pummelled by Polynesian Panthers and other Maori activists. Donna Awatere and Ripeka Evans were forming the Black Women's Movement. The Vietnam War was in full swing, and as Tuisau observed, we were being influenced by writers like Noam Chomsky, Samir Amin, Andre Frank, James Baldwin; Franz Fanon; Fidel Castro and Che Guevara; Romero Chavez; Karl Marx; and being blasted with songs like Jimi Hendrix's "Machine Gun," the Four Tops' "Papa Was a Rolling Stone," Isaac Hayes's "Shaft," Stevie Wonder's "Living in the City," Miles Davis's *Bitches Brew* and *Sketches of Spain*, and many others told of change, courage, and uncertainty. Bob Dylan was always niggling away at us in the background. It was a swelter of energy, questioning, and finding identity (Tuiasau 2006, 97).

Yet through all this, I can still remember listening to the soul song "What the World Needs Now is Love Sweet Love," and Marvin Gaye singing, "What's Going On" while going to church at the Newton PIC, and being involved with the Polynesian Panthers (ibid.).

Why anthropology? Well I took Maori Studies and Anthropology as double majors. Maori because I wanted to know more about *tangata whenua* and was fascinated by Maori men doing the haka (so unlike the seemingly feminine dance movements of Samoan males I thought then . . .) and inspired by the emotional hype of *tino rangatiratanga* and Maori culture . . . and Anthropology because it was the only discipline which studied culture and which focussed on the Pacific. There were no Maori or Pacific Anthropology lecturers or PhD students then.

Some years later in the 1980s I returned to complete my BA part time. Maori Studies had become a separate Department, Tane Nui a Rangi[6] was being built, and in the late 1980s the Centre for Pacific Studies was established. I still wanted to continue with Anthropology. I saw the value in the salience of culture and the need to prioritize it in its relationship with a whole lot of other social/scientific theories about people, about communities, about the world. I double majored in Maori Studies and Anthropology at BA level while I worked full time at the Maori and Island Affairs Department (MAD) raising a young family, and this was followed by a MA in Anthropology. When due to restructuring MAD became the Iwi Transition Agency, pregnant with my youngest child, I took the retraining option and enrolled in a PhD in Anthropology. What followed was a whirlwind of study, tutoring responsibilities and setting up equity initiatives—I set up the first Maori and Pacific tutorial programs in the Anthropology Department and even successfully lobbied with others for a dedicated Mauriora Room for Maori and Pacific students to learn, study, and socialize in.

During the writing of my PhD thesis I had no Pacific anthropologist role models to emulate. I knew of only four other Pacific PhD students—Unasa Leulu Vaa from Samoa, Okusitino Mahina and Melenaite Taumoefolau. But of course eminent Maori anthropologists, alumni of University of Auckland had preceded me. People like Pita Sharples, Pat Hohepa, Hugh Kawharu, Rangi Walker. The Pacific anthropologists I knew about were Asesela Ravuvu and Epeli Hauʻofa, but no women!! I was the first Pacific anthropologist female to graduate from a New Zealand University. Thus began my foray in reading about non-Western anthropologists in trying to understand how I was to position myself in Anthropology and the work I wanted to do—transformative change for our Pacific youth in New Zealand.

From my reading of the burgeoning scholarship on insider/outsider anthropology by non-Western anthropologists, I have developed my own definition of the anthropology that I try to "do" which I define as *native* anthropology (in particular, see Kuper, 1994; Jones 1970; Medecine 1987; Narayan 1993; Cerroni-Long 1995; Polanyi 1966).

Native Anthropology

Native anthropology should be research by a native that people of his or her community want to get done and should result in research that "ameliorates the human condition" given that all native anthropology requires grappling with issues of power (Cerroni-Long 1995). The primary

concern of native anthropologists according to Jones is social equality and social justice. The starting point for a native anthropology therefore is to understand that nonwhite populations in plural Western societies, share a history of colonization and other forms of domination, rooted largely in racial, ethnic and cultural differences (ibid., 59).

What Jones demarcates is the idea that native anthropologists are *native* by the fact that they have experienced racist contexts and are committed to work towards change in the status quo for their communities. I agree with this. But what I add to Jones's explication is that in my own context, native anthropologists are *native* also by the fact that they concomitantly identify with and are part of the persistent identity system (Spicer 1971) of their parents, grandparents and their 'aiga (family, extended family) and church, thereby maintaining a strong ethnic specific identity and strong commitment to practicing their Pacific culture and maintaining links with the homeland.

Native anthropology, according to my definition and my own situation then is practiced by those natives who are born out of Samoa, who live and work in the diaspora where Samoans are an ethnic minority, and who are committed to working for their people and communities for transformative change. I acknowledge that there may be multiple persistent identity systems to which different *native* anthropologists might be differently connected, and providing that the commitment to alleviate the subordinate position of their people is there, then the definition is a workable one.

The Salience of Emotional Ties to Being a *Native*

Many New Zealand–born Samoans self identify as Samoan or New Zealand–born Samoan despite their being afakasi, or of mixed heritage or a New Zealander according to their official birth place designation (Anae 1998a). As ethnic minorities in New Zealand, ethnic identity, in the context of opposition and conflict is therefore personal with emotional long-lasting attachments experienced in the economic, spiritual, historic symbols that one is exposed to during a lifetime, and must be differentiated from the statuses which are transient and not emotionally binding, but a mere fact of circumstance (see Anae 1998b; Epstein 1978; Spicer 1971; Barth 1969).

Merton argues in an important paper (1970) that individuals have not a single status but a status set—some statuses which provide us with native membership and others that we enter. Status sets involve social identities and associated roles. Kopytoff states that these roles are made up of immanent existential identities (people do x because of what they are e.g. father, woman, priest); or circumstantial existential identities (people are x because

of what they do e.g. physician, teacher, academic) (Kopytoff 1990, 80). The latter implies that the former lapses when a role is shed, whereas an immanent existential identity is relatively immutable. Thus the status sets that each person is provided with through birth and early life experiences provide us with native membership, but only if the person is *emotionally* tied to various statuses within those status sets.

Therefore although my status-set is woman, New Zealander, of Samoan parents, academic, teacher, anthropologist, pianist, etc., throughout my own identity journey various statuses have taken more prominent positions (or not) than others, depending on the context, and at times, social identities have been separated from my personal identities in some contexts. In my secured identity skin, I define my ethnic identity as a New Zealand–born Samoan woman because I am more *emotionally tied* to the imminent existential identities of "New Zealand–born Samoan" and "woman" (mother, sister, daughter, etc.) rather than my other statuses. The other statuses or identities e.g. "pianist," "academic," "New Zealander" are circumstantial or transient—merely facts. Another way of saying this is that an ethnic identity must be one that you can live with. As a participant in my 1998a study stated, ". . . I know I am part-Chinese as well as Samoan . . . but while I acknowledge my Chinese side, I draw more strength from being Samoan. I identify myself as a New Zealand–born Samoan."

Where does this strength come from? My answer to this is that if history is "the art of remembering" (Wendt 1987), then identity is the art of remembering who our mothers and grandmothers told us we were, and how these memories have impacted on our life experiences, and vice versa (see Anae 1998a; Wendt 1993).[7] Our ethnic identity is thus situated historically, socially, politically, culturally, but more importantly *emotionally* through the stories told to us by our matriarchs—mothers, grandmothers, even fathers who have been strongly influenced by their mothers.

Native anthropologists therefore need to think about this aspect of their personal and social identities. In my case it is my ethnic identity which influences much of my social identities. To put it simply I am a Samoan who happens to be an anthropologist, rather than an anthropologist who happens to be Samoan.

Praxis and Empowerment Must Be Key Themes of *Native* Research

Conducting research in Pacific communities whether using qualitative, quantitative, mixed methods or a combination of these will help us to better understand what really makes a difference in meeting the needs of Pacific peoples, families, and communities to achieve optimal outcomes; in

particular, how to meet both home culture and New Zealand education/
health/socio-economic needs. This is important work which must not only
meet rigorous scientific standards but must also "honour the wisdom of
native/local traditional knowledge" (Benham 2006, 35).

According to Benham, when describing interdisciplinary qualitative
research work on Pacific islanders in the United States, what was alarming
was the variability in the quality of work. The two most important issues
regarded the lack of social, cultural, and historical context of the home
community studied and the absence of researcher/author positionality
(ibid.) Benham attributes this to colonizing perspectives which must be
suspended or unlearned. "What came to mind as I reviewed each study was
the need for the researcher (whether insider, outsider, or external-insider)
to examine her/his own lenses to articulate her/his current understanding
of voice in this particular community, and to make a sincere effort to either
or both suspend and/or unlearn colonizing perspectives" (ibid., 37; see also
Anae 1998a). For some it is to unlearn western philosophies in order
to relearn and embrace one's spirit as a "native." So, presenting both the
context of the community as well as one's own positionality (in regard to
that context) is extremely important in qualitative work.

Benham advocates the need for multi-ethnic research teams "for the
most part native/local scholars and scholar practitioners who are fluent and
respectful of culture and language principles." She states that "this is to
ensure that the hegemony of the west characterised by the attitude of
observing an extinct indigenous specimen or examining a cultural practice
as an artefact is avoided" (ibid., 38). In addition she stresses more mixed-
method approaches and interdisciplinary approaches that embrace culture
and history, are informed by oral narratives, and indigenous ontology that
can offer insights into Pacific relations across a number of complex settings
and contexts. More importantly research and inquiry with and for Pacific
Islanders, she states, must be seen as a dynamic, living, and contemporary
process. She therefore implies that the focus should be on the transforma-
tion of Pacific cultures as vibrant and living, rather than the assumption
that Pacific cultures are dying because of Pacific people's assimilation to
the dominant ethnic group. "It is not the scholarship of a dying culture"
(ibid.).

We need to create and participate in conversations that forward multi-
dimensional reference points that explain the rich ethnic identities of
Pacific children, youth, their families and communities. These reference
points must include the socio-political history, spiritual and/or religious
values, mother-tongue language, cultural traditions as well as contemporary
traditions, subcultures (for example nonethnic self-identities) and issues
within the larger cultural context, and the implications of each unique

group's worldview. Benham argues that the work of indigenous researchers is to create policy and inform practice through research, programs and interventions that will empower communities, teachers and children, and that is enriched by history and spiritual foundations and will be applied in dynamic ways to address larger, global issues. She states:

> In the end, our work as policy makers, scholars and/or practi-tioners will be judged by at least three criteria: a) does it meet a high standard of social justice that ensures local freedom to self-determine and plan for future progress for . . . Pacific Islanders; b) does it ask important questions that moves us and others to trans-form our thinking and generate new ways of viewing learning and teaching that make a difference in the lives of . . . Pacific Islanders; and c) does it invite to the conversation voices of the cultural experts, elders, families and communities? (ibid., 45)

What Benham is advocating mirrors the *native* anthropology I have been doing and reflects the trajectory of my own research experiences and praxis in New Zealand.

My Experiences of Teu Le Va and Doing *Native* Anthropology

Over the last decade, I have been involved in a range of research projects in mixed research teams as Team leader or as Coprinciple investigator. In all of these projects I have tried to apply *native* anthropology in terms of qualitative/ethnographic projects informing policy in areas of education (Anae et al. 2001, Anae, Anderson, Benseman, and Coxon 2002a; Airini, Anae, Mila-Schaaf 2010), mental health and well-being (Anae et al 2000, 2002b), economic issues (Anae et al. 2007) and governance (Anae 2007b; Macpherson and Anae 2008). The cumulative experience of this and the teu le va experiences I have learned, taught, and practiced have materialized in the form of two fundamental Pacific research guideline documents.

The first was the *Pasifika Education Research Guidelines 2001* which I developed as main author. These Guidelines (2001) commissioned by the Ministry of Education and which was initiated by holding a national fono of Pacific researchers in New Zealand and a robust process of consultation, provided and still provides a clear understanding of the cultural and socio-historical complexities involved in doing Pacific research in educational and other social science settings in New Zealand and provides practical protocols for carrying out research with Pacific peoples and communities.

Moreover it delineated the research relationships between Pacific researchers (outsiders and insiders), the researched (Pacific peoples and communities), and other research stakeholders (funders, research institutions etc) and introduced the concept of a Pacific research methodology in terms of the complexity that this entails, the centrality of Pacific values, the need for the ethnic-specific, the intergenerational, gender, place considerations, reciprocity, thorough consultation and the involvement of Pacific communities at all levels of the research process from inception to dissemination, and the need to mentor junior Pacific researchers.

On reflection my understandings of teu le va were implicit or assumed in my analysis and documentation of these guidelines, in that the centrality of reciprocal relationships and the saliency of mutual respect and understanding amongst all parties involved in all research relationships were sacrosanct.

The second Ministry of Education Pasifika Education Research Guideline (Airini et al. 2010) commissioned in 2007, makes more explicit the underlying nuances of the philosophical and methodological issues contained in the 2001 guidelines and expands on already introduced issues, themes, reference points and praxis contained therein regarding relationships between Pacific researchers and Pacific peoples and communities, but more importantly it formalizes more overtly the cultural reference of teu le va. That is, it exposes the cultural references of va and teu le va as a lens with which to expose, understand and value the relationships involved in Pacific research. In effect it builds on the 2001 guidelines at the higher level of identifying protocols as to how to teu le va in the relationships with Government Ministries, research institutions and funders—the spaces of translating high quality Pacific research into real policy and changes for Pacific peoples and communities in New Zealand. It advocates Benham's call for avoiding western hegemony, the value of interdisciplinary and mixed method approaches to research, the saliency of Pacific voices of the researched, understanding cultural references of both the dominant New Zealand culture and Pacific cultures, and the need for research which leads to policy change and formation which is empowering for Pacific communities. More importantly, the Second Ministry of Education Guidelines (Airine et al. 2010), in its focus on the Samoan indigenous reference of teu le va, provides an overarching ethical ethos for all relationships formed during the research process. It calls for a full exploration and commitment of the relationships within which the ethical moment is enacted, especially for indigenous people(s) and communities who exist in context-derived power differential asymmetries.

Finally. . .

It is not surprising that anthropology in New Zealand is proving to be at the forefront of native anthropological endeavour. The debates over anthropology in New Zealand do reflect the presence of indigenous intellectuals and there is a greater emphasis on the relationship between the researcher and the researched. We have had the benefit of a New Zealand anthropology that encourages cutting edge native and insider research by natives— Linda Smith and her work on kaupapa Maori and decolonizing research (1998), Pat Hohepa on Waima (1970), Kawharu on Orakei/Bastion Point (1975), Walker on Maori society (1990), Mahuta on structure of *whaikorero* (1974), Ravuvu on Fijian ethos (1983), as well as Te Rangi Hiroa (see Condliffe 1971) and Apirana Ngata (see Walker 2002), Mahina on Tongan history (1986), and my work on the Samoan diaspora and Pacific/Samoan ethnic identity (Anae 1997, 1998a, 2001, 2004). Other indigenous anthropologists include Merata Kawharu of the James Henare Research Centre (1986), and Paul Tapsell and his work on museums and Maori society (1998).

What we need in the Pacific are researchers who care about people. In all research investigations, mutual trust and understanding must be built carefully and sensitively. As with any human relationship, reciprocity, mutual participation, responsiveness, commitment and responsibility are essential. In turn this relationship will form the basis of our intellectual pursuit—the need to comprehend something in as many ways as possible to construct the composite that finally, more comprehensively, allows us to understand an issue, phenomenon, or culture from perspectives of both the researcher and the researched.

As *native* anthropologists, we can teu le va in Pacific research in general by exposing, understanding, and reconciling our va with each other in reciprocal relationships in the research process. For me it means this: people and groups we meet and have relationships and relational arrangements with, all have specific biographies (whole plethora of ethnicities, gender, class age, agendas, etc.) whether they are family members, colleagues, funders, participants, leaders etc. To teu le va means to be committed to take all these into account in the context in which these relationships are occurring. Put simply it is about regarding our va with others as sacred, thus valuing, nurturing and if necessary, tidying up relationships we have as Pacific researchers with those above, below and beside us in order to achieve positive outcomes for all. Through face-to-face interaction, words spoken and behavior (body language, etc.), with purposeful and positive outcomes of the relationship in mind, the

relationship progresses and moves forward. To not do this will incur the wrath of the gods, the keepers of tapu, and positive successful outcomes will not eventuate, progress will be impeded, parties to the relationship will be put at risk, and appeasement and reconciliation will need to be sought.

The two Ministry of Education Pacific research guideline documents referred to above (Anae et al. 2001; Airini et al. 2010) are starting points with which to expose, understand and reconcile the va and how to teu le va in Pacific research contexts. As Pacific academics, researchers, scholars, and teachers we must encourage our Pacific students in the diaspora to be proud of their Pacific identities as they themselves define these and to show them that their Pacific worldviews and how this plays out in their lives, their realities, their understandings of the world, their work and research can enrich their understandings of anthropology as a western discipline. Hopefully some of them will become *native* anthropologists too. Their research will most definitely (in)form and change multisectoral policy directions and service delivery for Pacific peoples and communities in the diaspora. But in order to do this they must learn, as many of us already have, to teu le va, to value, nurture and if necessary "tidy up" the physical, spiritual, cultural, social, psychological, and tapu "spaces" of human relationships in our research praxis.

Soifua.

NOTES

1. This chapter contains excerpts from M. Anae, "Research for Better Pacific Schooling in New Zealand: Teu le Va—A Samoan Perspective," *Mai Review* 2010, no. 1 (2010), http://review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/issue/current. This paper provided the theoretical, conceptual, ethical, and philosophical basis for the second Ministry of Education Guideline document (see Airini et al. 2010).

2. Auckland Girls' Grammar School.

3. Pacific Islanders Congregational Church—the first Pacific ethnic church to be established in New Zealand.

4. Companion to the Queens Service Order (QSO) awarded 2 June 2008 for services to the Pacific Island Communities.

5. See also Efi's comments of the relationship between va and tua'oi (boundaries) in T. Suaalii-Sauni, I. Tuagalu, N. Kirifi-Alai, and N. Fuamatu, eds., *Su'esu'e Manogi: In Search of Fragrance. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi and the Samoan Indigenous Reference* (Lepapaigalagala, Samoa: Centre for Samoan Studies, National University of Samoa), 161–172.

6. Wharenui (meeting house) of Te Wananga o Waipapa (Maori Studies) at University of Auckland.

7. See the Anae dissertation on the influence of Samoan matriarchs—mothers and grand-mothers—on identity. Also see the Wendt interview in Hereniko (1993).

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GLOSSARY

'aiga—family, extended family, descent group or kinship in all its dimensions; transnational corporation of kin

fa'aaloalo—courtesy, respect, honours, regard highly and treat with respect

fa'alavelave—a ceremonial occasion (weddings, funerals, etc.) requiring the exchange of gifts, anything which interferes with 'normal' life and calls for special activity

fa'asamoa—in the manner of Samoans, the Samoan way; according to Samoan customs and traditions

feagaiga—covenant between a brother/sister and their descendants, currently used to refer to covenant between minister/congregation; a contract

fono—governing council, a council of chiefs, a meeting

matai—political representative of *'aiga* who holds a title bestowed by *'aiga*, custodian of *'aiga* land and property. There are two orders of matai: *ali'i* and *tulafale*

measina—fine mat; treasure(s)

palagi—also *papalagi* sky-breaker (lit.), white man, Europeans, foreigner, Samoan person not born in Samoa

si'i—lit. to lift; to carry ritual exchanges to present at rituals

tapu—be forbidden

tautua—(of untitled men and other dependants) serve a *matai*, carry out orders of; those who stand behind those in authority; to serve

teu le va—value/nurture/if necessary tidy up/look after the sacred and secular relationships in the va—the spaces between persons/person and things which separate yet unite

va—referring to the distance/position of two people/places/things in relation to each other/their relationship, separate yet closely connected

va fealoaloa'i—the relationships of mutual respect in socio-political and spiritual arrangements

va tapuia—the sacred relationships in the socio-political and spiritual arrangements

THE INTERWEAVING OF PEOPLE, TIME, AND PLACE—WHAKAPAPA AS CONTEXT AND METHOD[1]

Lily George, Te Kapotai/Ngaapuhi/Paakehaa
Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand

Along the Waikare River, in the tiny village of Waikare, for generations my *whaanau* (extended family) from the Te Kapotai tribe has harvested foods. The Waikare River flows into the sea and provides a thoroughfare to places such as Opua and Kororareka, where people from Waikare travel to meet with other whaanau. Trips to the beach by boat (and later by car) were always about food and pleasure; most frequently the pleasure of food. My *tupuna* (ancestors) and those of my mother's generation knew intimately the surrounding islands comprising the Bay of Islands; knowledge that was passed from one generation to another, forming part of the blueprint of our lives. Unfortunately, by the tail end of my generation, the incentive to pass this knowledge forward had lessened—a reflection of our changing world. Yet just as the tides of our *awa* (river) ebb and flow, so too has our culture ebbed and flowed. Deeply interwoven into the history of this land are experiences great and small, and people great and small. *Whakapapa* (genealogy/history) is the bridge that carries us from one experience to another, from one being to another.

Because I am an indigenous anthropologist, who I am as a cultural being has a fundamental influence on how I perceive the world and analyze it. Whakapapa grounds and connects me to other Maaori, to all the lands and people of Aotearoa, and, through the aspects of our shared history, to other indigenous peoples of the world. There is a whakapapa to Maaori

anthropology in New Zealand into which I fit that highlights pathways and pitfalls for current practitioners through the practices of previous Maaori scholars such as Sir Peter Buck and Sir Apirana Ngata. Whakapapa are also "epistemological frameworks" (Roberts et al. 2004, 1) that establish connections and relationships between phenomena and contextualize those phenomena within particular historical, cultural, and social perspectives. My research experiences provide several examples of how whakapapa is embedded within those experiences, reflecting the cultural context within which I engage in research. Whakapapa can therefore be seen as both context and method in which I as a Maaori researcher practicing indigenous anthropology can thrive.

Whakapapa is one of the principal concepts that comprise *maatauranga Maaori* (Maaori knowledge), along with those such as *tapu* (sacredness/restriction), *mana* (prestie/authority), *whaanau*, *hapuu* (tribe), and *iwi* (tribe/people). While there may be tribal differences between definitions and applications of these concepts, there are also shared meanings for Maaori as a whole (Walker 2004, 28), which provide an insight into *Te Ao Maaori* (the Maaori world). Many Maaori believe that whakapapa reaches back in time to *Io Matua Kore* (Supreme God) and *Te Kore* (the beginnings of the universe, the great emptiness yet where anything and everything was possible). This potential manifested in the forming of *Papatuanuku* (Earth Mother) and *Ranginui* (Sky Father), leading us into *Te Po* (the dark realm). From here, their child *Tane Mahuta* (God of Forests) along with other siblings, strove to separate their godly parents, enabling them, and therefore humankind, to move into the domain of *Te Ao Marama* (the world of light and knowledge).

All Maaori can claim descent from these divine beginnings. Our whakapapa can lead us on a journey in which the past is brought into the present (Walker 2004, 56) for the education and acculturation of the descendants. Whakapapa is more than genealogical connections however; it is also the history—the stories—of our tupuna. It is those stories that ensure our tupuna live on in us and around us. They connect us to the physical features of our landscape, which become imbued with spiritual meaning through the narratives. Buck noted in 1929 that "I have always felt, since my Polynesian wanderings, that New Zealand was composed of a number of islands of spirit connected by land" (in Sorrenson 1982: 20–21). These narratives that accompany whakapapa also provide "explanations for why things came to be the way they are, as well as moral guidelines for correct conduct" (Roberts et al. 2004, 1). Whakapapa is the inalienable link that binds us to the land and sea, to people and places, to time and space, even when we are not aware of it.

When I began my acquaintance with the people of Awataha Marae[2] on Auckland's North Shore in 1997, I did so with little cultural knowledge. Yet it seemed the most natural thing in the world to establish whakapapa connections with the people there, with queries such as—Where do you come from? Who do you belong to? Which *whenua* (land) nurtured the lives of your people?—an endeavor that is vitally important to nearly every Maaori engagement, since this establishes our connection to Te Ao Maaori and therefore each other. While there were no close whakapapa connections established, we nevertheless could form connections in terms of distant ancestors and shared experiences. One of the *kaumatua* (elders) had worked with my grandfather many years before; a factor that also laid the foundations for a close bond. In a similar situation, Weber-Pillwax wrote of an incident whereupon meeting particular elders for the first time, their formality was dissolved when they learned who her grandfather was, since he had married a member of their community. She felt that "the sun was breaking out over me, and immediately everything about the introduction was totally different" (Weber-Pillwax 2001, 167).

One of the suggestions made by the kaumatua near the beginning of the PhD in 2002 was that I return to my *tuurangawaewae* (standing place) in the Bay of Islands and seek deeper knowledge of my whakapapa from my own whaanau. Charles Royal asserts that researching tribal histories is a spiritual journey because it leads back to Io Matua Kore and the beginnings of time (1993, 9). For the Awataha project, understanding the histories of the major groups involved and the history of the whenua, as well as the contextual history, was vitally necessary for understanding what is present today. As Te Tuhi Robust contends, "Backing into the future is a concept of thinking ahead with the full understanding of the historical journeys we have taken to be where we are now" (Robust 2000, 30). By grounding myself in the whakapapa of my own people, I therefore stood upon a solid foundation from which I could respectfully seek to research the histories of other people and places. And as noted by Tawhai, "What right do I have to hold a mirror up to other iwi (tribe/people) if I don't firstly hold the mirror up to myself?" (in Walker 2004, 3).

In the whakapapa book for my whaanau reunion held in March 2008,[3] I wrote the following words:

> Whakapapa is the life-blood of all people; both literally and metaphorically. Knowledge of who we are because of those we come from gives us history, identity, and connections to people, lands and Gods. Through whakapapa, the unbroken chain of past,

> present and future becomes visible and real. While the tapestry
> of self is unique to each new expression of whakapapa, it nonethe-
> less owes part of its shades and hues to those who wove its
> beginnings.

This reflects first the reason for our being together as a *whaanau*, and
second, the reason for us to continue to be so in the future. Whakapapa
are the spiritual, emotional, and physical ties that connect us as individuals
to the collective body of the whaanau of Te Wiki Wiremu Hoori, and to
the *hapuu* and *iwi* (tribes) of Te Kapotai and Ngaapuhi, respectively. Our
whakapapa therefore provides a "standing place" and matrix of connection
and protection from which we—individually and collectively, personally,
and professionally—can reach outward into the world.

Challenges from indigenous peoples regarding research have been insis-
tent over the last few decades, and for Maaori, the development of kaupapa
Maaori research methodologies arose out of a Maaori-perceived need to
design, direct, and control research in Maaori communities and on Maaori-
related issues. Graham Smith defines kaupapa Maaori as simply "the phi-
losophy and practise of being Maaori" (Smith 1993, 1), and as a "theory of
change" (1992, cited in Te Momo 2002, 4). Kaupapa Maaori research initia-
tives, then, advocate the legitimacy of Maaori knowledge, culture, and
values. As yet there is no single entity that can be termed kaupapa Maaori
research, reflecting the diversity within Maaori communities and among
Maaori researchers, which necessitates a freedom with research practice to
adjust those practices to individuals and groups participating in research.
Also, just as culture is not static but is instead dynamic and ever changing,
the same could be said of research processes. This includes the freedom to
design our own theories and methodologies based on cultural knowledge.

In his doctoral research of Te Aute College, Graham (2009, 59) "expounds
the use of both a traditional and a contemporary illumination of whakapapa
as guiding the whole research process." Whakapapa "innately and organi-
cally links the past, present and future." This whakapapa links the genera-
tions of young Maaori who have passed through Te Aute (including Apirana
Ngata and Peter Buck) to each other and the lands, and Te Aute itself has
a whakapapa that is intricately entwined with the Te Aute experiences of
these young Maaori. The whakapapa shows a "lineage of contribution that
has evolved from one era to the next," it is multilayered—including con-
nections to Christianity, rugby, and the armed services—and a whakapapa
of leadership and achievement can be perceived. Therefore whakapapa
refers both to "the birth of human life" and to "the birth of new knowledge"
(Graham 2009, 63).

Royal also sees whakapapa as a useful analytic tool that "organises phenomena into groups and provides explanations for trends and features within those groups" (Royal 1998, 80). Just as a human being has parents who contributed to their birth into the world, so does an event or phenomenon. By searching back along the lines of whakapapa, it is possible to identify the antecedent or parental phenomena, and from there to ascertain connections to other phenomena in an ever-widening picture of this phenomenal world, which Royal calls "Te Ao Marama" (1998, 81). This organic process analyzes relationships between phenomena and uses *whakawhaanaungatanga* (relationship development and maintenance) to signify the interconnectedness of all things (Royal 1998, 82).

Whakapapa-in-context[4] is a useful method, therefore, whereby a particular event or person is contextualized into a particular time period, in what could be called the horizontal or generational whakapapa. We can then understand it further by looking at the vertical or antecedent whakapapa, and there are connections and relationships sideways, upside down, forward, and backward that you could make in order to understand a particular event and the situatedness of the person or event within it. As a simple example, when looking at the Awataha Marae history, we can see that site approval for a marae was finally gained in 1981 after two decades of petitioning local councils and organizations. So what was happening at the time? It was approximately a decade after major Maaori protests that injustices had occurred, and there was a major cultural renaissance. It was six years after the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act, when the government had to acknowledge these injustices with regard to breaches of the treaty principles. This resulted in a more conducive social atmosphere supporting the building of a marae in an urban center, as contrasted with previous community concerns such as a concern that rats would be encouraged by the dumps that would spring up around the marae.[5]

In terms of vertical whakapapa, we could go back to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and follow it forward through the decimations of culture and people. We could identify some of our tupuna whose innovation of tradition helped reclaim and retain our *tikanga* (customs) through times of hardship. Of importance too is increased Maaori urbanization following World War II and how this led to a need for a pantribal marae in this Auckland suburb to serve cultural needs. And finally, we could look forward from 1981 to the present and see what the presence of Awataha Marae has given "birth" to, e.g., a tribally run health center and Maaori language schools on the Awataha site. What does this mean? And how do these developments at Awataha Marae connect to developments in the wider society? Seeking the answers to questions such as these helps fit

Awataha Marae into a wider and multilayered matrix of history that gives a deeper understanding of the particular history of the marae.[6]

Anthropology in Aotearoa New Zealand also has a whakapapa that can be illuminated, which includes a history of Maaori involvement from the early nineteenth century, "not only as subjects but as analysts of their own culture" (Henare 2007, 94). Beaglehole (1938, 152) asserted in 1938 that there had been three divisions or phases of anthropology in New Zealand. The first is as noted by Henare above and consisted also of early visitors who recorded their impressions of the people and land as they traveled through. Owing to the amateur nature of these observers, Beaglehole contended that the writings they left behind must be treated with care and used "as a sort of quarry . . . rather than as a body of validly-established and definitely-defined data on old Maaori life" (Beaglehole 1938, 153), which required rigorous testing to confirm its validity.

The second phase occurred from the latter half of the twentieth century, in a period Beaglehole called that of the "enthusiastic amateur" (Beaglehole 1938, 154), with well-known writers such as Shortland, Grey, Best, Smith, and Hamilton, also noted by Henare as "amateur ethnologists" (Henare 2007, 95). These writers often used Maaori informants, for example, Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke was Governor George Grey's informant, and Tamati Ranapiri was one of Elsdon Best's informants. Thus these first two phases consisted mostly of those who had no specialized training in anthropology or ethnology, were often colonial agents who through circumstance had many interactions with Maaori, and learned their scholarly pursuits "on the job." Ballara (1998: 97–99) contends, however, that these prolific writers contributed to a "grand design," condensing Maaori history and society in an orderly manner that suited the needs of the emerging nation. It was also assumed by Smith and his compatriots that what they were investigating and describing was a culture seemingly inert for hundreds of years, and they did not appear to take into consideration the changes brought about after European contact (Webster 1998a).

Beaglehole's reported third phase of anthropology (1938, 156) began in the second decade of the twentieth century when professional anthropology began in earnest, and it was in this period that Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck came to prominence. Apirana's father, Paratene, was born in 1849 and was adopted into the household of Rapata Wahawaha, who was to become a prominent chief of Ngati Porou, leading his people in the New Zealand Wars, on the side of the British, against the troops of those such as Te Kooti Arikirangi.

Paratene Ngata therefore matured in a "rapidly changing social landscape of tribalism, traders and Christianity," and, like Wahawaha, "believed that education was important for the future wellbeing of his people" (Walker

2001: 41 and 36); Paratene was sent to missionary school at Waerengahika. Following a period of childlessness, which required the intervention of a *tohunga* (priest), Apirana was born to Paratene and Katerina Ngata on July 3, 1874. The auspicious circumstances surrounding Apirana's conception and birth, "occurring as they did in the transition between te ao Maaori and the world of modernity . . . . singled out Apirana Ngata as no ordinary person" (Walker 2001, 56).

The young Apirana grew up among a wealth of knowledge, having Wahawaha and other members of his household teaching him the traditions of Ngati Porou, as well as introducing him to the changing world. Rapata Wahawaha and Paratene Ngata were impressive role models for Apirana, since they were now considered leaders of Ngati Porou. Apirana entered Te Aute College in 1883, at the age of nine. He was molded from birth to take his place among the leaders of Ngati Porou and to help his people transition more easily into the changing world (Walker 2001, 56).

Born to a Maaori mother (Ngati Mutunga) and *Paakehaa* (non-Maaori) father,[7] Peter Buck was raised primarily in a Paakehaa community, with "little opportunity of coming under the influence of the elders of [his] mother's people" (Hiroa 1926, 185). At eighteen, while visiting friends on the East Coast, he was welcomed onto various marae. He wrote:

> Never shall I forget the tide of shame that surged through me as with trembling knees I stood up to reply in the crowded meetings, and with faltering speech sought to justify my existence. . . . My ignorance appalled me, and ever since I have sought to rectify the omissions of a mis-spent youth (Hiroa 1926: 185–86).

Through his many contributions to Maaori and Polynesian society over the coming years, Buck did indeed rectify his lack of Maaori cultural knowledge. He was given the ancestral name of Te Rangi Hiroa later in life and always considered his mixed ancestry of equal importance (Sorrenson 1996).

In 1896, Buck enrolled in Te Aute College, thereby coming into contact with Apirana Ngata, which was the beginning of a lasting friendship, as encapsulated by their exchange of letters from 1925 to 1950.[8] The headmaster of Te Aute, John Thornton, was a major influence in the lives of these student reformers, instilling in them his ideas that in order to raise Maaori from the depths, they must draw out "what was best in the Maaori nature" (Walker 2001, 69). The Te Aute College Student's Association and later the Young Maaori Party, consisting of those such as Ngata, Buck, and Maui Pomare, were instrumental in formulating and carrying out some long-reaching innovations to Maaori society.

In Ngata's 1909 manifesto for the Young Maaori Party, emphasis was put on "the need to preserve Maaori language, poetry, traditions, customs, arts and crafts; and to carry out research into anthropology and ethnology" (Sorrenson 1982, 9), in a "programme of economic and cultural invigoration" (Henare 2007, 100). By this time, both had succeeded in winning Maaori seats in Parliament and had met with Paakehaa such as Elsdon Best and Augustus Hamilton. Ngata had become a member of the Polynesian Society in 1895, having realized its importance in recording Maaori history and customs for future generations in a time when this knowledge was being lost (Walker 2001, 66). Ngata wrote that "our ancestors have gone beyond the veil without having left more than a skeleton of their knowledge to us. . . . It is our duty . . . to try and piece together that knowledge which our old people failed to pass on to us" (cited in Walker 2004, 8).

Buck and Ngata also began to meet and be influenced by British anthropologists such as W.H.R. Rivers, whose 1898 Torres Strait Expedition inspired Ngata to support a series of field expeditions in New Zealand (Henare 2007, 98). Led by Elsdon Best and accompanied by Ngata, Buck, James McDonald, and Johannes Andersen, the first expedition in 1919 began at the *Hui Aroha*; a ceremony to welcome home the soldiers from World War I (including Buck). This was followed in 1920 with an expedition to Rotorua, in 1921 on a trip down the Whanganui River, with the final expedition in 1923 to Ngata's home place of Waiomatatini to record the traditions of his Ngati Porou people. These expeditions served a "Maaori political agenda to ensure the persistence of old skills and knowledge among Maaori. . . . [by] ensuring continuities between the past, present and future" (Henare 2007, 98).

Buck began fieldwork in the Pacific region in 1910 with a trip to Rarotonga and published much on the material culture of the people he studied with. He delivered his classic lecture *The Coming of the Maaori* from 1908 (Sorrenson 1982, 9) and published *The Evolution of Maaori Clothing* and *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands* in 1926 and 1927, respectively. His most well-known text—*The Coming of the Maaori*—was published in 1949. Buck joined the staff of the Bishop Museum in Hawai'i in 1927 and became visiting professor at Yale University in 1932. He continued his professional career as an anthropologist overseas, only returning home to New Zealand a handful of times before his death in 1951.

Meanwhile Ngata had established the Board of Ethnological Research in 1923, and the Maaori Arts and Crafts Act passed in 1926, enabling the founding of the Rotorua School of Maaori Arts and Crafts. His 1928 appointment as native minister gave Ngata "a long awaited opportunity to put anthropology into action" (Sorrenson 1982, 8). Over this time, Ngata

created land development schemes, assisted in the building of twenty-eight tribal meeting houses, and gathered a wealth of material (including those for the *Nga Moteatea* books[9]) in a cultural renaissance with practical outcomes. This was perhaps the first time in *Te Ao Hou* (the New World), that Maaori had been able to bring together research and development for the betterment of Maaori people and society.

In their lengthy correspondence, Ngata and Buck spoke often of their advantage as Maaori in the analysis of Maaori culture. Sorrenson's 1982 article draws its title from Buck's assertion that "The Polynesian corpuscles carry us behind the barrier that takes a Paakehaa some time to scale" (in Sorrenson 1982, 7). Notwithstanding their sometimes patronizing attitudes,[10] Ngata and Buck thought that "No country has better potentialities amongst its native race for working out and recording its own ethnology" (Buck to Ngata 1930, in Sorrenson 1987, 77). It was the cultural training they had received and their status as "insiders" that gave them the advantage of the "approach and the double angle of vision [that] came to us through our blood" (Sorrenson 1982, 19). They also saw themselves as "men who belonged to two cultures and mediated between them" (Sorrenson 1982, 21).

In his 1928 paper *Anthropology and the Government of Native Races*, Ngata spoke of the "method whereby the native mind may be influenced to surrender its concepts and accept new ideas" (cited in Sorrenson 1982, 17). While this may sound a little sinister, it seems more likely that the goal of cultural revitalization and merging the best of Maaori with the best of Paakehaa society underpinned these sentiments. Sorrenson thought that while Paakehaa may see acculturation of Maaori as "Europeanization," Ngata and Buck instead regarded the process as "incorporating useful elements of European culture into an enduring Maaori culture" (Sorrenson 1982, 17). Thus it was a process of conscious adaptation rather than unconscious victimization, where Maaori had the power and agency through which to direct acculturation on their terms. That is—"The Maaori can now select what is suitable in Paakehaa culture and retain that which shows a tendency to persist in his own culture" (Ngata quoting Buck 1928, in Sorrenson 1982, 20). Their expertise as "empirical anthropologists" (Buck to Ngata 1930, in Sorrenson 1987, 36) gave them the advantage in which to press forward their agendas.

Nevertheless, Buck and Ngata complained that Maaori agency was not recognized by their Paakehaa compatriots. While New Zealand administrators were quick to point to their success in "civilizing" Maaori, "They have not given due credit to the part played by the Maaori himself in bringing about the position he now occupies" (Buck to Ngata 1930, in Sorrenson

1987: 11–12). Paakehaa look down from the heights of their presumed superior culture and focus on how far below them Maaori were, causing Maaori in turn to "realise how far we have to struggle upwards." However, a "glance back" showed just how far Maaori had come since their "transition from Maaori into New Zealander" (Buck to Ngata 1930, in Sorrenson 1987, 13).

For the most part, the Young Maaori Party's aim of invigorating Maaori culture and society was viewed at the time as somewhat of a success. In contrasting Maaori with the Marquesan people, Buck stated that he was "going to take the renaissance of Maaori Art as an indication of the presence of some spiritual something that our people never lost though it flickered low in some areas after the [New Zealand] wars" (Buck to Ngata 1931, in Sorrenson 1987, 131). The policies and principles of cultural adaptation began by some in Paratene Ngata's generation and carried forward by those such as Apirana Ngata were wisdoms that had worked in the best interests of Maaori (Ngata to Buck 1931, in Sorrenson 1987, 173). Only by using the "weapons" of the Paakehaa (including anthropology) for physical survival, holding ancestral teachings within their heart while offering their spirits to God,[11] could Maaori succeed in adjustment to the "tyranny of Western civilization" (Buck to Ngata 1931, in Sorrenson 1987, 201).

It was "the most substantial experiment in applied anthropology, as perceived by its two home-made Maaori anthropologists [Ngata and Buck], that New Zealand has ever seen" (Sorrenson 1982, 23), which only ended with the discrediting of Ngata over the land development schemes in 1934. Nevertheless, those innovations instituted by Buck, Ngata, and others during this heady time have had long-reaching effects that remain as inspirational guideposts—as well as cautionary tales—for Maaori today. Their successes in academia, politics, and other scholarly pursuits have ensured that they are among the best remembered role models of Maaoridom.

To return to Beaglehole's contention of distinct phases in New Zealand anthropology, a fourth phase can be seen as beginning in the middle to late 1960s. Reflecting changes worldwide as indigenous and other marginalized peoples protested against their imposed positions, Maaori in New Zealand raised their voices against the continued injustices perpetrated since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. There was a "series of mobilizations and responses which can be seen as a whole ethnic movement" (Webster 1998b, 28), resulting in a renaissance of Maaori culture. Groups such as Nga Tamatoa rallied increasing support from Maaori and from other New Zealanders. One of the results of this was the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 to hear claims against the Crown for breaches of the treaty. It seemed possible that Maaori culture and language would

be reclaimed and gain a new space in New Zealand society, ameliorating the negative social indexes that Maaori featured far too often in.

In the early 1950s, Australian anthropologist Ralph Piddington established the first department of anthropology in New Zealand at Auckland University, and it was from there that the first Maaori Studies department arose in 1952. Piddington, who trained under anthropology greats Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, encouraged Maaori participation in anthropological studies once again and instituted papers in Maaori language (Henare 2007, 102). Some of our most prominent Maaori scholars to train in anthropology in the middle to late twentieth century were Robert Mahuta, Pita Sharples, Hugh Kawharu, Pare Hopa, Hirini Mead, Pat Hohepa, Ranginui Walker, and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku.

Webster believes, however, that Piddington "developed a theory of culture as a whole way of life outside its own political economic history" (1998b, 24). This resulted in the reification of Maaori culture, especially following the Maaori renaissance, which was led ironically by some of Piddington's students who were now in powerful academic positions as patrons of Maaori culture. This culturalist ideology had roots back to the aspirations of the Young Maaori Party and was mobilized in the current situation as part of the political challenges thrust into the national spotlight by Maaori protesters (Henare 2007: 102–103). Similarly, these patrons were also using anthropological training "to establish initiatives to ensure the continuation and revitalization of the Maaori language and cultural traditions" (Henare 2007, 103).

In terms of research, Maaori protests precluded, for the most part, non-Maaori participation in research with Maaori. Condemnation and exclusion of foreign and Paakehaa scholars became increasingly the norm (Webster 1998b, 103), with a deeper scrutiny of past commentaries of Maaori culture and society for their contribution to the lingering effects of colonization. There was a separation of Maaori Studies from anthropology, and by 1975 there were three more Maaori Studies programs at other New Zealand universities (Webster 1998b, 30). Research had to be culturally relevant, be overseen and mentored by kaumatua, address the political and institutional ideologies within which research is conducted (Smith 1999, 2), be "by Maaori for Maaori with Maaori" (Smith, cited in Henry and Pene 2001, 236), and have a "methodology of participation" where research was "participant-driven" (Bishop 1996: 224 and 226).

The relationship between research and development became emphasized, and as noted by Durie—"There is no research without development and no development without research" (Durie 1998, 418). While "development" has some negative connotations, as a conscious effort in the fight for self-determination, development was seen as a vital necessity that required

"careful and deliberate planning" through research to ensure that Maaori advancement in all areas is achieved without jeopardizing the integrity of any particular area (Durie 1998, 421). So research "by Maaori for Maaori with Maaori" was not designed as an abstract process, but as one whereby practical and beneficial results could eventuate.

The beginning of the twenty-first century can be seen as entering a fifth phase in New Zealand anthropology, for Maaori at least. Henare noted that by 2007, very little social anthropology by and about Maaori now occurs (Henare 2007, 93), even though research with Maaori by Maaori has increased exponentially. The separation of Maaori Studies from the discipline of anthropology during the Maaori renaissance has meant that "today there does not appear to be a single Maaori scholar employed in any of the country's six anthropology departments" (Henare 2007, 93). Certainly I have noticed while attending anthropology conferences that there are very few (if any) other Maaori present. It seems to me, however, that the burgeoning of Maaori research from within a Maaori cultural paradigm enables an anthropology that can be innovated to suit Maaori needs, despite the negative reputation anthropology has had in the past.

In 1998, Webster still considered that ethnography "is the written description and analysis of *another* culture" (Webster 1998b, 7)[12] and that social anthropologists are "professional outsiders because we live in and study (participate in and observe) cultures, societies, or social sectors other than our own" (Webster 1998b, 10). By contrast, Clifford noted that "indigenous ethnographers," that is, "insiders studying their own cultures offer[ing] new angles of vision and depths of understanding" are now a part of the academic world that can no longer be ignored (Clifford 1986, 10). Kanuha states that "the field of anthropology has been responsible for coining the nomenclature of the native, indigenous, or insider researcher" (Kanuha 2000, 440). She concludes that this is not surprising, given the hearty criticism of anthropologists by indigenous populations. Many indigenous researchers, however, write about the complexities inherent in being both insider and outsider. As noted by Collins, the "research process for Maaori academic researchers who choose to carry out research within their own communities is a daunting exercise," because of issues such as "role duality" (Collins 2007, 28).

Nevertheless, as stressed by Ngata and Buck in the 1920s, the perspective offered by the "double vision" of insiders can provide a deeper perspective to research. Indigenous researchers "necessarily look in from the outside while also looking out from the inside" (Trinh, cited in Te Kawehau Hoskins 1998, 14). Through whakapapa, we are connected to people and places, time and space, and our efforts can result in the birth of new knowledge (Graham 2009).

Researchers, whether indigenous or not, go into the field not as totally objective scientists, but as themselves, carrying within themselves facets of personality, culture, gender, history, and so on, i.e., their whakapapa. This signifies then that relationships and interactions are formed at the interface between one person and another. The researcher's own biases, prejudices, and "truths" consequently affect the way relationships are formed and maintained, as well as the ways in which the research is undertaken, analyzed, and reported. Bishop thinks that researchers are woven into the research processes, and the "methodological framework underlying the weaving is called whakapapa" (Bishop 1996, 232). And as Graham notes:

> the relationship between the researcher and the research community, itself bound by whakapapa, invokes a series of typical research characteristics such as accountability, reciprocity, trust, confidence and ethicality and so innately fulfils ethical considerations (Graham 2009: 65–66).

One of Tai Walker's research participants referred to research as being "of the eyes, the intellect and the mouth" (Walker 2004, 82). Sasha Roseneil describes research as "an exercise in reflexive, unalienated labour, [which] involve[s] the 'unity of hand, brain and heart'" (Roseneil 1993, 205). With the hand you greet and interact with people, as well as writing about your endeavors. The brain provides a tool for thinking about and analyzing ideas and situations you are working with. The heart though—arguably this gives a deeper meaning to what you as a researcher are involved with provides the sense of connection that can make your work more than just labor, and enriches the whole tapestry of the research experience.

An indigenous anthropologist can be defined[13] as an indigenous person who works mainly with his or her own people, who is cognizant of the issues and challenges that indigenous people share and their place within this, and approaches research as a reciprocal and collaborative endeavor that privileges indigenous concerns and indigenous knowledge. Anthropology, as with any social science, provides us with a set of tools we may use as researchers to inform directions for development of our resources, including our people. Some of the advantages of anthropology are that it has a cross-cultural and international perspective, that there is a huge body of literature to draw from, and methods such as fieldwork and participant observation that can work well with indigenous research goals and objectives. As individuals, and as indigenous people, we have the right to use those tools in ways that suit our needs. *We* decide how we use them; I believe we have that power, and therefore we have the attendant responsibility and accountability to those we research with and for.

Maaori Marsden wrote that the "route to Maaoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only be through a passionate subjective approach" (Marsden 1992, 117). An understanding of Maaoritanga and maatauranga Maaori is essential for those who wish to research with Maaori, from within a Maaori cultural paradigm. Mead described maatauranga as also about "developing the creative powers of the mind. . . . expanding horizons and reaching beyond the limitations of circumstance and adversity." "Te hohonutanga o te maatauranga" refers to seeking knowledge that lies beneath the surface of reality, where the "learner therefore has to dive in and explore the areas of darkness . . . and by exploring come to understand." "Te whanuitanga o te maatauranga" acknowledges the vast breadth of knowledge, those sideways journeys to the "unreachable horizons of knowledge" where the "journey is to seek more light, more understanding and that most elusive of all educational goals, wisdom" (Mead 1997, 51). Whakapapa can also be used to explain these knowledge-seeking processes, in which people, events, or experiences are contextualized in order to explore the depths and breadths of knowledge.

Human identity is intimately linked to whakapapa and is "at the heart and soul of our endeavours" (Durie 1996, 192). We are born into particular environments that are multilayered and multifaceted, peppered with social, cultural, spiritual, and ideological constructs that (often unconsciously) influence notions of who we are and how we conduct ourselves. Moreover, each environment is born out of those that went before and contributes to environments yet to come. Whakapapa provides a structure within which to understand these environments more clearly by illuminating the interconnections between them (Graham 2009). Therefore, whakapapa is a useful research methodology that aids our understanding of ourselves and the people we research with by placing us in a matrix that includes the interweaving of people, time, and place. As an indigenous anthropologist, knowing the whakapapa of anthropology in Aotearoa New Zealand and around the world enables me to know where I fit into the narratives that accompany it and to better contribute to the birth of future knowledge. Through whakapapa we as indigenous anthropologists are connected to the lands and peoples we work with. We are connected to the geographic and spiritual area of Oceania, which includes a history of colonization and other shared experiences. Through the whakapapa of people, lands, ocean, and anthropology, we as indigenous anthropologists are connected to one another. Whakapapa is the foundation upon which we have the right to build, producing structures that are valid and unique, yet which share features with others.[14]

NOTES

  1. This article is drawn from the Methodology chapter of my PhD dissertation—*Tradition, Invention and Innovation: Multiple Reflections of an Urban Marae*—submitted for examination August 2009.

  2. *Marae* are traditional gathering places for Maaori, in contemporary times most often a complex of buildings, and, as with Awataha Marae, serving the cultural needs of more than one tribe. My PhD is a case study of Awataha, its people and history, contextualized within the general history of marae development. It also engages with debates around tradition, cultural invention, and innovation.

  3. The reunion brought together 300 members of the whaanau of Te Wiki Wiremu Hoori and was held on our ancestral marae of Te Turuki at Waikare, Bay of Islands.

  4. These ideas are not unique, and draw heavily from previous discussions of the use of whakapapa as a method for research. I developed these in this form, through discussions with other Maaori postgraduate students at a Massey University Writing Retreat in 2007, and acknowledge in particular the input of Felicity Ware and Anaru Wood.

  5. These concerns were raised at a local council meeting regarding the development of a marae on the North Shore.

  6. A more comprehensive history of Awataha Marae will be available in my dissertation.

  7. Sorrenson (1996) wrote that while Buck claimed to have been born in 1880, it was more likely he was born in 1877 per the register at his primary school. Source: Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, www.dnzb.govt.nz.

  8. This correspondence was published in three volumes (edited by M.P.K. Sorrenson) entitled *Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend*, between 1986 and 1988.

  9. The first volume, *Nga Mooteatea: He Maramare Rere Noo Ngaa Waka Maha, He Mea Kohikohi*, was published in 1928 (Ngata 1928).

10. For example—"In Polynesian research it is right and fitting that the highest branch of the Polynesian race should be in the forefront and not leave the bulk of the investigations to workers who have not got the inside angle that we have." Buck to Ngata, March 8, 1927, cited in Sorrenson (1982, 7).

11. Henare (2007: 97–98), based on Ngata's famous *whakatauki* (proverb) "E tipu e rea i nga ra o to ao" (Grow, child, in the days of your world), "Ko to ringaringa ki nga rakau a te Paakehaa" (Your hand to the weapons of the Paakehaa), "Hei oranga mo to tinana" (As an existence for your body), "Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna" (Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors), "Hei tikitiki mo to mahuna" (As a topknot for your head), "Ko to wairua ki te Atua" (Your spirit to Almighty God), "Nana nei nga mea katoa" (Who is the giver of all things).

12. My emphasis.

13. This definition is put forward as adding to some of the definitions already put forward, but recognizes that issues around defining "indigenous anthropology" are complex, and any definition will therefore necessarily be partial and is expected to be refined and redefined over time.

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BETWEEN TOLERANCE AND TALK: IDIOMATIC KINSHIP AND ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE MULTIETHNIC PACIFIC

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Introduction: Racialized Histories and Genealogies of Selves and Others

THIS PAPER ATTEMPTS TO TALK across the divides between identity politics of indigenous and mixed-race transnational scholars using a genealogical approach. It suggests a critical ontological role for genealogy and kinship in ethnographic efforts to continually refine sociocultural methods in anthropology. I use idiomatic kinship forged in the course of fieldwork as a platform from which to interrogate forms of solidarity and rupture in relationships between scholars of color and indigenous research communities. I highlight the analytical possibilities for historicizing and problematizing indigenous people's racial categorization of other "others" as integral to the politics of their own identities.[1] To begin to shift the historical power dynamics of interracial relationships, ethnographers of color must be willing to critically explore the political economy of their own racialization by their informants and vice versa. Building on W. E. B. Du Bois's groundbreaking work on what today we may refer to as the complexity of Black subjectivities, I argue that a dialogue about politics of identity between indigenous and nonnative scholars of color must more strongly engage their common cultural approaches to kinship as ontology and histories of shifting and multiple identity constructions to eschew the role of dominant historical categories of race and their incumbent global hierarchies.

Sociocultural anthropology has historically striven to illuminate notions of genealogy, an important "identity hook" or "marker of identity" (McIntosh 2005, 43) for indigenous groups throughout the world. Thinking of one's relationship to a wider community as coincident with one's place in genealogy also is integral to sociocultural anthropological training (Kumar 1992). While pursuing my doctorate in the United States, I was taught to assume that I would be taken in as an adopted member of the particular kin group, in my particular case, among a community of Tongans, an indigenous group from the Pacific Islands (Flinn et al. 1998). As someone who is not of indigenous background and who is also of mixed ancestry—and thus familiar with at least two different sets of kinship practices—I began fieldwork by learning the expectations of Tongan kinship as a way of making a home among people who shared yet a different worldview. However, what I was not prepared for was how the Tongan families would perceive and react to my own multifaceted ethnic identity, which included the marked identity of Chinese-ness.

My Tongan informants represented themselves to me as Tongans—men, women, girls, boys, immigrants to New Zealand, or dwellers in Tonga; I represented myself to them as a transnational Caribbean woman of Chinese and west African descent. Yet, Tongans I had met and with whom I had developed relationships would describe me as *ʻuliʻuli* (Black), *ʻAmelika* (American), or *muli* (foreigner). Some—those who came of age in Tonga in the 1960s, for example—even refer to me as a *pisi koa* (peace corps volunteer), categorizing me by the familiar role still associated with young Americans who had home stays with families and learned Tongan. Within my "fieldwork families," cultural and personal representations are complex, power-laden, and negotiated along with stereotypes of people of other ethnicities and so-called races. As this paper will show, I have learned that my reflexive methodology for studying ethnicity from my position "within" Tongan families must be continually under revision.

The negotiated aspects of identities forged at the boundaries of nationalities, ethnicities, and differential political economies are what I explore in this paper, and I do so within a (limited) historical context of the stereotypes of members of other groups, which often prevail in the perceptions of others' ethnicities in local Pacific discourses of identity and belonging. As (feminist) scholars of color, Suad Joseph (1993 and 1996) and Brackette Williams (1996) suggest: in the context of research, the identities of ethnographers and interlocutors are mutually constituting and mutually challenging, but each side has its expectations of the appropriate roles that the other will play. Informants probably have different expectations of researchers who are ethnic Tongans from non-Tongan researchers residing

for long periods in Tongan communities and from those who are relatively detached overseas researchers who stay for only limited periods and who do not actively socialize with Tongans or learn their language. For both the researcher and her informant(s), such expectations may very well be in tension for a host of complicating reasons. I suspect that these are tensions that scholars of mixed ancestry experience themselves, and I hope to begin a dialogue about the overlaps and elisions between research experiences of indigenous and nonindigenous ethnographers of color.

We need to explore more critically biographies of connection and rupture between scholars and communities of color to enhance the methods and teaching of ethnography (Baker 1998). This paper constitutes one attempt to address that need. I review the challenges I perceived in being "discovered" as a (part) Chinese person "in the field." By problematizing my Chinese "otherness" in the context of adopted kinship among my Tongan interlocutors, I open up theoretical explorations of the complex, varied, and situationally expressed nature of Pacific identities and identifications (of others), as well as the methodological approaches that multi-ethnic anthropologists may have to put into play during fieldwork. Most important, I consider the role of political economy in shaping the assumptions brought by people of differentiated identities-of-color to interactions with others outside their ethnic groups and, moreover, the nuance this adds to critiquing and improving ethnographic practice. As DiLeonardo states, "who our informants construe us to be is central to what they say in our company" (DiLeonardo 1999). I would argue that it is also central to what they do not say outright to us.

"Dissing" Foreigners and Disciplining Dislike: A Trip to the "Chink Shop"

In December 2007, I returned to my field site—a village in the capital Nuku'alofa—to attend a reunion of a transnational Tongan family who had adopted me during my fieldwork and with whom I had remained in close contact since ending my doctoral research in 2002. The reunion took place right after Christmas and overlapped with the New Year's holiday and the mainstream Methodist "Week of Prayer" that Tongans usually celebrate the week after New Year's Day. I renewed relationships with my "sisters" but was meeting many of their husbands and children for the first time. There were eighteen young people between the ages of three and twenty-two present, all of them the grandchildren of "Mum" and "Dad," the elderly couple at whose house we all stayed. They spent large portions of their days practicing songs, dances, and skits (elements of *faiva* performances) so that

they could entertain their relatives at the formal family reunion events after New Year's Day. The children seemed to take to me, many of them easily following their parents' directives to call me "Auntie Pingi" and showing me the respect due me as someone their grandparents' sometimes referred to as their *pusiaki* (adopted child). One afternoon, I overheard some of the preteens and teens discussing how to entertain themselves in the oppressive summer heat of their inland village. Young "Hank"—an Australian born fifteen year old—said to his cousins, "Let's go to the shop . . . which one? The Chinese one . . . further down the road from the Tongan one. . . . Oh, the Chinese shop . . . ching chong Chinese . . . [laughing]. . . ." I heard this and remarked: "Why are you making fun of them?" I asked, intending my question to open up a longer conversation.

[H]: Because they talk funny.

[P]: Oh do they?

[H]: Yes they do.

[P]: Well, that's not very nice . . . because . . . my mum is Chinese and she does not talk that way . . . and it's not nice to make fun of people even if they talk differently, anyway.

[H]: Oh, I didn't know that your mother was Chinese . . . I thought you were Black, like, you know, a Black American and all. . . .

[P]: No, actually, I just live in America but my mum is Chinese and my father is African.

[H]: Like from Africa?

[P]: Yes. . . .

[H]: Cool!

When I asked Hank what was cool about being African he replied: "The music and that . . . they have some really cool songs. We learn some of them in school. . . .

We chatted for a while about his school in southern Australia and about how he was learning both Indonesian and French in his middle school classes. I mused over these details, relieved to know that Hank was being conscientiously taught about others. Perhaps his poking fun at stereotyped Chinese speech intonations could be "educated" out of him. Ironically, a few minutes later when one of his New Zealand cousins reminded him about her wanting to go on an *'eva* (outing) somewhere, Hank renewed her earlier suggestion, and responded: "Hey! I thought we were going to buy something from the Chink shop down the road! Let's go!"[2]

This final remark from the obviously bright and interesting teenage boy shocked me and had me wondering whether I should try to engage him in further discussion about it. How could I show him that there was nothing wrong with, or even just laughable about, being Chinese, that it was unkind

to humiliate people unsuspectingly, and that being African was inherently no better or more cool than being Chinese? Moreover, how could I reconcile the historical "fact" that Tongans have long been tolerant of those who have considered them to be of a maligned ethnicity but who have repeatedly come to set up shop in their archipelago and to exploit the natural resources of their islands. This was not the first time I heard a casually delivered, yet jarring derogatory, remark about Chinese people in Tonga, and I began to muse over what Tongan cultural assumptions motivated and allowed it. Hence, why were Tongans not so "friendly" to Chinese immigrants among them? And why did I choose this moment to reveal this to Hank and to remind members of his family about my Chinese ancestry? In the past, I had chosen not to continue highlighting the Chinese part of my background, especially because my interlocutors seemed sometimes unconcerned about my ethnicity or ancestral background. No one seemed to find my Chinese-ness particularly interesting or remarkable. As a mixed-race person of color living in the United States, I had become accustomed to finding my Chinese-ness very interesting and—perhaps because I am phenotypically more Black looking than Asian looking—often incredible (see Fig. 1).

Insiders and Outsiders: Ethnic Chinese People in Tonga

Chinese people came to the Pacific at end of eighteenth century as workers—cooks and carpenters—on ships used for sourcing sandalwood (*bêche-de-mer*). Bill Willmott (2007) divides Chinese settlement in the

FIGURE 1. **The author (middle) with her father (left) and mother (right) in 1996.**

Pacific into three waves. During the first wave, around the 1840s, traders chartered their own course around or through the Pacific. The second wave began in the 1860s and began a period in which Chinese moved to French Polynesia, Western (then German) Samoa, New Guinea, Nauru, and Banaba as indentured laborers.[3] During the interwar years, the third wave began: Chinese men moved and established families and communities who did not necessarily maintain familial ties with cities and villages in China, in many of the Pacific Island colonies of Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand. Many of these communities were politically active, and one established a Chinese school in Fiji in 1936. During WWII, many Chinese people left the Pacific, perhaps for close-by mainlands such as the United States, South East Asia, Australia, and New Zealand. Wilmott refers to a fourth wave of ethnic Chinese who have been entering the Pacific islands from China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Taiwan in the last two decades. Today there are around 20,000 ethnic Chinese living in the Pacific Islands.[4] The identity politics of indigenous Chinese Pacificans, that is, second-generation ethnic Chinese in the Pacific Islands, is a key political question for Pacific nations today. Other useful writings are available on the history and contemporary politics of diverse processes of Chinese settlement in the Pacific, which is long and complex.[5]

Recent Chinese immigration to Tonga began in the 1974 with the settlement of several Taiwanese businessmen, followed by students from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the People's Republic of China, the latter arriving after the 1989 Tiananmen unrest (Tokyo Foundation 2008). Many came as contract laborers on Tongan construction projects and were quickly able to obtain Tongan residency (Willmott 2007).[6] Today, on the main Tongan island of Tongatapu, there are between six and seven hundred ethnic Chinese, most of whom run small, roadside stores that sell food and household items imported directly from China (Tokyo Foundation 2008). Many of these shops were targeted during the "16/11" riots in 2006 in Tonga (Langa'oi 2010), in acts condemned by the recently crowned King Taufa'ahau Tupou V (*People's Daily* 2006). Tonga established diplomatic relations with China about twelve years ago, ending its twenty-year history of relations with Taiwan (Langa'oi 2010). Tonga recognizes China's "One China Policy" and, thus, supports both its notions of unification with Taiwan and its continued political hold over Tibet (Xinghua News Agency 2008b). China has donated large amounts of aid to Tonga for infrastructural and military development projects (Xinghua News Agency 2008a).

In my field sites—Nuku'alofa and Auckland—prejudice of indigenous Tongans against non-Tongans is not unheard of, and it certainly has been

targeted against Chinese immigrants there (Besnier 2004). It is not uncommon to hear that a Chinese trade store has been troubled by young Tongan men, especially late at night after some youth have been drinking alcohol. They might try to pull goods down from the shelves using sticks. (In smaller shops, consisting of just a counter behind which the goods are displayed on shelves several feet way, wrought iron bars separate buyers from sellers). When I lived in Tonga in 2000–2001, I heard of two recent occurrences of this sort: once in Nuku'alofa and another time in a village several kilometers away. Although these same youth might tease the shopkeepers using racial slurs, they and their families may still frequent the Chinese-owned shops for their larger size, cheaper prices, and often greater variety of goods compared to many of the Tongan-owned shops. In diaspora, "dust ups" between members of Pacific Islanders and newer Asian immigrant groups, especially among youth interacting on the streets or in the school yard, are not unheard of.

Asian Indians have long been a local other-of-color whose status as relatively successful business people in Tonga is well-established and accepted; a few prominent Fiji Indian families have intermarried with Tongans in recent decades. "Mormonized" Tongans constitute another other, and Chinese immigrants are a third obvious minority (Addo and Besnier 2008). Chinese immigrants' are closely watched by local Tongans because these immigrants quickly appear to become "rich." That they are becoming rich by setting up businesses—seemingly at the expense of Tongan consumers and of Tongan retailers whose profits Chinese roadside shops tend to undercut with their cheaper prices and longer hours—suggests to Tongans that there is, again, something that they themselves are not "getting right" with respect to modernity.

In the political economy of ethnic relations in the Kingdom of Tonga, instances in which Chinese become the victims of locals' prejudice against more economically successful non-white others are more than just indications of individual Tongans' or even collective Tongan intolerance of others. Rather, they are results of frustrations over the elusiveness of capitalist modernity compounded with the suspicions of those who, while sharing the same local contexts, somehow manage to get there before Tongans in their own homeland. Derogation of Chinese, as one group of local others, reflects a suspicion about a settler group who attains modernity in Tonga—Tongan modernity—before Tongans do; it is not a suspicion or hatred of Chinese people themselves. Once again, a settler group has entered Tonga—first Europeans, then Asian Indians (usually by way of Fiji), now East Asians—and has pursued capitalist lifestyles more successfully than most of their Tongan counterparts.

Tongans' often antagonistic reactions to Chinese immigrants constitute a local critique of a modernity that is all too familiar to indigenous peoples throughout the world. Therefore, what constituted my uncomfortable ethnographic moments might, for my informants, be specific instances of both reflexity and critique about this undeserved unevenness. Moreover Chinese may well harbor prejudice toward indigenous locals—a notion that warrants further research (Langa'oi 2010). Whether or not they do, their relationships with Tongans reflect none of the normal Tongan kinlike practices, such as food-sharing, that communicate insider status and that Tongans often extend to non-Chinese outsiders. *Kai* means "to eat," and this word is encapsulated in the term for wider kin group, *kāinga*. *Kāinga* is literally translated as "those who eat," as well as share other resources, together.[7] Although Westerners, especially white people, are perceived as desirable as kin, Chinese—lacking the historical associations with Christianity and modernity—are not.

Tongan prejudice and xenophobia toward Chinese immigrants is not limited to the Kingdom. It is also a reality in the urban centers of larger countries of predominately white countries like Australia and New Zealand. The mocking tone and words, and racist characterizations of ethnic Chinese that Hank and his diasporic cousins shared, fell into place alongside similar "racialized" jokes about non-Tongans in Tongan cultural discourses in Tonga. Sharing these jokes—just as with any other humorous interactions—constituted an arena of informal familiarity for these young—and sometimes older—members of this dispersed family. As forms of knowledge that stereotype the others against whom an indigenous or local identity develops, these joking acts also constitute "acts of claims making" (McIntosh 2005) and are of great relevance for overseas-born Tongans to employ among their homeland-based relatives.[8] Such a discourse is part of a project to prove their loyalties to the homeland in front of local-based relatives who are ever on the look-out for "slip ups" in allegiance to Tonga and Tongans (Lee 2007). Like other forms of belonging, indigeneity is predicated on shared practices, beliefs, and perhaps interactions and discourses that constitute knowledge used to mark an individual as an insider or an outsider to a given group.

Derogation toward ethnic Chinese is also found among Tongans in diaspora. Also, there have been instances when I have been privy to Tongans' derogatory joking about Chinese people as selfish and individualistic in Auckland, the city where I conduct Tongan diaspora research. Kilisitina is an elderly Tongan-born woman whose family became my home base when I first arrived for fieldwork in Tonga in 2001. I have stayed with her numerous times, shared stories of my family, and once gave a speech in her

church that resulted in her referring to me more often as her American daughter than as her American peace corps volunteer. On my recent visit to see her for New Year's and her Methodist congregation's week of prayer (2008), she and I had an interaction that made it appear that she missed my telling her I was Chinese or that she had forgotten that I had shown her a picture of my natal family, thinking that she would see my mother's Chinese-ness and my father's African-ness quite clearly. When it came up in conversation some time later, she remarked that she had indeed forgotten. Perhaps, I thought later, she had used "forgotten" as a euphemism for "it does not matter." Indeed, Kilisitina's construction of a relationship to me exemplified one way in which indigenous notions of kinship encapsulate relationships that often stretch temporally beyond the present and spatially beyond a village or homeland.

Anthropologists have described Pacific identities as based on notions of ethnicity and material social interdependence that are complex, varied, and situationally expressed (see Linnekin and Poyer 1990, among others). Moreover, in some pivotal contemporary examinations of identity that are taking place at the nexus of anthropology, Pacific studies, and cultural studies, indigenous scholars have rejected the idea that nativeness can be essentialized as a form of belonging that requires both spatial and temporal fixedness (Anae 2003; Kauanui 2007; McGrath 2002; Taumoefolau 2004; Teaiwa 2005; Tengan 2005; Tupuola 2004). If my identity was indeed relatively innocuous, why did Kilisitina remain so quiet—seemingly unwilling to engage with me any further on the topic of my Chinese-ness?

Among Tongans in diaspora in predominately white nations, there appear to be links between mainstream discrimination against immigrants of color (such as ethnic Chinese) and Tongan prejudice against Chinese in their homeland. Cowling states that, in the 1980s, Tongan migrants to Australia had tended to be less discriminated against than "groups like Indo-Chinese" (Cowling 2002, 101). Some details of Helen Lee's research among Tongans in Australia suggest that Tongan-Australians' prejudice toward non-Tongans may be influenced by the un self-reflexive and racist ways in which some Australian whites talk about a host of non-Australian others, among them ethnic Chinese people.[9] Lee, who has done long-term fieldwork in Tonga and the Tongan diaspora, identified the source of influence on Tongan xenophobia as a lack of understanding of the more "politically correct" forms of Western-styled transcultural discourse (Lee 2003, 69).[10] I interpret such prejudice to stem, in part, from the legacy of colonial racist constructions and the related hierarchies in which whites predominate in owning and controlling the means of production. I believe that this is also the reason for discrimination by Tongans toward non-white cultural outsiders.

Tongans with whom I have spoken generally believe that, if there is anywhere on earth where they deserve to thrive economically, it is in their own homeland. That outsiders do not naturally embrace a kin-based approach to sharing material wealth is acceptable to Tongans; people are raised with differing cultural values, after all. However, they are not equally predisposed to accepting that members of another non-white group might also accumulate wealth in Tonga, while not associating with the average Tongan through the normal, everyday idioms of kinship and while seemingly "beating Tongans at their own game" of competition for modern wealth. This, simply put, adds insult to injury.

Coupled with the everyday forms of prejudice learned by overseas-based members of Tongan families, stereotypes of Chinese ethnics as selfish and unconcerned about Tongan culture become part of the knowledge that Tongans share about (Asian) cultural others in the increasingly racially diverse places in which they live today. As in the case of young Hank and his cousins, such knowledge may be employed for their collective comic (or stress) relief. On a daily basis, numerous Tongans interact with Chinese merchants, store-keepers, and fellow residents in villages, because most villages feature a Chinese trade store today (Langaʻoi 2010). From local Tongan points of view, although Chinese immigrants to Tonga attain relative success in capitalist aspects of modernity, it is in local kinship (relations) that Chinese do not perform well. For example, my informants tell me that their Chinese neighbors in Tonga rarely attend Tongan churches or inquire after Tongans' families. Chinese in Tonga are being judged as much for such social transgressions as they are for being recent immigrants or more competent income earners. At this point, I must remind readers that I am working under the assumption that a formally trained ethnographer would probably perform their specific responsibilities within Tongan kinship relations relatively well—an assumption that I put out there in the hopes of encouraging dialogue from Tongan and other indigenous readers about ethnographers they have known or welcome in their families. I return now to discussing the role of kinship in the ethnographic endeavor.

Knowledge, Power, and Fieldwork

Knowledge—including that which is gathered in the form of stereotypes and prejudice—is shared and spread between members of a transnational kin group and ethnic Tongan communities. Tongans who are dispersed, for a host of reasons, throughout the ethnoscape, find security and social capital in building solidarity and developing the trusted mechanisms of family (Gershon 2007).[11] Like the collaborative *ako faiva* (song and dance

practices) of the Tongan- and overseas-born grandchildren, collective derogation toward Chinese culture provided an arena for solidarity, although the latter instances were less innocuous. To anthropologists, fieldwork communities constitute moral communities, but it is a fiction that all share the same assumptions about ideal social relationships between researchers and informants. About this notion of belonging to a single moral community, Clifford Geertz states: "It is this fiction—fiction, not falsehood—that lies at the heart of successful anthropological field research" (Geertz, 1968, 148; cited in Kaufmann and Rabodoarimiadana 2003, 191). For those who are included as kin, varying histories in such communities confer different types of obligations—moral, financial, and otherwise. Likewise, my kinlike connections obligated me to tolerate certain unaccustomed, imposing, or uncomfortable situations and interactions and, thus, to reflect on the reciprocity expected. Moreover, my being a familial guest in this Tongan family probably partially excused me from being made into a representation of a disliked group but perhaps also removed my right to be entirely offended by a derogatory remark about other members of her ethnic group(s). Also, my physical appearance might have played a role, because I do not look very much like a typical person of Chinese descent.

Also, Geertz notes that "fictive kinship toward their ethnographer enhance[s] [informants'] moral authority" (Kaufman and Rabodoarimiadana 2003, 186). For nonindigenous anthropologists working among indigenous people, idiomatic kinship constitutes both a way of creating a recognizable "role" for oneself in a community one has just joined. Idiomatic kinship becomes a very necessary form of currency for ethnographers working in kin-based communities, but it does not guarantee them moral authority to the anthropologist. The moral asymmetry between fieldworker and informant, as assumed members of a moral community, may also be based on informants' recognizing and redressing the existing economic asymmetry between the parties (Kaufmann and Rabodoarimiadana, 2003, 185). Therefore, when informants invoke a kinship idiom with a visiting anthropologist—declaring the ethnographer a daughter, niece, or sister—it may be also as much a reminder of expectations of reciprocity, as it is an act of familial inclusion.

In the anthropological endeavor, writing ethnography constitutes the most marked form of power precisely because it enshrines in the global knowledge base only partial truths about relationships that are themselves contingent and riddled with power. The power dynamic between ethnographer and indigenous informants may be mitigated if the ethnographer is entangled in kinlike relations with interlocutors. As I suggest above, power can easily give way to obligation when the ethnographer uses her position

and public voice to redress wrongs that have affected her informants and their community, as well as to make amends for inadvertent "wrongs" that may arise from her very act of (ethnographic) cultural representation.

For indigenous anthropologists, bonds of kinship in the native community undoubtedly form a fitting context for data-gathering and, also, is a form of symbolic currency that grounds diasporic indigenous scholars in time and space as they relate through processes of mutual recognition, reciprocity, and knowledge-sharing (Ka'ili 2005). Nevertheless, status as an "insider" does not preclude the operation of power (Narayan 1993; Tengan 2005). Among indigenous researchers, kinship with communities they research is not limited to idiomatic kinship. These researchers feel the responsibility that goes beyond the intellectual or even the personal, but that extends to the community as a whole, to ancestors, and to people (both insiders and outsiders) yet to come (Smith 1999). Likewise, anthropologists should strive to produce more than the partial truth that results from their routine, if heartfelt, condemnation of the historical role of racism against Pacific Islanders in the region and their subjugation under imperialism. Equally a part of European-led modernity and the global effects of late capitalism has been growing xenophobia by their indigenous informants toward members of other ethnic groups. Just because the Tongan academic literature, for example, usually discusses racism and prejudice as being perpetrated in mainly one direction—toward Tongans—we should not assume that such power and prejudice are not operating in other realms of Tongan interactions with ethnic others. By analyzing my most recent fieldwork experiences here, I hope to engage indigenous ethnographers in discussions about the role their own perceived "otherness" may play in examining their cultures for the multiple levels of meaning, which result from entangled histories of inequality in global histories/political economy.

As DuBois (1903) described for Black individuals, and as has been applied to the analysis of self-consciousness of members of other people of color, Tongans also engage their own subjectivities through Euro-American eyes as well as through their own experiences as indigenous people. I suggest that, in contemporary multiethnic contexts, Tongans have a self-perception that embraces further complexity. Researchers on Tongan identities in diaspora need to engage with the effects of predominant critiques of non-white others that are part of the knowledge produced and shared in popular Tongan discourse. This approach encompasses DuBois' double consciousness and includes another way of viewing other people of color in the world—that is, through dominant white lenses. To Tongans, regardless of whether they are located in the homeland or in the diaspora, this multiple and complex way of seeing impresses on them the understanding that a newer modernity than that offered by traditional colonialism

and Christianity is passing them by. Thus, Du Bois's double consciousness is not limited to contexts in which identity struggles of people of color are embedded in predominately white social contexts. My critique does not excuse Westerners—whites or people-of-color—who also harbor stereotypes of Tongans and other indigenous peoples, but it does suggest a fine line between racism and racialization by Tongans. I believe that analyses of these complex forms of discrimination is crucial to improving the methods in which we are all entangled in our respective status as researchers, people of color, and indigenous informants.

Kinship and Anthropology: Relationships Redefined?

As discussed in the short vignette about Kilisitina's forgetting of my mixed ancestry, I recognize that contemporary ethic Tongans identity formations may vary across gender and generation and are adapted to a range of different geographical locations, gendered and class positions, and religions and political stances. For this reason, my foregoing reflections emphasized the contrast between Kilisitina's identity as a Tongan-born female who is now elderly and resident in diaspora and Hank's identity as a teenaged male of diasporic birth and up-bringing. For members of the second generation of Tongans in diaspora, especially for those who have had opportunities to visit the homeland, a strong sense of Tongan identity can develop even if they were born, raised, and continue to live in Auckland, Sydney, or other diasporic locations (Lee 2003; Lee 2004, 2007). One teenaged girl in Kilisitina's Auckland-based kingroup offered a very nuanced reflection on her "identity journey"—a term I borrow from Samoan–New Zealand anthropologist, Melani Anae (2003)—after her first visit to Tonga, which took place in mid-2006:

> When I am in Tonga, it's my home, yeah . . . but when I am here, in New Zealand, it's my home . . . when I am somewhere else, or when I am with someone who is not Tongan and we are here [in New Zealand] I tell them I am from both places. I don't want New Zealand people to think I am a "fob" [fresh off the boat] but I am so proud of being Tongan, man. I love Tonga! I've always loved it. And I did not realize that it really is a great place until I went there last year with my mum and [my great aunt]. I am proud to be a Tongan, but also proud to be [from] New Zealand. I am from both places. Yeah. . . ." (Amelia, aged 14, Mangere, Auckland)

Likewise, my identity journey now encapsulates pride about being embedded in the Caribbean, west Africa, Asia, and communities in Tonga

and among Tongans in diaspora. However, it is important for me to avoid assuming that I have "become" Tongan, because this would reek of the disingenuousness of "going native," which ethnographers eschew.[12] Indeed, I have written this paper to begin to engage others in a fuller and more critical dialogue about how to include one's ethnic differences in their entirety with fieldwork families. I am also aware that what I perceive to be fictive kinship/family(-like) relations may constitute some other form of relationship to my informants. Helen Lee states (pers. comm.) that, among outsider anthropologists of Tongan culture in this current generation, she hears fewer people talking about their fieldwork families. This may be a shift in the discourse of a younger generation of scholars who often still conduct fieldwork by being anchored in, or among, Tongan families. This phenomenon, if it is indeed one, bears examination. What I have tried to do here is to analyze the historical phenomenon of the notion of identity and family; these have long riddled the anthropological endeavor, epistemologically and methodologically.

My actions of caring and responsibility continue to constitute the currency I exchange in such professional-cum-personal relationships, relationships that have benefitted not only my research but also by my sense of belonging in the world. Moreover, the bond with my Tongan family in the village near Nuku'alofa does not remain static but changes organically and feels deeper over time. I was leaving the field in December 2008, and my closest Tongan sister stood up at her family's dinner table and gave a speech about my most recent time with their family, which moved everyone to tears. Likewise, kinship was the idiom used by Kilisitina's (Tongan) adopted daughter; the younger woman began to call me "sis"—a title she had, until then, reserved for her own sisters and sisters-in-law—during my recent visit to Auckland. I have become accustomed to being "Tonganized," that is, to being accepted on terms defined by my interlocutors, and to meeting my obligations to them in material as well as intellectual ways. Indeed, another lesson I learned on my recent trip back "home" to the field is that relationships between ethnographers and informants are not sealed in our first long-term fieldwork trips. Like the on-the-ground kin relationships that ground, nurture, comfort, and educate us, they adjust to situations, to personality quirks, and to new challenges brought on by changes in faith, levels of education, social interests, marital, and socioeconomic status.

Conclusion: Shared Histories and Genealogies of Research

In the Pacific, where genealogy absolutely matters and where kinship—affinal, agnatic, and idiomatic—mediates virtually all important social relationships, ethnographers have many invaluable lessons to learn, and to

share, about the shifting forms of idiomatic kinship that operate in our fieldwork relations.

There is further value in a genealogical approach in fieldwork and in scholarly engagement; this is the value of the interactions of three ASAO panels that led to this "Genealogies: Articulating Indigenous Anthropology in/of Oceania" collection. The rights and obligations of kinship—sisterhood, brotherhood, and respect as someone who is an elder to others, all of which I have felt with other scholars of color who participated in the "Genealogies" panels—are forged on genuine interests in who the other is, and are maintained because of, common identification as peoples to whom imperialism, colonialism, and self-aggrandizing Euro-American discourses of race and eugenics historically and systematically sought/seek to repress. I may not be an indigenous or first-nations person—indeed, it is to me that Tengan, Ka'ili, and Fonoti refer when they mention a "nonindigenous yet 'Native' positionality" in the introduction to this volume. However, because I grew up in a national situation, and descend from people who endured what Diaz (2006) refers to as "the nativism of 'local' discourses created by settler colonialism," I share both a history and certain experiences of imperial oppression with my coauthors who identify as indigenous anthropologists. Thus, I join them also in the fight to write and speak back to institutionalized racial oppression.

That we have to continue to do this, even two decades after the so-called self-reflexive turn in anthropology, means that the ontology of the anthropological endeavor—never mind its basic disciplinary epistemology— warrants continued critique and radical change. The ethnographic method is far from perfect(ed), and scholars of color—both indigenous and nonindigenous—have more to offer in terms of the doing of ethnography than just in the writing of it as we progress through our careers. In the spirit of idiomatic or fictive, yet genuinely forged, kinlike caring, I invite dialogue as indigenous and mixed others toward more critical methods and scholarship. As ethnographers of color and indigenous ethnographers who are differentially indebted to, and implicated in, indigenous fieldwork communities, we cannot disentangle our shared legacies as people of color in a post-colonial and global world. We must move away from a historical dependency on having been defined by others through imperialist discourses and academic processes that pervade the history of anthropology and other critical academic and activist discourses about indigenous and Third World peoples (Mohanty 1991; Smith 1999). In facing the politics of our own kinships together in productive dialogue, we are empowered to see the possibilities for a more deeply engaged, critical inquiry of modern identities in multiethnic contexts.

NOTES

1. Idiomatic kinship is a label for social relations marked by the use of kinship terms and the "moral expectations of kinship" (Joseph 1993).

2. Besnier makes it clear that, in Tonga, Chinese are given a bad rap: "Chinese immigrants operate small- and medium-sized businesses and are the target of significant popular resentment for a number of reasons, including explicit forms of racism" (Besnier 2004, 10). Likewise, in New Zealand, where over 200,000 immigrant and New Zealand–born Pacific Islanders live, indigenous islanders may indeed join mainstream and other New Zealanders in maligning Asians (Ip and Pang 2005; Chui 2004).

3. Although the subtleties of Chinese ethnic diversity may have been lost on many in the Pacific, Willmott (2007) has marked such diversity as a point of necessary interest for those studying Chinese history in the region. Many of these Chinese immigrants to the Pacific during this second wave were of the Hakka origin. Hakka is my mother's ethnic group.

4. Willmott (1996) reported less than 20,000 Chinese in the region in the mid-1990s.

5. For readers with an interest in Asia's role in Pacific modernity, Ron Crocombe's book *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West* (2007) is a recent comprehensive and comparative historical, political, and social work on this topic. See also Wesley-Smith (2007) and D'Arcy (2007). Wesley-Smith and Porter (2010) is a collection of essays on China's role in Pacific, many of which were written by indigenous Pacific Islanders.

6. Known as the Tongan passport scandal, many Chinese nationals were able to obtain Tongan citizenship when the Tongan government began to sell Tongan residency permits to Chinese nationals in 1982 through much of the 1990s (Tokyo Foundation 2008; Willmott 2007, 42).

7. For an indigenous Tongan perspective on *kāinga* related concepts, see Māhina 1999.

8. States Mohammed Farghal: "Regardless of the approach, there is a consensus among humor researchers that joking, which typically results in laughter, is essentially an intentional act that evolves from both the joker and the joke itself, and is expected to be of interest to the listener, who usually turns into a key player once the joke has been cracked" (Farghal, 2006). See also Apte 1985.

9. For example, Lee quotes a white Australian woman whose husband is an ethnic Tongan, and who says she is equally predisposed to her children marrying Tongans as she is to their marrying (unspecified) non-Tongans: "I think there are good and bad in all societies, and it's just whatever the individual is like; it doesn't worry me at all. Chinese or anything, I don't care. I mean I think the common, shared belief and the shared values and things are more important than what race you are from" (Lee 2003, 192).

10. In the literature on indigenous political movements, the most in-depth discussions of racism—not just against indigenous people, but also arguably perpetrated by indigenous people in self-defense or retaliation for past wrongs done to them—seem to be found in the literature on and by Native American scholars and their allies. Perhaps because Native Americans live in predominately white spaces in their own homelands, there is a greater degree of self-reflexivity about discrimination possibly going "both ways" and a critical

discourse to engage it. Devon Mihesuah, for example, acknowledges the continued existence of post-contact inter- and intratribal racism and sexism, and toward multiethnic Indian individuals who were known as "mixed-bloods." Such people were derogated as "sellouts" and were considered "less Indian" because of their perceived greater acculturation to "white ways," such as their more successful engagement in Western-styled trade (Mihesuah 1998, 39). Szakos cites a presumably non-Indian activist for indigenous issues through community organizing for ACORN and puts this realistic, although limited, spin on how fraught it can be to work across perceived racial divides: ". . . [it is] not without hurt and pain because reservation work is very hard. You have to be willing to be subjected to racism by Native Americans against you because you're not a Native American" (Szakos 2007, 47). This woman activist seems to perceive Indian defensiveness and suspicion toward outsiders who come to "help them" as outright racism.

11. As Gershon states, family networks are what make diasporas regular features of modernity: "family networks are what give diasporas their longevity" (2007, 385).

12. Speaking primarily of the anthropology of people of color and ethnic minorities in the United States, DiLeonardo states that it would be unthinkable for ethnographers of color to employ the anthropological gambit of primitiveness and objectification of others through exoticizing discourse (2000).

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  2008a Chinese defense minister meets Tongan king. April 15, 2008.
  2008b Tonga supports China's stance on Taiwan, Tibet. April 10, 2008.

A DIFFERENT WEIGHT: TENSION AND PROMISE IN "INDIGENOUS ANTHROPOLOGY"

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I was born in Ottawa, Canada, where my father played football in the Canadian Football League. A few years after his retirement we moved to Tutuila, Amerika Samoa, my father's birthplace and a far cry from my mother's home in Billings, Montana. By virtue of my parents' union and later divorce, I have lived in many places, but I always think of my grand-mother's house (now my father's) in the village of Fagatogo as "home." It was there that I adjusted to the rhythms of life in the village, taking on many responsibilities as my parents' eldest daughter. Being part of an extended family household on family land, with three generations under one roof, fundamentally shaped my sense of place.[1] As the matriarch of our family, my grandmother was proud of the accomplishments of her children and grandchildren, and as her namesake I offer this humble reflection in memory of her.

My family history is reflective of trends in migration and "development" made possible by a colonial history transformed by local desires; these are also major themes in my academic work, which examines aspects of recent historical transformation in American Samoa. The complexities and com-plications of *aiga* (kin relations) has made doing "fieldwork" at "home" infinitely more rich. In this essay I consider how different kinds of genealo-gies have shaped possibilities and parameters of my research as a graduate student, as well as my engagement with anthropology as a discipline more generally. In doing so, I offer a reflection on the stakes of an indigenous

anthropology, considering what bearing it might have on dynamics of knowledge production in and about home/field communities. Using my experience as a Native Pacific Islander in the discipline of anthropology, as well as my own "homework" in American Samoa as a point of departure, this paper explores the multiple positions occupied by someone doing research in their home community. In particular, I explore how higher standards of accountability can shape one's approach to research ethics, methods, and critical perspectives, as well as local expectations of the same. In considering the weight of intersecting biographical and intellectual gene-alogies in my own work, I offer implications for indigenous anthropology more broadly.

A Note on Indigeneity

Strict definitions of indigeneity are notoriously contentious and ultimately not helpful. Moreover, it is not a term with wide currency in American Samoa as in other settler societies like Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, and the United States (historically speaking; this appears to be changing in recent years). Thinking about indigeneity in American Samoa (and other places across the Pacific) is complex—there is no pristine practice of unadulterated indigenous culture or people living off the land as part of a primordial sociocultural organization. This often appears to be the expecta-tion for articulating indigenous claims (particularly in relation to legal insti-tutions of settler states such as the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia), yet this is an untenable position for also inhabiting the "modern world."[2] In turn, this fetishization of indigeneity has also stimulated cyni-cism about "authentic" cultural practices. People in American Samoa and in the Samoan diaspora travel, consume American media programming, communicate across cyberspace, and produce hybrid cultural forms like Samoan hip hop (Fonoti 2007). Our experience mixes the disjunctures of modernity and transnational flows with the "indigenous *longue dureé*" (Clifford 2001, 482).

In this paper I examine some aspects of my own complex experience of indigeneity, which acknowledges and embraces these varied influences and practices while recognizing that they do not necessarily or automatically diminish one's cultural knowledge, modes of sociality, genealogical claims to community membership, or participation in indigenous forms of social organization like the *fa'amatai* (the customary system of chiefly titles). I remain purposely vague about defining the terms "indigenous" and "native," although I am drawing upon use of the term by Diaz and Kauanui (2001), Clifford (2001), and Tengan (2005), which reflects an expanded sense of

native as both rooted and mobile. My use is also a gesture toward solidarity with indigenous struggles for social justice against histories of colonialism and imperialism. Indigenous anthropology, for me, reflects one of many situated knowledges (Narayan 1993) but denotes a possibility for politically informed perspectives born of the tension between personal and intellectual genealogies, home and academic communities, and the demand for respectful engagement of communities with whom one studies.

First Impressions

My first exposure to anthropology was in an introductory course as an undergraduate student. Having been exposed to two sets of very different cultural values and social practices throughout my life, I had always tried to make sense of shifting social contexts. Studying culture was a natural attraction for me. The wide variety of peoples and lifeways we studied in the course opened my eyes to a wider world at once exotic and somewhat familiar. By midsemester I was seriously considering majoring in anthropology, so I did what they told us to do in our new student orientations—I went to meet my professor in office hours. After learning of my Samoan background, he recommended Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928/2001) to me and asked me to come back and share my opinion of the book.

I read it.

And I never went back to his office.

It is hard to describe my response to the book—it provoked a visceral reaction of shame, indignation, and disgust. The narrative of carefree, licentious, "primitive" people was not the Samoa *I* knew! The Samoa I knew was a place where surveillance was an extremely effective method of social control, where I could not even *ti'e ti'e pasi* (ride the bus) or hang out at the market without my family hearing of it before I got home, where we girls were always told to keep our hair tied back (or if we let it hang down we were considered cheeky for inviting male attention), where we went to church every Sunday and sometimes Wednesdays too, and where you had to cover your thighs and backside even if you were wearing jeans (no miniskirts!). Sexuality, especially, was anything but open and untroubled. Doing family *fe'aus* (tasks or errands), taking care of my younger siblings, and concentrating on my schoolwork did not equal a carefree existence—in fact, as a young girl it felt controlled and often oppressive.[3] Just barely seventeen years old when I first read *Coming of Age*, I was ill-equipped to maintain critical distance from the text or deal with my reaction to it. I

read the sweeping generalizations made in the ethnographic present tense, feeling as though Mead was talking about my cousins, my friends, my village, and myself (not, as was the case, 1920s Taʻu)—and much of it was unrecognizable, at odds with my experience of contemporary life in Tutuila.

At that moment it was impossible for me to fathom the context in which Mead's writing was part of a progressive, antiracist project. Her contemporary social world and academic environment was dominated by theories of eugenics, and racist ideas were routine, even supported by some strands of academic scholarship. Her mentor, and founder of Columbia's anthropology department, Franz Boas, was interested in research that countered prominent theories of biological determinism—an intellectual project Mead shared, at least to a degree. Drawing on her earlier work in psychology, she departed for Samoa with the intention of trying to understand the development of "primitive" peoples and gaining some understanding of their mental life.[4] She took up the task of investigating cross-cultural variation of a biological phenomenon—puberty—and focused her research on Samoan girls. Having found a place without sexual repression (according to her interpretation), Mead (1930) also found that women in Samoa were not subject to beliefs about intrinsic qualities of sex difference that resulted in their diminished social value. Among many things, the body of her work helped to denaturalize the existence of patriarchy and critique bourgeois heteronormativity, both important interventions. Her scholarship on the cross-cultural variability of gender, while subject to much critique, remains part of a long tradition of interrogating gender inequality—a subject of my own intellectual preoccupation and personal practice. While I recognize the intellectual debt to Mead and her generation of "liberated" women from a gender perspective, the critique made by Third World/Third Wave/ Transnational feminists of historically white mainstream feminist projects, that they failed to sufficiently interrogate the central role of racial hierarchies and colonial dogmas in shaping particular forms of gender inequalities, is strongly resonant. Margaret Mead's research on the cultural variability of individual psychological development and gender norms presented in *Coming of Age* (Mead 1928/2001) in Samoa leaves U.S. colonialism, implicit narratives of progress and modernity, academic class privilege, and derogatory views of the capacity for intelligence among native peoples, unquestioned.

Perhaps more offensive than what I considered to be a misrepresentation of everyday life was the image of Samoans as a primitive people, with all the attendant implications of that categorization. In some ways it

recalled memories of encounters after we moved stateside, where new acquaintances would ask my nationality when they were really interested in my racially marked ethnic background. Rather than giving a cheeky answer ("U.S. citizen"), I told them we moved from Samoa. When this drew blank looks (which was often) I would keep going . . . in Polynesia . . . near Fiji . . . near Hawai'i (!?) until there was a glimmer of recognition. Some class-mates jokingly asked if we still wore grass skirts and lived in huts, while adults often remarked, "How exotic!" Most were ignorant of their own imperial national policy,[5] only able to assimilate the idea of Samoa to a preexisting "savage slot" in which islands of the Pacific have for centuries been consistently figured as a Gauguin painting in the imagination of Europe and the United States. In many cases, those who had a mental imprint called up by the mention of Samoa drew their point of reference from Mead's work (As my maternal grandmother exclaimed in 1970 in Montana when she heard the news of my mother's engagement, "Not a Samoan!"). What I had written off as ignorance or anachronistic stereotypes in the public realm was jarringly corroborated in the figure of Mead's text in the university setting. Coupled with the context of debates about Affirmative Action on the University of California, Berkeley, campus at the time, Mead's depiction served as a vivid reminder that as a student of Samoan heritage I remained Other to a generic unmarked "West" and "minority" to a white American majority. The fact that my mother is American of German/Norwegian heritage and my first language is English was of little consequence. I was racialized into one of the recognizable minority groups on campus, Latinos,[6] while identifying with an ethnic group that remained, at least to introductory anthropology classes and many Californians, perennially primitive.

The impact of this first encounter with anthropology was powerful because I went quickly from the position of "amateur anthropologist" to "primitive Native" in one fell swoop and felt the full weight of the anthropological gaze turned upon me. This experience of being both anthropologist and Native Other produced "a blocked ability to comfortably assume the self of anthropology" (Abu-Lughod 1991, 140). And why would I want to be part of a discipline that saw me as a primitive, sexual, savage?

Representing the Other, Ourselves

I decided not to major in anthropology as an undergraduate. Somewhat surprisingly, I came back to it as a graduate student nearly ten years later. As I was choosing between anthropology and sociology doctoral programs,

I saw that each discipline had distinct benefits and real drawbacks. Sociology was dominated by positivist approaches and methods, skills that are marketable in other contexts, but inappropriate for the kind of research I hoped to do in Samoa. Ethnography, the central method of anthropology, had its many criticisms but still offered a window onto interiority in a way that referenced the social and cultural as important frameworks for subjectivity. The move toward focusing on the dynamic relationship in which individual subjectivity transforms and is transformed by sociocultural (and other) frameworks is at the forefront of contemporary work in anthropology and offered a productive space for me. Two books in particular helped me manage my misgivings about pursuing an academic research career and entering anthropology: Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* acknowledged the legacy of research in Oceania and reconfirmed my own belief that research is not always already a colonizing project but can be driven by local needs and desires. The second, *Veiled Sentiments* by Lila Abu-Lughod (2000), was an inspirational example of the possibilities in anthropology—a beautifully nuanced portrayal of a people that did not sacrifice analysis and critique for exoticism. Still, anthropology remains the discipline associated with creating Samoans (and the peoples of Oceania more broadly) as primitive peoples. Even though there have been paradigmatic transformations within the discipline over the past few decades, Samoan communities have long memories, and Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (Mead 1928/2001) remains the definitive anthropological treatise on Samoa.[7]

Since entering graduate school I have read and talked with other Samoan scholars who too felt like Mead's work continued to define us as a people, and as an anthropological cultural group, even as it was peripheral, at best, in the islands themselves. This was brought home to me when I saw a prominent Samoan politician at a Pacific film festival in New York a few years ago. I have known him and his family since I was young, and it was a pleasant surprise to visit with him and his wife. As we sat "talking story" at a reception, he asked me about my project. I mentioned something vague about gender and social change in American Samoa, and he said, "Good! You should do a restudy of Mead's work and set the record straight!" I smiled politely and changed the subject, but his words stayed with me. Indeed, they have been repeated by others more times than I care to mention, who good-naturedly ask if I am "going to be another Margaret Mead." The fact that I am in the same department, at the same university, and I pass a photo of her dressed as a *taupou* (high ranking village maiden who performs ceremonial duties on behalf of a particular chief) every time I go to my department, makes this point a little closer to home than they would

have reason to imagine. Her photographic specter is a constant reminder that I do not, indeed, want to be another Margaret Mead.

Given the voluminous writing around Mead's work and debate with Derek Freeman,[8] "setting the record straight" seemed a rather stale project. How long would we continue to "talk back" to Margaret Mead? And what would a corrected account say? I mostly avoided it from the outset even though my advisors warned me that, at some point, I would need to come to terms with her work in one way or another. I know now that my deep reluctance to engage her writing stemmed from not wanting it to define me, as a person of Samoan heritage, or my work as a scholar. Jose Limón (1991, 118) asks, "As we write about our peoples, do we not also write against our master precursory ethnographers?" We do, even if not always explicitly. We write against geopolitical power arrangements that allow others to define us, we write against colonial histories of academic research (Smith 1999, Teaiwa 2005), and we write to represent our subjects and ourselves with complexity, as part of contemporary social realities that encompass real experiences of deep rootedness and flexible mobility (Clifford 2001; Diaz and Kauanui 2001; Tengan 2005).

For many native anthropologists working in their home communities, part of the engagement with anthropology is a rejection of a residual ascription of primitive status. As Louise Morauta suggests, it is in part an effort to reclaim full humanity (Morauta 1979, 563). But their work is not simply intended to provide a counterbalance to existing scholarship. Rather, the indigenous anthropology project is, to varying degrees, steeped in a fundamentally different relationship to one's research community. As indigenous anthropologists, we present ourselves when we present the Other, and that stimulates a different kind of investment in our scholarship as well as a keen awareness of how our intellectual products may travel and be received by various audiences (Abu-Lughod 1991, 142).

As Takami Kuwayama points out, for all the postmodern critique of ethnographic reading and writing, there is remarkably little on what it means to be the subject of those writings (Kuwayama 2004, 15). Indigenous anthropology is thus not just a methodological but epistemological challenge, because for decades native peoples were rendered outsiders in the study of their own culture—the structure of ethnography itself, Takami writes, supposes the "dialogic others" for anthropology to be readers of their own linguistic and cultural community (often professional colleagues) (Kuwayama 2004, 6), while native peoples are "excluded from this dialogic circle and acquire legitimacy only as *objects of thought*" (emphasis added) (Kuwayama 2004, 7). Only the skilled (foreign) ethnographer, it was held, could do the intellectual work of representing native peoples and their cultures. With increasing numbers of people genealogically connected to

communities long studied by anthropology being trained in the academy, "natives" have shifted from being informants and objects of study to interlocutors and colleagues, changing the dynamics of the structure of ethnography as well as professional conferences, departments, and the classroom: different questions, different narratives, different dynamics.

Recentering points of reference, interrogating accepted assumptions, and recasting dominant paradigms is potentially the most powerful contribution of indigenous anthropology because it carries with it the promise of new productive spaces of inquiry and the unsettling of hegemonic ideologies and relations of power both within and outside of the academy.[9] While it can be argued that this has always been part of the anthropological project, I am persuaded by the view that much knowledge production in the discipline, especially in the early decades, ultimately reinforced relationships of inequality between indigenous Oceanic communities and the dominant West. While perhaps anthropology did not create the "savage slot" (Trouillot 1991), its products have been used, wittingly or unwittingly, to maintain it.

The ability to define and represent is at the heart of the power relations of knowledge production. In the case of Margaret Mead, the Samoan community's lingering resentment of her work, and anthropology more generally, lies not, in my view, in the veracity of particular details (was she tricked or did her informants tell the truth?) but first in the fact that she violated norms of respect and polite speech in painting a picture of Samoans as sexual savages. That portrayal, circulated as it was internationally, certainly offends the sensibilities of respect and modesty that have saturated a Christianized Samoa. That my strongest reaction to Mead's text was shame is revealing and no doubt closely linked to the strong presence of the Christian church in my upbringing in Samoa.[10] A number of Samoans who have worked, lived, or have relatives in Manu'a have privately suggested to me that Mead's account may have more truth than people are willing to admit (speaking to a presence of precocious sexuality among adolescents, not a *laissez-faire* social attitude toward it). This at least raises the question of whether the more public community reaction illustrates the interpellation of moral judgments and behavior by powerful Christian doctrines of modesty (especially female), a regime of ideal femininity, and the desire to embody a "respectable" ideal. In this process recognition and respect— and ultimately, the claim to civility and modernity (and repudiation of savagery)—is achieved by embodying the respectable ideal.[11]

Still, the view remains that in her effort to reach a wider American audience, her sensationalist and exploitative narrative came at our expense— unfortunately, this overshadows the valuable contribution she made in her

detailed descriptions of social practices in *Coming of Age* and *Social Organization of Manu'a*. That *Coming of Age* remains, even today, the dominant narrative of life in Samoa with which we continue to contend illuminates the tenacity of ethnographic portrayals that reinforce inherited exoticized views of native peoples.[12] In the case of Margaret Mead, she wrote as if Samoans had no place beyond "native informant" in the discussion of their own culture, creating Samoa and Samoans as ethnographic objects—an approach difficult to take if one has actively sustained genealogical ties to Samoa. Authority to speak on particular issues in the context of Samoa is in part related to one's genealogy.[13] This is not a simple blood ascription, but rather the placement that one's genealogy gives—at once signifying family histories and relations, connection to place, and one's background. It is with the weight of genealogy, knowledge, and expertise that one's voice and actions are judged.[14]

Entangled Productions

In Samoa, and Oceania more broadly, it is worth considering more closely how the thickness of familial and communal genealogies raises the stakes of knowledge production for indigenous anthropologists. In my case, I trace my Samoan heritage through my father's genealogy; I was raised in American Samoa and California, went to college in the San Francisco Bay Area, and am now in graduate school in New York. I currently live in Manhattan, but part of my family (including my father and two youngest siblings) live in Tutuila, and I return periodically for different family functions. We live on family land, in the house we rebuilt for my grandmother; she, her brother, and her adopted nephew are buried behind our house. Each time I return, I see new and familiar faces in our village. Some ask about my older brother, my mother, my two younger sisters, or my two younger brothers, who are currently off-island. Going home has been a process of reestablishing contacts and making new ones.

On an early research trip, one such connection was with a local group that holds various events during the year to promote local causes. Before I left the island they were involved with fundraising for disability service delivery on island, with several events culminating in a radiothon and live telethon concert. One of my relatives invited me to their meetings, and initially I went because I was curious about the group (and they met at a restaurant that served delicious food). It was a good cause and an excuse to hang out with my cousin, so I remained involved and volunteered to help with the event. The following week as I was riding in a friend's car and we were chatting about the event, she remarked, "It's so good that you're

involved in the community and not just here doing your research like 'don't bother me'!" Her comment gave me a split reaction of confusion and smugness. Was this the initiation of the anthropologist when she is recognized as "part of the community," a familiar trope in ethnographic accounts?[15] Alternatively, was my involvement such a surprise? My family has a history of public and community service on the island, something she may not have known. Did her comment allay an unconscious anxiety that after such a lengthy absence I would be perceived as a stranger? Was this symbolic capital afforded by recognition?

My involvement wasn't part of a research agenda, just wanting to contribute to a good cause, hang out with good people, and eat good food. But her comment points to the conventional perception of research as extractive and isolating, as well as to the fact that as a mobile academic I had a choice to be involved or not; that is, I could behave as a member of the local community or as a Western academic. Being familiar with the university setting herself, she was registering her approval of my approach, and in a way I was self-satisfied. But was it also the case that she was taking on the voice of the community and positioning me as an outside researcher, thus subtly reminding me of a proper relation to my home community that I should be sustaining? Rather than any hidden agenda, I think it more likely that her comment resonated with concern I had about properly caring for social relationships. In recalling the exchange, in some ways doing certain research tasks would have been made infinitely more productive if I were able to act like a Western academic with no regard for my enmeshment in local relationships—on subsequent trips, for example, my archival research was restricted because I did not want to abuse the goodwill of my family members taking care of my young daughter, and it made little sense to contract for childcare services when we would be off to New York soon enough. The choice implicit in her remark ostensibly exists,[16] but I can hardly conceive of behaving as though I have no social obligations, even as I recognize that it was difficult to contain the compulsion to worry about how much "progress" I was making and whether I would have enough "data" with which to work when it came to the writing process. In a discussion with a colleague about how to articulate this nonchoice, she asked what would happen if I behaved as if research were the only important task when I was in Samoa. I could only say, "My family would say 'What the hell is the matter with you?'" I tried to shed the highly intense routine of intellectual labor ingrained by years of academic training so that I would not take up the social role of "outside researcher" and alienate people, but I'm not sure that I was altogether successful.

Being situated in a particular family history and network of social rela-
tionships rooted in the community with whom I study shapes the way I
conceive and operationalize my research.[17] In initial conversations with
other Samoans, my family name and village place me in relation to our
extended family and other family clans. My extended family has a long his-
tory of living and working in the community; my father returned to the
islands nearly thirty years ago following an absence of almost twenty years.[18]
I am identified as a daughter, cousin, a younger sister, an older sister, a
classmate. I work with the assumption that my work in and writing about
my home community will be read, commented upon, criticized, if I am
lucky praised or unlucky vilified by people I may know, I may be related
to, I may have gone to school with, or who know my parents or siblings or
other members of my extended family. Thus the indigenous anthropology
project does not mean taking a less critical lens to your community, but it
means writing as if the members of the community you work in will read
your work. As you bring a different kind of working knowledge or sensitivity
to your research, it has an impact on the kinds of questions you ask, and
the kinds of claims you may make (Motzafi-Haller 1997).

Notice that I did not say my work *may* be criticized, because I know my
work *will* be in some way. Perhaps by people who do not like me or my
family, who think I have been gone too long or I should be living on the
island year-round, by people who disapprove of my research topics or the
conclusions I have drawn, who may think I do not have enough authority,
cultural knowledge, or linguistic ability; that I don't have a *matai* (chiefly)
title or come from a particular family. There are many reasons, and I accept
them as part of the terms of doing research in Samoa. Nonetheless, they
are distinct from those that may be leveled at researchers without ties to
the island. In contrast to the phantom critics, there are real supporters as
well: individuals who have gone out of their way to introduce me to new
interlocutors, who have taken the time to talk with me, who have been
very encouraging of my work and who have told me how proud they are
that I am at an elite Ivy League university like Columbia. They have
expressed to me support and solidarity, and I hope to be worthy of their
confidence.

Rather than any simple ascription of Samoan identity, for me the thick-
ness of social and familial networks within which I am enmeshed strongly
shapes my approach to and experience of research in the Samoan commu-
nity. While I draw upon interviewing and participant observation as meth-
ods, like other researchers I am constantly negotiating social protocol,
careful of the kinds of questions I ask and in what contexts. Often I have
to temper my Western academic socialization and foreground Samoan ways

of learning, which means not asking questions but rather watching, listing, and doing. While this could be said of any ethnographer in the research process, in my experience the expectations for researchers working in their home communities to know *and observe* accepted patterns of social interactions are much more stringent.

To be clear, it is not a simple insider-outsider formulation at work. I do not in any way claim that being linked genealogically with the community in which you work means you are more capable, more suited, or more qualified to work in and write about that community than someone who is not so linked. It presents its own difficulties since there may be expectations of existing knowledge that you may or may not possess, or certain avenues of inquiry may be closed to you because of your social location. There may also be patterns of social interaction that are expected, and norms of behavior that nonnative researchers would not be expected to know and respect (Altorki and El-Solh 1988). These difficulties notwithstanding, I do think there is a different weight of responsibility for your actions that can force you to work harder under closer scrutiny and with higher expectations.

Research Directions

Having such an awareness of the critical community voice actually paralyzed me, creatively speaking, for a short time. While drafting my dissertation project proposal I considered several options, none of which were satisfactory. I had to be sensitive in my choice of project and anticipate questions about my authority to examine certain topics.[19] My choice to look at the history and evolution of gridiron football in American Samoa as part of an examination of "development" and local transformation on the island was, in various degrees, related to my own family history with the sport, the network of contacts accessible to me, its importance in contemporary local public culture, and my study of gender in the Pacific (and elsewhere) that stimulated an interest in masculinity studies.

While I have never played the sport, my father, brothers, uncles, and cousins have. It has been part of my family since before I was born. Football made my father's college education, as well as professional employment with the Canadian Football League (CFL) and the American National Football League (NFL) possible. With his playing experience and network of contacts, he returned to Samoa and joined other returnees in developing a local football program in the 1980s. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s he remained active with local athletics and attended a number of South Pacific, Goodwill, and Olympic Games as a track and field coach. By virtue of his

role in the development of the football on the island, I have been fortunate to have access to his institutional memory and a network of contacts for whom the focus of the project is not immediately undercut by questions of my right or interest in exploring it. At least partly in memory of his past contributions as a coach, teacher, trainer, and athletic administrator, many individuals active with football on the island today supported me in my research. In the course of my fieldwork I came to find that another relative who is currently a college coach in the United States was equally instrumental to my research; as a result of the relationships that he has cultivated over the years in his capacity as a stateside coach with (now former) players and other coaches, key individuals took an active interest in making it possible for me to talk with people I otherwise would not have been able to interview. While my work is obviously very different from that of my relatives in the field of sport, my extended family's long-standing involvement in football makes it part of my biographical genealogy. In many ways I am building on their contributions and recognize that their care for their relationships within the community has facilitated my own work.

This does not mean the research is not complicated; I have never played football and it was never a possibility because it is a sport open to males only. The structure and discourse on the field is such that football separates players from nonplayers and more importantly, the "men" from the "boys" (and women).[20] My access, while perhaps better than someone who has no background with the sport on the island, is nonetheless limited by gender politics and long-standing patterns of sex segregation in many areas of social life. While a local ethnography of football would be a fascinating project, one reason I am not the person to conduct such a study is because my gender limits both the roles I can play in relation to the sport and my access to intimate spaces occupied by coaches and players. During my observation and informal interviews at camps, coaches' clinics, and practices my presence was marked not only because some people did not know me, but because I was one of very few women (usually the only one) on the field. In any case a fine-grained football ethnography was not my interest. Football is the particular through which I explore "development" and transformation on island, changing sensibilities of how people live their lives and the evolving notions of *tautua*[21] and the *fa'aSamoa*[22] in everyday life. In some ways the history of football on island is also a genealogy of present-day American Samoa.

It is particularly significant that the dream of mobility, big money, and general hype around football is at an all-time high on the island because a number of local players who have played at Division I programs in the United States have since joined NFL rosters. This, combined with an even

larger group of off-island Samoan players in the collegiate and professional ranks, has raised the sport's profile significantly. For example, *Polynesian Power*, a recent film produced and screened on ESPN (a global media outlet), profiles two professional players, Isaac Sopoaga and Pisa Tinoisamoa, while showing a bit of the football landscape on the island. Perhaps more telling of its expansion within the Samoan community is the fact that players are not strictly (although they remain predominantly) recruited as linemen anymore—one of the first college games of the 2008 season featured two Pacific-10 Conference teams (Oregon State and Stanford) led by quarterbacks of Samoan descent. Troy Polamalu, perhaps the most recognized Samoan player now, plays a "skill" position at safety. The "Polynesian Pipeline" for American football dates back to the mid-1930s and has grown exponentially since the 1970s. In line with this expansion, recent efforts at establishing a local Pop Warner program on island is aimed at providing a building block for high school programs by exposing younger players to the game (Wilner 2008). For better or worse, the hype around football in American Samoa has some[23] likening it to baseball and the Dominican Republic in its relation to United States sporting markets. Since there is every indication that it will continue to grow, the material and imaginative enticements of the sport make it a fruitful avenue of exploration.

Certain aspects of my research are of interest to people on island, and in some ways they are distinct from what interests other scholars about my work. The faculty members with whom I work encourage me to enrich my work with theoretical sophistication that speaks across cultural and geographic areas so that it is not narrow or provincial. Yet the theoretical intricacies of postcolonial, development, and gender studies are not (generally speaking) of particular interest to my local interlocutors, who are more interested in the account of football's place in local history. This is not to say that these pieces are mutually exclusive, but that writing for different audiences is not optional. Quite a bit of criticism of academic research in general and anthropology in particular has addressed its imperialistic character—the sense that indigenous communities are being mined for the benefit of individual careers and theoretical models that remain irrelevant to the communities being studied. It is my sense that this is the viewpoint of many communities across Oceania, and it is one I hope to avoid reinforcing.

Conclusion

There is a danger that indigenous research could itself be nothing more than neoimperialism masquerading as empowerment. Some could also argue that as academics enmeshed in professional politics or indoctrinated

by years of training, indigenous anthropologists are no different from out-
side researchers, and therefore the potential of their work to effect para-
digmatic shifts or otherwise benefit their home communities is severely
circumscribed. Still others have raised the issue of Native anthropologists
being themselves elites whose very existence is a product of and serves to
reinforce relations of inequality. As part of their research communities,
attempts to respect local modes of authority may blunt their critique of
practices of power and domination operating within those communities.
Finally, some may charge that indigenous anthropologists working in their
own communities may be too provincial in thought and their work
less theoretically informed. These are criticisms to take seriously, and they
militate against any simple equation of indigeneity with progressive
politics, community benefit, or caliber of scholarship. Indigenous anthro-
pologists, like others, are always situated within networks of relations (and
relations of inequality) within and outside their research communities and,
in the end, will be evaluated by their professional colleagues and home
communities on the merit of their work and scope of their actions. Yet the
criticisms enumerated above should not foreclose the potential of indige-
nous anthropology projects because they carry with them the possibility of
reshaping the power relations and politics surrounding the production of
anthropological knowledge.[24]

This article began as a conference paper, written when I was just begin-
ning my dissertation fieldwork. After a number of years of graduate training
in anthropology and completing my dissertation, the ambivalence remains:
concerns about research ethics and issues of representation, awkward
aspects of "fieldwork," alienating aspects of academic labor, and how to
render aspects of Samoan lifeways, world views, and cultural frameworks
for a larger audience without reproducing sensational narratives of exoti-
cism. And yet counteracting the silence imposed by hegemony and margin-
alization by teaching about the Pacific, working with students, and
illuminating Pacific Islander histories, experiences, and contemporary
dilemmas remains a strong motivating force for my work in academia. This
tension is uncomfortable and difficult in some ways, but also useful and
productive.

NOTES

1. Historically speaking; this appears to be changing in recent years.

2. In modern democratic paradigms that draw on the notion of the universal liberal sub-
ject, the presence and claims of indigenous peoples remain problematic at best and at
worst threaten to destabilize foundations of the modern nation-state. For "modern"

"Natives," cultural heritage and attendant modes of sociality, values, or everyday practices are expected to remain in the realm of private choice, as a thin veneer representing one of many sources of diversity. Recognitions of indigenous lifeways and land claims are often linked to demonstrating some type of unbroken link to primordial cultural formations and practices in a way that erases the power of histories of imperialism and colonialism. This static notion of indigeneity again serves to deny complex subjectivity and experience to contemporary indigenous peoples.

3. See Sia Figiel (1999) for a vivid and insightful literary depiction of social restrictions from the point of view of a young girl in Samoa; see also Tupuola (2000) for a discussion of the tensions stimulated by these restrictions.

4. Again, this seems a bizarre formulation, but given the time period she was working in, where some believed that "primitive" peoples were once removed from animals, supposing that there was a psychological process of development analogous to, if different from, those of "civilized" races was a controversial contention in some circles.

5. I am no longer surprised by the number of Americans I meet, both within and outside of academic circles, who are unaware that American Samoa is a U.S. territory, and has been since 1900.

6. I was often racialized as Latina. In exchanges with Latinos on campus I was often addressed in Spanish, and the perception of me as Latina was supported by my conversational Spanish, a language I (ironically enough) began learning in Samoa as part of the high school curriculum.

7. For many Samoans, Mead's work is the exemplar of anthropology, while for non-Samoans it is often the classic picture of Samoa. A number of Samoans I know who have read her work often describe a reaction strikingly similar to my own. Mead's shadow is so long that many local people take a dim view her and her work even if they have never read it themselves. In fairness, anthropologists cannot always control the many ways in which their work may be circulated or transformed once in the public sphere, but at the end of the day we are each responsible for what we produce.

8. See, for example, Caton (1990), Holmes (1987), Leacock (1992), and Shankman (1996, 2010).

9. In a similar vein as explorations of feminist standpoint epistemology, recent research of indigenous epistemology (within and outside of the discipline) takes other world views and ways of being in the world seriously and mounts a productive interrogation of dominant liberal rational paradigms. See, for example, Battiste (2000), Bennardo (2002), Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2001, 2002), Huffer and Qalo (2004), Meyer (2001), Semali and Kincheloe (1999), Teasdale and Ma Rhea (2000), Thaman (2003a, 2003b).

10. I am reminded of Dan Taulapapa McMullin's recent series of portraits (Portraits of Friends, 2008, oil on canvas) where he depicts various persons of Samoan descent with church steeples on their heads, symbolizing the importance of church doctrine in consciousness.

11. Figiel (1999) gives a vivid description of the powerful discourse of the "good girl," the various kinds of discipline that shape female behavior, and the *faifeau* (pastor) as an ideal for moral behavior more generally.

12. There have been a number of scholarly works on Samoa—see for example Mageo (1998), Meleisea (1987), Tcherkézoff (2008), Shankman (1976, 2010), and Shore (1982)—but none with the circulation, stature, and impact of Mead's work.

13. The weighting of genealogy may be particularly relevant in many parts of the Pacific as opposed to other regions around the world. In Samoa knowing one's genealogical history and connections is important because the knowledge (or lack thereof) directly impacts one's social obligations, position in various intersecting hierarchies, and claims to land and resources.

14. I recognize that there is a delicate balance between respecting genealogy and rank and being critical of established hierarchy and forms of inequality. Moreover, external markers of status such as academic degrees are separate sources of mobility within local hierarchies distinct from genealogical histories and connection.

15. Of course classic among them being Clifford Geertz's account (1973) related in "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" in The Interpretation of Cultures.

16. Let me pause here a moment because I want to mark that although I do not view my local involvement as a choice, I recognize clearly that my mobility is a marker of class, and the ability to make certain choices is sustained by various forms of capital my family and I myself have accrued over time. I am not now nor have I ever claimed to be indigenous in the subaltern sense because I do have relative class privilege.

17. This is not a new idea; see Abu-Lughod (1991), Altorki (1982), Altorki and El-Solh (1988), Fahim (1982), Ka'ili (2005), Limón (1991), Tengan (2005), and Smith (1999).

18. He followed his father and uncle, who were part of the Fitafita, the native U.S. military enlistment personnel in Samoa, who comprised the first wave of migration to the United States when the local U.S. naval station was closed in the 1950s.

19. It was in this process that I gained a more sympathetic view of Margaret Mead's work. The audacity of her undertaking in the mid-1920s alone deserves respect. I imagine that following research protocols was difficult to say the least; the thought of her administering psychological tests to Samoan children or playing the role of taupou made me shake my head in pity. However flawed *Coming of Age* may be, her ethnography *Social Organization of Manu'a* captured a picture of life in Samoa that is invaluable to any contemporary scholar of Samoa.

20. In fact, I know of at least one case where a female student on island pursued and was denied the right to play.

21. Often translated as service to one's family, it is a key consideration for choosing a family *matai* or title-holder.

22. Often glossed as "the Samoan way" or Samoan culture.

23. See, for example, ESPN.com "Football's Dominican Republic" dated May 1, accessed at http://espn.go.com/gen/asianamerican/index.html on September 15, 2009.

24. Jacobs-Huey (2002, 799) acknowledges that self-identification as a native anthropologist can result in marginalization among professional colleagues. Yet it can also signal a tactical repositioning of the "native" as postcolonial subject and gesture toward efforts at decolonizing anthropology.

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COLLABORATION AND CAPACITY BUILDING IN THE CLASSROOM: A DECOLONIZING TEACHING AGENDA TO CREATE A CADRE OF INDIGENOUS RESEARCHERS

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Introduction

Recent scholarship authored by indigenous Pacific Islanders frequently problematizes the role of outsiders conducting research in Oceania. This obviously links to the fact that Oceania is the most heavily colonized region in the entire world.[1] Although not the focus of this article, these indigenous critiques emerge simultaneously with broader discussions about critical methodology, and discussions that blur the boundaries between insider and outsider, or indigenous and nonindigenous (see Tengan, Ka'ili, and Fonoti, this issue). For example, when the indigenous world and the "outside" world, through colonization, become closely integrated, the notion of "indigenous" becomes complicated.

This article draws on the different positionalities of the authors as researchers in Oceania, and envisions the use of the classroom as a primary location for collaboration and capacity building. By developing and teaching an introductory class in socio-cultural anthropology (Anthropology 101) at the University of Washington (UW) in the Spring of 2009, the authors explore opportunities for modeling collaborative anthropology. Our notion of collaborative anthropology draws on both participatory methods of our discipline as well as the centuries old community-based collaboration

practiced by Samoans and Marshallese. The classroom can serve as a model for capacity building that can extend to our research locations, and our shared responsibility to build a pool of indigenous researchers in Oceania and beyond.

Our Positionalities: Privileging the Indigenous without Dismissing the Nonindigenous

Students who make their way to anthropology usually get some exposure to indigenous methods as models for advocacy work with communities in Oceania and beyond, but there are not many opportunities for students to learn about the methods and approaches to working with indigenous communities from indigenous scholars. Rochelle is the only Pacific Islander in the Anthropology Department's graduate program. The first class in Indigenous Anthropology was taught by a Native graduate student in the Spring of 2009. The university has difficulty recruiting and retaining qualified Pacific Islander students at an undergraduate level. Pacific Islanders have the lowest freshman retention rate on campus (Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity, University of Washington). There are no Pacific Islanders on the university's faculty,[2] and there is no Pacific Islands Studies program, but there are Pacific Islanders on staff at the university who do work above and beyond their job descriptions to bring their perspectives, insights, and knowledge to support classroom learning about Oceania.[3]

Fonoti

During my first year at the UW, I took Rachel Chapman's seminar[4] on Alter/Native Anthropology which prompted me to consider the space I occupy as an alter/native anthropologist. In her syllabus, Chapman describes "native anthropology" as "the spectrum of ideas, insights and projects of individuals and groups engaged in the study of their own 'home'—the place or places from which they claim to originate, or in which, because of an intimate connection, they might be considered or consider themselves 'insider,' 'indigenous' or 'native'" (Chapman, 2006). As a diasporic Samoan studying anthropology, I am most passionate about studying these sites or "homes" for which I have multiple allegiances. I have noted elsewhere (Tengan, Ka'ili, and Fonoti, this volume) how my journey as an anthropologist is not conventional. Over the last four years, I have discovered the immense potential alter/native anthropologists have in enlisting a set of anthropological "tools" to assert a specific political agenda. The process of self-reflexivity through the articulation of positionality and

perhaps most importantly, genealogies (family, intellectual, community, etc.), enables us to critically gauge and assert the intangible "stuff" that makes our lives ever so complex. Self-reflexivity was emancipating for someone like me. As I struggled to reconcile the perplexing identities and genealogies in my own life, I composed the following poem:

A Self-Reflexive Moment

For academic purposes
I am labeled
Pacific Island Scholar
another native daughter—
indigenous and homegrown
a classic example
of the alter/native anthropologist;
Bearing cultural baggage
as Sia's[5]
FAT BROWN WOMAN—
a hybridization
of German, Scottish,
(possibly Chinese but never verified)
and of course
most importantly
Samoan
proportions.
And no,
I don't consider myself afa kasi[6]—
as both
my parents are Samoan!
Yet my genetic palate
I offer as
a complex rendering
of my ancestors
historical encounters
with papalagi[7]—
as Christian misionare
aimless beachwhalers
seafaring convicts
Marxist capitalists
and marooned military
men.

I am the by-product
of American and New Zealand
educational systems
i Samoa i Sasae[8]
ma Samoa i Sisifo[9]—
where my
high school's[10]
motto was
ATAMAI E TAUTUA MO SAMOA;
atamai being the pursuit of wisdom
and tautua as the service one offers
for Samoa,
o le atunuu pele
e mitamita ai le agaga![11]
But I cannot go back
just yet
to what Jerome Grey[12]
describes as the greatest place of all
Where SAMOA is green and blue
And lush with beauty—
instead I find myself rooted
Here in Amerika
the Promised land
of milk and honey—
where people drive around in SUVs
with an unlimited cash flow
to wage in casinos
on Indian reservations
featuring buffets
symbolic of cornucopia.
Here in Amerika
the land
of opportunity
extended branches of aiga[13]
finance
multiple fa'alavelave
such as weddings,
funerals and festive
graduations;
church dedications
and various

> forms of monetary
> solicitation
> both here,
> and back there—back home.

As I reflect upon my reflexivity in this poem, I am aware of how anthropology found me rather than vice-versa. My engagement with self-reflexivity as an anthropological "tool" per se, enables me to identify the various subject positions and epistemological claims I assert as an indigenous anthropologist within our beloved Oceania. For instance, the "historical encounters" I identify through my genealogical connections to specific spaces and places as a diasporic Samoan affirm how critical race, class, and gender are as indexes of articulation. Why is anthropology slow to acknowledge how we indigenous researchers are products of our environment? Building upon the notion that anthropology has found me, the question I now ask myself is why had it not found me sooner? In my reflexive state of questioning, why didn't anthropology seem like a viable career path I could pursue as a young Samoan female scholar? Perhaps this is why I see the necessity for the development of indigenous anthropology in/of Oceania. For me, teaching embodies a decolonizing anthropological project to advocate and promote social equality and justice for other indigenous anthropologists and researchers like me.

As an undergraduate, I majored in English literature at Brigham Young University (BYU) Hawaiʻi which prompted a teaching career.[14] In the classroom, I wanted to teach and inspire my students to do more than write coherent and grammatically correct essays. If we consider our genealogies an important component of indigenous anthropology (see introductory piece by Tengan, Kaʻili, and Fonoti, this volume), I must acknowledge my own intellectual genealogy with Paul Spickard, an historian who inspired me to think about an instructor's positionality and pedagogy within the classroom. Spickard's interest in exploring how people negotiate ethnic and cultural identities on a daily basis made me realize how critical diaspora or movement was in my own development as an individual and aspiring scholar. At the UW, I have been fortunate to teach my own class focusing on U.S. Contemporary Pacific Islander Cultures. I am also teaching a similar course at South Seattle Community College, the first course taught by a Pacific Islander at that institution. In these classes, I strive to use positionality as a marker to gauge the complexity of identity claims among Pacific Islander cultures and communities and am always fascinated by the connections students make with their own identities or life journeys.

My positionality in the Pacific is complicated and reflects multiple iden-tities and hybridity. I am a Caucasian American woman from the East Coast where my immigrant grandparents settled. I grew up beside the Atlantic Ocean in Rhode Island, surrounded by the seas. My parents were educators and always stressed the importance of the humanities and social justice. My dad was a professor so my family was fortunate to travel over-seas during his sabbatical and see the world from a non-American lens. In high school, I decided I wanted to join the Peace Corps to continue explorations of variance in the world, whether cultural, linguistic, or in terms of equity.

I joined the Peace Corps after college and was assigned to the Marshall Islands. As I've discussed elsewhere (Barker 2004), for two years I became the 11th child of a Marshallese family on a remote outer island. I was a school teacher on an island with no running water or electricity, 15 families, one church, one school, and no stores. I lived in a thatch hut on the family compound. I hunted for crabs in the rocks and coconut husk piles after school with my brothers and sisters to help feed the family. I bought the flour, rice, Crisco oil, mosquito coils, and other necessities for the family whenever supply ships came by. The family took great pride in teaching me to speak Marshallese, the family and clan's history, and legends about the land we lived on. I was horrible at scraping the skin off of the fire-roasted breadfruit with a piece of broken glass because I always pierced the skin. The mats that I tried to weave from pandanus were comically crooked and led to endless jokes amongst us all. I did pretty well, however, at spotting the trails of cleaned rocks that octopus leave behind (as they suck the living organisms from the rocks) so my Marshallese brothers apparently found some utility in bringing me along for octopus hunting.

When I finished the Peace Corps, the linguistic and cultural knowledge I acquired helped me secure a job working for the Marshall Islands Embassy in Washington, D.C. to advance the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) Government's political agenda with the United States. I spent 17 years in that position. While living and working in the Marshall Islands I confronted the horrors of the social and environmental injustices surrounding the U.S. testing of nuclear weapons during the Cold War (Barker 2004; Johnston and Barker 2008). To bring my academic and professional interests together, I worked full time at the Embassy during the day and went to graduate school at night. I chose Anthropology as a discipline because of its well-developed methods and ethics, but also because it allows us to foreground our empathy and compassion as we investigate how issues, such as weapons testing, disrupt the lives of communities. Anthropology also

allowed me to examine the colonial roots of the exploitation that took place in the Marshall Islands. As an American citizen, I felt a deep responsibility to address the hardships my government inflicted on the Marshallese.

I will never know what it is like to be Marshallese—I will never speak the language with native fluency, and I have opportunities that the majority of Marshallese women do not, such as the ability to live and reproduce on land that is not contaminated with radiation. By the same token, the Marshallese certainly are not the "other" to me; they are my friends, and adopted family. I share 20 years of love, friendship, and intertwined lives with the Marshallese. My life, and the life of my American family living in Seattle, is enriched by my Marshallese family and friends.

I consider my work with the Marshallese a success when I can work myself out of a job. The RMI Embassy in Washington, D.C. hired me because I had a skill set about the U.S. Government that was initially absent at the Embassy. I passed those skills onto my colleagues, and eventually a Marshallese woman took my position. I moved to a supporting role where I could telecommute from Seattle. While telecommuting, the former Chair of the UW Anthropology Department, Miriam Kahn, invited me to teach classes in applied anthropology. These classes were helpful to the mission of the Embassy because as part of their coursework students at UW assisted Marshallese immigrants in the United States.

In March of 2008, there was a change in leadership in the RMI Government. I shifted to lecturing full time at the university and continue my relationships with Marshallese immigrants in Seattle and the Pacific NW. Many Marshallese come to the United States to escape the structural violence of the healthcare system in the Marshall Islands. For example, there is no oncologist in the Marshall Islands despite the inordinate amounts of radiation released in the nation, and the well-documented link between cancer and radiation exposure. The mobility of the structural violence is evident today in Hawai'i, where because of diminishing budgets, many poli-cymakers and local people want to deny chemotherapy and other costly healthcare services to Marshallese immigrants. Marshallese who come to the mainland in search of better healthcare, like many in the Seattle-based community, locate services for indigent populations at the public hospitals. The lack of services available to the U.S.-based Marshallese, as non-U.S. citizens, essentially means that they become recolonized in the United States.

As I become more U.S.-based with young children and responsibilities that situate me in America, my involvement with the Marshallese has shifted from the islands and the geographic locations of people's exposure

to radiation, to their efforts to access adequate healthcare, increasingly in the United States and Seattle area. Similarly to my role at the embassy, I will know my teaching is successful when I can work myself out of a job, and the university hires a Pacific Islander to offer these and other courses. Until that time, I am committed to building a cadre of indigenous researchers.

I am not Marshallese and I am not indigenous, but I empathize with and share the goals of Indigenous Anthropology. I join in the critique of Western epistemologies and methodologies, and the need to decolonize our research that Rochelle notes in the introduction to this text.

Our Classroom Collaboration

In her seminal 1999 book, Linda Tuihwai Smith discusses the importance of indigenous scholars taking control of research in their communities, and of foregrounding indigenous voices. As Smith notes, the act of research is critical to decolonization because it frames the compelling questions the community needs to ask and initiates discussion about how to address local challenges. Building on her 1999 work, in a 2004 article Smith identifies building research capacity as the foundation for creating a community of indigenous researchers:

> . . . building Pacific research capacity and capability is almost by definition about building networks, synergies, and collaborations within and across parts of the Pacific as well as building the researchers and the systems that support research within and across Pacific communities . . . to not build capacity is to guarantee that the Pacific will remain a place that is authored and represented by non Pacific researchers and scholars. (Smith 2004: 14–15)

As teaching collaborators working with Oceanic communities, we explore opportunities to bring Smith's goals to fruition in our local context at the university. Despite the recent attention to participatory methods that serve the needs of communities, anthropology lacks methodological and ethical guidelines for collaboration between researchers with different positionalities (Mitchell and Baker 2009). As these guidelines evolve, it is important to consider differing challenges, risks, and responsibilities for research partners and for the communities where we work (Mitchell and Baker 2009).

While Rochelle is away from campus completing her fieldwork, students still need to learn about Indigenous Anthropology, particularly its methods

and ethics, yet there is no opportunity for them to learn from a Pacific Islander. Whatever institution of higher learning hires Rochelle after she completes her PhD will have this much needed capacity. Given this scenario, should a nonindigenous, non–Pacific Islander teach these perspectives until the university hires a qualified indigenous researcher from Oceania? Training of future indigenous scholars needs to take place, even in the absence of qualified indigenous instructors. This presents universities with conundrums that require difficult conversations about race, privilege, and research. Until there are an adequate number of Oceanic scholars to train the next generation, we must think about how all instructors can indigenize their classrooms to adequately represent indigenous issues and concerns (see Teaiwa 2005b).

Indigenous Anthropology and the Decolonization of Oceania

In many ways, the goals of Indigenous Anthropology parallel the efforts of a regional movement to decolonize Oceania. As noted from our own complex positionalities, there are no simple dichotomies between "outsider" and "insider" researchers, and identities are not static or bound (Teaiwa 2005a). Existing methods for collaboration with locals still situate the skills and abilities to conduct research with the outside visitors who partner with community members (Lamphere 2004). This approach fails to recognize the diasporic movement of Oceanic communities—physical proximity to the homeland does not define a group (McGrath 2002)—and the complex identities of both researchers and "local counterparts."

Oceanic people are global. They increasingly receive the same western research training as "outside experts." Consequently, a new generation of Oceanic scholars, as seen in this collection, is engaged in a recontextualization of their positionalities as scholars and islanders. Diaspora is not just about moving away from the homeland and staying there, it is about maintaining ties to multiples places, communities, and traditions (Teaiwa 2005a; D'Alisera 2004). Diasporic communities are constantly trying to articulate their evolving identities that extend from the Academy to the islands. This same self-reflexivity is occurring across the discipline with nonindigenous researchers who increasingly recognize that acquiring language skills or knowledge about a community does not make them "experts."

The disciplines of Cultural Studies and Pacific Studies articulate processes for the decolonization of Oceania (Teaiwa 2005a); anthropology has not. Epeli Hauʻofa is the starting place to envision our discipline's contributions to decolonization. Anthropology has a rich tradition of methods and ethics that can provide meaningful and tangible assistance to

the region's decolonization priorities. If we are serious about developing and implementing an anthropological blue print for decolonization in Oceania, it is imperative to provide indigenous scholars with the training needed to conduct their own research (Denzin 2008; Smith 2004) to draw on the strengths of their locally-based knowledge. It is presumptuous and oversimplified to assume that there is equity in an arrangement where outside researchers and community members bring different, but mutually important knowledge to bare (Lamphere 2004). Rather, communities need to direct their own social transformation and decolonization process, including the research agenda that enables communities to better understand and respond to social issues (Smith 1999). Outsiders can still play a role, and as our collaboration demonstrates, indigenous and nonindigenous anthropologists benefit from diverse perspectives. In a partnership, our diverse skills and positonalities become assets that enrich our understanding of the complexities of contemporary Pacific Islanders. Our classroom experiences can extend to the field. In the classroom we illustrated the benefit of breaking down stereotypes as "insiders" or "outsiders" and demonstrated how much better our understandings of an issue are when we include diverse perspectives. In the case of the Marshall Islands, the Marshallese leaders and community members know exactly how to they want to proceed with decolonization. They are proactive in using anthropology's methods and ethics which keep the outsider firmly in the background while drawing on the discipline's skills to reach their objectives (Barker 2004). As Marshallese emigration to the United States increases, so will the need for a collaborative approach that can draw on Marshallese and American perspectives to broker and negotiate the challenges of immigration.

Researchers help support the changes that emerge from communities (Minkler and Wallerstein 2003), but the context and conditions for that change has to be prescribed by the indigenous communities involved (Denzin 2008).

In Oceania the adverse implications of colonization are evident on the bodies of people, in the scars that pock mark the land, and the persistent pollution of the waterways. The depth and complexities involved in overcoming these challenges means that everyone with moral ties to the community, as Denzin and Giardina (2007) note, must dedicate themselves to the social transformation envisioned by the community. To overcome these obstacles and improve the self-determination of communities ravaged by colonialism, we need to harness the talents of all who have moral ties to and compassion for the struggles at hand. In Oceania, the struggles resulting from colonization are not just situated in the island communities, but also in the public policies of the United States and other former colonizers

that allow for the immigration of structural violence, along with Oceanic populations: the structural violence of the systems that result in inadequate healthcare, education, and participation in the economy move from island communities to the diasporic locations where islanders reside in the post-colony. This is evident, for example, in the education system in the Marshall Islands. In 1986 when the Marshall Islands became independent from the United States, the Marshallese needed a transformative education system that could prepare people for the challenges of unraveling more than 400 years of Spanish, German, Japanese, and American colonization. What the Marshallese inherited, however, was an education system that neither prepares students for life in the islands, nor to participate in the world economy. The violence on the health and bodies of the people facing persistent poverty and unemployment links to the failures of the education system. These conditions do not stop with immigration to the United States, however, as noted by Hilda C. Heine, the first Marshallese to obtain a PhD (in education). Heine notes how the U.S. education system labels students from the Freely Associated States (FAS), like the Marshall Islands, as educationally deficient:

> Instructional approaches are . . . new and different in the United States. Where students may be expected to problem solve and make decisions independently in any American classroom, island students may be reluctant at first to step outside of normal family practices in which problem solving and decision making are shared. In many cases, some of the values that were supported and encouraged in island schools no longer apply in the United States. For example, "borrowing" from a friend without asking permission is an acceptable practice for most people growing up in the FAS; it is not acceptable in American schools, and students often get into trouble for doing so. School staff who may not have the cultural understanding and sensitivity often view these differences as "deficiencies." Consequently, the children appear to them to be "unprepared," "uninterested," and "unmotivated." (6)

In the postcolony, the structural violence of the education system marginalizes Micronesians both in the islands of their ancestors and in their diaspora. Diaspora is not something new to the region.

Nineteenth-century imperialism erected boundaries that led to the contraction of Oceania, transforming a once boundless world into the Pacific Island states and territories that we know today. . . . The new economic reality made nonsense of artificial boundaries, enabling the

people to shake off their confinement. They have since moved, by the tens of thousands, doing what their ancestors did in earlier times: enlarging their world, as they go, on a scale not possible before. Everywhere they go—to Australia, New Zealand, Hawaiʻi, the mainland United States, Canada, Europe, and elsewhere—they strike roots in new resource areas, securing employment and overseas family property, expanding kinship networks through which they circulate themselves, their relatives, their material goods, and their stories all across their ocean, and the ocean is theirs because it has always been their home. Social scientists may write of Oceania as a Spanish Lake, a British Lake, an American Lake, even a Japanese Lake. But we all know that only those who make the ocean home, and love it, can really claim it as their own (Hauʻofa 2008, 34).

By and large, the Oceanic students coming to our classrooms in the United States do not come directly from the islands, due in large part to educational disparities. As Smith notes, education is the major barrier to Oceanic populations conducting their own research (Smith 2004). At South Seattle Community College where Rochelle currently teaches, one-fourth of her students are diasporic Samoans born and raised in the United States. After familiarizing diasporic students with the existing literature about their communities, she encourages them to critique these representations and to consider the role they can play in rearticulating more accurate and respectful histories of Samoan communities.

Classroom Methods and Indigenous Anthropology

We agree it is imperative to create a cadre of indigenous researchers with genealogical ties to Oceania. In our own case, collaborative teaching provided an opportunity to explore ideas and methods to indigenize the classroom. This process also illuminates the richness of our discipline for both indigenous and nonindigenous students. Our goal is to inspire qualified students, including indigenous students, to pursue graduate studies, and for all students to enter the working world with a willingness to consider multiple perspectives.

In our Anthropology 101 class, we never asked the sixty-one students how they self-identified by race or ethnicity, but we guess that just under half of the class was mixed ethnicity or non-Caucasian. The demographics of the class allowed us to draw on a multitude of student experiences and to demonstrate how the positionality of the students influenced their perspectives. In this way, students brought their own indigenous and nonindigenous viewpoints to the classroom.

As anthropologists we often talk about our field sites as the communities where we work. As teachers, however, our first community is our classroom, and we apply the same methods and ethics for participatory engagement and learning in the classroom that we often use in the field (Jacob 1995). As classroom collaborators, we show the students how both of us came to know Oceania intimately, but through different means, and how we, as researchers, educators, and advocates, benefit from working together. Through collaborative teaching we not only assist with the goal of training future indigenous researchers, but we also build the capacity of everyone to recognize and appreciate the strengths of combining different positionalities and expertise. These explorations illuminate our areas of mutual interest, strengthen our rapport, and prompt us to conceptualize the implications of our teaching methods in the field. We hope to undertake collaborative fieldwork to continue our advocacy with Oceanic communities.

In our design of the Anthropology 101 class, we considered pedagogies that recognize a variety of learning styles (see McKeachie and Svinicki 2006). Educators trained in collaboration-focused approaches to anthropology often utilize Paulo Freire's notion of *praxis*, or putting knowledge and theory together for practical purposes in the classroom. Teaching is a form of praxis because it demonstrates to students the utility of their knowledge (Greenwood 1999). Praxis is particularly evident in classes with service-learning or problem-solving/participatory learning approaches.

To make the students active participants in the class from the beginning, we asked them what we could do as teachers to facilitate their learning. Based on their input, we used lots of PowerPoint, multimedia, and visuals, and we kept our lectures short, not longer than 15–20 minutes. Even though the class was on the larger side, students regularly participated in discussions either as an entire class, in small groups, or with one other classmate. Our classroom time and the assignments emphasized active learning, such as getting out of the classroom and doing participatory observation at a variety of locations on the campus. We gave students an opportunity to express their learning in a variety of forms to recognize the diverse learning styles of our students, such as the ability to work on papers as individuals or as part of a group.

Based on our own observations of diverse learning styles in Oceania, we incorporated a multitude of learning formats in the class. We included storytelling, genealogies, and oral tradition in the class while simultaneously deemphasizing exams and memory-based grading (see Heine 2002), such as showing video footage of Holly interviewing Marshallese Downwinders

in a courtroom context. From Rochelle's experiences in her previous class-rooms, we dispensed of the midterm and the final. Instead, we adminis-tered weekly assessments that allowed students to apply their weekly readings to issues in the world around them. For example, we asked them to apply anthropology to their daily lives by considering the intersections between their readings on nuclear history and a current events article from the *New York Times* about nuclear arms proliferation in North Korea. Some of our most successful methods included an idea by Richard Robbins (Robbins 2008a, 2008b) where Rochelle sat in a chair while the students filed in on the first day of class. While Holly welcomed students to the class, Rochelle recorded her observations as an anthropologist would in the field. Although initially caught off guard, the students chuckled at Rochelle's findings and the reflections on student culture and immediately saw that the class would apply anthropology to their daily lives. On another day we had students work in pairs to examine the contents of their backpacks and what these objects revealed about themselves as individuals and as a class. The students turned the exercise back on us and asked us to share what was in our bags, too, so the discussion extended to include social expecta-tions and hierarchies. Borrowing again from Richard Robbins (Robbins 2008a, 2008b), we had the class deconstruct a McDonald's happy meal as a way to talk about links between food, income, corporations, and well-being. Because the class met at lunchtime, students were particularly happy to earn the different contents of the box for their responses. For the last day of class, Rochelle organized a potluck and talked about the importance of food and community building in Oceania. This opened the door for all our students, whether from Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Oceania, Jewish or more typically American households, to talk about the role of food in their own communities and for students to again see anthropology in their everyday lives.

For the final assignment of the class, students put their learning into action (praxis) by writing a letter to the editor about a case study they researched during the quarter. Most student letters discussed how institu-tions with power and control adversely impact local communities, particu-larly in colonial contexts such as French Polynesia and Taiwan, and how the violence of nuclear weapons testing often continues in the form of structural violence as impacted communities need, but cannot get access to adequate healthcare or environmental cleanup.

While the activities we describe above aided the learning of both indig-enous and nonindigenous students, these teaching opportunities allowed us to demonstrate the importance of giving voice to a variety of perspectives, and to show why anthropology is an exciting and relevant discipline. We

also believe that these methods allowed us to indigenize the classroom by exploring perspectives from Rochelle and other indigenous students, but also by comparing and contrasting those views from a nonindigenous lens, such as Holly's and other students. What was nice about our class is that it brought together people from diverse backgrounds and gave them an appreciation for the assaults of nuclear weapons on indigenous peoples around the world, and how privilege and colonialism exacerbate and complicate those sufferings.

What we enjoyed the most as teachers, and what the students told us resoundingly in their course evaluations, is the value placed on creating a sense of community in the classroom and the importance of understanding multiple perspectives. Students reported unanimously that they felt comfortable participating in the class, even though it was larger than most discussion-based classrooms, and that they preferred the weekly assessments to midterm and final exams. Feedback from the students affirms the effectiveness of team teaching that allows for multiple perspectives, and for instructors to teach about topics they are passionate about. Some of the written student feedback included:

> The teacher effort was amazing. You teach off each other and have an effective and respectful dialogue w/students—in class and in office hours! Really feels warm, inviting, comfortable & like a community! Especially appreciate how welcoming you are in discussions of classroom things.

> I would leave class after we had had an insightful/stimulating discussion feeling very amped up and found myself applying ideas to my own life.

> Both Holly and Rochelle ... made the class interactive and interesting.

> Any other anthropology class would focus on just culture and how to evaluate them, but linking concepts of anthropology with communities that have been affected by modernization puts a whole new perspective on how our world can be brought together.

Conclusions

Through our collaborative work, we discovered the intersections between Indigenous Anthropology and participatory methods of research. As our

discipline contemplates the inherently moral and political aspects of research (Denzin and Giardina 2007), we found it instructive to explore how Anthropology can benefit from Indigenous Anthropology's agenda to respect the morals and interests of communities. As this volume demonstrates, Oceanic populations are exploring opportunities to use research to facilitate social transformation, particularly in postcolonial contexts, and are demanding control of the right and power to envision their own futures.

From our own experiences, we've reached a juncture where we fully appreciate the benefits of team teaching and the enrichment that comes from offering students multiple perspectives, something we are trained to do as anthropologists. By the same token, diminishing higher education budgets make team teaching more challenging. The classroom is a beginning place to develop rapports, trust, and interests, and to present students with a wider array of perspectives to facilitate learning. Classroom collaboration, when it includes indigenous and nonindigenous teachers, also creates a fertile ground for finding linkages between Indigenous Anthropology and other areas of the discipline. We found our experience particularly useful because it allowed both of us to consider ways to indigenize the classroom, both jointly and in the future when we are not able to teach together. The classroom can serve as a model for considering strategies for disseminating the theories and methods emerging from Indigenous Anthropology. As indigenous anthropologists articulate their theories and goals, we would like to hear more conversation about a collective strategy to share these ideas with indigenous and nonindigenous scholars and students for the benefit of Oceania and beyond.

NOTES

1. With the exception of Tonga, which claims to have never been colonized, all of the Oceanic nations have been colonized by outside powers at some point in history. Several nations remain colonized, such as French Polynesia, Wallis & Futuna, American Samoa, Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas.

2. There is a Filipino professor at UW who self-identifies as a Pacific Islander.

3. In particular, the authors want to acknowledge and thank Alejandro Espania, Ink Aleaga, Kiana Fuega, and Mark Stege for their energy and commitment to help all students gain an appreciation for an Oceanic perspective.

4. Rachel Chapman designed a course titled *Alter/Native Power: Exploring Alter/Native Strategies from Inside Anthropology Out* in Spring 2006.

5. Sia Figiel, a celebrated Samoan writer/poet wrote a poem "The Fat Brown Woman" in 1997.

6. Half caste.

7. Euro-American.

8. American Samoa.

9. Western Samoa.

10. I attended Samoa College in Apia, Western Samoa, and graduated in 1990.

11. I am proud of my beloved country Samoa.

12. Recording artist Faanana Jerome Grey is known for his well known "We are Samoa," which is extremely popular amongst Samoans globally.

13. Family.

14. From 1995 to 1999, I taught English composition and writing at BYU Hawaiʻi and at the National University of Samoa in Apia.

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