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AMELIA EARHART ON NIKUMARORO: A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

Thomas F. King
The International Group for Historic Aircraft Recovery

The fate of American aviation pioneers Amelia Earhart and Fred Noonan, who disappeared over the Pacific in July 1937, is a continuing Pacific historical mystery. Twenty-three years of interdisciplinary research by The International Group for Historic Aircraft Recovery (TIGHAR) has produced results supporting the hypothesis that Earhart and Noonan landed their Lockheed Electra 10E safely on Nikumaroro in the Phoenix Islands, made repeated efforts to radio for help, but eventually expired. This paper summarizes TIGHAR's data relevant to the "Nikumaroro Hypothesis."

Introduction

AVIATION PIONEERS AMELIA EARHART AND FRED NOONAN disappeared over the Pacific on July 2, 1937, while seeking Howland Island, a planned refueling stop on their attempt to circumnavigate the globe near its equator. The International Group for Historic Aircraft Recovery (TIGHAR) hypothesizes that they landed and died on *Nikumaroro,* then called Gardner Island (Fig. 1). Much of the information supporting what we call the "Nikumaroro Hypothesis" is summarized in two books published by TIGHAR members (King et al. 2004; Gillespie 2006); more data and analyses are posted regularly on TIGHAR's web site.[1] The author has also published a novel built around the historically documented discovery of what may have been Earhart's bones on the island by I Kiribati[2] and Tuvaluan colonists in 1940 (King 2009).

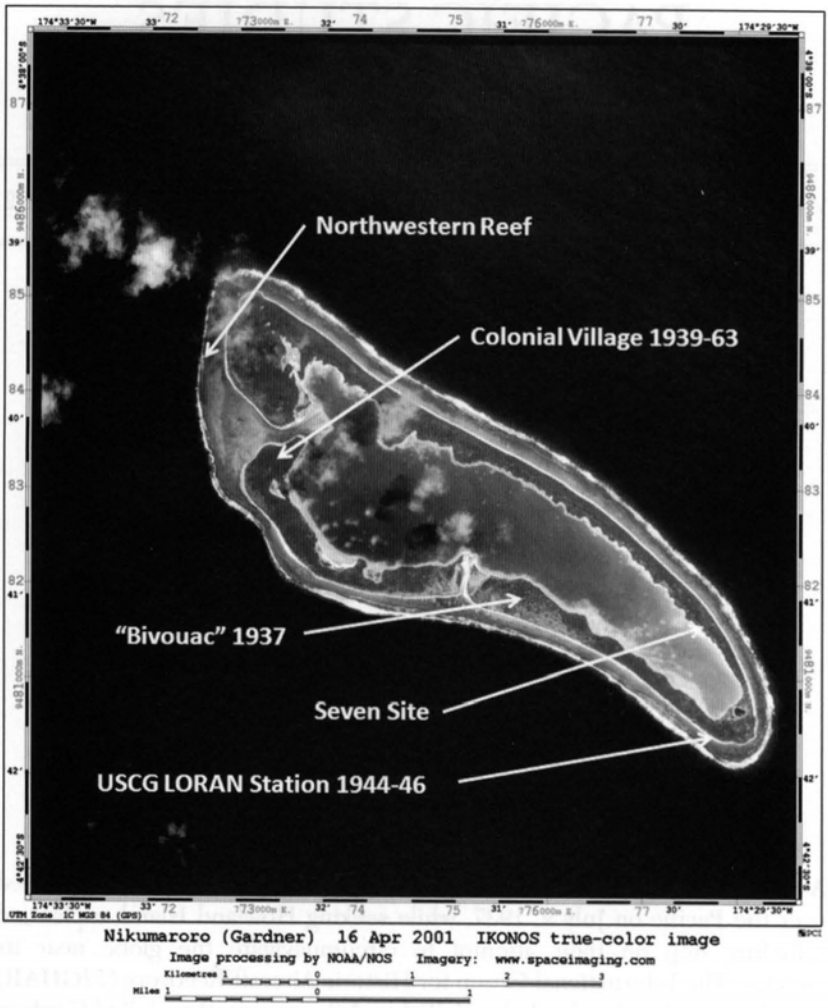

FIGURE 1. **Nikumaroro.**

TIGHAR is a US-based international research organization devoted to aviation historic preservation and the study of aviation history and archaeology. Study of the mystery surrounding the disappearance of Earhart and Noonan has been a TIGHAR priority since 1988, featuring archival and oral historical research in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Kiribati, Tuvalu, and the Solomon Islands, as well as archaeological research on Nikumaroro, McKean Island, and Kanton Island in the Phoenix

group. On Nikumaroro, archaeological work has included a general survey of the island and of its fringing reef down to approximately 30–35 m (1989 and subsequent expeditions); a side-scan sonar search of the reef face (1991); searches in the lagoon using divers (1989 and subsequent expeditions) and an autonomous underwater vehicle (AUV, 2010); search of the northwestern reef face using remotely operated vehicles (ROVs) (2010, 2012); and intensive archaeological surface survey and excavations on selected sites (1991, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2010). Other lines of research include forensic image analysis, tidal hindcasting, radio propagation studies, historical radio message analysis, forensic anthropology, and a variety of studies aimed at identifying and understanding recovered artifacts, faunal material, and possible human remains.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Earhart's and Noonan's disappearance is a timely reason to summarize the evidence pertaining to the Nikumaroro Hypothesis.

Nikumaroro

Nikumaroro, formerly known as Gardner Island, lies at 4°40′30″ S, 174°31′ W, in the Phoenix Island Protected Area[3] of Kiribati (Fig. 1). Access to the island, which is uninhabited, is by permission of the government of Kiribati and is strictly regulated to protect the island's relatively pristine environment. The island is an atoll, about 7 km long and 2 km wide, in the shape of an elongate oval oriented northwest–southeast, with its wider end toward the northwest. There are two openings into its lagoon: Tatiman Passage in the northwest is navigable by small boat, but Bauareke Passage, halfway down the southwest side, usually is not. The island is variously wooded in indigenous forest dominated by the Buka (*Pisonia grandis*), feral coconut and pandanus, and scrub dominated by Ren (*Tournefortia* sp.) and Mao (*Scaevola frutescens*). Animal life includes a variety of tropical marine birds, coconut or robber crabs (*Birgus latro*), strawberry hermit crabs (*Coenobita perlatus*), common sand crabs, Polynesian rats (*Rattus exulans*), and a rich diversity of marine and reef life. The island was uninhabited when Earhart disappeared in 1937 but was colonized in late 1938 as part of the Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme (PISS) of the Western Pacific High Commission (WPHC). The colony lasted until 1963, when it was abandoned, with its residents mostly relocated to the Solomon Islands.

The Line of Position and Landing on Nikumaroro

In the last radio transmission that all authorities agree came from Earhart, received by the US Coast Guard Cutter *Itasca*, lying off Howland Island,

she said she was flying "on the line 157 337." This is generally understood to be what is known as a "line of position" (LOP), a navigational line oriented, in this case, 337° (NNW) and 157° (SSE). Following standard celestial navigation procedures of the time, Noonan would have established the LOP at sunrise (perpendicular to the azimuth of the sun and almost perpendicular to their course), then advanced it using dead reckoning until he calculated that they should be on the LOP running through Howland Island. If they did not see the island, they would conclude that they were northwest or southeast of it and accordingly fly along the LOP until they found it.

The strength of the "LOP" transmission indicated that Earhart was relatively close to Howland Island at the time she sent it—0843 local time.[4] She was not understood to say which direction she was flying on the line, but US Navy experts, Earhart's husband George Putnam, and her technical advisor Paul Mantz all agreed that the flight probably proceeded southeastward in the hope of reaching either Howland or another island (Gillespie 2006: 127–28). Such a line passing through the vicinity of Howland Island also passes within visual range of Nikumaroro.

Nikumaroro is much easier to see from the air than is Howland Island; it is bigger, tree-covered, and has a brilliant aquamarine lagoon.[5] The atoll is encircled by a broad reef flat on which it would be relatively easy to land an aircraft if the tide were low (Fig. 1). Tidal hindcasting by TIGHAR specialist Robert Brandenburg indicates that at the time Earhart and Noonan would have approached the island along the LOP (probably 1000–1200 local), the tide was just turning; it was not only low but also a neap tide, meaning that both low and high tides were relatively suppressed. The reef flat should have been nearly dry and should not have been deeply covered even at high tide until the tides reached flood stage several days later.[6]

Post-Loss Radio Messages

After the disappearance, at least 121 radio messages were received by stations around the Pacific and elsewhere, most of them by professional radio operators, some of them in a voice identified as Earhart's by operators who had heard her in past transmissions. When the US Navy's extensive search failed to reveal anything, the Navy decided that all the messages were mistakes or hoaxes. If even one of these messages was really from Earhart, she had to be on land with a fairly intact airplane capable of generating power for the radio (Gillespie 2006: 180–94). Detailed analysis of the messages by TIGHAR researchers Richard Gillespie and Robert Brandenburg suggests that at least fifty-seven of them are credible as transmissions from the lost Electra.[7]

Wireless stations at Wake Island, Midway Island, and Hawai'i took radio direction finding (RDF) bearings on six of the transmissions. Four of these bearings crossed in the vicinity of Nikumaroro (Gillespie 2006, 164). The only wireless radio (other than, we suspect, Earhart's) documented as having been in the Phoenix Islands was in the possession of John William Jones, a coconut plantation supervisor on Hull (now Orona) Island, about 150 miles east of Nikumaroro. Jones' wireless is reliably reported to have been out of order between early June and late August of 1937 (Gillespie 2006, 210). TIGHAR analysis of the whole body of radio messages indicates only two plausible explanations for them. Either an extremely well-informed hoaxer with an undocumented radio was on one of the western Phoenix Islands imitating Earhart's voice, or Earhart was there (Gillespie 2006: 116, 135, 157–59).

1937 Observations on Nikumaroro

Search plane crews from the battleship USS *Colorado,* flying over Nikumaroro seven days after the disappearance, reported "signs of recent habitation." Believing the island to be inhabited (as was Orona), the crews concluded that these signs[8] were not related to Earhart. Therefore, the *Colorado* did not land a search party (Gillespie 2006, 206). At least according to colonial records, the island had in fact not been inhabited since the 1890s, when the entrepreneur John Arundel briefly attempted a coconut plantation there with laborers from Niue. TIGHAR research has unearthed no data suggesting that anyone lived on the island after Arundel abandoned his effort—except as discussed below.

In October 1937, British colonial officers Harry Maude and Eric Bevington visited Nikumaroro with ten delegates from Kiribati (then known as the Gilbert Islands) to see whether the island could be colonized as part of the then-planned Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme (PISS). They found the island (as expected) to be uninhabited, but Bevington reported signs of someone's "overnight bivouac" (King et al. 2004, 137) near the lagoon on the southwestern side of the island (Fig. 1). The late Harry Maude, recalling the incident in 1996, said he had assumed the site represented something left by Arundel's workers (Harry Maude, pers. comm., 1996; King et al. 2004, 138).

A photograph taken by Bevington from a point offshore to the northwest (probably as he and his party departed the island, and focusing on the impressive wreck of the SS *Norwich City*, which grounded on the reef in 1929) shows an anomaly on the edge of the island's northwestern reef that looks very much like an airplane's landing gear.[9] Detailed forensic image

analysis suggests that the object imaged is consistent with the landing gear of Earhart's Lockheed Electra 10E.[10] Physical inspection of the site by TIGHAR in 2010 revealed no trace of the object on the reef flat.

Aircraft Wreckage

There is no record of an airplane ever being lost on or near Nikumaroro. However, I Kiribati and Tuvaluan residents of the PISS colony established on Nikumaroro in December of 1938, which lasted until 1963, report aircraft wreckage on the northwestern reef flat and in the lagoon. A US Navy pilot who visited the island during World War II reported local residents using aircraft control cable as a fishing line, which they said came from a plane wreck that had been on the island when they arrived (King et al. 2004: 117, 182–86, 267–71). Aerial photos taken in 1953 show objects on the northwestern reef whose spectral signatures are consistent with those of aluminum (King et al. 2004, 187). Mrs. Emily Sikuli of Suva, who lived on Nikumaroro in 1939–40 but left in 1940 for nurse's training in Fiji, has described seeing what she was told was aircraft wreckage at a location very close to that of the possible landing gear shown in Bevington's photo (King et al. 2004: 267–71).[11]

In the course of ten archaeological visits to the island, TIGHAR has recovered dozens of pieces of aircraft structure from the ruins of the colonial village. These appear to have been brought to the village to use in fabricating handicrafts. Some fragments are demonstrably from a World War II era Liberator bomber,[12] probably one that crashed on Kanton (Canton) Island, some 230 miles to the northeast; residents of Nikumaroro worked on Kanton after World War II. Other pieces, including aluminum fragments and fragments of plexiglass, do not appear to match a Liberator but are consistent with a Lockheed Electra like Earhart's (King et al. 2004: 110–39, 157, 188–93, 362–67).

Shoes, Bones, and Sextant Boxes

In 1991, TIGHAR recovered parts of two shoes on Nikumaroro, identified by footwear specialists as a woman's shoe and a man's shoe. The former was identified as a "Blucher-style oxford" dating to the 1930s, with at least its heel manufactured by Cat's Paw, a US company. Earhart wore Blucher-style oxfords on her flight, but the only example that can be measured in photographs appears to have been smaller than the one found by TIGHAR (King et al. 2004: 125–34). Photographic evidence indicates that Earhart had at least three pairs of footgear on the plane, two of them Blucher-style

oxfords, and there is documentary evidence suggesting a pair of hiking boots (King et al. 2004: 125–34, 329–32).[13] The Nikumaroro colonists normally went without shoes, although inexpensive shoes of an indeterminate kind are listed in an inventory of the colony's cooperative store found in the WPHC archives. The shoe parts found by TIGHAR were in the approximate location of the bivouac reported by Bevington.

In 1997, TIGHAR member Peter McQuarrie found a file of papers in the Kiribati National Archives on Tarawa documenting the 1940 discovery of human bones on Nikumaroro. Subsequent TIGHAR research in the archives of the WPHC has uncovered a good deal more information. In summary:

1. In early to mid-1940, the Nikumaroro colonists found a human cranium on the southeast end of the island and buried it.
2. Upon his arrival on the island in late 1940, PISS Administrator Gerald B. Gallagher learned of the discovery, visited its site, and excavated the cranium. He found twelve other bones of a human skeleton, lying next to the remains of a campfire associated with bird and turtle bones. Nearby, he and the colonists found the remains of a woman's shoe and a man's shoe, together with a sextant box and some small corks on chains. Directed to make a thorough search but keep the matter strictly secret, Gallagher apparently further searched the site and sent all of his discoveries to the WPHC headquarters in Suva, Fiji. The bones were examined by two medical doctors: the late David Hoodless in Suva and the late Lindsay Isaac (later Verrier) on Tarawa. Dr. Isaac opined that the bones came from an elderly Polynesian, while Dr. Hoodless thought they were from an adult male of European or mixed race.
3. TIGHAR was able to find the measurements taken of the bones by Dr. Hoodless and subjected them to analysis by the late Dr. Karen Burns and Dr. Richard Jantz, experienced forensic physical anthropologists, employing the ForDisc program and the related Forensic Data Bank.[14] Their analysis suggests that the bones were most like those of a woman of European ethnic background, about 5′5″ to 5′9″ in height. Earhart would have fit this description. The bones have been lost (King et al. 2004: 206–48; Burns et al. 1998).[15]
4. The sextant box—which has also been lost—is recorded as having had two numbers on it: 1542 and 3500. Recent TIGHAR research has shown that during World War I, the US Navy acquired a large number of nautical sextants, some of which were converted for aviation use.

Known sextants acquired by the Navy from the Brandis Instrument Company carried serial numbers ranging from 3227 to 5760 and were assigned Navy numbers 845 through 4705; these numbers were stamped into the boxes as well as the instruments themselves. Thus, the numbers on the Nikumaroro sextant box suggest that it held a Brandis instrument owned for a time by the US Navy.[16]

5. One of the numbers on the box—3500—is also close to the number 3547, which is written on a sextant box held by the Museum of Naval Aviation in Pensacola, Florida, and documented to have belonged to Fred Noonan (King et al. 2004: 230–34). Noonan, who helped pioneer Pan American clipper routes across the Pacific and served as a navigator trainer, is known to have used a nautical sextant as a backup. A photograph of the navigation room aboard a Pan American clipper shows a box for a Brandis sextant.[17]

The US Coast Guard LORAN Station

In 1944, the US Coast Guard established a Long-Range Navigation (LORAN) station on the southeast tip of the island (Fig. 1), which remained in operation until 1946, manned by a team of about 40 Coast Guardsmen. One of these, the late Floyd Kilts, was told about the 1940 bones discovery by a local resident and in 1960 told the story to a reporter from the San Diego, California, *Tribune*. Allowing for the effects of time and retelling by multiple storytellers, the story Kilts recounted (which TIGHAR discovered and was greatly puzzled by long before the WPHC bones papers were found) is generally consistent with that found in the official records. Other Coast Guardsmen interviewed by TIGHAR purchased wooden boxes built by the residents, inlaid with pieces of aircraft aluminum (King et al. 2004: 54–56, 226).

The Seven Site

TIGHAR has identified a site on the southeast end of the island (Fig. 1) that closely matches the description given by the late Gerald Gallagher in the WPHC British colonial records as that of the 1940 bones discovery. TIGHAR refers to the site as "the Seven Site" because of a natural clearing in the *Scaevola frutescens* scrub that covers it, which resembles the numeral seven. Archaeological work at this site in 2001, 2007, and 2010 has produced a good deal of suggestive data, much of which remains under analysis. In summary:[18]

1. Documentary research in the Kiribati national archives, coupled with 2011 oral historical work with veterans of the colony now residing in the Solomon Islands, indicates that the site was set aside for government use (King et al. 2004: 337–38) and that a "house" or "camp" was established there for Gallagher, who died on the island in 1941. Part of the site was apparently planted in coconuts, which did not survive, and it was used informally in the late 1940s and 1950s by young men and boys hunting turtles and catching birds.[19]
2. The archaeology of the site is further complicated because it was used for informal target practice and bird hunting by Coast Guardsmen from the station less than a kilometer to the southeast; the site is sprinkled with M-1 carbine cartridges and artifacts from the LORAN station. Some material from the LORAN station was probably brought to the site by the colonists after World War II.
3. Archaeological study has revealed evidence of several small and large fires. The smaller fire features probably represent short-term camping or food preparation by turtle/bird hunting parties or coconut planters, but at least two fire features are much larger and more concentrated than seems consistent with one-time use. These features, designated SL and WR, contain bird, fish, and turtle bones together with a variety of artifacts (see below).[20]
4. The site also contains two clusters of giant clam (*Tridacna* sp.) shells, apparently brought there so their meat could be consumed. Many of the clams in one cluster appear to have been opened by someone who tried to pry them apart on the hinge side (as eastern US oysters and some clams are opened); others have been opened by smashing them with rocks (King et al. 2004: 349–51). These ways of opening *Tridacna* are not consistent with indigenous practice. The other cluster apparently represents clams aligned next to a fire, whose heat caused them to open.
5. Fishbones from the large fire features suggest that whoever camped there was unselectively catching mostly rather small reef and lagoon fish, cooking them on the coals, not consuming the heads, and disposing of their bones in the fires; none of this behavior is consistent with fishing and fish preparation by indigenous Pacific Islanders.[21]
6. Finally, we have found a variety of artifacts at the Seven Site. Some of these are clearly of colonial or Coast Guard origin, but others are not (King et al. 2004: 333–51). Among the artifacts recovered that suggest occupation by someone other than I Kiribati and Tuvaluan colonists are:

a. A broken bottle made by the Owens Illinois Glass company in Bridgeton, New Jersey, in 1933; this bottle contains traces of a substance shown by spectrographic analysis to be similar to residue in a bottle of Campana Italian Balm, a popular American hand lotion in the 1930s. The broken bottle's style and the placement of its maker's mark, patent number, mold number, plant code, and date code are identical to those of an Italian Balm bottle acquired by TIGHAR researcher Joseph Cerniglia through Ebay.[22]
b. A shattered bottle with the word "Mennen" embossed on its side in Art Deco lettering, apparently a 1930s lotion or cosmetic container of American origin.
c. A broken glass vessel identified as a small cosmetic ointment pot, of American origin and dating to the 1930s or earlier; research to date indicates that Dr. Berry's Freckle Ointment, Dr. Berry's Massage Cream, Dr. Berry's Creme Elite, Woodbury's Facial Cream, Gervaise Graham Hygienic Skin Cream, and E. Burnham Kalos Skin Rejuvenator were all sold in this style vessel between 1908 and 1933 (Joseph Cerniglia, pers. comm., 2011).
d. Two broken, partially melted bottles dating to before World War II, found in the remains of a cooking fire where it appears they may have been used in attempts to boil water; one of the bottles appears to be a 1930s-style liniment container, possibly St. Joseph's Liniment, which had applications in first aid or as a mosquito repellent, while the other appears to be a prewar beer bottle (Joseph Cerniglia, pers. comm., 2011).
e. A US-manufactured jackknife, comparable to one carried on the Earhart Electra,[23] that appears to have been taken apart, perhaps to re-use its parts.[24]
f. The pull and slider from a size 06, "auto-lok" Talon brand zipper manufactured in the United States sometime between 1933 and 1936.[25]
g. Small fragments of red material chemically identified as probable cosmetic rouge.[26]
h. Two small pieces of thin beveled glass that match the mirror of a known 1930s vintage American woman's compact.[27]

Earhart is known to have carried a compact, which, if it was like others of the period, would have contained rouge. US Coast Guardsmen, island colonists, and British colonial officials are unlikely to have had such items. TIGHAR has thus far identified three photographs of Earhart holding a rectangular object whose size is consistent with a compact holding a mirror

the size of the glass fragments found at the Seven Site; one of the images appears to be of the mirror itself (Joe Cerniglia, pers. comm., 2011).[28] The apparent cosmetic containers are also more consistent with the presence of a Euro-American woman on the site than with any of the other people known to have been there. Zippers were used extensively by Earhart in her own clothing design and by her friend Elsa Schiaparelli in designing some of Earhart's wardrobe. The bottles in the fire suggest an effort to boil or distill drinking water—there is no fresh surface water on Nikumaroro except what can be caught during sporadic rain squalls.

Recent and Current Research

TIGHAR conducted its most extensive excavation of the Seven Site in May and June 2010, and analysis of results is currently underway. This expedition also included a robotic search of the reef face adjacent to the location where we suspect Earhart and Noonan landed, down to a maximum working depth of 300 m. This survey revealed that the reef face has an extremely steep gradient to that depth and below.[29] Exploration to greater depths, where the gradient was thought to be less severe and airplane parts could have been caught by protruding rocks and in crevices, was carried out in July 2012 under the direction of Ric Gillespie and TIGHAR archaeologist Megan Lickliter-Mundon. The reef slope was found to be more precipitous than expected, quite rugged, and in many places festooned with coral debris. No probable aircraft parts were observed in real-time scanning, but the expedition's extensive archive of sonar and video imagery is under analysis as this paper is being finalized. Initial examination of this imagery by forensic imaging expert Jeff Glickman suggests that there is a debris field on the deep reef, separate from that produced by the *Norwich City* shipwreck. This debris field may represent Earhart's Electra, but closer on-site study will be necessary to determine whether this is so.

TIGHAR researchers Ric Gillespie and William Carter conducted archival research in Tarawa, the capital of Kiribati, in early 2011. Another team, led by TIGHAR archaeologist and historian Gary Quigg, spent much of May 2011 in Fiji searching the Colonial War Memorial Hospital for the bones found on Nikumaroro in 1940, last reported at the Hospital in early 1942. This team found collections of unidentified human bones, but none matched the descriptions and measurements of those reportedly found on Nikumaroro. Still another team, also headed by Quigg, visited the Solomon Islands and conducted oral historical research with the descendants of the Nikumaroro colonists. The data produced by these three studies are currently being studied.

Study of archaeological data also continues. Notably, detailed chemical analysis of the cosmetic ointment pot found at the Seven Site, conducted under the direction of Joe Cerniglia and chemist Greg George, strongly suggests that its contents included mercury, which was the active ingredient in Dr. Berry's Freckle Ointment. Historical research by Cerniglia and George has uncovered evidence that Earhart was concerned about the effect of sun exposure on her skin.

The Hypothesis

As refined based on research to date, the Nikumaroro Hypothesis can be articulated as follows:

1. Earhart and Noonan reached the vicinity of Howland Island on the morning of July 2 but were unable to see or communicate with it or with USCG *Itasca*. Their inability to see the island may have resulted from being off-course,[30] perhaps exacerbated by difficult morning light conditions and the low inherent visibility of the small coral island. A variety of factors probably contributed to their inability to achieve radio communication with *Itasca* (Gillespie 2006: 81–94; King et al. 2004: 292–305).
2. Earhart and Noonan flew southeast along the LOP and in the late morning sighted Nikumaroro. They landed relatively intact on the broad, smooth northwest reef flat, north of the *Norwich City* wreck.
3. Over the next several days and nights, they transmitted repeated radio distress calls. After a few days, however, flood tides lifted the Electra and carried it over the reef edge, leaving behind the landing gear inadvertently photographed by Eric Bevington three months later. The airplane broke up in the surf on the reef edge or at least was sufficiently obscured by breaking waves as to make it invisible to the USS *Colorado* flyers who flew over on July 9 (during high tide). The *Colorado* flyers also did not see Earhart and Noonan; TIGHAR's experience is that in the highly contrastive visual environment of the Nikumaroro shore it is very difficult to see people on the ground from the altitude flown by the *Colorado* planes.[31]
4. The content of some of the post-loss radio messages suggests that Noonan may have been injured in the landing (Gillespie 2006: 170–86);[32] it is possible, but by no means necessary to the hypothesis, that he did not survive long.
5. Earhart (and Noonan, if still alive) eventually set out to explore the island, probably with special interest in finding fresh water, carrying

with her/them a few supplies, including cosmetics for protection from the equatorial sun and Earhart's compact with its handy mirror. She or they may have camped for a time at Bevington's bivouac site, perhaps discarding shoes that no longer fit due to injuries and swelling.

6. Earhart wound up at the Seven Site, where she survived for some days or weeks, but finally succumbed, probably to thirst. Her body was largely consumed by the site's numerous hermit and coconut crabs, leaving only thirteen bones, a few artifacts, and the remains of her cooking fires.
7. Meanwhile, the wreckage of the Electra was distributed down the face of the reef, with pieces being occasionally thrown up onto the reef flat by storms, where they were collected by the PISS colonists for use in handicraft production. Larger and heavier pieces may still lie in the possible debris field on the reef slope.

Obviously, even if the above hypothetical reconstruction approximates what really happened, there are many uncertainties. Does the apparent debris field represent the remains of the Electra? Were the bones found in 1940 really Earhart's? If so, what particulars can we reconstruct about Earhart's time at the Seven Site? What happened to Noonan? TIGHAR's continuing research is aimed at addressing these and related questions. Research being planned as this paper is written includes detailed archaeological examination of the possible debris field on the reef slope, further archaeological study of the Seven Site, and the deployment of forensic dogs to search the Seven Site vicinity and other target areas for human remains that may have been abandoned by the crabs.

Beyond the Mystery

TIGHAR's efforts to work through the mystery of Earhart's and Noonan's disappearance has highlighted some potentially fruitful avenues for historical and archaeological research having little or nothing to do with the disappearance itself, including the following.

The history of the Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme

The PISS was one of the last, if not the last, expansion of the British Empire before the drastic realignments following World War II. Extensive historical documentation is available on the rise and fall of the PISS, in the archives of the Western Pacific High Commission now housed at the

University of Auckland Library,[33] among the papers of Harry and Honor Maude at the University of Adelaide Library,[34] and in the National Archives of Kiribati (on Tarawa) and Tuvalu (on Funafuti). There remain opportunities for oral historical/ethnohistorical research among veterans of the PISS now resident in Kiribati, Tuvalu, and especially the Solomon Islands.[35] The archaeological remains of the PISS settlements are evident on Nikumaroro[36] and on Orona and Manra as well.[37] A comprehensive study of PISS history would not be an easy or inexpensive task, but it could be a rewarding one; the PISS can be seen as the British Empire in very small microcosm. Its creation reflected a thoughtful exercise of imperial responsibility (seeking both to relieve population/resource pressures and to build economic self-sufficiency), while its decline and fall reflected both the independence movements of the post–World War II era and Great Britain's unavoidable economic retrenchment and political reorganization. The personal story of PISS administrator Gerald B. Gallagher is in itself a fascinating and tragic one (King 2000).

Household archaeology

The archaeological remains of PISS villages like the one on Nikumaroro have potential for the study of household archaeology (c.f. Allison 1999). A village site like the one on Nikumaroro has several potential advantages as a place to study relationships between social and archeological households. It was occupied for a rather short period of time, by a known population and is the subject of very extensive documentary records. Residential sites on the ground can be linked with specific families of residents, who represented two different groups of people—those of Kiribati and those of Tuvalu—and came from a number of different islands. The village was abandoned at a known, recorded time, and its archaeological leavings are largely undisturbed (erosive overwash is eating at the seaward side of the village site as sea level rises). Research at the village site, or those on Orona or Manra, might explore the differences and similarities between Kiribati (Micronesian) and Tuvaluan (Polynesian) residential groups as expressed in the archeology of their households. Other lines of research might include exploring how household organization in this British-overseen colonial village differed from traditional models documented in the ethnographic literature; seeing what people left behind during the rapid but not catastrophic evacuation of their homes; looking into differences and similarities among households in this regard; investigating status differences and variation based on occupation; and examining differences and similarities between Catholic and Protestant households (King 2003).

Interdisciplinary collaboration

One of the most positive aspects of TIGHAR's Earhart Project, at least from the author's standpoint, has been and continues to be its interdisciplinary, collaborative, collegial character. The project features an Internet-linked "Earhart Project Advisory Council" (EPAC) comprising experts in fields ranging from astronomy to zoology as well as non-specialist citizen researchers, who vigorously debate issues and participate in planning; it is further enlivened by an open internet forum and a Facebook page. The project at various times has taken us into the ethnography of Kiribati and Tuvalu, the logistics and economics of trans-Pacific shipping during World War II, the history of forensic osteology, the physics of long-range radio reception, the foraging behavior of coconut crabs, the packaging and marketing of cosmetics, the dynamics of atoll geology, and a host of other topics. The Earhart Project may or may not be a model for other studies of its type, but it is one worth considering.

What constitutes "proof" in historical inquiry?

It is a pervasive demand of the media, of many members of the public interested in the Earhart/Noonan mystery, and sometimes of scholars with whom TIGHAR interacts that we produce the "smoking gun"—the piece or pieces of evidence that by themselves will prove unequivocally that Earhart and Noonan ended their world flight on Nikumaroro. The most plausible candidates for such evidence are their airplane itself, a piece with a part number that could be tied directly to the airplane, or a bone with identifiable Earhart or Noonan DNA. TIGHAR is, of course, always on the lookout for such evidence. We have manuals containing the part numbers and descriptions relevant to the Lockheed Electra 10E. We have been generously given a reference sample of DNA from Earhart's maternal line, which is securely stored for future comparative use. We have not yet been able to obtain a sample of Noonan DNA but are seeking it.

This author likes to stress, however, that historical and archaeological research rather rarely provides smoking gun proofs. Much more often it is a preponderance of evidence—no single piece of it determinative—that causes historians and archaeologists (among others in the humanities, sciences, and social sciences) to conclude that a hypothesis is correct. In the case of Earhart on Nikumaroro, for TIGHAR's hypothesis *not* to be correct in at least broad outline, each of the following would *have* to be true:

1. Someone other than Earhart or Noonan transmitted at least four wireless signals from the Phoenix Islands in the days following the disappearance (the four whose RDF bearings crossed there), or all four receiving stations misread their receptions or made erroneous plots.
2. Someone (or ones) other than Earhart or Noonan transmitted at least fifty other wireless messages in the days following the disappearance whose characteristics make analysts credit them as possible messages from Earhart and Noonan.
3. Someone other than Earhart or Noonan died on Nikumaroro some time before 1940, while in possession of a man's shoe, a woman's shoe, and a sextant box that had most likely been in the post–World War I inventory of the US Navy.
4. That someone's stature, gender, and ethnicity were by coincidence consistent with Earhart's, or the analysis of Dr. Hoodless's metric data carried out by Drs. Burns and Jantz is wrong.
5. Someone other than Earhart or Noonan camped at the Seven Site, catching, cooking, and eating fish and opening clams in ways inconsistent with those typical of indigenous Pacific Islanders, doing something that involved setting bottles upright in a campfire, and leaving American-made cosmetic bottles and other items, apparently including a woman's compact and rouge.
6. The I Kiribati and Tuvaluan colonists on the island obtained all the airplane parts they left in their village from other islands and misremember or misreport seeing wreckage on the reef.
7. The thing in Bevington's 1937 photograph of Nikumaroro's northwest reef that looks to forensic imaging specialists like the landing gear of a Lockheed Electra 10E was really something else.

Each of the above statements may be true, but to this author, it seems more efficient to account for them by concluding that Earhart, Noonan, and their Electra ended their world flight on Nikumaroro.

The Earhart Project is ongoing; readers are invited to participate and particularly to contribute ideas and information about relevant bodies of data or avenues of research that we have not considered.[38]

Notes

1. http://www.tighar.org.

2. I Kiribati is the name by which the people of Kiribati refer to themselves.

3. See http://www.phoenixislands.org/index.php.

4. Recent TIGHAR computer modeling suggests that a range of about 150 nautical miles is most likely.

5. The reader can judge the accuracy of this statement by having Google Earth fly to 0°48′21″ N, 176°37′ W to view Howland Island, then to 4°40′30″ S, 174°31′ W to view Nikumaroro.

6. For data on studies in progress, see http://tighar.org/testhtml/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Research/ResearchPapers/Brandenburg/TidalStudy/TidalStudy.htm.

7. Numbers given here reflect adjustments based on research since publication of *Finding Amelia* (Richard Gillespie, pers. comm., January 1, 2012).

8. The nature of the "signs" was not recorded, and the crew members that reported them are deceased.

9. See http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Research/Bulletins/57_Bevingtonphoto/57_HidinginSight.htm.

10. Analyses in progress by Jeff Glickman, Photek (http://www.photekimaging.com).

11. For details, see "The Carpenter's Daughter" at http://tighar.org/Publications/TTracks/1999Vol_15/carpenters.pdf.

12. A B-24, or in the US Navy's classification, a PB4Y.

13. For details, see "Shoe Fetish" at http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Research/Bulletins/31_ShoeFetish2/31_ShoeFetish2.html.

14. See http://web.utk.edu/~fac/fordisc.html.

15. For a history-based conjectural account, see King 2009. A thorough search of the Colonial War Memorial Hospital in Suva, Fiji, where the bones were last reported, was conducted in 2011 with negative results; human bones were found, but their number, types, and measurements did not match those described by Gallagher and Hoodless.

16. See TIGHAR research notes at http://tighar.org/wiki/Sextant_box_found_on_Nikumaroro.

17. See http://tighar.org/wiki/Air_Navigation:_State_of_the_Art_in_1937.

18. Note: much of the information summarized here is from field and analytic notes by the author and others that are under study and have not yet been formally reported.

19. Solomons data: Gary Quigg, pers. comm., 2011, re. results of 2011 Solomon Islands Oral History Project.

20. Two other features are similarly concentrated but do not contain such suggestive artifacts.

21. See http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Expeditions/NikuV/Analysis_and_Reports/Faunals/NikuVanalysisfaunals.html.

22. Joseph Cerniglia and Bill Lockhart, pers. comm., 2011, re. ongoing TIGHAR research, and see http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Expeditions/NikuV/Analysis_and_Reports/Bottle/BackgroundofOrganicLabAnalysisReport.pdf.

23. But also probably comparable with knives carried by the Coast Guardsmen.

24. See http://tighar.org/Publications/TTracks/2008Vol_24/2_8_S_5.pdf.

25. See http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Expeditions/NikuV/Analysis_and_Reports/Zipper/Zipper.html.

26. See http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Expeditions/NikuV/Analysis_and_Reports/Compact/NikuVanalysiscompact.html.

27. See http://tighar.org/wiki/compact. The compact used for comparison was found on EBay by TIGHAR member Karen Hoy.

28. See http://www.summitpost.org/carl-dunrud-giving-amelia-earhart-a-haircut-1934/654501 and http://earchives.lib.purdue.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=%2Fearhart&CISOPTR=398&DMSCALE=19.82816&DMWIDTH=600&DMHEIGHT=600&DMMODE=viewer&DMFULL=0&DMOLDSCALE=3.16389&DMX=0&DMY=0&DMTEXT=%2520Box&DMTHUMB=1&REC=11&DMROTATE=0&x=55&y=105.

29. See http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Expeditions/NikuVI/Niku6results.html.

30. Current TIGHAR research suggests that Earhart and Noonan turned onto the LOP about 150 miles southeast of Howland and 110 miles southeast of its neighbor, Baker Island (Richard Gillespie, pers. comm., 2012).

31. See TIGHAR Research Video #1 at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DL9FGsvB3E8.

32. For details, see http://tighar.org/wiki/Betty's_Notebook.

33. University of Auckland Library Special Collections: http://www.library.auckland.ac.nz/about/speccoll/home.htm.

34. University of Adelaide Library: http://www.adelaide.edu.au/library/special/mss/maude/.

35. Most Nikumaroro residents were relocated in 1963 to Rawaki and Nikumaroro Villages in the Solomons. TIGHAR has sponsored two brief interview projects with them and their descendants, one by Dr. Dirk Ballendorf of the University of Guam in 1996 (http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Expeditions/SolomonIslands/solomonsreport.pdf) and the other in 2011 (Gary Quigg, pers. comm., 2011; interview recordings currently being transcribed), but further work would undoubtedly be rewarding.

36. See http://tighar.org/wiki/Archaeology_of_Nikumaroro.

37. The village sites on Orona and Manra have not been described archaeologically but are apparent in Google Earth imagery.

38. TIGHAR can be contacted at http://tighar.org/contact.html, and the author at tfking106@aol.com.

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THE LAST PHASE OF THE SOUTH SEA SLAVE TRADE: JACK LONDON'S *ADVENTURE*

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In 1907–8, Jack London, his wife Charmian, and a small crew sailed westward from California aboard his ketch the *Snark* on what was to be an around-the-world voyage. Much as the harsh Klondike a decade earlier had defined London's masculine identity and shaped his acclaimed early fiction, now the vast tropical Pacific would serve as the site of his self-dramatization and literary production. Again he would impose his iron will, master the overwhelming natural forces surrounding him, and turn his personal dominance into texts for commercial distribution. However, because of illness and depression, he abandoned the voyage in late 1908 in the equatorial Pacific, barely a third of the way around the globe. Jack London, who had promoted himself as a perfect Aryan specimen, was very ill. He was suffering from rotting teeth, malarial fevers, diarrhea, an ulcerated rectum, burn-like skin lesions, and a mysterious ailment that had thickened his flesh in places and covered it with white scale. He was only thirty-two years old, and he was humiliated by his degeneration in the green hell of Melanesia. Giving up the cruise, the Londons took a steamer in November 1908 from the British Solomon Islands to Sydney. There Jack had surgery for a double rectal fistula. He also received clinical arsenic treatments for his silvery skin, diagnosed as severe psoriasis, which can be life-threatening. At the hospital, he was given opium for pain relief, the start of his worsening dependency on narcotics. Further, the arsenic doses almost certainly damaged his renal system. Ultimately, chronic uremia and drug overdose would

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bring about his death in 1916 at age forty (Sinclair 1979: 157, 246; Reesman 2009, 110). Despite his breakdown on the *Snark*—and the collapse of his self-illusion as an Aryan superman—the Pacific voyage at least was a success for text production. London gathered material for a great deal of nonfiction, including his popular travel book *The Cruise of the Snark* (1911). He also wrote some of his best fiction during and after the voyage, much of it based on his experiences with indigenous Pacific peoples.

When his physical and mental disorders had brought him lowest, London began work in the Solomon Islands in October 1908 on a South Sea novel set on Guadalcanal. His misery had shaken his core belief in the white man's evolutionary destiny to triumph over other races and even the earth itself, and the new book was an overdetermined effort to reassure himself of his superiority. The opening sentence of this novel, titled *Adventure* and published in 1911, is both self-referential and racially apologetic in introducing the protagonist, David Sheldon: "He was a very sick white man" (London 1917, 1). This dysentery-ridden planter is fighting for survival among his enslaved indigenous field hands, whom he despises and abuses. In the long run, he feels certain of their eventual extinction as biological have-nots, doomed by the advance of superior European stock; in the short run, he knows they will murder him if given the slightest chance. London's biographer Jeanne Campbell Reesman speculates that "In *Adventure* London was fighting back, in a personally petty way, against the blackness overwhelming his adventure on the *Snark*, racializing his illness and failure" (2009, 169). London eventually finished *Adventure* in the spring of 1909, after recuperating in Australia and departing with Charmian for South America on a steamer. The novel falls into the popular Edwardian genre of colonial "encounter" writing, which dramatized for Western readers the dangers of contact with Eastern and Pacific lands and their peoples. Even so, the manuscript of *Adventure* raised little enthusiasm at London's publishing house; Macmillan held it for nearly two years before bringing it out in 1911 (Stasz 1992, 84). It then fared ill with readers and reviewers, sold poorly, and has long been out of print. Today it is largely forgotten. Yet it is one of the few (if any) literary resources to address the Pacific slave trade, and it is the only novel by an American author to portray with firsthand authenticity the body-snatching known throughout the colonial Pacific as "blackbirding."

This was the contemporary term for the dirty business of transporting native labor from their home islands and atolls to work on plantations in European colonies like Australia, Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti, and New Caledonia. It differed from the earlier Atlantic slave trade only slightly—Pacific slaves were contracted for a fixed number of years and paid a pittance. Thus, they

were technically indentured laborers rather than chattel. But once sold to a plantation, these laborers were "virtually the personal property of the master" (Docker 1970, 144). Most of them came from Melanesia—from the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu), the Loyalty Islands (now part of New Caledonia), the British Solomon Islands, the German Solomon Islands (including Buka and Bougainville), the Bismark Archipelago, and German New Guinea (now Papua New Guinea). For more than six decades, these Islanders were the target of man-hunting efforts across the South Pacific. Often chained below deck and labeled with tin property tags around their necks, Islanders were abducted and shipped to be sold at auction at colonial ports. As one British naval officer wrote in the early 1870s, despite colonial efforts to label it a "labor trade," it was "'really nothing else than downright slavery if not worse'" (quoted in Dunbabin 1935, 185). Large sums of cash could be reaped by ship captains and owners from the sale of a single human cargo to eager planters. Thus, high profits spurred blackbirders to deceit and violence to fill their holds with men. These Islanders in turn were sold and "contracted" to the owners of sugar, cotton, and copra plantations to provide cheap labor in equatorial and subtropical regions. As is now generally conceded, many Pacific colonies "were established, or at least consolidated, on a basis of slave labor" (Sharrad 1993, 1).

However, because African slavery had been abolished in British possessions in 1834, practitioners in the Pacific slave trade strenuously insisted that it was a legitimate business. Indeed, the Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868 had effectively legalized slavery in the colonial South Seas by setting conditions for its operation (Bird 2005, 18). Dark-skinned Pacific "blackbirds" were given contracts (which they could not read), and their labor on the plantations was time-limited, usually to three to five years. While they were indentured in the work fields, these Islanders had no effective legal rights or safeguards, enjoyed the protection of no home government, and lived in virtual imprisonment in squalid compounds. Death rates were horrendous from disease and overwork. Indeed, planters actually profited from the deaths of contract workers by holding their accrued wages, which usually were paid only at the end of the indenture. The prevailing racial ideology, which was based solely on the white–black binary of skin pigment, "contributed that vital element upon which the widespread exploitation of workers was rationalized—they were uncivilized black savages whose physiological composition perfectly suited the requirements of a sub-tropical climate" (Saunders 1982, 15). In its depiction of violent white–black relationships in Melanesia during the last phase of the South Sea slave trade, London's novel *Adventure* unmistakably sides with idealized plantation hierarchies of white masters and black slaves. However, in keeping with its

roots in American literary realism, the novel also graphically portrays the appalling conditions of indentured Melanesians, toiling and dying under European rule.

To nineteenth-century Western eyes, Melanesians closely resembled Africans, and many Europeans and Americans believed falsely that they were Africans. As the African American historian Gerald Horne argues, this physical resemblance facilitated the process whereby Europeans and Americans in the Pacific treated Melanesians as slaves (Horne 2007, 13). Many Westerners also believed that all Melanesians were cannibals, no different from predatory animals. The Australian novelist Louis Becke, who spent time as a supercargo aboard blackbirding vessels, dismissed Melanesians as "'woolly-headed Papuan niggers who are always fighting, and ready to eat a man without salt'" (1987, 283). When whites routinely referred to Melanesians as "niggers," they were not just using "a racial slur but asserting their slave status as nonmen" (Phillips 1999, 192), that is, as subhuman beasts to be caught and caged. Further, the contract system of indenture was developed not to be more humane than African slavery but to "avoid the mistake of the United States where the Africans, introduced during the colonial period as a temporary measure, had become in the South by the late eighteenth century entrenched as permanent chattels" (Saunders 1982: 106–7). That is, the goals of the Pacific slave trade were to exploit indigenous field hands, deny them any status as residents, and expel them back to their home islands.

In the 1860s, when the American Civil War shut off exports of cotton and sugar from the Confederacy, there was a surge in European demand for these commodities. In a worldwide search for substitute suppliers, European importers sanctioned the rise of blackbirding in the Pacific to stimulate agricultural production in fledgling Western colonies. A corollary of this exploitation of indigenous labor was the racialized mythology that Westerners were physically unable to do fieldwork under the tropic sun. Soon planters in Queensland and Fiji, as well as other colonized regions of the Pacific, created a shipping network to transport Islanders to the work fields to perform hard labor that Europeans were said to be incapable of doing. Thus constituted, the Pacific slave trade continued for more than fifty years, well into the twentieth century. It largely ended with the First World War and the collapse of Germany's Pacific empire. Nevertheless, recruiting continued into the mid 1920s in French New Caledonia, where Islanders were transported to work the nickel mines (Scarr 2001, 176).

Some planters and blackbirders involved in the early phase of blackbirding were Americans; some of them after 1865 were ex-Confederates and former slave owners. They established the Ku Klux Klan in the early 1870s

on the Fijian archipelago to enforce white supremacy and terrorize contract workers on the plantations (Horne 2007, 80). In Queensland, a vigilante organization called the "White League" was formed in 1876 (Corris 1973, 91). Similar racial hierarchies extended throughout the Coral Sea, Bismark Sea, and Solomon Sea regions. Blackbirders engaged in stratagems to snatch or lure Islanders onto their ships and haul them away. Further, the return voyages involved similar chicanery and violence. When time-expired Islanders were shipped back to their homelands, blackbirders could merely swap cargoes on a deserted islet, and their captives were resold to new planter-owners (Docker 1970, 142). When Islanders did make it back home, some brought with them devastating diseases like tuberculosis, venereal infections, measles, and leprosy. Some of the worst practices of the labor trade ended when Fiji was annexed by Great Britain in 1874—and Fiji, thus, joined Queensland as a British colony under crown control. However, the essential exploitation involved in providing racialized servile labor for the plantations remained constant for decades longer. Such conditions closely resembled life under Jim Crow in the southern United States, as the historian Peter Corris concludes: "At their worst, European attitudes towards the islanders fell little short of Mississippian racist segregationism (1973, 90).

By the 1880s, blackbirders resorted less to kidnapping and more to purchasing "recruits" from their chiefs and communities (Scarr 2001, 170), thus extending the commercial network of the South Sea slave trade. These transactions often involved trade goods such as tobacco, fabric, and tools in exchange for young men (and women). But even for those Islanders who went more or less willingly aboard the blackbirding vessels and understood the terms of service on the plantations, the work situation of the contract worker differed little from that of slave or convict labor (Saunders 1982, xvii). Actual living conditions for recruits changed or improved little on the plantations over time. When Jack and Charmian London sailed into Melanesia in 1908, Australia (the largest consumer of unfree labor) had only recently outlawed blackbirding—in1904, three years after federation of the nation. However, Australia ended human trafficking not out of moral outrage but in defense of the official White Australia Act of 1901, which sought to make Australia a "whites-only" nation. In support of enforced racial purity, the Deportation Act brought about a forced relocation of dark-skinned laborers out of Australia from 1906 to 1908. As their labor contracts expired, Melanesian workers were forced into mass repatriation. Even so, Fiji, German Samoa, and German New Guinea continued to engage in blackbirding. After 1904, many Melanesians in Australia were shipped to Fiji, where they had little choice but to take on new labor

contracts, thus providing a surge in blackbirding activities there just as the practice was ending in Queensland. During the last phase of the Pacific slave trade, the Solomon Islands continued to be the main source of transported contract laborers.

The Londons spent nearly four months during the summer and fall of 1908 in the Solomon Islands. This archipelago was routinely referred to by Westerners as the "Cannibal Isles," a name that dramatized the dire consequences of contact with indigenous people. The Londons were guests at Penduffryn, a coconut plantation on the north coast of Guadalcanal Island (then known as Guadalcanar). The setting is just west of the village of Lunga (London 1917, 108), which decades later would be the principal site of American troop landings in 1942 during the Solomon Islands campaign of World War II. The swampy, jungle region that rings the mountainous island was a clotted tangle of roots, vines, and ferns beneath a matted canopy of giant trees; thick rain forests were laced by crocodile-infested rivers running down to the sea. Penduffryn, one of the largest privately held copra plantations in the Solomons, was owned by two Englishmen, George Darbishire and Tom Harding. They were well known in the last phase of the blackbirding trade during the first decade of the twentieth century, actively recruiting Solomon Islanders and transporting them to Fiji for sale (Corris 1973, 148). They lived at Penduffryn with family members and overseers. They ruled over a large contingent of Melanesian laborers, who did the backbreaking work of clearing swampland and planting groves of coconut palms. The plantation house was a colonial fortress. For fear of a native uprising, Westerners slept with their revolvers under their pillows, "and bedrooms contained racks of loaded rifles" (Stasz 1988, 185). Skeptical contemporary reviewers of *Adventure*, enthralled by the popular myth of the South Seas as an earthly paradise, doubted the veracity of London's gruesome novel, with its terrible scenes of racial strife: hatred, filth, disease, floggings, and mass killings. Even today, *Adventure* is little acknowledged for depicting the brutal South Sea slave trade and, thus, making a firsthand contribution to what has come to be called diaspora literature, colonial texts induced from "the global market in body-snatching" (Sharrard 1993, 1).

Penduffryn Plantation was typical of its time and place more than a century ago in 1908, and it was here that the Londons had their harsh encounter with the commodified Pacific during the imperial age. Much of the copra trade in the region was organized by the English soap company Levers' Pacific Plantations Ltd., later to become Lever Brothers. Its Melanesian headquarters were on Gavutu Island, just across a channel from Guadalcanal. Levers operated its own plantations and "recruited"

indigenous laborers on its own ships; it also contracted to buy copra from independent planters such as the owners of Penduffryn (Corris 1973, 108). In *Adventure* London indirectly refers to the Lever Brothers' empire, calling it "the Fulcrum Brothers' plantation" (1917, 112). London's use of "fulcrum" and his play on the word "lever" imply his criticism of their nascent monopoly in the tropics, suggesting an agency that brings irresistible and crushing weight to bear upon the individual entrepreneur. London's jibe is part of the antimonopolistic critique of the novel, which laments the shrinking field of opportunity for the daring individual and the increasing centralization of corporate and bureaucratic power in the Pacific (1917, 65). His satire also is aimed at the crude logic of greed and oppression exhibited by whites in the tropics, a psychological subject treated in his story "The Inevitable White Man" (1910), which he wrote in October 1908, at the same time he was writing *Adventure* at Penduffryn (Riedl and Tietze 2006: 202, 214n7). In the Levers' business, coconuts were husked on the plantations, and the dried meat or copra was packed into sacks and delivered to company depots in the western Solomons. There copra was rendered into coconut oil, to be transported and later manufactured into scented soap. Lever Brothers made a fortune supplying this product to western consumers. At Penduffryn, which was a poorly run and economically precarious plantation, the Londons encountered the stark realities behind the emergence of globalized capital. They also took part in the colonial whites' frantic efforts to mask their fear of annihilation. In their plantation compound, the owners and guests at Penduffryn drank heavily, consumed hashish, cross-dressed, and took part in nightly masquerades and sexual revels—all desperate forms of denial to displace their terror of being massacred by their slaves within their fragile refuge.

Jack and Charmian had their most dangerous adventure of the *Snark* cruise when they sailed on a blackbirding vessel doing business for Penduffryn's owners. It made a recruiting trip from their plantation to the nearby island of Malaita. This island was "one of the wildest places in the British Empire at the time" (Corris 1973, 130), infamous for the ferocity of the upland Kwaio people, who were deadly headhunters and reputed cannibals. Malaita was the island that provided the largest number of blackbirds out of Melanesia, often through local warlords who sold captives, miscreants, and other undesirables to the recruiters. Indigenous people from the Malaita bush lands thoroughly despised Westerners generally—blackbirders, traders, planters, and missionaries alike—whom they associated with decades of kidnapping, deceit, shootings, and collective punishment. During blackbirding days, Malaita was regarded as the most dangerous island in the Solomons.

In 1908, most remaining blackbirders in the Coral Sea served the Fijian labor trade, which had been notorious since the 1860s for its poor wages and weak law-enforcement. One such vessel was the ketch *Minota*, "said to have been a luxury yacht in Sydney before being fitted out to carry Kanakas" (Bird 2005, 101). While the Londons were at Penduffryn, the *Minota* came to call during a voyage to return time-expired laborers to Malaita and pick up new recruits there, part of the larger blackbirding business of Penduffryn's owners. The Dutch captain invited Jack, Charmian, and two members of their *Snark* crew to come aboard. The *Minota* had a bloody history in blackbirding. Just months earlier, it had been seized by islanders at the Malaitan village of Binu. Using steel hatchets, they broke open the main cabin door, chopped off the captain's head, and stole the boat's rifles. When the Londons looked around the *Minota*, gouges from this hatchet attack still showed. Because of the Malaitans' willingness to attack blackbirding vessels, all whites on board heavily armed themselves. There are photographs of Charmian London wearing a pistol in a holster around her waist. The *Minota*'s railings were double wrapped with barbed wire to repel boarders. The *Minota* called at several Malaitan ports, and the crew was menaced at every stop. They learned that a British warship had recently indiscriminately shelled and burned villages on Malaita, in reprisal for attacks on whites, thus intensifying the hostility of the indigenous people. The *Minota* cautiously worked its way around to the northern tip of the island and stopped at Malu'u (London calls it Malu) Lagoon, where it took on laborers. However, in attempting to sail out to open water, the *Minota* became stuck on a coral reef. Soon it was encircled by war canoes, with armed paddlers seeking to come aboard, kill the crew, and loot the ship. It was also pounded by heavy seas, which washed over it as it lay grounded on the island's weather side. The crew's only hope was to be towed off the reef before the ship was boarded or torn apart. For three days and two terrifying nights, those on the *Minota* fought for their lives to stay afloat and fend off attackers. When another blackbirder, the schooner *Eugenie*, arrived at Malu'u, London described this celebratory moment in highly racialized language as the triumphant arrival of "the white man, the inevitable white man, coming to a white man's rescue" (London 2004, 170). Jack and Charmian went aboard the *Eugenie*, which took them to Florida Island across the channel from Penduffryn. Pulled off the reef by the *Eugenie*, the *Minota* later called at Penduffryn while the Londons remained there. Similar blackbirding voyages in the British Solomons continued for three more years until 1911, when Fiji finally ended the labor trade.

As a writer of nonfiction, Jack London turned this episode into the most thrilling chapter of *The Cruise of the Snark*. But he also used his experience

at Penduffryn and nearby Malaita to write a number of short stories that deal with blackbirding. Mostly, London "was not impressed with blackbirding, describing how Islanders were lured, sold by their chiefs or even kidnapped into years of labor, close to slave conditions, in the fields" (Bird 2005, 102). This negative stance toward blackbirding and the South Sea imperial project is taken in taut London stories like "Mauki" (1909) and "Yah, Yah, Yah" (1910), which effectively portray "the viciousness of colonialism" (Riedl and Tietze 2006, 265). But London was capable of taking an opposite stance toward blackbirding. His Solomon Islands novel *Adventure* sought to combine sentimental romance with the exploits of enterprising Western fortune hunters. London hoped it would be a swashbuckling bestseller and restore his fading reputation following poor sales from his downbeat novel *Martin Eden* (1909), which he had finished aboard the *Snark*. London had reason to worry about sales. The popular acclaim built upon his Northland stories had diminished both from his Socialist lecture tour of 1905–6 and "his absence for two and a half years on the *Snark*" (Kingman 1979, 214). In *Adventure*, London reverses the anticolonialism of his South Sea short stories and celebrates instead Euro-American racial dominance and entrepreneurial daring in the tropics (anticipated at the close of *Martin Eden* before the protagonist's suicide).

Adventure is a lurid tale that promotes the imperial enterprise as a necessary means of subjugating the "lower" races and improving their "wild" homelands through Westernized agriculture. Thus, in *Adventure* it is not enough that Anglo-Saxons be elevated as superior humans (Gair 1997, 26). It also is necessary that black-skinned Melanesians be reduced to half-beasts in a hellish wilderness and their cultural life devalued to primitive worthlessness. The novel not only insists upon the historical necessity of Western domination in the tropics but also advocates blackbirding as the most effective means of subordinating Islanders to this racialized project. As Clarice Stasz notes, "Jack London did not require consistency of himself" in his treatment of social themes (1992, 89). He was not bothered by being self-contradictory, just as his novel *Adventure* promotes white supremacy while his story "The Terrible Solomons" (1910) satirizes it. He began *Adventure* within two weeks of completing "The Terrible Solomons," with no sense of inconsistency. Given the wide disparity in how the two texts treat racial hierarchies, Riedl and Tietze (2006, 132) are right to conclude that "The Terrible Solomons" slyly erases the novel (*Adventure*, not yet composed) that follows it in order of composition. London was a highly commercial author who took pains to shape his works to suit the tastes of his various reading audiences. Readers of novels, short stories, or essays might be approached from different perspectives to appeal to their

supposed beliefs or biases. In *Adventure*, the eugenicist fantasies of the late Edwardian age are reinforced by London's polarized racial depictions. In sum, this brutal "encounter" novel elevates whites above Pacific Islanders and justifies violence to subjugate (or eradicate) indigenous peoples and make their lands commercially productive for global markets.

The plot of *Adventure* is set in 1908 on a Penduffryn-like plantation called Berande, situated between two rivers that empty into the channel that separates Guadalcanal and the Florida (or Nggela) Islands. A lone white man rules over these coconut groves. He is a brutal young Englishman named David Sheldon, who has been there four years and recently has lost his business partner to blackwater fever. Although wasted by dysentery and financially buried by debts, Sheldon clings to his faith in "the flaming mastery of the white man" (London 1917, 15). This is defined as his Aryan will to dominate the hostile peoples and even the harsh environment of the Solomons. Despite his enervation, Sheldon holds the whip hand over nearly 200 Melanesian indentured workers and practices a form of managerial terrorism through shootings and whippings. Much as on the actual Penduffryn plantation, however, Sheldon and his late partner, Hugh Drummond, cannot make enough money in the copra trade to balance their accounts. Therefore, they supplement their income by running their own slaving schooner in the blackbirding business on nearby Malaita. This aspect of *Adventure* duplicates the business dealings of the real-life owners of Penduffryn, who took part in dealing Malaitamen to the Fiji slave markets in business partnership with the owners of a blackbirder aptly named the *Clansman* (Corris 1973, 148). In a bit of buffoonery when the Londons were visiting Penduffryn, its co-owner Darbishire styled himself as the "King of Malaita" (Kingman 1979, 204), an acknowledgement of his deep involvement in the Solomons slave trade. The *Clansman* even earns a mention in *Adventure*, strengthening the novel's factual basis; this vessel is cited as "a Samoan recruiter" that pays a call at Berande (London 1917, 246). Indeed, the *Clansman* called frequently at Penduffryn to conduct recruiting business with Darbishire and Harding—very likely when the Londons were guests in 1908. The *Clansman* was the most notorious vessel still active in the last phase of the South Sea slave trade. It even had the dubious distinction of carrying the last cargo of Malaitamen to sell at Suva harbor in Fiji in 1911, the year the blackbirding trade finally was ended there and in the British colonial Pacific (Scarr 1967, 5).

In such a commodified market, the value of Melanesian laborers is calculated by Sheldon only in monetary terms, by which they are "worth thirty dollars apiece" (London 1917,12), the wages he is bound to pay at the expiration of their contracts—if they have not died of disease or been fatally

shot or beaten. He regards them as the worst labor force in the Solomons and orders gory floggings to subjugate them, exulting as they "screamed and howled while the blood oozed down their backs" (London 1917, 27). His "orgiastic frenzy" during these beatings reveals Sheldon's underlying "sadism" (Sinclair 1979: 155–56) towards his all-male, indigenous workforce. It also suggests that his racism is potentiated by his sexual repression, because he leads a lonely bachelor life on an isolated beach. Much of Sheldon's time is spent in a state of fearful enfeeblement. He is a depleted "master" who must be carried around piggy-back by a slave "man-horse" (London 1917, 1)—to Sheldon a bestial subhuman, but one who nevertheless is his physical superior. This hostile dependency suggests not only Sheldon's sexual impotence but his "racial pessimism" (Farrier 2007, 224 passim), because whites like him and his partner prove less capable of bearing up in the tropics than indigenous peoples, who supposedly are their evolutionary inferiors. The colonizer who would dominate his native workers is in danger of being overthrown by them, a situation of both anxiety and abjection. Thus, Sheldon's physical instability threatens the popular contemporary Social Darwinist belief in "a strict evolutionary hierarchy of races, with the Anglo-Saxon as undisputed, 'natural' leader," a hierarchy supported by Jack London (Gair 1997a, 37).

Adventure takes place in an atmosphere of extreme racial tension. Sheldon's workers' hatred for him as master is matched by his contempt for them as beasts of burden. Proffering a fanciful racialized chain of being in which blackness is the mark of subhumanity, he scorns them as the racial scum of the earth, "a whole lot lower than the African niggers" (London 1917, 98). Extending a literary tradition going back at least to Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840), however, London takes pains to elevate light-skinned Polynesians in *Adventure* to a point of racial development far above dark-skinned Melanesians (and Micronesians). Even so, Sheldon's essentialist definitions of race always insist upon the racial superiority of whites. Further, not unlike Melville's narrator in *Typee* (1846), a book Jack London greatly admired, Sheldon believes that Pacific Islanders (or at least Solomon Islanders) are doomed to annihilation as whites penetrate into their formerly isolated archipelagoes. That *Adventure* today is considered obsolete while *Typee* attracts close readings in Pacific Island literature should not obscure the two books' similarity in their assumption of white supremacy over the tropics and the eventual extinction of indigenous peoples. Indeed, Sheldon expresses the eugenics-based hope that the entire indigenous population of Melanesia will die off quickly after making contact with white settlers and their "scientific" uses of soil and sea. The eradication of Pacific Islanders, much like that of Native Americans,

will then leave tropical lands to beneficial white control and resource extraction (London 1917: 113–14).

However, in his state of collapse Sheldon barely clings to his own hope of survival. Like Jack London in his debilitated state in the Solomons, Sheldon too has reached the defeatist stage "where he lived by will alone" (London 1917, 36). Sheldon's imploding Aryan body is too weak to enforce submission from his workers. Sheldon tries to suppress this humiliating reality by consoling himself with constructed notions of white evolutionary superiority and the global Aryan destiny to dominate. But even these supremacist fantasies falter in "the terrible Solomons," and Sheldon dwells instead on suicidal ideations that promise release from his physical disgust and racial shame. This disturbed condition recurs in numerous encounter novels of the age, which often employ delirium or "madness" as a metaphor for the colonial experience. Such works frequently show how "'psychological' disorders serve as mirrors of the chaotic and brutal consequence of occupation" (Luangphinith 2004, 59). As with so many other Western adventurers in the tropics, Sheldon's capitalist dream to exploit a Pacific frontier ripe for consumption has withered on the beach, where he disintegrates physically and mentally.

The mainspring of the plot of *Adventure* is the arrival of its heroine, an energetic young castaway. She is a twenty-two-year-old American woman from Hawai'i (which had been annexed by the United States a few years earlier in 1900). Joan Lackland is a shipwrecked Aphrodite, the skipper of a schooner that breaks up on a nearby uncharted coral reef. She washes ashore at crumbling Berande and marks Sheldon and his business enterprises as projects for rehabilitation. Joan is a twentieth-century New Woman who claims to reject marriage, insist on personal independence and economic freedom, and expect equal treatment from men. She also holds the romantic belief that "adventure was not dead" (London 1917, 79), which gives the novel its title. Her financial ambition leads her to the southwest Pacific to establish a coconut plantation and fulfill the capitalistic dreams of her late father. He was a rancher and investor who lost everything in the Wall Street Bankers' Panic of 1907, a swipe by London at the suppressive agency of East Coast plutocrats (Gair 1997b, 256). Her fixation on travel and adventure also is an alternative to and substitution for sexual attraction and marriage, a social institution which she foresees will lead to entrapment.

Joan Lackland as a heroine is a composite of the sexually liberated Charmian London (Stasz 1988, 143 passim) and the tomboyish Armine von Tempsky (Stasz 1992, 85). The latter was a teenager who rode with the *paniolos* (Hawaiian cowboys) at the Haleakala Ranch (where her father was overseer) on Maui; the Londons befriended her during their visit there in

1907 (Stasz 2001, 123). In *Adventure*, Joan is a bronzed young ranch woman in sea boots who combines sex appeal with masculine camaraderie. She reflects London's preference for outdoorsy women with strong bodies. Joan hides her sensuous "great ropes of hair" (London 1917, 172) under a man's Baden-Powell hat, disguises her feminine figure beneath baggy garments, wears a cartridge belt around her waist, and packs a long-barreled revolver on her hip. In the novel Sheldon is too repressed to admit his sexual longing for Joan, but he spends long hours fixated on the phallic nail in his living room hall and wishing that her "Stetson hat and revolver belt were hanging from it" (London 1917, 245). Sheldon also must compete in a romantic-triangle plot (common in London's fiction) where he and a gold-hunting American (John Tudor) contend for Joan's affection. Tudor seems to have the upper hand because of his grinning bravado and sexual aggressiveness, but Joan also responds to Sheldon's gritty stubbornness and loyalty. Indeed, both males seem to represent a division of London's idealized self-image. This romantic competition is violently resolved in Sheldon's favor by means of an absurd modern duel fought with firearms; Tudor is wounded and defeated by Sheldon. But Joan too is one of London's female projections of his idealized self, a composite of feminine emotional sensitivity and masculine prowess with guns and horses. Her faith in Anglo-Saxon individualism clearly expresses London's Social Darwinistic creed of the self-made white man. Also, her sturdy physical ability to ward off tropical diseases and dominate the tropical environment is a wish-fulfillment that offsets the author's own bodily decay in the Solomons (just as Charmian London bore up in the malarial tropics better than Jack did).

Although she mocks his paternalism, Joan becomes Sheldon's business partner and infuses her $7,000 patrimony into his failing plantation. She also nurses the fever-ridden and "mad" Sheldon back to health, shoots a Malaitaman to save Sheldon's life, and stands beside him to vanquish an armed gang of "fourscore cannibals" who threaten Berande (London 1917, 242). In contrast to his backward financial management, Joan opportunistically sees the need to expand their markets, get more productivity out of their contract laborers, recruit and sell more slaves from Malaita, and compete more successfully in the emerging global economy. In addition to being a fine sailor and a daring adventuress, Joan most of all is London's type of the shrewd business(wo)man. As an American, she shows far less reverence than Sheldon for the authoritarian codes of Euro-colonialism—indeed, French, German, and British officialdom in the South Seas is mocked throughout *Adventure* as venal and inept (London 1917, 65 passim). Her scofflaw attitudes toward British anti-blackbirding laws eventually save Sheldon from financial catastrophe and the loss of his plantation. But although she shares Sheldon's white supremacism and reliance upon the

slave trade, she criticizes his harsh treatment of his labor force as bad management. She insists that good business practice requires a measure of racial uplift to promote morale and productivity among the contract workers—which was the gradualist attitude of the day for "improving" indigenous peoples by encouraging them to look up to and emulate whites. Even so, her racial idealism has its limits.

The turning point comes when she herself becomes a blackbirder to save Berande, which is losing its workforce as time-expired workers go back home. New labor recruits are urgently needed to expand planting operations. Therefore, she acquires a ship and enters the labor trade to carry off more Melanesians. Joan's blackbirder is a salvaged schooner called the *Martha*, the biggest in the Solomons (London 1917, 226). She takes a Malaitan chief hostage, and under threat of violence, she forces 150 of his men to become blackbirds on her ship, bound back to Berande. This abduction/extortion was an open breach of the Pacific Islanders Protection Act of 1872, although a common practice among blackbirders because of the lack of government oversight (Corris 1973, 101). Thus, she casually breaks the anti-blackbirding laws of the day in much the same way that Sheldon does when he savagely whips his workers—he is supposed to turn them over for punishment to the Resident Commissioner in nearby Tulagi, the colonial capital of the British Solomons.

That is, to protect her economic investment, Joan takes part in and actively supports near-slavery in hopes of a financial steal. Her racial tolerance, it turns out, is less earnest than her pursuit of quick profits and more land. Thus, she readily adopts Sheldon's dream of absentee landlordism—a bourgeois hope to reap wealth, gain leisure, travel the world, and leave behind "the day-to-day oppression that produces their income" (Phillips 1999, 204). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that on the final page of the novel, with Berande now on solid business ground because of her success in the Coral Sea slave trade, Joan accepts at last Sheldon's proposal of marriage. She does so following months of refusing to accede to his expectations for a conventionally submissive wife. However, her new role in a successful economic venture built on exploited indigenous labor has melted her opposition to marriage and legitimized a sexual bond with her business partner. Thus, their romantic union is the crowning moment of a Euro-American "adventure" to raid the resources of the Pacific, including the human capital of its people, and to elevate the white race to its appropriate pinnacle. Even in the face of oligarchic forces that seek to ruin them (as Joan's bankrupted late father was ruined), this highly commercialized Euro-American couple shrugs off monopoly domination to become independently rich planters and traders in the tropics. On this level, the marriage has a symbolic business logic beyond any physical attraction. As a

morally sanctioned partnership that establishes their success in the globalized marketplace, their marriage vindicates Joan's financial investment in Berande and completes her project to rehabilitate Sheldon, who in the opening pages of the novel was both a physical and financial ruin. These Euro-American adventurers are now joined into a single business enterprise. Each contributes what the other lacks to be whole, as Joan's surname Lackland ("lack-land") indicates. Sheldon contributes the acreage he has carved from the wild swamps of Guadalcanal, and Joan contributes the private capital, investment know-how, and reckless success in the South Sea slave trade to turn them from dreamers into raiders, prevailing over all odds to mark the victory of imperialism in Melanesia. Together they fulfill what Joan calls their white "racial destiny" (London 1917, 106), exercising their atavistic right to take away the commodities of non-white peoples (including their sturdy bodies) and to convert them into commercial gain and social rise. Thus, we learn that this marriage had always been determined by their white "blood" and that the howling gale from which Joan emerged onto Sheldon's beach was deterministically pushing her toward her destiny as a successful blackbirder in the last phase of the South Sea slave trade.

However, neither Dave nor Joan—nor more important, Jack London himself—was prescient enough to foresee that within a generation the racially and economically stratified world of the imperial Pacific would be demolished by World War II. Surrender by Japan in 1945 would not stem the wide tide of Asian, Indonesian, and Oceanic nationalism that was swelled by Japan's early wartime successes in expelling Euro-American colonialism from East Asia and the South Pacific. However self-serving and brutal its goals, Japan's anti-Western drive to create a vast pan-Asian sphere gained early support from indigenous independence leaders across the region (Spector 1984, 465). They launched an anticolonial crusade that accelerated after Japan's surrender and eventually led to the overthrow of British, Dutch, and French empires in South Asia and the South Pacific. These world-changing events did, in fact, occur within Charmian London's long life, before her death in 1955 at age 83. Early in World War II, she even received a visit in California from US Navy representatives, who took possession of "the *Snark*'s charts and logs for use in planning an assault on the Japanese" in poorly mapped areas of the southwest Pacific around Guadalcanal (Stasz 1988, 187); Charmian herself played a small part in the far-eastern conflict that tore apart the old colonial world of Joan and Dave Sheldon. Thus, despite Jack London's intention for the upbeat conclusion of *Adventure* to convey the inevitability and durability of white control of the Pacific, the triumphal wedding at the close of the novel fails to prefigure the rapidly approaching breakdown of white dominion over the tropics and the death of European empire.

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THE BANABAN RESETTLEMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR PACIFIC ENVIRONMENTAL MIGRATION

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In the mid-1940s, Banaban Islanders relocated to Rabi Island in Fiji. The decision was the culmination of decades of phosphate mining on Banaba in colonial times. This article examines the context and long-term impacts of policies and legal frameworks relevant to the Banaban resettlement. The Banaban experience is a significant case study because it involved relocation of an entire island population rather than individual or family migration, and the resettlement crossed international boundaries. Although the Banaban resettlement is unique and was contingent on peculiar colonial and factual circumstances it offers insights for environmental migration. Long-term preparation establishing trust funds, advance land purchase, and the adoption of policies favorable to preservation of the community's culture were the principal reasons for the resettlement's success. How the Banabans retained their group identity, adopted their indigenous system of self-government, and maintained their social structures and world views are proofs of the resettlement's success.

MIGRATION, whether by individuals or entire communities, is not new in the Pacific. Pacific Islanders have moved great distances in the past. Recent events and processes, however, suggest that migration resulting from environmental change is expected to increase significantly over the coming years (International Organization for Migration 2009). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change projects that the "greatest single impact" of environmental change will be on "human migration and displacement" (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 1990), because many Pacific islands, including several low-lying atoll states, are at risk of flooding from

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increasingly frequent storms and rising sea-levels (Nicholls and Tol 2006). In some cases, the relocation of entire island communities may be necessary.

This paper focuses on the Banaban resettlement on Rabi Island, Fiji, a case of community relocation commencing in the 1940s that merits detailed consideration for its implications for potential climate-change relocations in the Pacific. The Banaban resettlement on Rabi is a significant case study on environmental migration in that it involved the relocation of an entire island population, as opposed to gradual, individual, or family migration; the resettlement was triggered by gradual resource depletion through decades of phosphate mining on Banaba Island, which made the island unfit for human habitation; and the resettlement crossed international boundaries, in contrast to internal or intrastate relocations. Because the relocation happened more than 60 years ago, a study of the long-term impact of resettlement and of the policies and legal frameworks relevant to this is now practicable.

Existing literature on the Banaban resettlement focuses on the social (Maude and Maude 1932; Maude and Evans 1994), historical (Binder 1978; Sigrah and King 2001), anthropological (Silverman 1977; Kempf 2003; Karutake et al. 2004), and development (Kumar et al. 2006; Collins 2009) aspects of resettlement. There is a gap in the literature regarding the role of policies and legal frameworks relative to the resettlement. This paper addresses that gap and demonstrates the significance of legal systems for resettlement.

The paper adds to the existing knowledge of environmental migration in general by presenting a case study on how Banabans recreated their community on Rabi, and it reflects on the role of preservation of cultural identity as an element of successful community relocation. Using a policy and legal framework, the paper focuses on three aspects of the relocation: (1) the long-term implications of colonial decisions in establishing trust funds, and the advance purchase of the Banabans' new island home; (2) how the Banabans coped with resettlement while retaining their ethnic and cultural identity, yet at the same time being open to the possibility of redefining the concept of what it meant to be a Banaban; and (3) how Fiji, as the host state, responded to the incoming resettler issue.

The paper is structured as follows: Part one presents an overview of the Pacific situation in relation to environmental migration. Part two explains the context and history of the Banaban resettlement on Rabi Island. Part three outlines the unique features of the Banaban resettlement in their new island community. Part four reflects on "success" in environmental migration and on the future of Pacific environmental migration. The paper

concludes that, in this era of climate change where residents in the Pacific may have to face the possibility of relocating, the Banaban resettlement has strengths, as well as weaknesses, worth learning from, and may even be pronounced a qualified success. Poor by world—even Fijian—standards, the Banabans nevertheless reknitted their social fabric, re-formed their community structures, and articulated themselves in the host state with their group identity and traditions largely intact.

The materials used in this study were derived from four principal sources: (1) documents on the Banaba resettlement held in the H. E. Maude Special Collection Section, Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide; (2) materials collected in the course of the legal actions that the Banabans brought against the UK Attorney General (1971) and the British Phosphate Commissioners (1973) in the Chancery Division of the British High Court of Justice; (3) accounts from British and foreign newspapers; and (4) secondary research materials on the Banaban resettlement. The Maude Collection was particularly helpful by shedding light on the protection and legal frameworks attendant to the resettlement. Harry Maude, a key figure in the purchase of Rabi Island, was a former Lands Commissioner of Banaba and later Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony.

Pacific Overview

The Pacific region, with its low-elevation island nations dispersed in a vast ocean setting, is particularly vulnerable to environmental challenges from the physical environment. The region is predicted to be among those most affected by the adverse effects of environmental change (Locke 2009). Campbell projected that by midcentury, environmental migrants in the Pacific could be between 665,000 and 1,750,000 when the total population of the Pacific will exceed 18 million (Campbell 2010a, 38). Although speculative, the prediction is nonetheless daunting in combination with the documented rising of sea and air temperature levels and widespread melting of glaciers and polar caps (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 2007). Should relocation become necessary, what will need to be ensured is not only the physical survival and legal rights of the inhabitants but the continuation of their cultural and traditional legacies. The preservation and possible recreation of culture in host states are among the matters that require consideration at various levels of policy making in cases of relocation. For this reason, Cernea has repeatedly recommended the study of the long-term effects of resettlement schemes and the role of resettlement policies (Cernea and McDowell 2000). The Banaban settlement on Rabi provides this opportunity.

Historical Context

Banaba, also known as Ocean Island in colonial times, is an isolated Pacific island with an area of 6.5 km² (1,500 acres), a few kilometers south of the equator at 0.53°S latitude (see Fig. 1). Banaba's nearest neighbors are Nauru some 285 km to the west, and the Kiribati, the country to which Banaba Island is politically attached, some 400 km to the east. Its interior, before the depletion, featured a plateau rising to 79–82 m, where most of the phosphate was situated (Reed 1903). Banaba comprises the tip of an ocean mountain surrounded by a reef where for thousands of years bird guano accumulated to up to 24 m, forming one of the world's largest deposits of high-grade phosphate.

Albert Ellis, an employee of the Pacific Islands Company, who would ultimately become a British Phosphate Commissioner for New Zealand, confirmed the existence of a huge deposit of high-grade phosphate on Banaba upon his arrival on May 3, 1900. On the same day, he entered into an agreement on behalf of the Pacific Islands Company for the right to extract the island's deposits for the duration of 999 years. In exchange for mining rights, the company agreed to pay the Banaban landowners a yearly rental of £50 or trade equivalent to that value (*Tito v. Waddell, No.* 2, 3 All ER 129, 1977). In August 1900, mining operations began, although the exclusive right to occupy for mining purposes was only granted to the

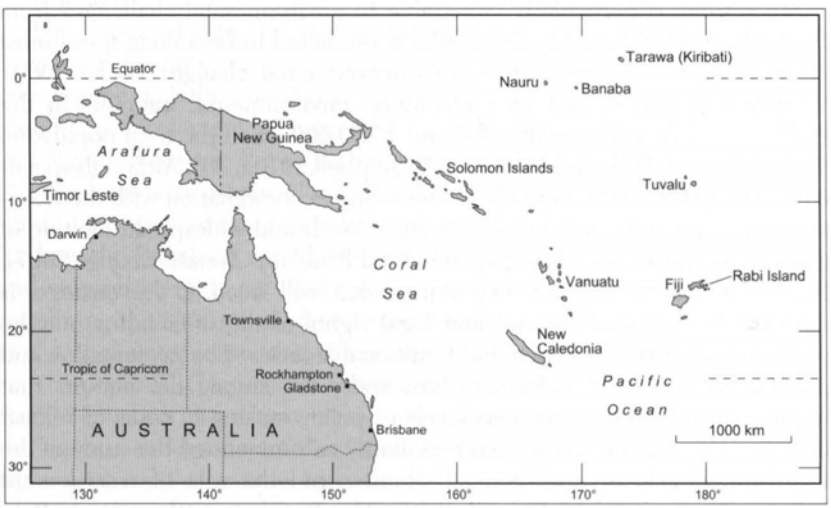

FIGURE 1. **Banaba and its South Pacific neighbors.**

Pacific Islands Company by the Secretary of State for the colonies on October 2, 1900. The High Commissioner then made a Queen's Regulation placing Banaba within the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate on November 30, 1900.[1] The regulation prohibited the removal of guano in the protectorate without prior permission of the High Commissioner or Resident Commissioner of Banaba. When the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate became the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in 1915, Banaba also became part of the colony through the Order in Council of 1916. The change had two far-reaching legal consequences for Banaba. First, Banaba was obliged to share its phosphate revenues with the rest of the colony, where 85 percent of the royalties were diverted to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Administration, leaving 15 percent for the Banabans. Second, by becoming a colony, the Banabans lost their right to sue the Crown since, as became apparent when the Banabans sued for damages before the High Court of Justice in 1971, the Crown cannot be sued (Binder 1978).

As demand for phosphate increased, the Banabans became opposed to further extraction of their reserves. The women were particularly adverse to the transfer of land under any conditions (Macdonald 1982). The impasse took a turn for the worse in August 1928, when Resident Commissioner Arthur Grimble sent what became known as the Buakonikai letter, pressuring the Banabans into accepting terms of the British Phosphate Commission (BPC) and threatening compulsory acquisition should they fail to accede to the additional 150 acres requested. The following month, Mining Ordinance 1928 was enacted mandating expropriation, if negotiations failed, and empowering the Resident Commissioner to prescribe the rates of royalties. The ordinance contained four preconditions to expropriation: (1) the mining licensee did not have land rights over the mining area; (2) negotiations with the landowner to mine the land had failed; (3) the Secretary of State deemed expropriation was in line with public interest; and (4) the Resident Commissioner was convinced that the terms offered for expropriation, including royalties, were reasonable.

Once these preconditions were satisfied, the Resident Commissioner could deliver to the owner the notice of his intention to possess. If the landowner refused, the Mining Ordinance empowered the Resident Commissioner to possess the land, because it was deemed to be Crown land.

As early as 1909, Banaba's Resident Commissioner Quale Dickson was concerned that the island's relentless mining would eventually make the island unsuitable for habitation. He suggested a fund earmarked for the purchase of an island (*Tito v. Waddell* [*No.* 2], 1977). No progress came from the proposal, despite the establishment of a general Banaban fund

in 1913 and the new Resident Commissioner Edward Carlyon Eliot's reiteration of the proposal (Grimble 1952). In 1931, a provident fund was established for the purchase of the Banabans' "future home" (Maude 1946: 6–10). The Fijian islands of Wakaya and Rabi were suggested (see Fig. 2). Fiji, like the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, formed part of the British Empire.

Wakaya was eventually rejected for lack of fertile soil and water, making it unsuitable for a large population, aside from the fact that there was disagreement as to its purchase price (*Tito v. Waddell* [*No. 2*], 1977). Thus, Rabi Island, then a coconut plantation owned by the Lever Brothers' Pacific Plantations Limited, was purchased in March 1942 for A£25,000. The amount came from phosphate royalties, particularly the provident fund earmarked for the purchase of the Banabans' future island home. A few kilometres east of Fiji's Vanua Levu, Rabi is a volcanic island rising to 463 m. At 66 km^2, Rabi is ten times larger than Banaba (see Fig. 3).

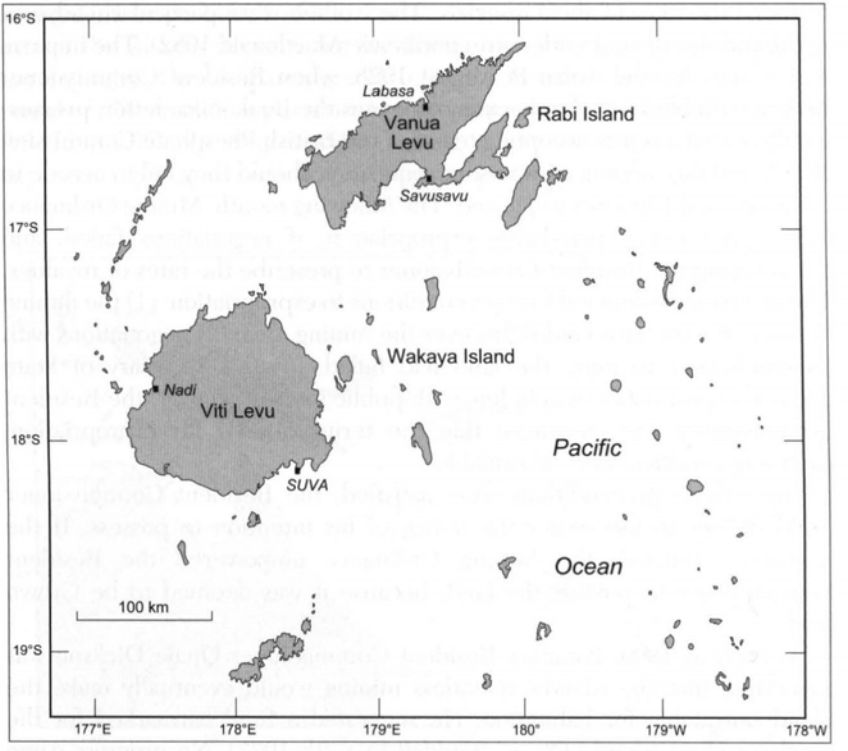

FIGURE 2. **Rabi and Wakaya Islands.**

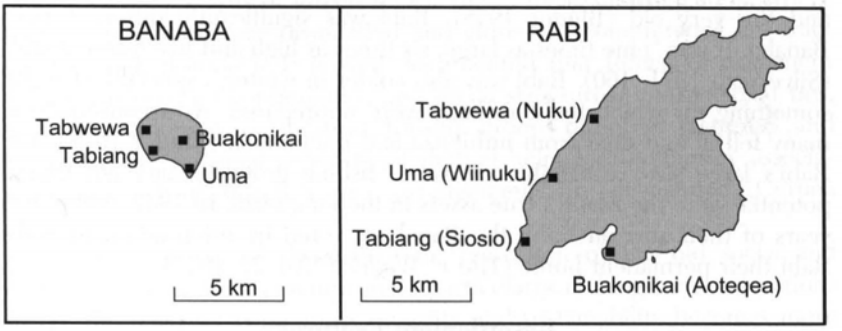

FIGURE 3. **Banaba and Rabi Islands.**

In August 1942, Japanese forces occupied Banaba, and not long after, the Banabans were deported to various parts of the Caroline Islands archipelago. As the Second World War was coming to a close, the BPC decided to resume mining, and the Banaban question became of urgent significance. Some maintain there was a "migration plan on paper" by which the Banabans would be "collected when freed from Japanese hands and taken directly to Rabi" (Williams and Macdonald 1985, 338). The BPC's reasons for supporting such a move were not difficult to assess: "[i]t would have liked nothing better than to get the troublesome islanders out of the way" of resumed mining (Howard 1988, 159). For their part, the Banabans were asked whether, in view of the post-war destruction of Banaba, they were willing to relocate to Rabi for two years with the option of coming back at the government's expense. Although the Banabans "unanimously accepted" the proposition, in fact they had no choice in the matter. They could not go back to Banaba because it "would not be possible" for them to reoccupy Banaba because of the "absence of food supplies and the total destruction of all four villages" (Maude 1946: 12–13). Banaban leader Rotan Tito stated the reason Banabans agreed to relocate was to be nearer to the High Commissioner and, thus, facilitate the redress of Banaban grievances (Silverman 1971). At the time, all British Pacific colonies were governed by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific based in Fiji.

On December 14, 1945, about 1,000 Banabans with some Gilbertese friends and relatives arrived on Rabi on board the BPC-owned ship *Triuna*. Rabi is 2,100 km southeast of Banaba. Lack of preparation and lack of adequate facilities, coupled with the settlers having to adjust to a strange environment, contributed to unnecessary confusion and suffering and resulted in death for at least forty new settlers, particularly the very young

and the very old (Binder 1978). Rabi was significantly different from Banaba. It was "nine times as large, six times as high and five times as wet" (Silverman 1971, 160). Rabi was also colder in winter, especially at night, something for which the Banabans were unprepared. As a consequence, many fell ill and died from influenza and pneumonia (Binder 1978). Yet, Rabi's large size, availability of water, fishing grounds, and agricultural potential were the island's true assets in the long term. In 1947, within two years of their stay on Rabi, the Banabans voted by referendum to make Rabi their permanent home (*Tito v. Waddell* [*No. 2*], 1977).

Resettlement Features

If the Banaban experience on Rabi is to assist in evaluating the current prospects for environmental migration in the Pacific, it is important to consider its key features and evaluate whether resettlement has been a success. A simple but useful framework is Cernea's conceptualization of resettlement as a process that almost always involves the risk of landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity, and social disarticulation (Cernea 2004). The framework has been used to reveal the impoverishments of resettled communities because of the construction of dams and development projects (Mejia 2000). Yet, the insights are deemed applicable to other cases of resettlement, including environmental resettlement (Ferris et al. 2011).

The framework has also been used in evaluating whether certain features of a resettlement may, even minimally, be considered a "success," noting the potentially problematic concept of the term where peoples and societies have different cultural criteria and conceptions of what truly constitutes success. For development agencies such as the World Bank, resettlement success refers to a situation where the settlers' livelihood condition is at least minimally restored (Voutira and Bond 2000). For Scudder, success comes not only through economic development but through genuine community formation and the handing over of a sustainable resettlement process to the later generation of settlers, as new institutions are formed. Emphasis is placed less on personal home building and more on the establishment of farmers unions, water associations, cooperatives, burial societies, and municipal councils (Scudder 2005). In the context of long-term climate and environmental change, such as desertification or the possible rise in sea levels, relocation is permanent. Thus, it is important to define success beyond—although not altogether discounting —economic requirements and toward the long-term sustainability of the social and community fabric.

One of the dangers of forced relocations is social disarticulation, where social organizations are dismantled and close-knit communities are fragmented and dispersed. It is well documented that forced displacement tears apart existing communities and social structures, interpersonal ties, and the enveloping social fabric. Kinship groups often get scattered, and life sustaining informal networks of mutual help, local voluntary associations, and self-organized service arrangements are dismantled (Cernea 1997).

To overcome social disarticulation, recreation of the old social and cultural fabric assumes significance, particularly in long-term relocations where the need for community integrity and sustainability becomes more necessary. In the case of the Banabans, it took the collective efforts of the Banabans themselves, the host state of Fiji, and the colonial administration to bring the new community to the level it has reached today. An important component was the establishment of policies and legal frameworks that took account of the rights of the settlers in relation to the host state. Social rearticulation involves the re-creation of familiar community and cultural structures and group identity preservation. Hirschon regarded the resettlement of Greek nationals in Kokkinia, Greece, pursuant to the compulsory exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece under the 1923 Lausanne Convention, a success for its reconstitution of community and neighborhood life in the resettlement site. This, despite the absence of economic welfare in the context the term is understood in development literature. Kokkinia was a community marked by a high degree of social integration and group identity reservation (Hirschon 2000).

The way that Banabans maintained their social systems and ways of living in their new home, and preserved their integrity and identity over 60 years of resettlement, is a testimony to the resettlement's success, albeit qualified and despite the lackluster economic indicators of Banaban society on Rabi. This paper offers three reasons for this success: (1) the role of trust funds and the advance purchase of a resettlement site; (2) the Banaban coping strategies; and (3) Fijian policy responses.

Resettlement preparation through the establishment of the trust fund and advance land purchase

Among recurrent concerns in resettlement are issues of funding and availability of resettlement sites. Who should pay the expenses of resettlement because resettlement of communities entails costs of transportation and site purchase, not to mention the settling in costs and expenses for infrastructure needed to make the relocation site minimally liveable? Wrathall

observes that, because resettlement entails impoverishment and marginalization, careful planning and a realistic provision for substantial and properly allocated funding must be prepared in advance (Wrathall 2011). The fund may be used to purchase land and construct homes, roads, schools, and facilities on the site, as well as pay an initial settlement allowance. In the case of Banaba, the colonial government played a central role in both the establishment of trust funds and the advanced purchase of Rabi Island.

Although the actual relocation occurred in 1945, the establishment of the trust funds for the future of the Banabans was conceived more than thirty-six years before relocation was deemed necessary. In December 1909, Banaba's Resident Commissioner Quale Dickson suggested to the Pacific Phosphate Company (which bought the Pacific Islands Company in 1902) that, because mining would ultimately eat out the island, an annual sum should be put into a trust fund for the benefit of the Banabans and for the potential purchase of a new island home for them. He proposed the "purchase of another island in the Gilbert group and the ultimate transfer of the natives to the island" (*Tito v. Waddell* [*No. 2*], 1977). It was not until four years later, in 1913, that the Banaban Fund was established and written into the agreement between the Banabans and Pacific Phosphate Company. The agreement established a trust fund to which an initial contribution of £4,734 was made from the 6d. per ton royalty on all phosphate shipped from the island. The fund had two components: first, the largest portion was for the "benefit of the existing Banaban community"; second, an annuity scheme of £150 per year (increased later), taken from the main fund, was to be distributed among the landowners who "lease land to the company."

In 1931, a second fund was established, this time coming from the 8.5d. per ton royalty on phosphate mined from the 150 acres compulsorily acquired through the Mining Ordinance of 1928. Although its purpose was similar to the earlier fund, the 1931 fund provided, for the first time, a provision dedicated to the purchase of a new island home and to make provision for the Banabans in the future. This was called the Provident Fund (Silverman 1971). In 1937, the first and second funds were amalgamated to constitute a single fund, namely the Banaban Royalties Trust, which was also known as the Banaban Fund or Common Fund.

Although the intention underpinning the Provident Fund was the purchase of a new island home, because their island was increasingly becoming uninhabitable, initially the Banabans were averse to that (*Tito v. Waddell* [*No. 2*], 1977). Later they agreed to the purchase, but for a different reason:

The second island would only be an investment. Ultimately, events would force them to recognize that what was intended for investment purposes would become their new home.

The Banaban Fund continued to operate until 1979 when depleting phosphate reserves, falling world prices, and Banaban opposition to continued mining convinced the then recently independent Kiribati government to discontinue phosphate mining (Pretes and Petersen 2002). Today other sources of Banaban revenue on Rabi include proceeds from the sale of copra and kava, internal revenue, and interest from the A$10 million settlement paid by the British government in the aftermath of the case filed by the Banabans before the Chancery Division of the British High Court of Justice.

Resettlement and preservation of culture

An outstanding feature of the Banaban experience on Rabi was the recreation of their original society on foreign soil. Many factors contributed to this, among them certain policies of the colonial administration and later of the Fijian government. Yet, it was also Banaban flexibility and openness to adapt to changing circumstances that pulled the Banabans through the resettlement years. Although a "slight depression of spirits" occurred among older people in the early phase of the resettlement, the "majority of those men of working age" were "developing skill[s] at their new work" and displayed "unexpected energy" (Kennedy 1946a, 2). Some explored the possibilities of reef fishing; others were "anxious to learn the work of running the [coconut] plantation" (Kennedy 1946b, 2). However, during the general meeting held within a month of their arrival, at least two women were heard to call out: "Let us return to Banaba" (Minutes Banaban Meeting 1946, 2).

While resident in Banaba, the inhabitants had developed a cohesive and distinct social identity, which proved to be one of the community's strengths during relocation. The high degree of Banaban local autonomy in Fiji developed a more confident and assertive Banaban identity. The Banabans actualized a type of resistance identity allowing marginalized groups to build platforms of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from or opposed to those practiced in the dominant society (Castells 1997). From a docile and traditionally obedient community, the Banabans fought back and asserted their rights. In 1971, some 300 Banaban landowners led by Council Chairman Rotan Tito sued the United Kingdom–, Australia-, and New Zealand–operated BPC jointly and severally for costs of restoring

food-bearing trees in mined out areas estimated at A$21.4 million and against the British government through the Attorney General for underpaid royalties (Maiden 1975). Although the royalties case was dismissed as unenforceable in the courts and meager damages awarded in lieu of the impracticability of replanting, the Banaban case generated considerable international attention. The momentum caused the Banabans to demand for an independent Banaba in free association with Fiji (Braine 1977). Three to four hundred Rabi-born Banabans re-occupied Banaba. From 1975, boatloads of Banaban settlers from Fiji landed on Banaba for that purpose (*Fiji Times* 1975). Although the move for a sovereign Banaba failed to gain ground politically, morally it strengthened Banaban identity formation particularly among the younger generation, albeit with a Rabi component. As one Rabi-born Banaban stated: "we love Banaba too"; however, "[w]e love Rabi because we are Fijian citizens. . . . Rabi is our own, Banaba is our own, so we want to develop these two islands" (Nei K. K. interview, quoted in Hermann 2004, 210).

Banaban identity had evolved long ago, in part because of the island's geographical isolation. As European hegemony blanketed most of the Pacific, Banaba was bypassed as an insignificant speck with nothing to contribute to the costs of empire building. By the time the West wanted a stake in Banaba's phosphate reserves, the Banabans had developed a high degree of homogeneity and a distinct "Banaban" identity with its own cosmology, rituals, art, and unique dance forms. The *Te Itirake* and *Nei Tearia*, respectively, the Banaban myth of precreation and creation, are oral traditions that situate Banaba as the *buto* or navel of the world.

Adoption of familiar place names

The Banabans established villages replicating the names and features of their four original villages on Banaba: Tabwewa, Uma, Tabiang, and Buakonikai (see Fig. 3). These were established on the southwest coast of Rabi and today are connected by an "all-weather access road" (Hindmarsh 2002). Tabwewa ("Nuku," prior to resettlement), the northernmost village and the most populous, was made the island's administrative center. The former Lever Brothers Building is now used by the Rabi Council of Leaders, the island's governing body, for "administration, wholesale shop and community library" purposes (Hindmarsh 2002). Replicating features and names of former villages in Pacific community resettlements is not unique to the Banabans but was also typical of resettlers from Niuafo'ou on 'Eua Island (Rogers 1981) and Ambrym on Efate Island (Tonkinson 1979). In every case, it provided a sense of continuity.

System of government

Unlike other Pacific resettlers, the Banabans, with the help of enabling legislation in the host community, successfully replicated their former governmental system in their new home. Although the colonial government in Fiji had enacted the *Banaban Settlement Act* (1945), which provided for a local government council, the Banabans were left to decide on what form the council would take. As a matter of policy, the local self-administration was to be "as near as possible [to] what the Banabans were used to in Ocean Island" (Western Pacific High Commission 1946).

One of the first things the Banabans did on Rabi was to decide what type of council would be suitable for self-government. A general meeting was held on January 26, 1946, attended by the District Officer for Rabi, Major Donald Kennedy, and 153 Banaban elders representing 153 families. The group agreed to form the Rabi Council of Leaders ("council"), a body that has both "[l]egislative and executive functions" with some members "constitut[ing] a Court for hearing criminal and civil actions under the local regulations made by the Council." The council members are composed exclusively of, and are elected by, the Banabans themselves. The elders constituting the council are elected according to family groups, or *utu*, which according to Banaban custom are "those people who eat over one fire" (Minutes Banaban Meeting 1946). The council became Rabi Island's administering body, dispensing ordinances according to indigenous laws and customs on internal affairs only, because the Banabans were at the same time subject to the colonial regulations of Fiji.

The council was not only the political but also the economic and spiritual backbone of the Banaban community, a fact not always to the Banabans' advantage. The overcentralization of authority, for instance, is said to have encouraged paternalistic dependency and even abuse. In 1991, some council members allegedly "misused council funds" for alcohol and overseas travel, which resulted in unpaid wages and forced the Fiji national government to intervene and install an interim administration, the first act of which was to "close the liquor store" (Hindmarsh 2002). Yet, the council recovered and remains the Banaban community's face to the outside world. For example, in recent years the council entered into a joint venture with a Chinese fishing company and developed trade links with Kiribati for the export of kava. In 2005, it received an ambulance donation for the Rabi Health Center from the government of Japan (Embassy of Japan 2005).

Redefining Banaban identity

Self-identity was something the Banabans took for granted while on Banaba. In Banaba, everybody knew who were Banabans and who were not. Among

the latter were Gilbert and Ellice Islanders who worked in the mines. Being a Banaban was a matter of lineage. Once on Rabi, the question of who was a Banaban assumed legal significance, as awareness dawned on the resettled group's heterogeneity. Three hundred Gilbertese nationals went with the Banabans in their resettlement, as noted by Maude in his contemporaneous Memorandum (Table 1). The Gilbertese had joined the Banabans by virtue of marriage or friendship. Because of intermarriage, the question of who was "Banaban" assumed not only legal but also social and political significance.

The *Banaban Settlement Ordinance No. 28* (1945) defined "Banaban Community" as follows: "the natives hitherto living on Ocean Island and such other persons as may now or hereafter be accepted as members of the Banaban community in accordance with Banaban custom." The definition further confused the issue because it was not clear which Banaban custom was applicable. A legislative amendment was made in 1957 that attached Banaban identity to the place of destination rather than origin. Under *Banaban Settlement Amendment Ordinance No. 15* (1957), a Banaban was any "member of an aboriginal race indigenous to Micronesia and Polynesia [*sic*] who is ordinarily resident on Rabi." The latter conception excluded the Indigenous Melanesian Fijians and looked at place—Rabi—as the basis of affiliation.

What emerges is a conceptualization of a Banaban by reference to Rabi community membership, rather than a strictly Banaba-based origin. Therefore, this included Gilbertese nationals who arrived on Rabi with the Banabans in 1945 and who were associated with them by virtue of friendship or marriage. A 1965 ordinance further introduced an intergenerational component as it responded to the greater mobility prospects of the times by hinging nationality on blood, rather than residence. A Banaban under the *Banaban Lands Act* (1965) was a "descendant of the original indigenous inhabitants of Ocean Island, of the whole or of the half blood, illegitimate or legitimate, or a person who is accepted as a member of the Banaban community in accordance with Banaban customs."

TABLE 1. **Resettled population in Rabi in 1946 (Maude 1946).**

	Banabans	Gilbertese	Total
Men	185	152	337
Women	200	97	297
Children	318	51	369
Total	703	300	1,003

The question of who is a Banaban has legal and political ramifications with respect to matters such as land distribution, pay rates, and the privilege of electing officers or holding an office (Silverman 1971). Under both the *Banaban Settlement Act* and *Banaban Lands Ordinance*, only Banabans enjoy full rights on Rabi. This includes entitlement to certain services, a share from the communal income, and a designated lot of up to two acres on Rabi Island. Only Banabans may vote and be representatives on the island's governing body, the Rabi Council of Leaders.

The Banaban identity question also has ramifications beyond Rabi. For instance, the Kiribati Constitution (1979) grants Banabans land rights and freedom of movement into Banaba. These rights shall "not be affected in any way by reason of the fact that he [*sic*] resides in Rabi" (Sec 119). The Banabans are also constitutionally granted a "reserved" seat in the Kiribati Parliament for "a nominated representative of the Banaban community" (Sec 117). A Banaban is defined under the Kiribati Constitution as a former inhabitant of Banaba and "such other persons one of whose ancestors was born in Kiribati before 1900 as may now or hereafter be accepted as members of the Banaban community in accordance with custom" (Sec 125).

Policy responses of Fiji as the host community

If resettlement is to succeed, much depends on the attitude of the host community to the resettlers. The contribution of Fiji to the resettlement was the willingness by which it allowed the Banabans to settle on its shores, both during colonial times and later when the country became independent in 1970. It granted the Banabans autonomy to manage local affairs with minimal interference and has encouraged local autonomy to the present day. In 1994, because of funding problems on the island, the Fijian government established the Rabi Subvention Fund to help the council defray operational costs (Office of the Prime Minister of Fiji 2012). As a further token of goodwill, a commemorative stamp was issued by the Fijian government on the fiftieth anniversary of the Banabans' arrival in Fiji (see Fig. 4).

At a time when the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and soft law declarations proscribing minority discrimination and marginalization still lay in the future, Fiji, as a colony and later as an independent state, enacted legislation favorable to the Banabans. Neither the *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (United Nations General Assembly 1992), nor the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations General

FIGURE 4. **Fijian stamps commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Banaban arrival.**

Assembly 2007) existed when Fiji enacted the *Banaban Settlement Ordinance* (1945), which provided for Rabi's self-government through the Rabi Council of Leaders. Under the *Banaban Lands Act* (1964), legal custody and trust of the entire island of Rabi for the Banabans was granted to the council (Paterson and Zorn 1993). To prevent abuse, Sec. 5.1 of the amended *Banaban Settlement Act* (1970) has subjected the council's decisions to the review and supervision of the Prime Minister. Some see this as Fiji's way of maintaining a degree of central control over Banaban affairs, if not downright paternal interference, such as when Fiji suspended council operation and installed an interim administration in 1991.

When Fiji became independent in October 1970, the old settlement ordinance was substantially reproduced under the *Banaban Settlement Act* (1970) and further amended under the *Banaban Settlement Amendment Act* (1996). Under the latest act, the Rabi Council of Leaders is to consist of nine members—two from each of the four villages and a secretary elected by the entire island. The chairman will be elected from among the council members. The council's deliberately undefined role as local legislator gave it and the community a chance to exercise the high degree of autonomy it needed, in effect allowing the Banabans to govern their affairs along traditional patterns. The council was likewise empowered under the *Banaban Lands Act* (1965) to hold the freehold title of Rabi land under its name as trustee "for the benefit of all members of the Banaban Community." Even roads on Rabi are vested in the name of the council and, as such, are deemed privately owned. In one case, the Supreme Court of Fiji ruled that, although Banabans are subject to Fijian laws, traffic ordinances do not apply on Rabi, the island's roads not being public roads. Titles to the island's

roads are still vested in the council (*Attorney General v. Langdon*, 16 FLR 43 [Fiji Supreme Court], 1973).

Under the *Banaban Lands Act* (1965), the council may designate portions of Rabi Island to members of the Banaban community. The allocations are on a lease basis; hence, the lots cannot be used as collateral for loans. The Lands Act prohibits all forms of disposition such as sale, lease, or transfer of any part of the island to non-Banabans. On the downside, the scheme constrains the growth of business by way of active outside investment. Yet, taking note of Banaban culture and history of land deprivation, the scheme allows Rabi to be preserved and protected from being alienated to outsiders. A Land Court was established by the Banaban Lands Act consisting of the officer appointed to the Rabi Island Tribunal under the Banaban Settlement Act with four other assessors appointed by the council. The Land Court has a nonappealable jurisdiction to decide on all land cases on Rabi and "determine questions of Banaban custom relating to land" (Paterson and Zorn 1993). During the first year of the resettlement, Fiji legal authorities wanted the settlement ordinance to contain "land clauses" declaring the land "straight off to be the property of the Banabans" and providing for its "permanent division" among the Banabans. However, the colonial government wanted to "leave out" the land clauses to begin with and wait to ascertain whether the Banabans would decide to settle on Rabi permanently, in which case the division of the land and the vesting of freehold would be done "in accordance with their [Banaban] land customs" (Western Pacific High Commission 1946).

The Banaban Settlement Act and Banaban Lands Act were among the specially protected statutes under the Fijian Constitution (1997). They may be amended only upon special majorities in Parliament, which includes the concurrence of "9 of the 14 members of the Senate appointed by the *Bose Levu Vakataturaga*." However, compared with earlier rights granted to the Banaban community by the 1970 constitution, some Banaban rights—among them affirmative action rights—had been reduced under both the 1990 and 1997 constitutions. Under the 1970 constitution, Banabans were included under the classification "Fijian." As such, they could avail themselves of the government's affirmative action programs reserved for indigenous Fijians, such as scholarships. Under both the 1990 and 1997 Constitutions, the Banabans were reclassified, over their objection, into the category "General voters" consisting of minorities who were neither indigenous Fijians nor Fijian-Indians, hence losing rights they formerly enjoyed as indigenous Fijians (Kumar et al. 2006). Although the Banabans had formerly been classified and voted as indigenous Fijians, it was not until 2005 when the Fijian government began their formal naturalization process

that the Banabans were granted a three-month period to apply for Fijian citizenship, a privilege availed of by the Banabans. As Fijian citizens, this puts the Banabans in a unique position as citizens of one sovereign country, yet maintaining links by having a constitutionally reserved parliamentary seat and representation in another country (Sec 117 Kiribati Constitution, 1979).

Despite the Banaban reclassification under Fiji law, the Fijian government continued to support Banaban self-government on Rabi. In 1994, it established the aforementioned Rabi Subvention Fund. The initial amount allocated was FJ$30,000, which was eventually raised to its current funding of FJ$95,000 (Office of the Prime Minister of Fiji 2012). The fund was originally intended to meet the council's administrative and operational costs. Now the allocation is redeployed at 40 percent for operations, and 60 percent on capital projects, forcing the council to streamline operational costs and concentrate on "community welfare and development" projects.

"Success" in Environmental Resettlement

For Campbell, a successful relocation is one in which the "important characteristics of the original community, including its social structures, legal and political systems, cultural characteristics and worldviews are retained: the community stays together at the destination in a social form that is similar to the community of origin" (Campbell 2010b, 59). By this definition, one may view the Banaban resettlement as a qualified success. The community not only retained its worldview and broad identity as Banabans—if with some Fijian transformation (for instance, the Banabans' acquired habit of kava drinking during social occasions)—but it replicated on Rabi Island the social and administrative features of Banaba. This demonstrates not just the sense of continuity between old and new but kept the community intact in both tangible and intangible ways. It preserved their collective identity.

However, life has remained close to subsistence on Rabi. Statistics rank the Banabans among the poorer minorities in Fiji (Hindmarsh 2002). Current job prospects on Rabi are limited. For instance, the island's only formal employer is the Rabi Island Council; otherwise, opportunities are limited to farming and small business (Kumar et al. 2006). Yet, Banaban poverty is relative and only consequential in relation to mainstream Fijians and not in an absolute sense. Relative poverty, according to Anand, is measured in terms of the larger society's prevailing living standard (Anand 1983). Poverty is ultimately a socially constructed phenomenon depending on the prevailing society's level of acceptability (Kumar et al. 2006).

Although official data characterize the Banabans as poor, there is no starvation on Rabi. Moreover, Banabans continue to benefit from the interest of the A$10 million deposited in blue chip investments in European banks, the bulk of which has been spent on community projects (Hindmarsh 2002). Without agricultural skills upon their arrival, Banabans have acquired the necessary skills to cultivate Fijian staples such as yam, cassava, bananas, and to tend Rabi's coconut plantations, although the older trees already need replanting. On Rabi, the Banabans also learned agribusiness by selling commercial quantities of Rabi Kava in Suva and Kiribati. Overall, Rabi has the greater potential for sustainability than Banaba. It is the bigger and higher island; it has more water, fertile soil, and opportunities for fishing and agriculture.

Compared to the Banaban resettlement, the Bikinian resettlement experience on Kili Island resulting from nuclear tests in their home island was dismal. The Bikinian resettlement proved not only disruptive but destructive of their culture, identity, and lifestyle as the environmentally inhospitable new home made the Bikinians' traditional fishing and livelihood skills useless (Kiste 1974). Because of insufficient land, the Bikinians' traditional social arrangements based on land could not be implemented. Because there were more claims than availability of land in Kili, a more artificial way of apportioning land had to be devised rather than one based on lineage membership. Unlike the Banaban experience on Rabi, which used traditional social systems and indigenous ways of organizing life in their new home, the Bikinian experience created a long-term structural fragmentation of households and increased tension among the Bikinians (Kiste 1974). Unlike the Banabans, the Bikinians were also barred from returning because of long-term radiation effects. The Banabans have the option of rehabilitating their home island and returning to Banaba should they wish.

Relocations of whatever type or duration are by their nature always disruptive and usually traumatic. Long-term relocation is even more complex and problematic. Relocation unravels spatially and culturally based patterns of social organization as it uproots all members of the community, including the sick, elderly, and very young, allowing for little psychological or physical preparation (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Relocated communities often find themselves in a state of discontent with many wanting to return to their home islands (Campbell et al. 2005). As noted above, during a meeting of the Banabans on Rabi, within a month of their arrival, some Banabans adamantly wanted to go back home. A sense of loss is especially pronounced in relocation because of environmental triggers, where relocated populations suddenly find themselves uprooted from their traditional lands

and systems (Kirsch 2001). Yet, the same is true of resettlement triggered by slow onset environmental deterioration, as the Banaban experience suggests.

Banaba's chief contribution to an understanding of environmental migration is how, with colonial assistance, preparations were made in advance of eventual relocation by establishing trust funds and purchasing a new island home. Relocation of whatever type and cause involves costs: from preparation, to transportation of communities, to the setting up of infrastructure, such as roads, housing, and utilities, in the relocation site. Eventually, provisions for establishing of schools and health centers would have to be made available as well. In the case of Banaba, a resettlement trust fund had been established years prior to the relocation, made possible because of Banaba Island's phosphate royalties. Environmentally vulnerable Pacific countries may not have similar resources to establish the trust funds necessary for their adaptation, including possible relocation, in situations of severe environmental change.

One scenario that must be understood is the so-called disaster-preventive action dynamic where "[d]onors face strong public pressure to respond rapidly to disasters and often mobilize funds outside their normal budgets," whereas "funding of preventive action is often constrained" (Bettencourt et al. 2006). Although the benefits of preparation and foresight may not be discernible in the initial years, such efforts "pay off in the long run" because they have the benefit of preventing or minimizing hazards.

The traditional approach of "wait and mitigate" is a far worse strategy than proactively managing risks. There is no benefit in waiting to see if global warming will affect the region. Natural hazards already take an annual toll that destroys valuable property, threatens and takes lives, and disrupts national economies. Any additional disasters arising from climate change will only make matters worse (Bettencourt et al. 2006).

The need for long-term financial preparation is no less vital for vulnerable island states. Regional and international foresight and collaboration would become necessary.

Banabans were also fortunate in having a feasible relocation site within the Pacific that was not contested. In terms of possible contemporary resettlement sites of vulnerable Pacific countries, Australia and New Zealand are often mentioned as possible host countries because of their proximity and existing preferential or circular migration schemes for Pacific peoples. Yet, unless relocated on separate island "havens" with policy protections preserving ethnic identity, the downside to relocating in metropolitan countries would likely result in the possible loss of the resettlers' culture.

This theme was evident in the failed Nauruan resettlement in Australia. In the 1960s, Nauru, because of resource depletion and environmental destruction, was offered resettlement in any one of the three metropolitan states of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. Ultimately Nauru declined, in spite being offered a separate island in Queensland, because of Nauruans' fear of losing their cultural and national identity (Tabucanon and Opeskin 2011). The Nauruans were uncomfortable being assimilated into the larger Australian culture, a sentiment summarized in the Trusteeship Council's report to the United Nations General Assembly as "a very strong and earnest desire on the part of the Nauruan people to remain the people of a distinct small nation" (Weeramantry 1992). The Banabans may be said to have had a similar fear, hence, their insistence on maintaining their group identity and culture in their adopted state.

The Future of Pacific Environmental Resettlement

The resettlement of the Banabans on Rabi Island offers insights into the complexity of migrations that are precipitated by environmental change. Although the Banaban experience is unique, and was contingent on peculiar colonial and factual circumstances, it is a good springboard for reflection because it raises important issues that need to be addressed in circumstances affecting the future of Pacific environmental resettlement.

First, there is often an "uncritical acceptance of a direct causal link" between environmental change and migration. The assumption is environmental degradation, because migration trigger can be separated from other social, economic, or political causes (Brown 2007). The Banaban experience belies this assumption. Migration is a multicausal phenomenon and an environmental change but one of interrelated factors influencing the decision to relocate (Black et al. 2008). Environmental migration needs to be understood within the overall migration dynamics. The Banaban situation was not only triggered by environmental degradation but also by other factors and opportunities such as social, cultural, economic, and political avenues present at the time. Some Banabans for instance saw the move as political for them to bring their grievances closer to the authorities. Also, it is neither correct to characterize environmental resettlement as purely forced or voluntary. As the Banaban experience tells, the triggers are multicausal, and the boundary between environmentally compelled and motivated are often blurred.

Second, for the Banabans, change came in the form of slow-process environmental depletion of their island's chief natural resource. This presented opportunities for preparation, which the Banabans and their colonial

administrators pursued such as the establishment of the trust funds and advance purchase of an island home. As the community directly affected by environmental degradation, the Banabans became recipients of the benefits the colonial system offered at that time: the chance to relocate to a similar yet larger and more fertile island home environment. The availability of Rabi Island and the relative ease with which the Banabans resettled in Fiji were realized in part because Banaba and Rabi Islands were both under British colonial control. Although such opportunities no longer exist for today's vulnerable populations, other alternatives may be pursued: among them bilateral and multilateral arrangements. Also, although types of environmentally induced population movements—such as those triggered by sudden onset environmental disasters—may not allow the same chance of preparation available to the Banabans, the adoption of proactive policies and legal frameworks anticipating the need to bolster adaptation (or, in extreme cases, migration) may produce beneficial outcomes. The Banabans had a strong moral and legal claim against those responsible for their island's degradation. The British colonial administration, as the responsible government, facilitated both the preparatory and operational phases of the relocation, although some maintain the decision was impelled by less than noble motivations, notably to clear Banaba of opposition to mining immediately after the Second World War. The relocation was also aided in part by the host community Fiji's colonial status, but after independence, Fiji substantially maintained and continued the policies established during the colonial era. Not all Pacific states have the benefit of these colonial connections.

Third, the preservation of human cultures, like the preservation of biodiversity, has value not only for the individuals concerned but for all humankind. For the Banabans, the recreation of their social and governmental structures, as well as the preservation of their identity, became a defining character of their resettlement experience. The Banabans successfully replicated in Rabi a form of social system and self-government that they were used to in Banaba. This, in part, was aided by the British colonial legislation and confirmed by Fijian legislation that upheld Banaban autonomy and identity on Rabi Island. The preservation of cultures within migrant communities is not a new concern of migration studies. However, the issue has special poignancy if the migration is not voluntary or if the sending society ceases to exist, thereby denying migrants the possibility of renewing their cultural practices by interacting with those who stay behind. These remain persistent problems for any large scale environmental migration in the Pacific. Feasible strategies for "social-economic and ethnic integration, as well as for long-term sustainable reconstruction" would have to be pursued (Ferris et al. 2011).

Today, sixty-five years since the Banabans first set foot on Rabi Island, the Banaban resettlement experience provides opportunities to reflect on the overarching issues covering environmental migration in the Pacific. For Banaba, long-term preparation by way of establishing trust funds and advance land purchase and the adoption of policies favorable to preservation of the community's culture were the principal reasons for the resettlement's success. Yet, the Banabans were also beneficiaries of a colonial system that facilitated international resettlement within colonies. Such opportunities no longer exist today, and vulnerable populations would have to pursue other alternatives such as bilateral or multilateral arrangements with countries having sufficiently open migration policies.

Migration has long been an accepted response of populations to both sudden and gradual changes in their environment. As states continue to have near-absolute discretion over which person or group would be allowed entry into their territory, it remains to be seen whether individual states or the international community could provide a humane framework for meeting the unavoidable impacts of an increasingly globalized change in the environment.

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NOTES

1. Art 108 of Pacific Order in Council, 1893, empowered the High Commissioner to make, alter, and revoke the Queen's Regulations for various purposes.

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THE MALAISE OF MODERNITY: URBANIZATION, MOBILITY, AND HIV IN THE PACIFIC

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The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is unevenly distributed in the Pacific. Most cases are found in Papua New Guinea (PNG). In most Pacific Island states, transmission of HIV is sexual and heterosexual. Urbanization, migration, and mobility are key influences on its distribution and spread. Migration into towns and workplaces, mobility between towns and overseas employment, and return migration influence infection rates. Sex work, mainly an urban phenomenon, is a key source of transmission. High-risk sexual behavior, migration, affluence, poverty, and inequality coincide in urban areas. Different mobile groups include commercial sex workers, skilled workers, and seafarers. Most such groups migrate often but exhibit different risk behavior, access to services, and HIV vulnerability. Mobility along the Highlands Highway in PNG and of i-Kiribati seafarers globally demonstrates different relationships between culture, mobility, and HIV risk. Appropriate multisectoral HIV responses would take migration and mobility into consideration to ensure that interventions address the drivers of mobility and its specific consequences.

Introduction

PACIFIC ISLAND STATES experience a range of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) prevalence rates, between and within states, and within various groups. Significant differences also exist in institutional responses and the funding availability and capacity to support provision of HIV services. Various factors influence prevalence rates, including migration and mobility, which also vary regionally between and within states. The first case of HIV

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in the Pacific was reported in 1982, and HIV cases have subsequently occurred everywhere, except in such small (and relatively isolated) states as Niue and Tokelau (Sladden 2005). The numbers of cases are low in most Pacific countries (although there is significant underreporting), but Papua New Guinea (PNG) stands out both in terms of its HIV situation and in its large population and complex internal migration and urbanization. Studies in Africa and Asia have traced the relationships between mobility, HIV, and AIDS, but this has not hitherto been undertaken for the Pacific; hence, this paper seeks to provide a contemporary overview of the HIV/AIDS context in the island Pacific, with particular reference to migration, mobility, and urbanization, which are a function of modernity and inequality.

HIV is a social and economic phenomenon and not solely a biomedical phenomenon and challenge. Although the spread of HIV is shaped by culture, it is increasingly linked to issues of social and economic equality and justice (London and Schneider 2012). Given one definition of vulnerability to HIV as "the lack of power of individuals and communities to minimize or modulate their risk of exposure to HIV infection and, once infected, to receive adequate care and support" (Gruskin and Tarantola 2002), along with the UNAIDS definition stating that "vulnerability results from a range of factors outside the control of the individual that reduce the ability of individuals and communities to avoid HIV risk" (UNAIDS 2008), it is not so much migration itself that is relevant for HIV vulnerability but the socioeconomic context in which contemporary mobility is situated. Equally it is not migration that leads to HIV risk but migrant behavior, although mobility puts people in situations where high-risk behavior is more likely: greater freedom, peer pressure to fit in to a new place, loss of social support, social disruption, anomie, and anonymity.

Mobility has been associated with higher HIV prevalence in southern Africa as far back as the 1980s (Hunt 1989; Jochelson, Mothibeli, and Leger 1991; Zuma et al. 2003; Mtika 2007; Greif and Dodoo 2011), in West Africa (Lydié 2004; Khan et al. 2007), in Mexico (Carrillo 2010), and in most of Asia including Indonesia and Thailand (Chantavanich 2000; Lyttleton and Amarapibal 2002; Simonet 2004; Hugo 2005). Typically, as in Malawi, "mobility is associated with increased extramarital multi-partner sexual relations through which HIV is spread" (Mtika 2007), whereas Lydié et al.'s (2004) work in Cameroon revealed that men who were away from home for more than a month were five times more likely to be HIV positive than were those who never left home. There is growing global evidence of a close association between increased vulnerability during mobility and the spread of HIV. It is argued here, in contrast to other recent analyses (O'Keefe 2011), that mobility has played a similarly important role in the island Pacific and that as migration and urbanization gradually take forms

more like those in other parts of the world, migrants tend to be at greater risk of HIV. The selectivity of migration and the socioeconomic contexts of their destinations (embodying the desire for income generation and recreation) may predispose migrants to behaviors more likely to transmit HIV. Migrants tend to be increasingly socially and economically marginalized and isolated, with limited access to health services, including health promotion, and to HIV care and support. This paper seeks to review and synthesize information on mobility and HIV in the Pacific within the wider context of modernity.

HIV in the Pacific

Health status varies considerably within the Pacific, as a function of political status, economic and social development, and availability of health care. Enormous variations exist in health services provision and financing. At the core of the uneven distribution of human resources, hospital beds, and other physical resources are significant variations in funding, in absolute terms, and in the proportion of national budgets spent on health care (Taylor, Bampton, and Lopez 2005; Connell 2009). Health challenges range from the spread of malaria in Melanesia, to "the unfinished agenda in achieving the MDGs [Millennium Development Goals], high fertility rates, continued prevalence of communicable diseases and emerging threat of HIV/AIDS, combined with a rising, and in many cases a crisis in, NCD [non-communicable disease] prevalence" (World Bank 2007). Substance abuse is a growing problem, and its incidence is universally worsening. In the Marshall Islands, for example, substance abuse contributes to emerging and re-emerging infections, like HIV, other sexually transmitted infections, and tuberculosis. Reductions in spending on health care and health promotion systems in the Pacific, evident from the 1980s, have had a damaging result in sustaining a skilled health workforce, meeting contemporary needs and developing preventative systems appropriate for dealing with HIV.

Globally, an estimated 33 million people live with HIV and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) (UNAIDS 2010a). The Pacific region accounts for just 0.2% of the global burden of HIV, with the majority of these in PNG, Australia, and New Zealand. According to Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) data from 2009, approximately 30,000 cumulative cases of HIV and AIDS were reported across all Pacific Island states, of which approximately 28,000 cases occurred in PNG (Table 1). However, the 2007 Estimation Report on the HIV Epidemic in Papua New Guinea estimated that there were 54,000 cases of HIV in PNG, whereas a more recent report cited 34,100 people living with HIV as of 2009 (UNAIDS 2010b). The variations in estimates demonstrate the difficulties of obtaining

TABLE 1. **Pacific Population and Reported Cases of HIV and AIDS at the End of 2009 (Secretariat of the Pacific Community 2010).**

Country	Population (mid-2009)	HIV-reported cases (including AIDS)	Cumulative incidence per 100,000
Melanesia	8,478,155	28,989	341.9
Fiji	843,888	333	39.5
New Caledonia	250,612	344	137.3
PNG	6,609,745	28,294	428.1
Solomon Islands	535,007	13	2.4
Vanuatu	238,903	5	2.1
Micronesia	539,439	352	65.3
Federated States of Micronesia	110,899	37	33.4
Guam	182,207	196	107.6
Kiribati	98,989	52	52.5
Republic of Marshall Islands	54,065	22	40.7
Nauru	9,771	2	20.5
Northern Marianas	63,112	34	53.9
Palau	20,397	9	44.1
Polynesia	660,026	372	56.4
American Samoa	65,113	3	4.6
Cook Islands	15,636	2	12.8
French Polynesia	265,654	314	118.2
Niue	1,514	0	
Pitcairn Islands	66	0	
Samoa	182,578	22	12.0
Tokelau	1,167	0	
Tonga	103,023	18	17.5
Tuvalu	11,093	11	99.2
Wallis and Futuna	14,183	2	14.1
All PICs	9,667,620	29,713	307.0
All PICs excluding PNG	3,067,874	1,419	46.3

reliable epidemiological data both nationally (National AIDS Council of Papua New Guinea 2008) and in particular regions (Haley 2008), although the relativities are reasonably accurate.

The majority of HIV cases are in PNG, and outside PNG numbers remain low, although high rates of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and teenage pregnancies suggest the possibility of higher rates of HIV transmission in the future. (HIV infection exists in all provinces; however, over 50% of HIV infections have been reported in the National Capital District). Although low numbers of HIV infections occur in the Pacific, beyond PNG in particular and to a lesser extent New Caledonia, Guam,

and French Polynesia, a number of social and behavioral factors common across the region present risk factors for transmission. In most places, the mode of spread of HIV is sexual—primarily through unprotected heterosexual intercourse, including paid intercourse. Some mother-to-child transmission also occurs. Injecting drug use is rare, unlike in Asia where it drives the regional epidemic. Male-to-male (MSM) sex is also considered to be relatively slight. However, data collection and research regarding the extent of these and their effects on HIV have been primarily limited to PNG and Fiji (McMillan and Worth 2010a). Significant risk factors include mobile populations, involving a large population of seafarers, opposition and taboo toward sex and sex education, and high levels of stigma and fear surrounding HIV and those who have it (Hammar 2007; Jenkins 2005; PIAF 2011). Additionally, there are relatively high levels of early sexual debut in the region as well as high levels of unprotected sex among young people (Jenkins 2005; WHO 2006).

The factors driving the epidemic in PNG are not universally agreed upon; but low levels of condom use, concurrent sexual partnerships, gender inequality, high prevalence of untreated STIs, low levels of literacy, a weak health system within patriarchal societies, and a high prevalence of sexual violence against women are all factors (Hammar 2007; Dundon and Wilde 2007; Wardlow 2007). In many parts of PNG, even basic knowledge of HIV is largely absent (Wilde 2007; Haley 2008; Lepani 2008b). Both prostitution and the rise of HIV have followed increased urban poverty and, in some contexts such as the Southern Highlands (SHP), greater rural poverty (Wardlow 2007, 2008; Haley 2008). Higher levels of divorce have left more women destitute. Where alternative incomes are particularly difficult to obtain, prostitution may even amount to "survival sex" (Beer 2008) as a consequence of "economic desperation" (Hammar 2010, 19). In Tari (SHP), and perhaps elsewhere, "the reality is that many Huli women receive money and gifts for sex occasionally, if there is no alternative income" (Hughes 2002, 131). Conversely the emergence of MMM (mobile men with money) is a significant factor in the rise of HIV. Labor migration has spurred the development of a masculine identity that encourages men to demonstrate their independence from community expectations through sexual partnerships. The combination of mobility and extramarital relationships has meant that marriage has become a very significant risk factor (Wardlow 2007, 2010; Hammar 2010) as has happened elsewhere in the world (Hirsch et al. 2007; Smith 2007). HIV infection has been reported in all provinces; the highest prevalence rates are in Port Moresby and the Highlands (National AIDS Council PNG 2010a). More people receive treatment in the National Capital District than anywhere else but this is partly attributable to people travelling to the capital to access testing and treatment and

avoid possible stigma (National AIDS Council PNG 2008). It is argued here that variants of these factors are emerging elsewhere in the Pacific region and especially elsewhere in Melanesia.

Levels of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) are high compared with many other parts of the world (WHO 2006; Brown et al. 1998). A six-country study revealed that the prevalence of Chlamydia among pregnant women ranged from 6% in Solomon Islands to 29% in Fiji and was high among all women under 25 years of age (WHO 2006, Cliffe, Tabrizi, and Sullivan 2008). Female Chlamydia prevalence rates of over 30% in Fiji and Samoa are among the highest in the world, indicating widespread unprotected sex and the likelihood that men also have high levels of untreated STIs. The increase in STIs has been driven by unprotected sexual behavior and coincides with a recent increase in teenage pregnancies. Rates of condom use with a noncommercial partner range from 12.5% in Fiji to 45% in the Solomon Islands, further indicating considerable unprotected sex, whereas the percentage of youth reporting two or more sexual partners in the last twelve months ranged from 43% in Vanuatu to 13% in Samoa (WHO 2006). Condom use among sexually active teenagers is less than 20%, although there are significant regional variations (McMillan and Worth 2011), whereas high teenage fertility is consistent with low contraceptive prevalence among teenagers, and extramarital sex may also be increasing in significance (Connell and Negin 2010). Individuals with a high rate of changing sex partners play a disproportionate role in the spread of HIV and other STIs. Underlying these more specific contexts, mobility and migration have become significant drivers and correlates of HIV transmission in the Pacific.

Economic Development, Migration, and Mobility

The incidence and status of HIV is closely related to economic status and its link to mobility. Movement of people within the Pacific has gradually intensified in volume, increased in distance, and become more complex in pattern and purpose. With modern transportation, stagnation of rural economies and services, the emergence of resource enclaves (logging and mining), and uneven development, migration and urbanization have increased (Connell 2006, 2011). Urban centers are growing fastest in Melanesia, through both natural increase and migration, and towns and cities are larger than elsewhere, although only Port Moresby and Suva are larger than 100,000. Moreover, in Melanesia, many cities also have a high proportion of urban residents in more or less informal settlements.

The economies of Pacific Island states and territories are limited through a combination of well-known factors including small populations and land

areas, limited resources, remoteness, fragmentation, susceptibility to extreme events, vulnerability to external economic shocks and hazards, trade imbalances, and fragile environments. Growth and development is also constrained by high communication, energy and transportation costs, narrowly specialized economies, disproportionately expensive public administration and infrastructure attributable to their small size, scarce local skills, and little to no opportunity to create economies of scale (e.g., McGillivray, Naudé, and Santos-Paulino 2010). In this century, migration to the metropolitan states bordering the Pacific has become something of an outward urge that is increasingly global (Connell 2006, 2008, 2009). Relatively impoverished Kiribati and Tuvalu have experienced limited outmigration but have been dependent for a century on temporary labor migration to Nauru (now ended) and employment on shipping lines. As in Samoa and Tonga, overseas remittances in Kiribati, primarily from seafarers, are the primary source of income for as many as 30% of urban households (Borovnik 2006). Considerable short-term mobility occurs alongside migration, some of which, such as working as army or shipping crew, may extend over long distances, and some work employment (for example on ships and in mines) takes workers away from domestic contexts for lengthy periods. The movement of students to schools and colleges, patients to hospitals, job seekers looking for work, or visiting distant kin also take people away for various periods of time, because society becomes more fluid and less localized. Weak national economies and low incomes indicate that most island states are ill-prepared to tackle poverty, HIV, and sexual and reproductive health issues, which directly affect population growth and well-being.

The Pacific does not generally experience absolute poverty, but poverty is increasing alongside significant and growing urban social and economic problems (Abbott and Pollard 2004; Connell 2011). Poverty results from, and is manifested in, increasing urban populations, a lack of employment opportunities, the absence of effective safety nets and social protection, and limited access to land and housing. The popular and romantic view of an urban safety net provided by the extended family, ensuring through redistribution that kin are never hungry or destitute, is no longer valid (Monsell-Davis 1993). Throughout the Pacific, poverty is associated with larger household sizes, indicating the risk of reproduction of poverty (Rallu and Ahlburg 2012). In squatter settlements especially, hunger and poverty are no longer unusual nor is the sight of people picking through municipal garbage sites for food and other goods.

Income levels in the region are key influences on social and economic behavior and on migration. Rising poverty has clear implications for public

health. The combination of migration, greater urban permanence, few urban employment opportunities, and the lack of industrialization has resulted in the growing significance of the informal sector as a source of livelihood. A significant proportion of female workers in the informal sector in PNG are sex workers (Levantis 1997). Incomes from prostitution may be significantly more than those obtainable in other urban contexts, as in Kiribati where sex workers earned more than teachers and nurses or in Port Moresby where they are substantially above the lower ranks of the formal sector (Connell 1997; UNICEF Pacific and the Government of Kiribati 2010). In Honiara, too, incomes from sex work are very variable but are the highest of any informal livelihoods (Russell 2009). Most urban families have at least one income earner in the formal sector, but low wages and young dependents typically mean that many household incomes remain below the poverty line (Abbott and Pollard 2004; Connell 2011; Storey and Connell 2012). Moreover urban unemployment is increasing with levels frequently substantially above 10% where measured youth unemployment rates are frequently above 30%, as reported for Tonga, Tuvalu, Nauru, and as high as 60% for the Marshall Islands and 70% in Port Moresby and South Tarawa (Kiribati). In most states, less than a quarter of those leaving school early can find employment in the formal sector (Storey and Connell 2012). A further consequence of difficult urban conditions is the growth of domestic violence and in the number of female-headed households that follows family breakdown and social disorganization. Such female-headed households have significant problems of income generation, which may result in some orientation toward commercial sex work. Many women take up sex work out of poverty. In PNG, sex workers "were from squatter settlements and urban villages, from 'broken homes' or very large families, single mothers or with unemployed husbands" (Connell 1997, 206). Poverty was similarly significant in rural areas (Haley 2008; Wardlow 2008). In Fiji, "Financial need was the overwhelming reason for selling sex ... [many] took up sex work to bring in money to the home after a parent had died or abandoned the family ... [many] came from very poor backgrounds" (McMillan and Worth 2010a: 1, 11). Poverty and urbanization are risk factors.

To examine the utility of mobility as an overarching lens for examining HIV infection in the Pacific, three distinct case studies are examined. The more general significance of urbanization in HIV infection is first examined, whereas mobility on the Highlands Highway in PNG and the migration of i-Kiribati seafarers provide two more specific cases of the relationship between mobility, risk behaviour, and HIV/AIDS.

Urbanization

Migration has directly contributed to urbanization, especially where international migration has been limited, as in Melanesia. Urbanization has been rapid, beyond the rate of job creation, resulting in high levels of unemployment, poverty, informal settlement and environmental degradation, and, in the atoll states of Kiribati, Tuvalu, and the Marshall Islands, exceptionally high population densities. Urbanization has here been accompanied by rapid population growth (heightened through the limited impact of family planning). Most internal migration is to the largest urban centers, often primate cities, and, in PNG, to some mining towns. Contemporary migration has continued to bring new migrants to Pacific Island states. A new wave of Chinese migrants has become established, notably in PNG, Tonga, Fiji, and the Solomon Islands. Smaller numbers of Indians, Filipinos, and others represent distinct population flows, alongside a regular flow of Europeans, as miners, aid donors, missionaries, entrepreneurs, lecturers, and so on. The island Pacific, and especially its urban centers, is now as cosmopolitan as it has ever been.

Mobility in and out of towns has contributed to a relatively large "floating" population, with uncertain allegiance to rural or urban areas and without roots in either. Such fluctuating groups, without permanent jobs or income, are at particular social, economic, and epidemiological risk. Cities are also places with transient populations, such as seafarers, sex workers, and tourists, and places of anonymity for gay and transgender groups. Migrants, many being unemployed single men, are also associated with high crime rates, most evident in Port Moresby and other PNG urban centers (Levantis 1997; Connell and Lea 2002; Buchanan-Aruwafu 2007). In such contexts, social organization is put under pressure, without "traditional" social control. Informal settlements have proliferated, notably in Melanesia, Fiji, and Kiribati, predominantly housing the urban poor, outside the control and authorization of government and planners, and with limited services (Connell 2011; Storey and Connell 2012). Without more effective responses and institutions, informal settlements on indigenous land are becoming the dominant form of contemporary urban growth, which makes infrastructure and service needs difficult to address.

Social disorganization and crime increasingly follow urban inequality. Increases in poverty, crime, and periodic unrest are evident, with Nuku'alofa and Honiara having experienced riots over inadequate urban employment and quality of life. In PNG a "pervasiveness of sexual assaults and gang rapes" exists, and this impersonal and institutional violence against women, even among groups such as the police, has direct implications for the

increased incidence of HIV (Lepani 2008a: 150, 156) and for the breakdown of family structures (Wardlow 2004). Urbanization and low incomes have resulted in a downward spiral—an urban "poverty trap" from which there appears little hope of improvement and, for some urban residents, a sense of biding time, waiting for unforeseen and uncertain opportunities, securing multiple jobs (where possible), maintaining strict budgets, and abandoning some traditional obligations, simply to get by. Mining towns have unbalanced sex ratios. Tensions between landowners and migrants exist in the face of land shortages; bureaucratic ineptitude and political corruption have contributed to division and urban insecurity.

Commercial sexual activity is ubiquitously more prevalent in urban areas where there is greater anonymity and opportunity, less social control, and both desire for and availability of cash. Thus, in Vanuatu, the proportion of sexually active youth having sex for money in Port Vila was about twice that of youth on the islands of Malakula and Tanna (UNICEF Pacific and Government of Vanuatu 2010). Although HIV infection rates are universally argued to be higher in urban areas (Dyson 2003), the only country where spatial data exist is PNG. In 2010, the National Department of Health stated that the vast majority of people living with HIV are in urban or peri-urban areas. The majority of people diagnosed with HIV live in Port Moresby and other urban and peri-urban areas, mainly in provinces linked by the Highlands Highway from Lae to the Southern Highlands. Estimates record HIV prevalence rates of 3–4% in Port Moresby, well over 2% in other *urban* areas, and 1% in rural areas (National AIDS Council PNG 2010b). In PNG, infection rates are also particularly high among young urban girls and women, and adolescent girls and young women are particularly vulnerable to cross-generational sexual relations (Lepani 2008a: 151). Urban areas are associated with certain HIV risk factors: "rates of social interaction are higher in urban areas, and fields of social interaction are wider too—phenomena [with] implications for patterns of sexual interaction. . . . And higher-risk behaviors (such as commercial sex activities) tend to be more prevalent in towns and cities" (Dyson 2003, 429). High levels of alcohol consumption and substance abuse are associated with risky sexual activity, and the absence of kin has resulted in customary and familial structures for socialization being absent or ineffective. The increase in poverty and informal settlements poses particular concerns.

Risky sexual activity has also followed new economic contexts. In PNG, the rise of HIV has been closely linked to the emergence of MMM, who characterize larger urban areas and are personified as a new kind of "sugar daddy," embodied in PNG as the *dakglas kar man* (dark glass car man): businessmen, landowners, and politicians with plenty of disposable income

(Lepani 2008a) and detached from followers and moral responsibilities (Martin 2010). Lesser MMMs are significant in many social contexts involving high mobility and economic disparity, especially where men are involved in various forms of itinerant wage labor, often in resource enclaves such as mining and logging and where limited educational and employment opportunities for women encourage commercial and transactional sex (Koczberski 2000; Wardlow 2007; Wilde 2007; Lepani 2008a, 152; Hammar 2010). In urban areas, intergenerational sexual relations are more common, interactions between various groups more frequent and sexual networking more widespread. Thus, in Majuro, in the Marshall Islands, high-risk sexual networking links foreign sex workers, seafarers, Marshallese young women involved in the informal exchange of sex, local Marshallese women and men, and migrant and expatriate workers (Buchanan-Aruwafu 2007). A broadly similar situation exists in Tarawa where ship girls and bar girls, most originally from outer islands, service crew of diverse foreign ships and also inject drugs (McMillan and Worth 2010b; UNICEF Pacific and the Government of Kiribati 2010). These kinds of complexities emphasize the multiple problems and contexts of urbanization.

The presence of commercial sex workers primarily in urban areas is a major risk factor and the social significance of sex work of considerable significance in the spread of HIV. Transactional sex for cash is significant in many parts of the region, spearheaded by PNG, Fiji, and Solomon Islands (McMillan and Worth 2010a). Capital cities and ports, even such small centers as Kiritimati (Kiribati) and Daru (PNG), are critical nodes in sex work and HIV transmission. Honiara is highly significant but alongside Gizo and Noro, which are accessible to logging camps and a tuna cannery (UNICEF Pacific and Government of Solomon Islands 2010). In New Caledonia, urban sex workers have been identified by the government as the priority high-risk group (Agence Sanitaire et Sociale de Nouvelle-Calédonie 2007; Germain, Grangeon, and Klinger 1998), as also in Suva, Tarawa, and Majuro.

Commercial sex work is often informal and sporadic rather than full-time, although it has become more organized. Although most commercial sex workers are Pacific Islanders, a growing number of migrant prostitutes work in the region, mainly from China, as in Fiji and Tonga, who play an additional role in servicing Asian fishermen and sailors, and in Saipan and Guam work in massage parlors, clubs, and karaoke bars, many oriented to an Asian tourist clientele. Distinctive trafficking situations also occur (Connell and Negin 2010). The principle influence on women becoming sex workers is poverty, alongside a fragmented household structure; hence, growing urban poverty has increased the extent and reduced the age of

prostitution. In Kiribati, those who engaged in commercial sex did so because they needed money (42%), drugs or alcohol (28%), and food (3%), and more than half had sex on ships (UNICEF Pacific and the Government of Kiribati 2010). In the Solomon Islands, notably Honiara, comparable percentages were 60%, 3%, and 8% (UNICEF Pacific and Government of Solomon Islands 2010). Sex work also provides some personal freedom; in PNG, some women who became *pasindia meri* (prostitutes) exhibited a degree of rebellion and autonomy that gave them an ability to "move through the local and national landscape that other women do not exercise" (Wardlow 2004, 1019). Commercial organization varies. Although Asian prostitutes in Fiji tend to be organized in brothels, local sex workers there and elsewhere are found in diverse locations, usually markets, bars, and particular streets. The average age of sex workers is falling, with some girls as young as thirteen engaged in prostitution (Save the Children Fiji 2005). Fragmentary information exists on how sex work is organized or, indeed, whether it is organized (although massage parlors are becoming more common), who the sex workers are (their ethnic origin), their incomes, whether they are long-term or temporary workers (and whether they drop in and out of urban life), and their health status.

Sex workers engage in sexual activity with multiple partners. In Port Moresby, as many as 60% of married men acknowledged engaging in commercial sex activities (WHO 2000). By contrast, among males in Fiji, some 16% had engaged in commercial sex, whereas corresponding figures were 10% of Marshallese and 2% of Samoans (Jenkins 2005). The transactional basis limits the ability of sex workers to insist on condom use, a clear risk factor, and some clients pay extra for sex without a condom. In Fiji, only 8% of men reported using a condom the last time they had sex with a commercial female partner (Government of Fiji 2006). Condom use among sex workers in PNG and Vanuatu was very inconsistent; in PNG, 85% reported that they did not use condoms at all times, because of dislike by clients, unavailability, alcohol or marijuana use, and familiarity with a client (Wan Smolbag 2006; National AIDS Council Secretariat Papua New Guinea and National HIV/AIDS Support Project 2007). In Kiribati, Vanuatu, and Solomon Islands, 51%, 39%, and 34%, respectively, of those engaged in commercial or transactional sex did not use a condom, whereas condom use was widely seen as analogous to prostitution (UNICEF Pacific and the Government of Kiribati 2010; UNICEF Pacific and Government of Solomon Islands 2010; UNICEF Pacific and Government of Vanuatu 2010).

A study of 407 female sex workers in Port Moresby and Lae revealed an HIV prevalence of 10% and rates of STIs ranging from 31% to 36%, whereas sex workers in Port Moresby had significantly higher HIV infection

rates (17%) than those in Lae (3%) (Mgone et al. 2002). A further study in the Eastern Highlands of PNG found that 74% of female sex workers were positive for at least one STI, and 43% had multiple STI infections (Gare et al. 2005). Less normative sexual activity is an urban phenomenon. MSM activity is much more significant in urban areas where opportunity and anonymity are greater and social control weaker. A particular component of urban sexual activity involves relationships between tourists and sex workers and sex tourism. Sex tourism has been described in the Pacific, mainly based on anecdotal evidence, for Fiji and the Solomon Islands (Christian Care Centre 2005; Save the Children Fiji 2005). The urban location of much commercial sexual activity is linked to the high urban incidence of both HIV and other STIs.

Where tourism exists, commercial sexual activity is generally associated with distinct urban nodes. Following greater surveillance in Asia, some "tourists" travel to the Pacific seeking anonymity and the availability of children. Child sex tourism is partly driven by poverty and weak law enforcement but also by demands for greater access to cash (driven by a lack of access to education and employment), parental neglect, and abuse at home (Save the Children Fiji 2005). The extent to which sex tourism introduces new HIV risk factors to the region, and especially to tourist centers such as Fiji, is yet to be established.

The relatively high level of HIV in PNG points to the significance of internal migration (including to logging camps and mines) and urbanization as critical influences and suggests that an increasing prevalence may subsequently occur in such rapidly growing urban areas as Honiara, Port Vila, and Suva, where international migration opportunities are scarce, urban unemployment is high, and poverty and inequality are intensifying. In Kiribati and elsewhere, international migration involves more complex scenarios. Urban populations are growing steadily, alongside a floating urban population characterized by informal economies and squatter settlements; hence, urbanization is a key risk factor. However, little work has been undertaken on the socioeconomic status of migrants in the growing informal settlements (Connell 2011); hence, clear conclusions on the basic geography and gender of both HIV and migration remain necessarily imprecise.

The Highlands Highway, Papua New Guinea

The HIV/AIDS epidemic in PNG has extended beyond urban areas to rural areas, where 80% of the population lives, and is clustered around concentrations of population, transport routes, and rural enclave enterprises where

there are active markets for the exchange and sale of sex (National AIDS Council PNG 2010b). This is primarily evident for the Highlands Highway. Indeed transport hubs, other than ports, that are centers of HIV transmission in other parts of the world are quite rare in the Pacific. The Highlands Highway serves as the major economic route for PNG, linking coastal ports in Morobe and Madang Provinces with destinations in the highlands and hinterlands. Immediately after its completion in the late 1960s, an epidemic of syphilis occurred in the Highlands, characterized as a direct by-product of the increased access afforded by the highway (Hughes 1997) and indicating that risky sexual behavior has been linked to and facilitated by new mobility for several decades.

Prostitution became significant along the Highlands Highway in the 1970s, with the growing presence of many *pasendia meri*, literally "a woman who will not stay put, either physically or sexually" (Wardlow 2006, 140), often escaping difficult marriages. Prostitution is a source of income for several hundred women seeking a living, where ties to traditional village life have weakened and income generating opportunities are few. More than 200 sex workers were identified in a survey in the 1990s along the Highlands Highway, whereas a sample of 211 self-identified female sex workers was drawn from just the Eastern Highlands province (EHP) in 2001 (Gare et al. 2005). This is the highest concentration of sex workers outside urban areas and implies several hundred more, so much so that the 700-km route has sometimes been called "the AIDS highway." Most of the women (71%) were from the EHP with 19% from the adjoining Simbu Province, and most (61%) lived in urban settlements in the two main towns. Most used alcohol and marijuana. More than half (54%) were divorced (Gare et al. 2005). At least in Tari (Southern Highlands), men who were drivers spoke freely about the extent of their sexual relations on the highway (Wardlow 2007, 1009). The Highlands Highway has provided a fast route for the virus to spread through PNG, and the high level of HIV and AIDS in the Western Highlands is a partial outcome of its presence.

Risky behavior characterizes the sex industry along the Highlands Highway. Of the 211 female sex workers, 74% had not used a condom in their last sexual act. The overall estimated rates for gonorrhea, chlamydia, syphilis, and trichomoniasis were 21%, 19%, 24%, and 51%, respectively. Seventy-four percent were positive for at least one STI, and 43% had multiple STIs. Of their clients, more than 12% were directly involved in transportation as drivers, but businessmen, office workers, and teachers were prominent occupational groups (Gare et al. 2005): the lesser MMMs. In a recent study, a sex worker in PNG explained: "I have nine men whom I used to go around with them. Among these nine men, six of them are top

shots" (Kelly et al. 2011). More generally, risky behavior characterizes the sexual activity of local youth, who regard HIV as of no great significance (Vaughan 2010).

Some 60–70% of truck drivers had paid for sex in the previous twelve months. Only a third (33%) of the truck drivers said they always used condoms with sex workers (National AIDS Council Secretariat Papua New Guinea and National HIV/AIDS Support Project 2007). Recent work in PNG highlights inconsistent condom use with one sex worker noting "When I say to use condom then they pay me 50 or 100 Kina and if they don't want to use condom, I charge them bigger amount" (Kelly et al 2011). Significantly, the Wagi Valley Transport Company was the first highlands trucking company (and a rare PNG company) to have an AIDS education program. The company recognized HIV education as an economic necessity after two of their twenty-two drivers died from AIDS. Australia's aid agency (AusAID) has also worked with the Department of Transportation in PNG to promote HIV awareness among transport workers and nongovernmental organizations have conducted HIV campaigns along the Highlands Highway including through the Trans-Sex project. Just as truck drivers play a significant role in the transmission of HIV in Africa and South Asia (Alam 2006; Morris and Ferguson 2007), in PNG they (and passenger motor vehicle drivers) are a high-risk group, almost certainly exhibiting similar patterns of HIV transmission. Indeed, the main national highway may be the principal locus of transmission in PNG.

Kiribati Seafarers

The seafaring industry is a significant source of employment for many men, and some women, in most countries but especially in Kiribati and Tuvalu. Both countries are distinctive in having long-established marine training schools producing workers for employment with overseas shipping lines. Kiribati, PNG, Fiji, Tuvalu, and to a lesser extent the Marshall Islands supply most of the region's approximately 6,000 to 7,000 seafarers (Oriente 2006; Buchanan-Aruwafu 2007). Tuvalu has 1,200 persons registered as seafarers or fishers, some 10% of the national population, and in Kiribati and Tuvalu, each seafarer supports an average of seven people (Dennis 2003). The number of seafarers has not increased significantly in recent years of global recession.

Beyond Pacific Island seafarers, thousands of overseas sailors and fishers pass through the region. About 10,000 seafarers, primarily from China, Korea, Indonesia, and Japan, move through Majuro each year, with an average nine-day stay (Oriente 2006, Blair 2005). Substantial numbers also

pass through Tarawa, to the extent that sex workers in Kiribati were once referred to as *Te Korekorea* (those who have sex with Korean seafarers) although that name has become unacceptable (Buchanan-Aruwafu 2007; McMillan and Worth 2010b). I-Kiribati sex workers characteristically have multiple sequential, seafarer partners. Their identity as sex workers renders them vulnerable to rape and sexual abuse from both some seafarers and local men, and their experiences of discrimination and stigmatization deter them from using HIV and STI testing and treatment services (McMillan and Worth 2010b). Characteristically seafarers spend little time in port, but when they do disembark, it is usually for several days. They dominate the clientele of the international sex work industry in the Pacific.

Seafarers are regarded as a priority area for HIV prevention in the Pacific. Seafarers travel widely including to high-prevalence parts of Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Certain ports such as Bangkok and Seoul, and others in Central America, are favored as places where women (and alcohol) are cheaper than in Europe (Borovnik 2003; Buchanan-Aruwafu 2007). The first reported HIV infections in Fiji and Tuvalu were in seafarers. Of the 46 cases of HIV and AIDS in Kiribati as of December 2004, nineteen were among seafarers and their wives (Oriente 2006). Of the nine HIV infections in Tuvalu, all were among seafarers, their wives, and children (Global Fund 2007). Studies of 386 i-Kiribati seafarers in 2003 revealed very high rates of STIs with 28% having at least one STI although only one case of HIV was detected. Despite these high rates, less than 5% had ever been diagnosed suggesting a lack of awareness and action with regard to STIs (WHO, Ministry of Health, Kirbati, and University of New South Wales 2004). A later study among 304 i-Kiribati seafarers reported that 23% of seafarers had sex with a commercial sex partner in the past year, and only 22% used condoms consistently with these commercial sex partners. Around 6% had MSM sex, and only 66% had ever been tested for HIV. Only 17% were deemed to have correct and comprehensive knowledge of HIV. Despite various educational programs less than a quarter of the seamen used condoms, and less than half knew how HIV was spread, whereas seafarers tended to have higher numbers of sex partners per year than did other identifiable groups (Peteru 2002). Present knowledge, attitudes and practice represent problems. Some 65% of seafarers could not describe HIV and AIDS or how it is transmitted, and 50% did not know what an STI was. Most had received some HIV awareness training but could not remember the information. Seafarers under the age of 25, however, mostly provided informed responses suggesting that younger generations were more aware. Knowledge about condoms and how to use them is also poor among seafarers (Peteru 2002; Armstrong 1998; Borovnik 2003)

as is also true of the wider i-Kiribati population (UNICEF Pacific and the Government of Kiribati 2010). Cultural taboos exist against discussing sex and condom use, thus reducing opportunities for open discussion and learning, whereas suggesting using condoms with marital partners implies an unacceptable mistrust (Borovnik 2003). Comparative data on other national groups are unavailable.

A further combination of attitudes and behavior contribute to heightened HIV transmission risk. The seafaring lifestyle "allows for very low condom use, excessive alcohol consumption, multiple sex partners, group sex, commercial sex and the development and circulation of lore and misinformation on HIV. Furthermore, Pacific Island seafarers typically subscribe to the traditional gender roles and attitudes that remain dominant in the region, and are resistant to talking openly about sex and sexual health or negotiating safe sex with their partners" (Oriente 2006, 156). Alcohol use accompanies unsafe sex among seafarers and is a major barrier to increased use of condoms (Peteru 2002). Time in port is characterized as a time for heavy drinking and actively seeking entertainment and sexual activity. Indeed, the combination of alcohol and women for i-Kiribati seafarers effectively self-defined a "seaman's life" (Borovnik 2003). In response to questions regarding reasons for unsafe sex, "drinking too much alcohol" was the response given by approximately 80% of seafarers from Tuvalu, Kiribati, and Fiji; some 85% of seafarers drink alcohol (Dennis 2003; WHO, Ministry of Health, Kirbati, and University of New South Wales 2004). Monotony, boredom, and long absences from home stimulate sexual activity. Women are brought on board ships simultaneously, a situation that leads to sharing. About half of all seafarers literally seek a "woman in every port," some remaining with the same woman for several days (Peteru 2002). Forty-seven percent of seafarers aged between seventeen and thirty-five had two or more sex partners in the previous twelve months with 14% having more than five. Among seafarers older than 35, some 29% had more than five sexual partners in the previous year. A high number of partners is accompanied by inconsistent condom use. Only 20% of those with two or more sex partners over the past twelve months claimed to always use condoms (Peteru 2002). However, although those under thirty-five tended to have fewer partners and to be more aware of HIV and the need for condom use, 25% of seafarers had experienced at least one STI in the past twelve months (Peteru 2002). Knowledge was not translated into practice.

Seafarers themselves recognize that sex workers are easily accessible in Pacific ports with American Samoa, Fiji, French Polynesia, Guam, Nauru, New Caledonia, PNG, Samoa, and Tonga all explicitly mentioned. The use of sex workers by seafarers is often characterized by longer-term relationships consisting of total time in port rather than a single night (Peteru 2002)

as it is in Tarawa (McMillan and Worth 2010b; UNICEF Pacific and the Government of Kiribati 2010). A woman in Kiribati characterizes her relationship with seafarers; thus, "We enjoy staying on the boat doing nothing. We sleep, wake up and eat. We move around on the boat visiting our girlfriends. We have no problems with our partners and the rest of the crew. We seem to know each other very well and usually tease each other. We are given money from our partners when they get their pay, if they don't get paid we don't receive any" (McMillan and Worth 2010b). Such relationships have similarities with the concurrent partnerships of southern Africa that are the major cause of high levels of transmission in that region (Halperin and Epstein 2007). The extent of HIV prevalence amongst seafarers has resulted in many regional and international organizations becoming involved in various intervention activities. The Trans-Sex project in PNG trained sailors to become peer HIV educators and the Asian Development Bank–funded Coastal Fisheries Management Development Project in PNG supported HIV education. However, low levels of literacy among seafarers has limited their access to many information sources (Dennis 2003; Oriente 2006; Connell and Negin 2010). Mobility, in every context, both contributes to HIV/AIDS and challenges effective educational programs.

Conclusion: The Costs of Modernity?

Migration and mobility are global influences on the distribution and spread of HIV. This is increasingly evident in the Pacific; towns and ports are critical nodes, as are growing urban settlements within them, where poverty prevails. Size and cosmopolitanism enhance anonymity and social disorganization. The high level of HIV in PNG points to the significance of internal migration (including to logging camps and mines) and urbanization as critical influences and risk factors and suggests that an increasing prevalence may occur in such rapidly growing urban areas as Honiara, Port Vila, and Suva, where international migration opportunities are scarce, urban unemployment is high, and poverty and inequality are intensifying. In Kiribati and elsewhere, international migration involves more complex scenarios.

Only the distinctive presence of a large number of seafarers, various resource enclaves (mines and logging camps), and the key role of ports distinguish the Pacific from other parts of the world, but the growing significance of urbanization has reduced that distinctiveness. As elsewhere, it is not travel that is a vector for HIV but rather the behavior of migrants and travellers. Migrants consistently engage in more risky behavior than

nonmigrants whether in the Pacific or elsewhere (Nunn et al. 1995; Lagarde et al. 2003), partly because of the increased freedom to express sexual identities (Carrillo 2010), the structural disadvantages that inhibit the formation of protective social relationships, and emerging opportunities as inequality increases. Perhaps unsurprisingly in several parts of rural PNG, and elsewhere in the region, HIV is seen as a "foreign disease" contracted by people moving away from their home areas and transmitted by returning there or by the arrival of others (Wilde 2007; Beer 2008; Dundon 2010). "Single in town, married in the village" is not merely an African phrase (Hammar 2010, 17). Ironically, driven by lack of financial support, loneliness, and other factors, those who stay behind may also engage in higher levels of risky behavior, and levels of HIV may be elevated in rural areas among those who are less mobile. In PNG "'High-risk' persons are ... assumed to be so because they are highly mobile and residentially transient, such as ... miners, soldiers and transportation workers.... The assumption seems to be that home is a haven in a heartless world and safe from sexually transmitted disease" (Hammar 2010, 47). Men who move between towns and villages "are increasingly talked about as representing a significant threat to the health and well-being of those who remain at home" (Dundon 2010, 182). Partners at home, however, may be unable to negotiate condom use with a long-term partner and experience financial inequity within the household as well as his or her own risk behavior while the partner is away. Women especially have limited power to protect themselves against HIV.

The three contexts discussed here are only some of many Pacific economic and cultural contexts. Mobility is increasing although adequate statistical data on migration, mobility, and risk behavior are generally lacking (Connell and Negin 2010). A growing number, diversity, and fluidity of mobile groups, including mine workers, the military, bureaucrats, refugees, and students, are at particular risk of HIV infection, usually because of similar detachment from home, weak social control, and income availability. A significant migration stream in this century has been that of military and security workers, almost all men, to the Gulf, especially from Fiji and Tonga, American Samoa, and Micronesia (Maclellan 2007). Expanding oil palm estates are attracting new migrant workers; in West New Britain, PNG, sex workers are present on pay days for smallholders and plantation workers. In Western Province, PNG, sex workers live close to logging camps (Wilde 2007), and workers in logging camps are regarded as having a high incidence of HIV (Buchanan-Aruwafu 2007; Dundon and Wilde 2007). Mine workers, again mainly in PNG, are particularly at risk, with sex workers moving to mining centers. The fastest growing HIV epidemic in the nearby province of West Papua, Indonesia, is at Timika,

the mining town for the giant Freeport mine, where poverty, poor health, migration, and unemployment co-exist (Eves and Butt 2008). The massive liquefied natural gas project being developed in the Southern Highlands of PNG has created another potential scenario for employee and sex worker migration.

There is an emerging nexus between those with little money (e.g., students and the urban, and some rural, poor), the emerging presence of MMMs, and the contemporary incidence of HIV. Those who are more mobile and able to travel internally and internationally have more disposable income. Wealth enables more sexual partners and is associated with mobility, time, and the resources to maintain multiple or concurrent partnerships; indeed "wealth and social interaction are inextricably linked" (Shelton, Cassell, and Adetunji 2005). Seafarers, soldiers, bureaucrats, truck drivers, and migrant laborers in mines and plantations are both a labor aristocracy and MMMs. It is rarely the poorest but those who have some degree of economic support who are more mobile.

By contrast, sex work has tended to emerge from poverty and inequality where females have few alternative income sources and lack social support, at a partner and extended household level and within a wider community, as urban "safety nets" break down in contexts of high unemployment. Earnings from sex work are relatively high. Urban youth especially have become more vulnerable to both poverty and risky behavior, as in Kiribati, because of "poverty, homelessness, sexual violence, incest, lack of community and family support, being away from home, being out of school, single mothers, pregnant teens and having STIs" (UNICEF Pacific and the Government of Kiribati 2010, 51). Likewise some urban women in PNG are "buffeted by misogyny, exploitation, the difficulties of accessing education, youth unemployment, appalling health services and one of the most inequitable and corrupt distributions of wealth" alongside the economic expectations of kin and others (Reid 2010, 320). Poverty and affluence, inequality, migration, disconnected identities, unemployment, and high-risk sexual behavior coincide in urban areas, disrupt marital relations, and are critical factors in the rise of sex work and HIV transmission. Poverty engenders vulnerability, enhances gender inequalities and increases risk factors, an outcome well established elsewhere (Rodrigo and Rajapakse 2010). Quite simply, as in West Papua, "exploitative relationships are fuelled by a growing economy" (Morin 2008, 58). The ambiguity and unevenness of modernity ensures that towns are hybrid and dichotomous places of success and failure, where affluence is juxtaposed with poverty, success with failure, autonomy and agency with pressure and control, opportunity with disappointment, all fraught with the insecurity and tensions that are produced from disjuncture with past times and geographies.

The lack of specific data on the sexual behavior and risk factors of migrant groups in the Pacific, especially outside PNG, makes the development of firmer conclusions difficult. More research is needed to determine levels of risk and the factors that drive decision making of mobility and sexual behavior, especially outside PNG. Relatively little research has been done on the vulnerability of family members of migrants and mobile workers. Additional research on issues of economic and social vulnerability that follow migration are required to develop a more holistic understanding of relevant challenges. At this stage, the challenge facing the Pacific's complex social, economic, epidemiological, and behavioral context is to integrate the dual challenges of HIV vulnerability and increasingly complex mobility decision making to develop appropriate and targeted interventions.

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REVIEW

Teena Brown Pulu with a foreword by Kalafi Moala. *Shoot the Messenger: The Report on the Nuku'alofa Reconstruction Project and Why the Government of Tonga Dumped It*. Nuku'alofa: Taimi Publishers. 2011. 171 pp. ISBN 978-0473205591. NZ$30 paperback.

Reviewed by Teresia Teaiwa, Victoria University of Wellington

TEENA BROWN PULU describes herself as an anthropologist, auto-ethnographer, and author. She is also a poet. A PhD graduate of the University of Waikato, she now works as a lecturer in Pacific Development at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT). Pulu's first book *Shoot the Messenger: The Report on the Nuku'alofa Reconstruction Project and Why the Government of Tonga Dumped It* is a fascinating and chilling account of the convoluted and seemingly irrational machinations of government officials, aid donors, and businesspeople in a small island developing country; it is also an exemplar of the complex intellectual, familial, and ethical challenges that can mark the relationship between the indigenous and diasporic scholar and their homeland/state.

Pulu's explanation of and speculations on why the government of Tonga "dumped" her report on the Nuku'alofa Reconstruction Project is the topic of Part I of the book; the report itself including all its appendices constitutes Part II. The report that spawned the book grew out of work for which Pulu was contracted by the Tongan government in 2011, exploring options for agricultural development. While engaged in this work, she was subsequently asked to investigate allegations of financial mismanagement by the previous government of Tonga in relation to the Nuku'alofa Reconstruction Project, necessitated by the riots of 2006. In the sixty-eight-page report that

Pulu produced, there were no findings of wrong doing by the government of Feleti Sevele. That, apparently, was the problem with her report. The government of Lord Tu'ivakano, which had succeeded Sevele's and acceded to power after historic electoral reforms, prevented her report from being presented formally in parliament and released her from all her contracts. It should be noted that these were contracts for which Pulu had not sought any payment, both because AUT's overhead charges for contract research by their employees would have made Pulu's work unaffordable for the Tongan government and because Pulu is the niece of Lord Tu'ivakano (a fact she reveals only toward the end of Part I, and with dramatic effect).

Although Pulu quotes earnestly from the late Epeli Hau'ofa's visionary essay "Our Sea of Islands" on the dedication page of the report, in many ways, Parts I and II provide a twenty-first-century sequel to *Tales of the Tikongs*, Hau'ofa's collection of satirical short stories of development gone amok and awry in a small Pacific Island state. Indeed, with her irreverent wit, blunt honesty, and passionate sense of justice, Pulu seems to have grabbed the baton that Hau'ofa passed to younger Tongan and Pacific scholars upon his death and taken off running, just like her father in the snapshot she uses of him in his youth on the dedication page of the report. The other photograph is of Lord Tu'ivakano. Between the quote from Hau'ofa and the two photographs, Pulu dedicates the book to "loyal daughters of Tonga/who look to Fathers and Uncles/as heroes and builders/ practical craftsmen/of hopes and dreams/that the generation of today/may keep building and improving/on the last//This work includes all of us."

Somehow, the abstract of the report, which precedes all of this, has not prepared us for the evocations of the dedication page. Most governmental and nongovernmental reports that I have read begin with an executive summary. Pulu's abstract, however, does not give away any of its conclusions or findings up front, emphasizing instead that its brief was to assess "the structure and process of governance, management and financial administration enabling the Nuku'alofa Central Business District (CBD) Project to achieve outcomes by March 31st, 2012, the final draw-down date for the concessional loan from the EXIM Bank of China funding the reconstruction." But her report does not follow standard conventions: section one opens with a comment on "Research Reality in Tonga" and immediately implicates the Prime Minister's Special Advisor on Foreign Affairs in trying to predetermine the outcomes of the study. Other subheadings in the report convey Pulu's commitment to cutting through what Hau'ofa would have called the "big bullshit": "Money Talks," "New Government—Old Politics," "The Trouble with Politicking and Buildings," "Practical Outcomes

with No Funny Business," "Rumour Is Not Fact," "Deprivation Is Not Development," and "Disentangling Dysfunctional Relationships." In spite of its maverick character, the report cannot be said to neglect the essentials: Section One outlines "The Way Forward"; Section Two is a "Guide to How the Loan Works"; Section Three is titled "Get the Facts Right"; Section Four advocates to "Separate Regulatory from Operational"; Section Five summarizes the Nuku'alofa Development Corporation (NDC) system "in a nutshell"; Section Six enumerates "Strength-based Recommendations"; Sections Seven and Eight provide details of field sites and fieldwork; and the final section consists of a "Summary of Findings."

Having based her study on a comprehensive review of relevant government documents, correspondence, accounts, and audits; fieldwork; and interviews with the assistance of Auckland-based Tongan businessman Melino Maka, Pulu reveals a morass of intrigue, jealousy, shortsightedness, negligence, incompetence, and accusation surrounding what should have been a promising and nationally revitalizing development project. Her recommendations and findings include provisions for regulatory expertise, operational success, and sustainable development. Among the more pointed of her recommendations are injunctions to remove the Prime Minister's advisors, the project director, and his deputy and for the project to take up an offer from the Auckland Council to assist by providing Independent Building Control Inspection, an area in which Pulu's father works. That Semi Pulu's business card is profiled in Section Six, signals both the inevitability and problematics of nepotism in a small society like Tonga. For Pulu, nepotism and cronyism are unacceptable whenever skill-set and due process are neglected. Her impatience with and intolerance for both elected and unelected officials in Tonga who have actively undermined systems of transparency and accountability is palpable in Part I of the book, which at times was breathtaking in its courageous flirtations with libel laws.

Shoot the Messenger is on a topic Pulu says she never expected to address. Her 2007 PhD thesis, "Kakai Tonga 'i 'Okalani Nu'u Sila: Tongan Generations in Auckland New Zealand," was an exploration of history and memory across three generations of her Tongan family, structured as a three-act play. Some of the titles of other papers Pulu has written and delivered in scholarly fora in the past include "Reality Checks: Stories from the Field" (2002 Maori and Pacific Island Graduate Seminars), "New Zealand–born Tongan Women Are Different to Our Island-born Mothers" (2002 New Zealand National Council of Tongan Women's Annual Conference), and "Sex Is Like Criticism in Tonga: Both Were Suppressed" (2001 Tonga History Association Conference).

Clearly, Pulu had paved a path as an innovative and critical voice on Tongan issues while she was still a postgraduate student. As she has acknowledged herself, however, it was one thing to talk about transnational Tongans or Tongans in New Zealand and quite another thing to write a book about politics, economics, and development back in the homeland of Tonga. If the government of Tonga had done their homework when they engaged her as a researcher and consultant, perhaps they would not have been so surprised or dismayed by her forthrightness.

In April 2012, the Pacific Studies program at Victoria University of Wellington hosted an event as part of New Zealand Book Month, featuring Pulu's book *Shoot the Messenger*. The event took place in the somber shadow of King George Tupou V's passing and the end of his short, though historic, reign. Indeed, Tupou V's death and the ensuing wranglings over the installation of a new monarch took the steam and heat off of the controversy that had begun to brew over Pulu's original commissioned report and her publication of it in its entirety in this book. However, what was never in doubt was that Pulu feels great hope and love for her homeland. In fact, in spite of being fired and publicly vilified by her uncle's government for both her report and the book, as soon as the King's death was announced, Pulu and her uncle the Prime Minister came together as kin to cooperate on their village's contributions to the funeral arrangements. As she writes, "Tonga is a resilient kin-based society undergoing transformational change. The country's transnational nature and function ensure its survival. By this, the full impact of the global economy is absorbed by sustaining networks of remittances flows and connections to kinfolk in the United States, New Zealand and Australia" (61–62). *Shoot the Messenger* will probably horrify and frustrate foreign affairs officials and anyone who prefers formalistic writing, but Pulu's experience and testimony will definitely be instructive for any indigenous academics with idealistic dreams of helping their nations develop by working with government.

BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLAND PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JULY 2011–DECEMBER 2011

THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University–Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, University of Auckland, University of the South Pacific, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen, and Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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