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## MAHIMAHI MUSUBI: COSMOPOLITANIZING STRATEGIES IN HAWAIIAN REGIONAL CUISINE

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Hawaiian Regional Cuisine (HRC) is an haute cuisine that uses high quality island-grown foods in combination with local ethnic flavors and global techniques to form what we term an “engineered cosmopolitan cuisine.” This intentionally developed regional cuisine is analyzed through the work of three chefs who are noted practitioners of HRC. Linking the backgrounds of these chefs with their recipes examines the impact of global cultural flows on the production of cosmopolitan cuisine. A number of “cosmopolitanizing strategies” are interrogated that position HRC concurrently within multiple registers: global, regional, and local. Examples of these crosscutting strategies include disruption, performance, and hybridization. The hybridity present in HRC, as a central cosmopolitanizing strategy, both incorporates but also reaches beyond the local. HRC is discussed as a contact zone where waves of commodity, culture, and tradition collide to form an engineered regional cuisine to wash up along global shores.

IN AUGUST OF 1991, A DOZEN CHEFS<sup>1</sup> FROM AROUND HAWAII met at the Maui Prince hotel for what they termed a Hawaiian Cooking Symposium. After several days of discussion they resolved to help each other in a new organization they called Hawaiian Regional Cuisine (HRC). The chefs were accomplished in their careers but generally not household names. Many were executive chefs at resort hotels and some owned their own successful restaurants. Of the twelve, only Roy Yamaguchi (owner of Roy’s on Oahu),

who would win a James Beard award later that year, had real name recognition. In addition, Peter Merriman (then owner of Merriman's on the Big Island) and Jean-Marie Josselin (then owner of A Pacific Café on Kaua'i) had been reviewed positively in the national press (Heckathorn 2011). In addition to the chefs, a key person at the meeting was Shep Gordon, a music producer and manager who lived on Maui and was friendly with several of the group. Gordon managed rock star Alice Cooper and several other highly successful music acts. Toward the end of the 1980s, he had added also a number of chefs to his management roster, raising the profile of celebrity chefs such as Wolfgang Puck and Dean Fearing. Gordon saw the public relations potential of a food movement in Hawai'i that featured fresh, local foods and the flavors with which some of the chefs had grown up.

Among the twelve chefs were several who had experience with regional cuisines. Amy Ferguson (2013) had worked at Baby Routh in Dallas when Southwestern Regional Cuisine took off and Roy Yamaguchi (2013) had worked in Los Angeles during the heyday of California cuisine. The use of fresh local ingredients was a given in these markets—something difficult to achieve in Hawai'i at the time. Bound together by their interest in farm-to-table cooking, these chefs, with the assistance of Gordon, pursued a number of public relations activities that had the joint effect of putting Hawai'i on the international culinary map. A number of food festivals widely covered in the culinary press, several additional James Beard awards (Wong, Choy, and Mavrothalassitis), and a number of Beard-award nominations (Choy, Merriman, Gannon, and Josselin) all raised the profile of HRC. A cookbook titled *The New Cuisine of Hawaii: Recipes from the Twelve Celebrated Chefs of Hawaii Regional Cuisine* was authored by Janice Wald Henderson (1994) and featured recipes from each of the HRC chefs. The book was widely reviewed and served to put HRC in the food press nationally. Although the HRC organization formally lasted only three years, its effects were powerful. HRC became a prominent regional cuisine worldwide, and culinary tourism became a critical part of Hawai'i's tourism mix. Looking back, it is important to recognize that HRC didn't automatically just spring to life from some chefs who were friends and colleagues. Rather, the movement was a planned series of steps: the use of high-quality island-grown foods in combination with local ethnic flavors; the techniques of haute cuisine to create new dishes; and finally, a serious public relations campaign.

### **Cultural Flow and the Engineered Cosmopolitan**

In this paper, we focus on the cultural dynamics associated with the creation of HRC. We characterize HRC as a cultural hybrid, another layer

in the creolized cuisine that has developed in Hawai'i since the onset of the plantation era. As such, HRC is a prime case study of the globalization of cuisine, providing an opportunity to consider interactions between the global and the local as a new cuisine was developed or "engineered." Historically, many authors (cf. Canclini 1995; Pieterse 2004; Kraidy 2005) have conceptualized globalization as a relatively straightforward bilateral process of hybridization. For example, Ritzer (2012) has characterized globalization as following the model of McDonaldization—an (American) institution acts in hegemonic ways to standardize process and product in ever-expanding markets around the world. In the actual case of McDonald's, the hybridization produced is primarily the result of local cuisine interacting with McDonald's traditional American menu to produce hybrid menu items such as Shrimp burgers in Japan, spicy Shaka shaka chicken in Singapore, McVeggie burgers in India, and the McArabia sandwich in the Middle East—a pita bread-based version of a shawarma featuring McDonald's burgers and chicken patties (Nasr 2013). These global processes act as hegemonic and colonial influences on local culture. A significant literature exists documenting colonialist global influences on local cuisines (cf. Narayan [1995] for an example from Indian cuisine and Heldke [2001] for an example from Thai cuisine).

In contrast to this version of global homogeneity, many authors have come to view cultural globalization as comprising "multilateral and complex movements among plural origins and plural destinations" (Allen and Sakamoto 2011). As a result, for many scholars, the globalization of culture has become a discussion of the constantly evolving fusion of cultures that may occur at local, regional and global levels (c.f. Pieterse 2004). The islands of Hawai'i are a particularly useful place to study the evolution of cuisine because of their relative geographic isolation and history of cultural influence through distinct waves of ethnic immigration—individuals largely coming to Hawai'i to work on sugarcane plantations. Another, often unseen, stream of immigration were individuals from the United States who relocated to the Hawaiian Islands for a variety of reasons: some coming as missionaries, others as mariners and traders, and others as adventurers (Dening, 1980; O'Conner, 2008). These waves of immigration have each added to a creolized culture termed "Local"<sup>2</sup> culture by island residents. The genesis of HRC is found in the Local foodways of Hawai'i that have been elaborated through global and regional flows of cultural information to create reconstituted cultural products. HRC has its roots in Local food—the flavors eaten by the local people of Hawai'i that are the result of the negotiation of colonial influences into a cuisine that captures the plurality and mixed backgrounds of the people living there.

In moving beyond the often reductive homogeneous versus hybrid debates in definitions of globalization, we focus on the emergence of HRC as a distinct regional identity marker that is branded and constructed to traverse multiple cultural registers. Food is used to navigate and make slippery nominal dichotomies: global/local, national/regional, home cooked/professional. This intentionally developed cultural product may be seen as an example of a cosmopolitan cuisine that allows for HRC to exist along multiple levels of globalization: local, regional, and global. The term cosmopolitan cuisine is frequently invoked in the literature as an elevation of cuisine in the direction of the global (Pujol 2009). Rather than seeing cosmopolitanism as a unidirectional move toward the global, we consider cosmopolitan cuisine as a multidirectional, ideological force that maneuvers HRC within multiple registers. The engineering of cosmopolitan cuisine can thereby penetrate the local, establish the regional, and enchant the global. Pascual (2013) describes a number of what she terms “cosmopolitanizing strategies” that function to position food within the global, regional, and local. Examples of these strategies include disruption, performance, and hybridization. Disruption involves the fragmentation of traditional expectations about menu structure (e.g., appetizer, first course, second course, dessert) replaced, for example, by a series of small plates that serve to disorient a diner but also to involve them in a process of cocreation. Performance refers to the recognition that the dining experience is performed, with roles played by, among others, chefs, wait staff, and diners. The restaurant space and layout, the timing of courses, and the menu all are involved in the creation of a spectacle of consumption. In all this, food is central, but modes of preparation and presentation may extend the experience of dining to a spectacle that, in turn, may be tied to additional symbolic meanings. Hybridization of cuisine typically involves the mixing of ingredients but also of preparation and cooking techniques. Of all of the cosmopolitanizing strategies, hybridization is the one most widely used by HRC chefs and will be a focal point of our investigation. In the paragraphs below, we address ways in which the local, regional, and global conjoin in the making and remaking of HRC, a process of rearticulation that occurs not only at the level of food and technique but ideologically as well.

On the local level, HRC chefs used local ingredients and recipes that connected their roots with global techniques—basically derived from French haute cuisine. At the same time, the global techniques and practices were enriched also by the infusion of local flavor, which became a valuable commodity. The process is crosscutting because the global technique elevates how the local is valued, but also the local is a source of cultural capital and enrichment for global practices. In writing about HRC,

Samuel Yamashita (2013) describes ways in which HRC “affirms the local” by emphasizing local produce and specifically identifying local producers as well as by bringing traditional, local dishes to high-end restaurants. For example, Local Moco, a dish invented by Richard Inouye at the Lincoln Grill in Hilo, Hawai‘i in 1949 (Kelly 1998), features hamburger steak over rice with brown gravy topped with a fried egg. Alan Wong serves a version of the dish that substitutes wagyu beef in place of the burger and Japanese kabayaki sauce (a thick soy-based sauce used on eels in Japan) in place of the brown gravy. Wong’s dish is finished with quail eggs. The dish is an homage to the original local version but has been refined by Wong. The hybrid creations that make up Hawaiian Regional Cuisine have cultural capital added at both the local and the global levels: the food is still local food despite the operation of global techniques but also is palatable at the global level because of the cultural capital added through the chef’s largely classical training and techniques.

The insertion of global techniques came as a result of the training that the HRC chefs brought to their work. Four of the group had culinary arts training from various institutions, whereas another five had trained by serving extensive apprenticeships, several in well-known European restaurants. As a group, they had rather extensive training in classical French gastronomy and saw the ingredients of the Pacific as an opportunity to create unique but high-quality cuisine. Amy Ferguson characterized HRC as “applying high end technique to incredible, tropical ingredients” (as cited in Heckathorn 2011).

On the reverse side, the insertion of the local into the global also provided an opportunity for enrichment. As noted above, we maintain that HRC is what might be termed an engineered cuisine—a consciously developed cultural product created to facilitate the roles of both creators and consumers. Looking back on twenty years of development, it is easy to recognize the prescience of HRC in establishing the importance of the local in the cuisine of Hawai‘i. Viewing this history from a macromarketing perspective, we can analyze the motivations of the chefs and marketers but also the responses of consumers at local, regional, and global levels. First, HRC was and is an addition to food systems that is driven by small-scale producers rather than by a global-scale marketplace. Such a focus on the inclusion of a variety of producers pushed back against food produced by highly McDonalidized (Ritzer 2012) means of production.<sup>3</sup> The HRC chef’s desires for fresh ingredients mandated that these be produced locally. A number of the HRC chefs had spent years establishing relationships with local farmers. For example, Dean Okimoto, founder of Nallo Farms in Waimanalo describes early interactions with Roy Yamaguchi who encouraged him not to quit running his family farm but rather to grow herbs,

greens and specialty vegetables for his restaurants (as cited in Yamashita 2013). Yamashita further points out that, for the HRC movement to succeed, the chefs realized they needed to identify farmers, gain their trust, and spend the time needed to cultivate lasting bonds (2013). These initial efforts were supported also by the Hawai'i State Department of Agriculture who guaranteed payments for specialty crops that the HRC chefs sought to have grown (Heckathorn 2011). Second, HRC is intrinsically a cuisine consistent with sustainable production. Under such circumstances, the additional cultural capital created by using food that was sustainably produced creates higher satisfaction among consumers per unit consumed (Shafer and Crane 2005). Food producers and restaurants applying sustainable agricultural ethics and environmentally responsible production techniques become discursively attractive to a segment of the consuming public who value socially conscious consumption (Clark and Chabrel 2007; Sims 2009). Sustainability can be understood partly as a branding technique. Sustainable production was a part of the HRC marketing plan from the beginning and clearly benefited from positive consumer response to food that was locally and sustainably produced.

The term "regional" references the Pacific and Pacific Rim and adds another point of cultural departure for the chefs of the HRC group. Flavors and techniques are drawn directly from Pacific Rim cultures as well as from Hawaiian Local cuisine that in many cases is in turn influenced by the cultures of the Pacific Rim. Our intent is to document complex ways in which a variety of cultural flows have intersected to produce hybrid cuisine. The hybridization present in HRC is a central cosmopolitanizing strategy that has created a complex cuisine that both incorporates but also reaches beyond the local.

### **Analytic Approach**

Our mode of analysis is the recipe. A number of investigators have pointed to the importance of recipes and cookbooks in the definition and standardization of particular cuisines. Goody (1982) notes how social class is reflected in cookbooks—historically distinguishing between high and low cuisines—the food of nobility versus the food of peasants. In addition, he points to urban–rural differences that are reflected in cookbooks. Further, Appadurai (1988) has pointed to ways that cookbooks reflect both processes of regional and ethnic specialization as well as the development of overarching national cuisines. More recently feminist scholars have read cookbooks with an eye toward understanding their role in constructing and deconstructing social and cultural boundaries (cf. Hartman 2003; Newlyn

1999; Tobias 1998). Of special importance for our investigation is the role of cookbooks in expressing and articulating cultural contexts and identities. In this regard, Zafar's (1999) account of two African-American cookbooks treats these documents as ethnographic texts with food (presented as recipes) as the basis for the construction of the self. Theophano (2002) goes further and treats cookbooks both as collective cultural memory and repository of identity. She asserts that these processes operate at the collective, family, and individual levels with recipes serving an autobiographical function by conveying a vision of society and culture.

More recently, cookbooks (especially those published in the United States) have been critiqued as detaching culinary knowledge from local origins and homogenizing this information into a hegemonic national food culture (e.g., Gvion 2009). For example, ethnic food has been detached from its geographic, institutional, and familial backgrounds and renarrated into a much more homogeneous composite. However, Larson and Osterlund-Potzsch (2012) have pointed to more recent trends in cookbook narration that constitute local and regional cuisine. Our interest is in understanding this process where narratives are articulated as hybrid cultural assemblages.

Although identity is fluid and constructive, it is not arbitrary. Identities are assumed and maintained because of their functional effectiveness and meaningfulness. Speaking of narratives produced and used to reinforce identity, McArthur has noted, "No doubt the meanings emerge and shift as narratives are recentered into new contexts. Nonetheless, creativity is not random" (McArthur 1999, 86). Recognizing that the establishment of cultural meaning is an emergent, often contested process, it is nonetheless useful to link the backgrounds of the HRC chefs we are considering with their aesthetic projects (foremost their food but also recipes, books, menus). By tracing the foundations of the recipes of three chefs associated with HRC, we interrogate the process of narrative formation that accompanies the development of multiculturally informed cuisine. The ethnic, national, and social positioning of these chefs will influence the narratives attached to such projects; understanding of one informs understanding of the others. Linking the backgrounds of these chefs with their recipes is one way of examining the impact of global cultural flows on the production of cosmopolitan cuisine.

### **Local Chefs, Local Culture**

The three chefs we will describe are all highly successful practitioners of HRC. Each has been involved in multiple restaurants that cater to both

local residents and tourists, and each has been influential in the engineering of HRC. Alan Wong is of Japanese, Chinese, and Hawaiian ancestry.<sup>4</sup> He was born in Japan but moved to Hawai'i at the age of five. His formal culinary training was from Kapiolani Community College in Honolulu, and subsequently he apprenticed at the Greenbrier Hotel in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. Also, he spent three years at the prominent French restaurant Lutece in New York City. After returning to Hawai'i, he worked in several restaurants before opening his own restaurant in 1995. Wong won a James Beard award in 1996 for best chef in the northwest region. Wong currently has three restaurants, two in Honolulu and one on Maui as well as a wedding catering business. He has produced two cookbooks that detail his recipes and present his philosophy of cooking.

Sam Choy, of Hawaiian/Chinese ethnicity, was born in Hawai'i and grew up on the North Shore of Oahu cooking with his father, also named Sam.<sup>5</sup> Choy's father was famous for promoting some of the first luaus for tourists in the Islands during the 1960s and early 70s. Like Wong, Choy also attended the food service program at Kapiolani Community College in Honolulu and subsequently cooked in a number of island restaurants, developing his style of cooking using the flavors of Local cuisine. He attracted regional attention while cooking at the Kona Hilton in the early 1980s. He is a natural entertainer, and his cooking demonstrations, public appearances, and locally televised cooking show has been very popular. Also, he has been involved in the production of 16 cookbooks (Choy 2013). Choy has opened and been involved with the ownership of many restaurants both in Hawai'i and internationally. He currently owns a restaurant on the Big Island of Hawai'i and another on Hickham military base on Oahu and is involved with food truck restaurants in Los Angeles and Seattle.

Finally, Russell Siu, of Chinese and Caucasian ethnicity, was born in Hawai'i, and grew up cooking local specialties at a drive-in restaurant.<sup>6</sup> Later, he too graduated from the food service program at Kapiolani Community College and subsequently worked in several island restaurants. He then worked in the Plaza Club system for the next thirteen years, first in Honolulu, then in the Dallas, Texas, area, then in Hong Kong, and finally in California. In 1992, he returned to Hawai'i and opened his own restaurant, 3660 on the Rise. In addition, Siu owns a casual restaurant named Kaka'ako Kitchen that serves HRC at takeout prices. The restaurant attempts to broaden the clientele for HRC by serving this food at a price that is accessible to all, including Local people.

Each of these chefs is steeped in Local culture, a creolized culture that has been influenced by 150 years of immigration into the islands. As a result of this immigration, in many ways, Hawai'i is a culinary amalgam.

Starting in 1850, waves of immigrants arrived, primarily to work on sugar plantations. Chinese immigrants were followed by Japanese and Portuguese laborers. Around the turn of the century, significant numbers of people from Korea and the Philippines, together with smaller groups from Puerto Rico, Spain, and Samoa, arrived (Haas 1998). Immigrants from the United States were also a part of this mix but came for other reasons. Starting in 1820, groups of missionaries arrived from the United States as well as mariners and adventurers (Deming 1980). Local culture should be understood as a confluence of these migrations. These waves of immigration, which come to stand in for Local culture, can be seen as both inherently global and colonial (Lockwood 2004, 3). Walker (2011), for example, posits that the ocean acts as a contact zone wherein Hawaiian masculinity is juxtaposed with the encroaching influences of colonization. The ocean is presented as a contested terrain where “waves of resistance” are enacted to combat and rewrite stereotypical notions of Hawaiian masculinity. In the same way, the development of cuisine in Hawai‘i is also a site of negotiation or contact zone. Hawai‘i has been the recipient of ongoing global influences and Local food culture has been shaped by a series of colonial incursions.

Laudan (1996) draws a parallel between the emergence of Pidgin English and the emergence of Local food. She points out that, in contrast to home environments where the indigenous languages of immigrants were spoken, Pidgin emerged in public settings where individuals speaking different languages were required to interact with one another. Likewise, Local food emerged in restaurants, lunch wagons, and saimin stands where, in contrast to the consumption of ethnic foods in home environments, entrepreneurs sought to present food that customers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds would find palatable. Hawaiian plate lunches developed in this social milieu as a low-cost lunch that would sustain working people. Today, plate lunches have become deeply associated with the Local in terms of language, social class, and ethnicity. Yamashita provides a brief history of restaurants in Hawai‘i and distinguishes between restaurants that catered to local people and fine dining establishments. Local restaurants served local food to local people, whereas fine dining restaurants developed what has been termed continental cuisine (basically classic French cuisine) and catered to tourists and Hawaiian residents of high socioeconomic status (Yamashita 2013). As a result of cultural sharing, the range of foods enjoyed by Locals is striking—Asian ingredients, extending from a foundation of rice, noodles, and soy seasonings are conjoined with foods like wanton, sushi, and raw fish (sashimi). In addition, Japanese katsu dishes, Korean barbecue, Portuguese sausage, Philippine adobo dishes, Samoan corned beef, and Spam<sup>7</sup> as a predominantly American influence (basically stemming from the United

States military presence in Hawai'i) all have a prominent place in Local cuisine. In the recipes that follow, we show how each chef has crafted an aesthetic hybrid—a dish that has prominent Local elements but with a twist that is derived from each chef's cosmopolitan experience and training. The three recipes we present and analyze in this section show how these dishes have evolved, not in arbitrary ways but in ways that are consistent with each of the chef's background and training.

*Seared Foie Gras with Li Hing Mui Chutney.* Alan Wong has produced a foie gras dish that is complemented with li hing mui chutney. In the dish, the foie gras is cut into slices and seared until golden brown. The foie gras is presented on fresh pineapple and is topped with the chutney. Dried pineapple is used as a garnish. The recipe for the chutney is below:

- ¼ cup balsamic vinegar
- ¼ cup sugar
- 1 teaspoon li hing mui powder
- Juice of 1 lemon
- 1 cinnamon stick
- ½ cup each dried pitted prunes and apricots
- ¼ cup each diced bananas, pineapple, and macadamia nuts

In a saucepan, bring the vinegar and sugar to a boil. Boil for 3 to 4 minutes or until the mixture thickens to a syrup. Stir in the li hing mui, lemon juice, and cinnamon. Add the prunes and apricots, and cook for 1 minute longer. When cool, stir in the bananas, pineapple, and macadamia nuts (Wong and Harrison 1999).

Li hing mui is a powder made from sweet and sour dried plums (Wong and Harrison 1999). It is one of a wide variety of dried spiced fruits and vegetables that are extremely popular in Hawai'i. These products were brought to Hawai'i from China in the 1800s and have found a home in Local cuisine. Li hing mui is very popular among children where both the whole dried fruit is eaten, and the powder that results from grinding the dried fruit is used to dust all types of dried and fresh fruit and then licked. The powder is even used to dust candy to add a sweet and sour kick to gummy worms or lollipops. In this recipe, the rich creaminess of the foie gras is cut by the acid of the fruit and the sweet and sour of the li hing mui. The result is a sophisticated dish that has a distinctly local Hawaiian twist. The aesthetic hybrid is highly creative, but the creativity is not random or arbitrary. Rather, it manifests the cultural flows that are present in Wong's experience.

Wong's ethnic Chinese background is reflected in the li hing mui. Laudan (1996) points out that li hing mui and similar products based on dried fruit (termed crack seed in Hawai'i's Local Pidgin) are similar to pizza in the United States in terms of its exaggerated importance in an "adopted" culture. That is, both pizza in Italy and crack seed in China are recognized but somewhat unimportant foods in their home cultures but have exploded in variety and penetration in the United States (pizza) and in Hawai'i (crack seed). Alan Wong was familiar with li hing mui because of his childhood in Hawai'i. In truth, eating the dried li hing mui fruit is an acquired taste but one that the great majority of children growing up "local" in Hawai'i develop and come to cherish. Wong names the li hing mui sauce in the dish a chutney, which is consistent with the use of the reconstituted dried fruits. As such, the dish references South Asia and makes contact with another flavor often found in local cooking in Hawai'i—curry. The cultural flow associated with this ingredient has its origins in China and, in turn, has contributed significantly to local cuisine in Hawai'i.

In contrast, foie gras is a classic French ingredient—a part of Wong's professional training and cooking experience. For example, foie gras was prominently on the menu at Lutece in New York City when Wong worked there (New York City Public Library, n.d.). The hybrid dish Wong has created reflects the interaction of local Hawaiian culture with French ingredients and technique. The result is a dish that represents a conjoining of cultural flows—the li hing mui flavor is deeply associated with China and local Hawaiian food, whereas the foie gras represents a Francophile cultural flow that is rooted in classical French cuisine.

*Sautéed Opakapaka with Spinach Coconut Luau Sauce.* Sam Choy transforms a dish that is a traditional one at Hawaiian luaus—squid luau. The young, small, tender leaves of the taro (kalo in Hawaiian) plant or luau leaves are used in the traditional preparation. Hawaiian feasts were originally called 'aha'aina but the name gradually evolved to luau with the term used in print as early as 1856 in a description of the wedding feast of King Kamehameha IV and his wife Emma (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1856). Because of the important role of kalo in Hawaiian culture, it is notable that the Hawaiian name for young taro leaves was adopted as the name given communal feasts. The Hawaiian origin myth is that kalo was the elder brother of all humans; thus, the plant is sacred in the culture. In the traditional preparation, taro leaves are boiled (often in coconut milk) until they become a thick, green sauce that is served with cooked squid. Choy substitutes chopped fresh spinach for the taro (although he includes instructions for using the taro leaves) and presents opakapaka (pink snapper) fillets with the spinach coconut luau sauce.

To prepare the dish, the opakapaka fillets are seasoned with fresh ginger and minced garlic, dredged in flour, and sautéed in oil and butter. The sauce is made as described below:

3 tablespoons minced Maui onion  
½ teaspoon minced fresh ginger  
2 tablespoons butter  
1 cup heavy cream  
¼ cup coconut milk  
salt, pepper, and sugar to taste  
½ cup cooked fresh spinach (can use young taro leaves)

In a small saucepan, sauté onions and ginger in butter 3 minutes or until onions are translucent. Add heavy cream, bring to a boil, and reduce by half. Stir in cooked spinach and coconut milk, and cook 2 minutes. Season to taste with salt, pepper, and sugar (Choy 1996).

Traditional squid luau is an intense flavor and some would say is an acquired taste. When it is served at luaus, those who like it, really like it and seem to top everything with it. This preparation is clearly more delicate; the spinach is not as strong tasting as the taro leaves, and the leaves are left somewhat intact rather than boiled for hours. Moreover, in Choy's adaptation, the sauce is designed as an accompaniment rather than as the focus of the entire dish. The flaky fish and the pungent, rich coconut/spinach flavors complement each other well. Choy's modification of the traditional dish reflects his training in French technique. The dish echoes the classic French dish Salmon with Sorrel Sauce that prominent French chef Daniel Boulud identified as the dish "more than any other that marked the path from the classic cooking of Escoffier to *la nouvelle cuisine*" (Boulud and Greenspan 1999, 48). The sorrel sauce is made with a base of onions and cream into which the sorrel leaves are placed and brought to a boil. Here the sorrel leaves are just brought to a boil so that they retain their integrity. Choy's hybrid both reflects the classic French dish in terms of technique but uses flavors related to his local experience. The luau leaves have a somewhat mineral, slightly bitter taste that is present also in the taste of spinach. Using spinach provides a similar but milder flavor profile than do the luau leaves. The dish reads like Choy's autobiography—the cultural flow from his childhood experience with luaus yield the flavors of the dish, but the technique is related to a Francophile cultural flow that draws from *la nouvelle cuisine* embodied in his sophisticated professional training. The result is not just watered down luau food but rather a hybrid creation that stands alone, rich in tradition but strikingly original.

*Mahimahi Musubi.* Russell Siu presents a mahimahi fish dish with the fish wrapped in a sheet of nori, the seaweed sheets that are used to wrap sushi rolls. Siu indicates that the inspiration for the dish was Spam musubi—a local food consisting of a slice of Spam and sticky rice wrapped in nori. Musubi has its origins in Japan in rice balls and cakes named *o-nigiri*. These date to at least the twelfth century in Japan and have remained popular through today. They are often filled with pickled vegetables or seafood to act as a preservative. During World War II, Spam became a widely consumed protein in the Pacific—large quantities were shipped to American soldiers, and a portion of that found its way to the local population (Spam n.d.). Between 1941 and 1945, Spam became a replacement for fish because fishing around the islands was prohibited during the war years (Nenes 2008, 479). Spam musubi is widely available in Hawai'i in homemade lunches and at grocery and convenience stores. Siu describes the creation of the dish by saying “We actually started by calling this a ‘mahi musubi’ . . . We played around with the idea and wrapped the mahimahi like a musubi. We elevated it to a higher level . . .” (Siu, Hiura, and Benton 1996, 71).

To prepare the dish, the fish is wrapped in the nori and pan seared in a small amount of oil until golden brown. Just before the mahimahi is completely cooked, teriyaki sauce consisting of mirin (sweet rice wine), soy sauce, sugar, and sake is added to glaze the fish. The dish is presented in a way that references a Japanese cultural flow; Siu uses a cold cooked soba noodle salad consisting of noodles and julienne strips of carrots, cucumber, and zucchini as the base of the dish. The salad is dressed with a very common local dressing—ginger soy vinaigrette:

- 3 tablespoons sesame oil
- 3 tablespoons soy sauce
- 1 tablespoon toasted sesame seeds
- Juice of one lemon
- 2 tablespoons sugar
- 1 ½ cup salad oil
- 2 teaspoons ponzu vinegar
- ½ teaspoon grated ginger

The ingredients are simply mixed in a bowl. To finish the dish, the soba salad is tossed with the dressing and placed on a plate. The nori wrapped teriyaki mahimahi is then placed over the noodles (Siu, Hiura, and Benton 1996).

Siu's description of the process of creating this dish again demonstrates the hybridization process. In this case, the musubi wrapping technique was

derived from Local cuisine that, in turn, was influenced by a Japanese cultural flow. The process of wrapping plays a significant role in Japanese culture (Hendry 1993), most obviously in the wrapping and giving of gifts. But the rituals of wrapping that surround Japanese gift practice have been extended to food with many foods being wrapped in other foods, in cellophane wrappers, or presented in containers (for example bento boxes). The use of nori in wrapping o-nigiri or sushi is an example of the use of wrapping rituals applied to food. The process of wrapping elevates the quality of the gift or the food item when it is presented to another. In the case of musubi, the process of subsequently unwrapping the food by eating it is akin to unwrapping a gift and receiving the interest and appreciation encoded into the gift through its wrapping.

A similar Japanese cultural flow is evident in the sweet/sour flavor of the teriyaki sauce. Originally made with sake, soy sauce, and mirin wine, the sauce has origins in Japan in the 1600s when it was used as a shiny (*teri* in Japanese) glaze primarily for seafood. The term *yaki* means to grill in Japanese (Davidson and Jaine 2006). The sauce reached Hawai'i through Japanese immigrants to the plantations where sugar replaced the mirin and seasonings such as garlic, ginger, green onions, and pineapple juice were added as the sauce became a Local amalgam.<sup>8</sup> The sweet/sour of the fish is cut by the bitter nori, and the soy/sesame of the noodles complements the dish. In the recipe, the fish becomes an ingredient that poses an interesting challenge. Mahimahi operates metonymically, as the ubiquitous fish comes to stand in for Hawai'i. Although remaining tethered to its regional identity, mahimahi, as a fish that is served around the world, is able to traverse numerous global cultural flows. Again the result is a distinct eating experience, a product that clearly reflects Siu's ethnicity and cultural background.

Siu's mahi dish is an important example because HRC is not simply a bilateral fusion between Pacific and European cooking. As Sam Choy cautioned, "it is not enough to simply take an Asian ingredient and give it European sauce or vice versa. That may be fusion, but it is not Hawaiian Regional Cuisine" (Choy as cited in Hiura 2009, 124). Siu's dish is a hybrid that started with one of the most common dishes in Hawai'i, Spam musubi. This is a dish he ate as a child and that nearly all children in the islands grow up eating. His modification plays with the original, a descriptor that suggests amusement, active participation, and perhaps a level of teasing. Each of these descriptors suggests a level of engagement with the cultural flows involved with hybrid dishes that exceed simple, sterile mixing of flavors or textures and extends toward a recombination of cultures.

### Discussion

The multicultural background of each of these chefs is reinforced in their cuisine. As hybrid aesthetic products such as the dishes described above are created, the accomplishments of these individuals refract and define their cultural backgrounds. Historically, the cuisine of Local culture in Hawai'i was built upon cultural flows of various nationalities that came to Hawai'i in successive waves of migration. As a result, Local cuisine features tremendous variety in its proteins and seasonings. The process is still occurring today as multiple layers of cuisine and culture penetrate the islands in an increasingly globalized society. The hybrid aesthetic products we have described are case studies that demonstrate the results of the often colliding cultural flows that continue to join together, influencing both eating habits in Hawai'i in general and the ongoing creations of HRC.

In the twenty years since HRC emerged as an important culinary trend, the chefs involved have become shapers of cultural identity in Hawai'i; their food is well known and has actively influenced food preferences and purchasing patterns. Regarding the popularity of the three chefs we have considered, each is highly active in public promotions of their cuisine. They each are affiliated with multiple, popular restaurants, and each has authored well-received cookbooks. Each has been involved in cooking demonstrations and classes, are the focus of coverage in the local media, and have the status of local celebrities. Regarding HRC's influence on food preferences and purchasing patterns, it is possible to see changes in terms of "eating local" that are directly consistent with the goals the HRC chefs held for their cuisine. For example, Myrone Murakami, a farmer and vice-president of the Hawaii Farm Bureau Federation comments that HRC has changed the buying habits of consumers in Hawai'i, both in supermarkets and in supporting farmer's markets. "The general public's consciousness has been raised about supporting the local agricultural community. There's no question that that kind of willingness on the consumers' part, to go after local products, encourages local production" (Engle 2011). Of course these are changes that have occurred across the United States; thus, arguing that HRC has been entirely responsible for changes in Hawai'i is unrealistic. Nonetheless, the rise in interest in local agriculture in Hawai'i is striking—a change that HRC has certainly promoted.

Although we have focused on the importance of global cultural flows in describing the origin of HRC it is important also to situate HRC within the culture and economy of Hawai'i. As noted previously, Yamashita posits that HRC "affirms the local" and that by so doing contravenes previous denigration of things Local by colonialists (Yamashita 2013). He points to the use

of local produce, the foregrounding of local producers and places in the names of dishes on menus (e.g., Ho farm tomatoes; Hau'ula tomatoes), the foregrounding of Local dishes on menus (e.g., the previously mentioned Loco Moco), and the opening of career opportunities in the culinary professions to Local people (Yamashita 2013).

Although Yamashita applauds the agency afforded to Local chefs and agricultural producers through HRC, he might not take into full account the ways in which HRC makes and remakes local and regional culture given the tension between structure and agency, resistance and incorporation.<sup>9</sup> In a parallel analysis, Fermantez (2007) analyzes the case of a Hawaiian surfing club (Hui o He'e Nalu) and a for-profit version of the original club (Da Hui, Inc.). In his analysis, he draws on Stuart Hall who identifies a "tricky version of 'the local' that operates within and has been shaped by 'the global'" (Hall 1993, 354). Da Hui, Inc. can be seen as a rearticulation of the Local in Hawai'i that satisfies "the demands of a global capitalism" (p. 95). However, Fermantez deftly moves beyond an argument based solely on resistance because "both organizations have both local and global indigenous articulations, the resistance within them is complicit in and reinforcing of local and global hegemonies" (p. 96). In the same way, HRC can be seen as both empowering of a particular kind of Local culinary rootedness while, at the same time, co-constructively reifying a regional and global imaginary of Hawai'i as a commodified brand awaiting consumption. Just as Da Hui, Inc. "deftly rides both local and global waves to shore on the back of Native Hawaiian resistance" (p. 95), HRC acts constitutively as both resistance and incorporation.

Rather than solely celebrating the achievements of HRC, a somewhat different picture may emerge if the development of HRC is viewed from a critical cultural perspective that focuses more specifically on the articulation of power relations. Through such a lens, HRC may be viewed not only as a consciously developed product designed to tie together local ingredients and local flavors in a cuisine that would complement the heritage of the Local people of Hawai'i but as having an additional goal of being economically successful in the restaurant business. The supplanting of cultural motives with economic goals among the HRC chefs may be especially the case because fully nine of the original twelve HRC chefs were from the mainland United States or Europe. With the goal of economic success in mind, in addition to "affirming the local," restaurants serving HRC may be seen also as "appropriating the local" through a commodification of Local culture. Another perspective on this type of appropriation comes from Costa and Besio (2011) who describe HRC as "gentrified" Local food. Taking this viewpoint, foregrounding the names of local producers and

places by showing them prominently in recipes and demarcating them on menus may be seen as usurping the identity of local producers and places in the service of presenting a more convincing commodity. The repurposing of Local dishes in high-end restaurants designed to serve well-to-do tourists and high socioeconomic status residents points both to cultural appropriation and is ironic given that many of these dishes evolved out of the poverty of Local people, designed to feed many and stretch budgets.

Our position is that HRC should be considered an engineered cosmopolitan cuisine that is at the same time local, regional, and global. As noted above, HRC employs a series of cosmopolitanizing strategies that act to both break down boundaries with other food cultures while at the same time to establish rootedness within the food culture of Hawai'i. This dual process of cosmopolitanization has been elaborated in what Calhoun terms national cosmopolitanism "the pleasures of being both home and away" (Calhoun 2008, 445) and what Pascual has described as the "double movement of embracing one's roots and the worldwide community of human beings at once" (Pascual 2013, 602). For example, through hybridization, new ingredients and techniques are introduced, but at the same time roots are reestablished and reinforced. Alan Wong's foie gras dish described previously opens HRC to an ingredient that is certainly foreign yet the dish as a whole is unmistakably Local, pervaded with a taste recognizable to all Local residents as *li hing mui*. The experience of eating the dish both connects a diner to Hawai'i and by extension to the Pacific Rim but at the same time negotiates international boundaries. In the same way, Russell Siu uses the cosmopolitanizing strategy of disruption to deconstruct diner's expectations of musubi. Rather than a typical Local musubi with a slice of Spam, diners receive a mahimahi fish fillet flavored with teriyaki. Diners reference musubi as a quintessential Local dish in Hawai'i but have their expectations upended by the mahimahi, a high-quality fish that is globally available but widely associated with Hawai'i and the teriyaki, a sauce with Japanese roots that is again associated with Hawai'i. Disrupting expectations highlights the root of the dish but at the same time emphasizes the hybrid, creating the double movement of cosmopolitanization to which Pascual refers. A final example is Sam Choy's fish dish with spinach/coconut luau sauce. Choy's dish is certainly a hybrid but also disrupts the "script" of a typical luau menu. Also, the dish has a dimension of performativity in the sense that luaus are celebratory occasions, and of course the name for the celebration and the name for luau leaves (a central ingredient of the dish that contributes to Choy's hybrid) is the same. Thus, the dish is an integral part of the performance of luaus and that increases the symbolic significance of the food.

These cosmopolitanizing strategies use this double move to serve the strategic ends of existing within multiple valences of globalization. HRC leverages the local and codifies the regional, all while skimming the surface of sticky entanglements with Local politics and culture. Here food acts as a contact zone (Walker 2012) where waves of commodity, culture, and tradition collide to form an engineered regional cuisine to wash up along global shores. Rather than an arbitrary kaleidoscopic mixing of ingredients and techniques, the food combinations presented here derive from the cultural backgrounds of their creators and articulate HRC as a moment of engineered cosmopolitan cuisine. The story of the development of HRC is one such moment where, in the words of Sam Choy: “cooking creatively carries on the local tradition of blending and sharing” (Choy 1996, 114). Such blending results in the culinary expressions of hybridity that constitute HRC, a point in the continuing development of the Local, regional, and global cuisine of Hawai‘i.

## NOTES

1. The original twelve Hawaiian Regional Cuisine chefs included (in alphabetical order) Sam Choy, chef/owner, Sam Choy’s Kai Lanai, Kona, HI; Roger Dikon, executive chef, The Carlyle, Palm Beach FL; Mark Ellman, chef/owner, Mala Ocean Tavern, Lahaina, Maui HI; Amy Ferguson, catering, Big Island, HI; Bev Gannon, chef/owner, Haliimaile General Store, Maui, HI; Jean-Marie Josselin, chef/owner, Josselin’s Bar & Grill, Poipu, Kauai, HI; George Mavrothalassitis, chef/owner, Chef Mavro, Honolulu, HI; Peter Merriman, chef/owner, Merriman’s Waimaea, Big Island, HI; Philippe Padovani, owner, Padovani’s Chocolates, Honolulu, HI; Gary Strehl, no longer in restaurant business; Alan Wong, chef/owner, Alan Wong’s, Honolulu, HI; Roy Yamaguchi, Roys, (numerous locations). There were two additional chefs who attended the August 27, 1991, meeting, René Boujet and John Farnsworth, but who did not attend later meetings (Yamashita 2013). The recipes used for analysis in this article were taken from Alan Wong, Sam Choy, and Russell Siu, all chefs with strong Local connections to Hawai‘i. Siu was not one of the original HRC chefs but is strongly identified with this cuisine. It should be pointed out that, although the HRC chefs all are dedicated to farm-to-table cooking and to the Local flavors of Hawai‘i, of the original twelve chefs, only Wong and Choy grew up Local in Hawai‘i.

2. Like all manifestations of material culture, Local food is embedded in a cultural milieu. In the case of Hawai‘i, that milieu is Local Culture—a highly elaborated and well-studied set of social practices (Chang 1996; Costa and Besio 2011, 840; Miyares 2008). For treatments of the political and social aspects of Local Culture see Fuchs (1961), Okamura (1980, 2008), and Chang (1996). A number of origins for the term Local have been identified in the Hawaiian context. John Rosa (2000) dates usage to a legal case that is well known in Hawaiian cultural history, the 1932 Massie murder trial (Rosa 2000). A prominent Caucasian woman accused five young Polynesian men of raping her. Their trial led to a hung jury, and family and friends of the woman in

question took matters into their own hands, murdering one of the men. The ensuing sensational trial received tremendous press coverage, and in describing the young men, the *Honolulu Advertiser* identified them as a group of "local youth." Rosa argues from a production of culture position that the Local designator continued from that point both as a classifier and as a cultural foundation. Essentially "local" became "Local." Okamura (1980, 1994) has also pointed to the continuing importance of media representations of Local Culture. Although the above authors would not deny the additional importance of social class in determining Local status, Sally Engle Merry emphasizes economic status as the major basis of the Local designation. She asserts: "Working-class Asians, many of whom had plantation backgrounds, began to develop a shared identity as local. The concept of local emphasized class and residence in the islands. Local described working-class people of color who were born in Hawai'i and spoke pidgin—the English Creole language of Hawai'i" (Merry, 2004, 140). The definition of Local culture and who can or cannot be classified as Local is a subject of ongoing academic and vernacular discussion (cf. Leong 1997; Okamura 1994) with various authors drawing nuanced distinctions between individuals of different ethnic origins. For example, it is clear that Local Culture is not necessarily Hawaiian culture. Local Culture is a much more recent cultural construction, whereas Hawaiian culture refers to the culture of indigenous people of the Hawaiian Islands. However, Trask (2000) has argued that the use of the Local designator is inappropriate for anyone other than indigenous people of Hawai'i. In practice, many ethnically Hawaiian people may classify themselves as Local in addition to a primary ethnic identification as Hawaiian. Although the exact definition of Local culture is a dynamic, changing entity, the term is an actively used identifier in Hawai'i and includes some consideration of socioeconomic status, ethnicity, nationality, language, and of course food. Our convention in this paper is to present Local as a proper noun with capitalization when referencing the Local culture described above. When we reference geographic locality, we use a typical noncapitalized form.

3. The increased awareness and support of a variety of local producers in a locale's food system is one of the many precursors to the Slow Foods movement—a political and social approach to food that emphasizes sustainable, local, equal and just production and consumption (Leitch 2013).

4. The description of Alan Wong's background and training is taken from Alan Wong and John Harrison's book published in 1990 (pp. xii–xx).

5. The description of Sam Choy's background and training is taken from Janice Wald Henderson's book published in 1994 (pp. 2–4).

6. The description of Russell Siu's background and training is taken from Russell Siu's book published in 1996 (pp. 12–20).

7. Spam consumption in Hawai'i is seven million cans per year (Spam n.d.). This would make the per capita consumption of Spam the highest of any state in the nation.

8. As in all widely available hybrid food, tracing the history of teriyaki sauce in the United States is difficult because of the ubiquity of the dish. Food historian Rachel Laudan points to the plantations of Hawai'i as the source of the sauce's evolution

(Laudan 1996) from the original Japanese soy sauce and mirin combination to the stronger garlic/ginger flavor profile that is associated with the product today. It is interesting to note that the international food conglomerate Kikkoman also cites Japanese-Americans in Hawai'i as the developers of teriyaki sauce forty-five years ago (Kikkoman 2014).

9. See Fermantez (2007) for a discussion on Oceanic cultural studies as both "routed" and "rooted."

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**"HEAVY WORDS AND IMPORTANT SILENCES": KWARA'AE  
CHILDREN LEARNING THE INDIGENOUS EPISTEMOLOGY  
OF WILLINGNESS AND RANK**

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THE PAST THREE DECADES HAVE SEEN RESURGENT INTEREST and attendant research in indigenous epistemology, methodology and pedagogy. However, to date there are few studies that specifically examine how indigenous groups actually "do" indigenous epistemology, methodology, and pedagogy. Contributing to the few studies that address this epistemic void, in this article we examine how Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands) parents enact, model, and directly teach their children social ontology and indigenous epistemological strategies in formal teaching-counseling sessions called *fa'amanata'anga*. Specifically, we analyze four examples in three families with children of three age groups, focused on the cultural theme of willingness/laziness and rank/seniority. In these sessions, parents and children are both doing indigenous epistemology and teaching/learning the epistemology of important concepts that underlie the cultural social organization and values of Kwara'ae society.

The growth of interest in and attendant studies on indigenous epistemology, methodology, and pedagogy over the past thirty years has brought indigenous, native, and local voices into the center of Western academic

discourse as major players in debates about knowledge and knowledge construction. Particularly, we were struck by the complexity and diversity of publications when we recently undertook an Internet search for the terms "indigenous epistemology, methodology, and pedagogy" and received close to one hundred pages of text. In this paper, primarily we will be concerned with "indigenous epistemology."

Some work in indigenous epistemology concentrates on critiquing conventional Western-based research strategies and assumptions, making the case for indigenous research strategies (e.g., Smith 1999; Henry and Pene 2001; Quanchi 2004; Royal 2004; Foley 2005/2006; Nabobo-Baba 2006). Many studies examine the nature of a particular indigenous epistemology or the intersection of indigenous and outsider perspectives and practices addressing important societal issues, such as ecology, development, and education (e.g., Chisholm 1996; Roberts 1997; Meyer 1998, 2004; Gegeo 1994, 1998, 2006; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1994, 1999, 2002, 2004; Gordon 2003; Subramanyam 2003; Thaman 2003; Battiste 2005; Kaomea 2005; Waldrup, Timothy, and Wilikai 2005). Analysis of the discourse of indigenous, native, or local cultural members engaged in the practice of creating knowledge (e.g., Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001) is less common. However, among conference papers, published books and articles, and discussion forums we did not find any that explicitly examined the direct teaching/learning of indigenous epistemology with children in naturally occurring discourse.

Drawing on contemporary sociocultural education theory and Kwara'ae indigenous theories of knowledge construction, we begin to address the foregoing gap in the research literature by examining how Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands) parents enact, model, and directly teach the ontology of values, person-hood, and behavior through indigenous epistemological strategies and, thereby, also model these strategies as they engage their children in formal sessions called *fa'amanata'anga*. We analyze four examples that occurred in the same three families, between children of three age levels and their parents, focused on the socioculturally important themes of willingness/laziness and rank/seniority, respectively. We had purposely chosen young children and teenagers to show that *fa'amanata'anga* is not just for adults but rather a life-long important cultural activity that starts from very early on in life and continues to old age. In fact, it is strongly emphasized that the earlier children are exposed to or participate in it the more knowledgeable and firmly grounded they will be in Kwara'ae *falafala* "culture."

### Fa'amanata'anga as Situated Learning of Indigenous Epistemology

Living in a large cross-section of north-central Mala'ita<sup>1</sup> island, Kwara'ae people are the most populous cultural and linguistic group in Solomon Islands. Our work has taken place in several rural villages of West Kwara'ae near the Mala'ita Provincial capital of Auki. Villagers primarily support themselves by subsistence horticulture, supplemented by selling garden produce and copra, and some also work in low-paying wage-labor jobs nearby. West Kwara'ae has undergone rapid social change since World War II as the location of Mala'ita's provincial headquarters, primary urban center of Auki, major hospitals and an airfield and as a site for ongoing intense mission and development activity (Gegeo 1994; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1994, 1995, 1999a; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 1996, 1999). In the past thirty years, as an integral part of de-colonization, a resurgence of interest in (traditional) culture [falafala, or *kastom* in Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP)] has spread through Kwara'ae, partly because of the failure of modernization and rural development projects based on Anglo-European epistemology and assumptions about what rural villagers need (see Gegeo 1998; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001).<sup>2</sup> Outsider-influenced local projects are tried periodically (such as small rice plantations) but nearly always fail, leaving behind ecological damage (such as swampland that has been drained, destroying the natural food chain, obliterating sections of virgin forest, and eliminating the source of building materials) (for examples, see Gegeo 1994; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2002; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 2014). Since the 1980s, Kwara'ae villagers have been turning back to their own ways of constructing and analyzing knowledge as a basis for designing small-scale development projects. These projects, often focusing on cultural arts (dance, music, crafts) or knowledge (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001), garden products, and food animals (chickens, pigs), are conceptualized within and guided by the traditional goal of developing the whole person (*ngwae/kini ali'afu*). The concern with *ali'afu'anga* (the being whole, complete) is rooted in the goal of achieving *gwaumauri'anga* (lit., the being at the head of life), the essence of *mauri'a le'a* (the good life; Gegeo 1994, 1998).

Achieving wholeness means that one lives by, in fact embodies, the ten key or "ultimate" (Firth 1964, 174) values that constitute the *to'ofana* (ontological foundation or essence) of Kwara'ae culture: *alafe'anga* (unconditional love, together with kin obligations); *'adofiku'anga* (join together, doing things together as one); *aroaro'anga* (peace, peaceful behavior); *babato'o'anga* (emotional and behavioral stability, dependability, settling down in one place); *enoeno'anga* (humility, delicacy, adaptability, gracefulness, tranquility, gentleness); *fangale'a'anga* (giving, sharing, receiving

gracefully, etiquette, and manners; lit., eat good); *kwaigwale'e'anga* (welcoming, comforting, hospitality); *kwaima'anga* (affectionate, amorous, and tender love); *kwaisare'e'anga* (feeding someone without expectation of return); and *mamana'anga* (truthfulness, spiritual power; for an in-depth discussion of this concept, see Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 1996).

Kwara'ae people conceive of the self or person metaphorically as a “wasp’s nest of many chambers” that include physical, emotional, spiritual, intellectual, social, and behavioral characteristics. Each chamber of the person is called *kula* (part, point, or place). The *kula ki* (parts) of a person who is living in completeness are also whole, good, well-formed, and fitting, in the “eyes of culture” (falafala is conceived as a thinking person related to but separate from individual human beings). However, a *kula* may also be *rora* (wrong) in the sense of being *firu* (entangled). It may be *'a'a* (deformed), or *'iribolo* (not fitting) in the sense of falafala’s expectations. When one or more *kula ki* are so described, the person is *kakabara/kwala-basa* (meandering in thought or behavior, lacking foundation or dignity), or more seriously, *korenga'a* (half) in contrast to *ali'afu* (whole). The person is also described as *gwaubali'a* (one-sided head) or *ta'ita'ibali'a* (one-sided), that is, behaving as if only one side of the head (brain) is functioning (see Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 2013). Because such problems in a person’s thinking or behavior can spread like rings in a pool (*sifolia*) to the family, kin group, village, and beyond, a problematic *kula* can entangle (*firua*) social relationships that need to be *fa'asaga* (straightened out).

Fa'amanata'anga is the discourse activity in which attempts at the family, kin group, or village level are made to change individual and group thinking and behavior. It always takes place within or at the end of a dispute-settling village meeting, to bring people back together, reinforce the lessons learned through the disputing process, and emphasize cultural values (see also Watson-Gegeo 1996). Fa'amanata'anga is also undertaken on a regular—sometimes daily—basis in families who try to incorporate falafala into the center of their lives. In the West, we distinguish between “counseling” and “teaching.” At least at the professional level, they are undertaken by separate specialists: the psychologist or trained counselor, and the school teacher. This distinction does not hold in Kwara'ae, where values and knowledge are closely intertwined. Moreover, fa'amanata'anga is held in high respect as *abu* (sacred), and its *mamana'anga* (power, efficacy) is felt and seen only when it is offered as free family or community service instead of a commodity to be exchanged for monetary gain. This is despite the notion that many of the issues taken up in fa'amanata'anga sessions today involve challenges introduced from the outside through colonization and globalization (Gegeo 2012, 2013).

Fa'amanata'anga literally means "shaping the mind" (*fa'a* = causative prefix; *manata* = think, mind; *'anga* = nominative suffix, -ing, -tion indicating process). Any intellectually based topic, knowledge, or issue can be taken up in a fa'amanata'anga session, such that intellectual instruction and addressing emotional and behavioral issues take place simultaneously. As the traditional equivalent to formal schooling (see Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1992, 1994; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2002), these sessions are used to teach children, and sometimes adults, bodies of theoretical knowledge on gardening, house-building, and other skills; the discourse of cultural values and behavior; kin relationships and marriage practices; and indigenous philosophy, ontology and epistemology. In the process, participants also learn *ala'anga lalifu* (high rhetoric) register<sup>3</sup> and discourse, because it is the speech register in which fa'amanata'anga is always conducted. Any divergence from this register renders a fa'amanata'anga session kwalabasa (meandering, unimportant), and the Kwara'ae words used are described as *sasala* (light, lack weight) and *daukō* (be suspended) instead of *kulu* (heavy) and *fauto'o* (firmly sitting on the ground like a rock).

The Kwara'ae perspective on teaching and learning is congruent with newer sociocultural approaches in the West that—in contrast to the "cognitivist" and "decontextualized" approaches of conventional Anglo-Euro-American schooling—argue that all cognitive activity is situated in a specifiable context. "Situated learning" is a recently developed general theoretical perspective on the "relational character of knowledge and learning," the "negotiated character of meaning," and "the concerned (engaged, dilemma-driven) nature" of the learning activity for people involved in it. As educational anthropologists Lave and Wenger (1991, 33) argue, "there is no activity that is not situated," the whole person is involved in learning, and "agent, activity, and the world mutually constitute each other." Also, as the Kwara'ae understand, Lave and Wenger argue that mind is created in social interaction. Specifically, learning happens through participation in communities of practice through "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Standpoint Theory as propounded by feminist epistemologists and philosophers also support this perspective (Alcoff and Potter, 1993; Weedon, 1997). Legitimate peripheral participation refers to "the incorporation of learners into the activities of communities of practice, beginning as a legitimated (recognized) participant on the edges (periphery) of the activity, and moving through a series of increasingly expert roles as learners' skills develop" (Watson-Gegeo 2004, 341). Kwara'ae adults and older siblings may begin doing simple fa'amanata'anga with children as young as eighteen months (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986b), especially in senior-ranked families who have more social and cultural capital than

junior-ranked families, and whose reputations depend on their own and their children's knowing, embodying, and living out cultural values and knowledge.

With older children and adults, fa'amanata'anga typically takes place after dinner in the evening and is signaled when one of the lead speakers (usually father or mother) switches registers to high rhetoric, and speaking in a grave tone of voice and with a serious facial expression, addresses the issue or individual that is the main topic of the session. On hearing the first utterance, everyone in the room immediately falls silent. Listeners focus their eyes on the floor or in mid-space and withdraw into the first level of meditation, seeing "all black" or "all white" as their minds withdraw inward.<sup>4</sup> They sit still and listen to what the speaker is saying, showing no affect, and concentrating on how the message applies to themselves and their internal and external kula ki—even if only one of them is being singled out for counseling. (For a detailed discourse analysis of speaking style, framing, format, and paralinguistics, see Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1990.) Fa'amanata'anga is metaphorically referred to as "heavy words and important silences" because of the cultural weight of the discourse and the silences that the speaker(s) open up from time to time, such that listeners can think about what is said.

Now, we turn to an examination of fa'amanata'anga examples, with the dual purpose of identifying indigenous epistemological strategies/argumentation structure and values, across three age levels (for a full analysis of epistemological strategies in adult discourse, see Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001). The three families from whom these examples are drawn are among the nine families we followed intensively for more than a decade, focusing on children from birth to teenage. The Irosulia and Alita (pseudonyms) family samples were recorded by the parents without our being present. We had asked our co-researcher parents to turn on the tape recorder at home at dinnertime and let it run. Fa'amanata'anga that takes up behavioral issues does not happen when nuclear family outsiders are present. In some cases, the parents had forgotten the tape recorder was running, and in others they deliberately turned it on when they were intending to include fa'amanata'anga in the evening's activities. All the participating parents said that they wanted us to transcribe and examine these sessions because they believed that fa'amanata'anga is the most important form of family education. Indeed, as they always emphasized, it is the thing that *fa'a'o'olo kia* (sets us on the right path) vis-à-vis *falafala* (culture). In this sense, and as can be seen from the examples, fa'amanata'anga is *dau'afu* (holistic), always covering issues that make up the Kwara'ae cultural ideal of *gwaumauri'anga* as mentioned earlier.

### Lessons on Willingness and Laziness

A common theme in fa'amanata'anga sessions for children and youth is *mau'udi'anga* (being willing, willingness [to work]). Because the rigor of village life demands it, children are expected to be "adult" as soon as possible, and to this end, girls (especially) are given bush knives (machetes) and begin to work in the gardens and household when they are three years old. Young children of both genders can sustain long periods of productive work through "adult mode performances"—in which they anticipatorily assume the behavior and role of an adult (Watson-Gegeo 2001). Gardening, carrying firewood and water long distances, cooking, building leaf-thatch houses, caring for infants, cleaning, all the tasks a family performs daily require that each member is productive. In Example 1, the father and mother play on the double meaning of *'aila'anga* as (being lazy, disliking, not wanting).<sup>5</sup>

#### *Example 1—Irosulia Family*

Susuli (girl, three years, three months), and her twin siblings Talia (girl, one year, nine months) and Fena (boy, one year, nine months). During dinner in the family kitchen one evening, the mother urges the children to eat so they can then take a bath and go to bed. Susuli replies that she "aial" (doesn't want to). The father suggests in that case, "tell us a story." Susuli responds, "I 'aial that, too." The father immediately begins to fa'amanata:

- 1 fa: I say that nothing has its source in (comes from)  
laziness. (loud, rise then fall to mid low)
- 2 A bad thing is this 'aila'anga. (quietly, low)
- 3 'Aila'anga don't say it from your mouth.  
(mid pitch, low terminal fall)
- 4 mo: Tell the story of the crab and the rat  
(to Susuli; a well-known folktale). (detached tone)
- 5 Su: No. (low pitch, quietly subdued, musical rise-fall)
- 6 fa: 'Aila'anga for a female child, being 'aila is a bad thing.  
(rise-fall on 'aila'anga; rise to mid high)
- 7 You are a female child, don't be saying 'aila'anga. OK?  
(mid range)
- 8 Su: In that case what about An?  
(challenge; crisp; mid rise to mid high, fall to low)
- 9 fa: And An says 'aila'anga (i.e., is lazy) and her father smacks her, too.  
(rise, fall, terminal rise)

- 10 Strikes her. (rapidly; rasp)
- 11 (Do you think) her father didn't whip your person (i.e., let your friend's behavior go by). (low rise to mid high)
- 12 mo: Don't say 'aila' (dislike). (high mid sustained)
- 13 You are a woman, your body should not be inflexible. (mid falling, rapid)
- 14 Be very willing (to work). (mid fall to low)
- 15 Work in the sweet potato (garden). (imperative contour, falling pitch)
- 16 fa: OK, Fena? (rise-fall, rise-fall)
- 17 mo: Work in the home (house). (imperative contour, falling pitch)
- 18 Fe: (Yes).
- 19 fa: (Make the) fire. (rise-fall)
- 20 Fe: What?
- 21 mo: If you're 'aila (and) you're a female child, that's just bad. (slowing; mid high rise on second syllable of 'aila; emphatic rise-fall on second syllable of *ta'a* [bad]; terminal mid high rise)

Epistemologically, a topic is posed to *etangia* or *tala'aena* (start) *fa'amanata'anga*, like all focused-discussion *ala'anga ki* (meetings), usually by a declarative statement or a question. Irosulia's "I say that . . ." re-frames the interaction as *fa'amanata'anga*, which includes the understanding that he is now positioned not only as Susuli's father, but more important, as *falafala* itself. *Falafala* speaks through the teacher-counselor, making his/her words *kulu* (heavy) with authority and allowing everyone some emotional distance. The declaration "Nothing has its source in 'aila'anga" articulates a cultural and linguistic lesson: 'aila has a double meaning as the stative verb/adjective (be lazy and dislike, not want). Susuli had first said 'aila to refuse food, which politely delivered is acceptable, except that Susuli's tone was petulant, something that the parents allowed to pass. What brought on the counseling was her second use of 'aila to refuse her father's request to tell a story. Telling a story was posed as a task she was asked to perform, a responsibility for her to carry out, which she resisted. In this first level of instruction on social ontology, Susuli's father gives a simplified lesson on the underlying cultural model that connects laziness and disliking to the culturally important concept of *fuli* (source).

The father's lesson on social ontology and responsibility uses the epistemological strategy of *abira'anga* (branching out) in simplified form. In *abira'anga*, as each issue *birabira* sprout[s] into new shoots), then the ensuing *birabira ru ki* closely related "sprouts or branches" can be followed and

developed. At age three years, all children—but especially girls—are expected to work. Beyond that, Susuli occupies a particular social ontological kula. She is the first child and first daughter in a senior family of a senior kin line in one of the most important clans in West Kwara'ae. She not only models behavior for her twin siblings who are eighteen months younger than she, but her behavior is closely watched by the entire village (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1989, 1999b).

In lines 1–2 and following, the father uses the epistemological strategy of *'ini te'ete'e suli ru'anga* (pinching little by little along a thing), taken from the gardening practice of finding the end of a vine by running the fingers down its length, which refers to systematic reasoning in laying out or evaluating a point. Because Susuli is very young, he is talking to her less at the practical level than at the discourse level. He is emphasizing not so much the actual doing of something as he is the way of talking or saying something. Fa'amanata'anga goes step by step discursively, in this regard. By the time Susuli is nine or ten years of age, he will emphasize the doing (*sasia*) rather than the saying (*saesaea*). Saying and doing can come in any order, of course, but by learning the vocabulary of epistemic discourse, Susuli will be able to understand and participate at higher levels. Also, the father is operating out of the cultural assumption that speaking and discourse shape thinking and behavior.

Her mother repeats the request to tell a story that Susuli knows well, but Susuli again expresses dislike. Her father then fa'amanata again, introducing the gender role for a woman, being *mau'udi* (willing) and working hard (although if he were counseling her brother Fena, he would have said the same thing about men). Susuli rapidly counters her father's assertion by an early use of the epistemological strategy of *saefilongisia* (question it to pieces), prefacing her question "What about An?" with the epistemological "if-then" marker of *'ira* (if what you have said is the case, then ...). Nine-year-old An lives nearby, is a close friend of Susuli, and everyone in the village considers her to be lazy. Susuli's father counters that An doesn't get away with laziness, saying that her father *rekoa* (strikes) her. *Rekoa* is a dramatic term not applied to a parent spanking a child. Susuli's father knows that dramatic language is more likely to affect Susuli, whose own discourse style is very dramatic; but also he immediately provides a gloss for *rekoa* by saying *kwai'ia* (spans, strikes) and then *uraura* (whips). (An's family was also in our sample, and spanking was extremely rare among them, as Irosulia and Susuli both know.)

Susuli's mother then fa'amanata, reinforcing the father's argument by listing off women's work tasks. She is employing the epistemological

strategy of *manata kali ru'anga*, (thinking around a thing) that involves metaphorically putting a piece of evidence or concept in the center and discussing it in concentric circles. Susuli's mother ultimately ends the lesson with her intonation contour signaling the close of the topic, as she summarizes the gender and work part of the argument.

At the age of three years, we see that already Susuli understands how to participate in debate by raising counter evidence and has a beginning command of some epistemological strategies. Through legitimate peripheral participation, she is being incorporated into Kwara'ae values, ontology, and epistemology.

*Example 2—Alita Family*

Dalo (boy, eight years, four months), Manu (boy, fifteen years). This session occurred in the morning when the family was prevented from going to the gardens by heavy, persistent rain. The session followed two evenings in which fa'amanata'anga had focused on Manu. To relieve the tension created by the previous two sessions, throughout the current session the parents alternate between high rhetoric seriousness and low rhetoric humor. Here the father addresses both sons:

- 1 fa: What prevented you from going to (the garden)?  
(high rise on "what," rapid, falling, decreasing volume, interrogative fall)
- 2 mo: You two explain it. (loud; rise-fall)
- 3 Ma: I was just 'aila (lazy). (mid high rise, emphatic)
- 4 fa: 'Aila (dislike) food? (i.e., don't you want to eat?).  
(mid rising, invitational, polite)
- 5 mo: (laughs lightly)
- 6 fa: In that case you won't eat. (lightly, mid high)
- 7 mo: (laughs lightly)  
(Sila, girl, three years old) approaches; several seconds of low conversation between Sila and her mother, untranscribable; then session resumes)
- 8 fa: (Is it) 'aila'a (laziness) that you are going to do well or eating that you are going to do well? (softly, sing-song, falling)
- 9 You must do them well together (you have to work well, and willingness will allow you to eat well). (high mid, falling)
- 10 You garden so that you also eat. (mid rise- fall, swingingly)

- 11 Garden so that you also eat. (slightly lower pitch, very quietly)  
(pause while mother and father prepare and begin chewing betel-nut)
- 12 No, I don't want you to be listening to (following) other children.  
(mid high rise on "no"; low mid, almost chanted; non-terminal fall)
- 13 The children here (in this village) are very lazy.  
(rapidly, condensed, swingingly, non-terminal fall)
- 14 mo: The children are not \_\_\_\_\_ down there. (mid pitch, quietly)
- 15 It's just she that (.) once a child listens to (follows) her, oh goodness! (mid with rise on "to her")
- 16 fa: They stand down there and look into other people's houses (hoping to find food). (high then falling; volume increasing)
- 17 You thought that if you looked in other people's houses, you'd eat any food? (mid high, quietly, urging)
- 18 But where's the food? (mid high; quietly, rapidly)
- 19 mo: (There) isn't any food. (mid high rise, fall)
- 20 fa: Food (that you've worked for) when you arrive home and look in the house, will be there. (emphatic rises/falls, quietly, rapidly, low)
- 21 But if you 'aial (dislike, lazy about) gardening, what are you going to eat? (mid high, quietly, quickly, chanted)  
(The teaching continues, pointing out both teasingly and seriously that, because they have no money, work in the gardens is necessary. Famine and hunger are raised. Having money to buy food if living in an urban area is argued also to involve working hard. The topic is closed with:)
- 22 fa: Do you understand the things I have said? (mid high, measured, easy)
- 23 Da: (laughs nervously)
- 24 Ma: Yes, yes. (strongly, rapidly, rising)  
(Fa'amanata'anga continues, interspersed with light humor, on several topics, and the session is closed with:)
- 25 fa: We say (tell you) something (and) you go do it quietly.  
(high mid falling to low)
- 26 My friend Manu \_\_\_\_\_ laziness is not what I want.  
(mid falling to low)
- 27 mo: That kind of thing I don't want to hear. (*kaen*, "kind" in SIP).  
(quietly)

The Alita parents are members of the same clan as Irosulia, in a junior kin line and in a different village, and Manu is their eldest son. Alita uses an

alternate epistemological strategy for etangia the topic, a question that then merges into the strategy of saefilongisia, interrogating the topic and issue. He and his wife have already held many sessions with the boys on willingness versus laziness, and he goes to the heart of the matter at once. Because the boys are older than Susuli, he can move to “so what was your reason for not doing it?”—sasia (do it) being at this age emphasized over saesaea (say it). However, what he does want them to say—and when they do not respond, the mother states it directly—is a confession, an admission that they had not wanted to work, glossed by ‘aila and extracted from the older son Manu in line 3 (Dalo remains silent, in embarrassment). Confession and admission are epistemic strategies in fa‘amanata‘anga that release tension for everyone and negate the need to detail all the evidence supporting the charge, in this case, that the boys had not worked in the gardens as required. Building on Manu’s admission, the father plays on the double meaning of ‘aila, making the same link among refusal, laziness, work, willingness, and food established by Susuli’s father in Example 1. Now that their sons are older, the Alita parents are more targeted on shaping the reasoning of their sons than teaching them vocabulary. Therefore, when the boys do not answer the father’s question in line 5, “Do you ‘aila food?” he draws the if–then conclusion himself, using ‘ira—survival is the issue, we work in order to eat in order to live. The key strategies in this session are the systematic argumentation of *‘ini te‘ete‘e sulia* and saefilongisia.

The second theme of the session is introduced by the mother as a logical follow-up to the first. The reason the boys have not been working is that they are “listening to, following” other children in the village where they live. Lately some of these children have been implicated in stealing food from other people’s gardens and minor vandalism. Like Irosulia, the Alita parents use counter-examples to emphasize the nature of appropriate behavior. Alita uses the culturally charged term kelefa‘i to describe other village children’s looking into people’s houses for food (which they would not need to do if they worked in the family gardens). Kelefa‘i is the cultural violation of peering into a house usually by a male to spy on a woman, as in the English “peeping tom.” It is parallel to Irosulia’s use of dramatic language to persuade Susuli.

The session closes by linking doing with saying. The father states in line 26, “My Manu, I don’t want ‘aila‘anga (laziness),” and the mother completes the thought in line 27 with “That kind of thing I don’t want to hear.” These two utterances are constructed as if said by a single person in an authoritative although gentle tone, reflecting that in this moment falafala is speaking through the parents to address the boys directly.

Example 3—*Dalea Family*

An older widower, Dalea fa'amanata his son Sale (nineteen years) on the young man's refusal to do gardening and childcare for his older brother Robin and his sister-in-law Mere, in whose house he lives. Robin, Mere, and the other adult (but as yet unmarried) brothers and sisters of Sale are all present. Strips of discourse typical of this session are selected here as representative of the lead speaker's style of argumentation. The only speaker in this session is Dalea, a highly respected village elder:

- 1 If whatever Robin needs and asks you to do, or Mere says, "Go and bring water (in this container), Sale," or "Go do this thing, Sale."  
(rapidly; higher pitch on quotatives)
- 2 That is obedience, it is the *gwalona* (source) of the family.  
(mid high, rise-fall to first pause, mid pitch, level)
- 3 The source of the family inside the family is obedience or peace.  
(low pitch)
- 4 OK thus (if) your sister-in-law says something, willingness is the good thing. (low, mid rise to high, rapidly)
- 5 If you see that there isn't any firewood, go cut it.  
(low, rapid, decelerating to "go"; high rise-fall on "cut it")
- 6 If you see hoeing—if the garden needs weeding, go weed it.
- 7 Because these things are ours (i.e., these are the basic things we do to live), my son. (mid high, falling to low; rapidly)
- 8 The day that you work in the garden, you have to also really work.  
(mid pitch, fall to low)
- 9 All right, the day that your sister-in-law if it—it's difficult for you all.  
(accelerating, mid rise to mid high on "difficult," then fall to low)
- 10 If Robin and all of them go to (work for) the (community) union and she finds herself in difficulty like this, "Oh Sale, you go look for (bring from the garden) some potato for us." (higher pitch on quotative)
- 11 Or "Stay with the two children there so I can go look for potato for us." (higher pitch on quotative)
- 12 You listen to (obey) her because your food is down there (at her house).  
(mid-high rise to high on "to her," then fall to middle pitch)
- 13 Making yourself important is bad. (middle pitch, emphatic)
- 14 Making yourself important is bad. (as line 13, more quietly)
- 15 Fitting (it should be that) you are humble—you listen to words (obey), that you not be overly sensitive (to advice, criticism); that you not be quick to get angry, (and listen to what) the one born before you (i.e., your elder brother Robin) says to you. (slowly, rising before pauses)

- 16 Because Ana reported it (the poor relations between Sale and Mere due to Sale's neglect of work) to me, I said "Oh, I will speak to him about it this evening." (rapid, flat contour, terminal rise)
- 17 All right, it's good that we gather here like this (and) I report just a little on these kulas (points, places) to you.  
(mid pitch falling to very low)
- 18 That's all, Sale. (mid high, rise-fall)
- 19 That's your kula.

Example 3 begins in the middle of a session. Dalea unexpectedly had *etan-gia* or *tala'aena* this session during an evening family gathering by switching to high rhetoric, assuming a grave facial expression, and saying, "Yes, I want to say something to you, my son," his eyes on Sale. The room immediately fell silent, everyone assumed a serious facial expression and lowered their eyes to the floor. Children were shushed by their parents. Dalea might have chosen to question Sale and others or engage them in conversation, but the single-speaker participation structure is particularly typical of adult *fa'amanata'anga* (at nineteen years of age, Sale is in the *na'ona doe'a* (in front of adulthood) stage of life, eighteen to twenty-three years approximately). At this age, refusal to work is not only about survival (eating) but also about a young man or woman's future. Therefore, the speaker addresses a different level of abstraction, and an additional set of issues in social ontology beyond that in Examples 1 and 2. Dalea's main point can be summarized as, "Your social standing in the community later is shaped by what you do now." The seeds of this lesson are also in Example 1, of course, in the unstated concern about Susuli's social standing.

Three epistemological strategies are used in this example. Dalea systematically lays out how Sale should behave, using '*ini te'ete'e sulia*' (e.g., lines 1, 4–6) and *didisuli ru'anga* (the chipping along a thing to produce a design), a metaphor from manufacturing stone tools in the past. It implies the careful chipping away with arguments one by one until a conclusion is reached (e.g., lines 2–3, 6, 7). The third strategy Dalea uses is *manata kali ru'anga*, interrogating a piece of evidence by putting it in the center and examining it in concentric circles. Dalea integrates all three of these strategies such that movement through the discourse is seamless. Through narrative and quoted speech, he enacts other people's emotions and reactions to Sale's behavior. Although the others do not speak, their concerns are expressed through Dalea.

Issues in the first two examples are reiterated here at the level that women and men who have achieved the status of *gwaunga'i* discuss them

among themselves and then are illustrated and explained through real-life behaviors that Sale can understand. Sale should be willing to do gardening and other tasks because “these are ours,” meaning basic survival tasks within our culture’s *kula*. The principle of *fuli* (source or ontological space) figures prominently in Dalea’s argument. During the forty-five minutes of this session, he elaborated on the two primary terms for source, *fuli* and *gwalo*. In line 3, *gwalona tua’a* (the source of the family) is said to be *aroaro’anga* (peace, peaceful behavior), one of the ten key values mentioned earlier. Subsumed under *aroaro’anga* is *ro’ongiru’anga* (obedience; lit., the heeding of thing); *ro’o* is a reduplicated form implying continuous hearing and following). A second key value is *enoeno’anga*, posed as the opposite of making oneself (falsely) important, or being proud. Here is another lesson in gender relationships, in that Dalea is telling Sale he should obey and respect his sister-in-law. *Mau’udi’anga* (willingness) is a “good thing” toward his sister-in-law, Dalea tells Sale, because he is living in his elder brother and sister-in-law’s household, and they take care of him.

Lines 17–19 closes Sale’s phase of *fa’amanata’anga* (Dalea goes on to *fa’amanata* two other sons on different issues). In doing so, he places the entire lesson in the context of the *kula* system: what he has just said is Sale’s *kula* within the session, his *kula* within the community and family, and is about the internal *kula ki* in Sale himself. In principle, he is addressing ethical and moral issues in Kwara’ae social ontology from which Sale had strayed.

### Lessons on Rank and Seniority

Laziness/willingness and rank/seniority are often closely associated in *fa’amanata’anga*, as in Example 3 where refusal to work was also a refusal to obey an elder brother and his wife. Seniority is a very important organizing principle in Kwara’ae society. Within the tribe or clan and related descent groups, kin lines (including extended families) are hierarchically ranked as senior or junior. Within the family, adults are senior to children, and older siblings senior to younger. The eldest son of the nuclear family is the head of his sibling group and will become head of the family on the death of the father. The oldest daughter also has a great deal of authority in the household because of her supervisory role in family work. The respect she earns during her sibling caregiving years usually gives her special influence even with her brothers after they are all adults. Older siblings are expected to be nurturing models for their younger siblings.

*Example 4—Irosulia Family*

Later on the same evening as Example 1, Susuli fusses quietly, having not gotten her way about a piece of food. Fussing in a three-year-old or older child is called *malangela'anga*, (childishness). Her parents use a variety of techniques to stop her fussing—including comparing her to the younger twins, who are behaving well. When all fails, Susuli's father begins to fa'amanata. Simultaneously, the mother is talking to the twins and appears not to be listening to her husband but is paying attention, as becomes apparent:

- 1 fa: Susuli. (imperative mid pitch with rise; style used in fa'amanata'anga)
- 2 mo: Eat prawn (until you're) full (to Fena and Talia).  
(mild directive)
- 3 fa: Go away from it (i.e., stop it)—if you—you fuss and things  
(hesitatingly, high mid, decelerating, ending high rise)
- 4 mo: Very good (to Fena) (loudly, clapping, cheerfully, invitingly; mid high, fall to low)
- 5 fa: these two persons here will follow you, OK?  
(accelerating, rapidly, terminal rise)
- 6 They'll follow you and then you'll all ... (very rapid, mid falling)
- 7 mo: Very, very good (to Fena).  
(mid high rise, fall to low, invitational repeating contour)
- 8 Fe: Very, very good. (as 7, fall to mid)
- 9 fa: You are a 'a'ana (senior, mature) person, you're 'a'ana now.  
(rapid, mid high, rise on stresses, terminal fall to low)
- 10 mo: [\_\_\_\_\_] / (to Fena)
- 11 fa: Don't cry and fuss. (high mid, swing-song)
- 12 Don't *malangela* (behave childishly). (lower)
- 13 Fe: \_\_\_\_\_ (shouts, unclear)
- 14 fa: Don't be childish. (strong rise-fall)
- 15 mo: \_\_\_\_\_ / (to Fena)
- 16 fa: (Don't behave childishly in front of the little children.) (low, rapidly)
- 17 Ta: Mother, \_\_\_\_\_.
- 18 mo: (Go to) sleep. (rise-fall, invitational contour)
- 19 Ta: Sleep. (rise-fall, like 18)
- 20 fa: (If) you do that, do you see — (louder, announcing, mid to mid high)

- 21 mo: (to Talia) \_\_\_\_\_.
- 22 fa: they'll follow you, and they'll do it, too, and if that is the case then  
(the result will be). (as line 20 in pitch)
- 23 mo: Because I am full (refusing a prawn from Talia).
- 24 fa: darkness with heavy rain, strong wind, cold.  
(mid rise, strong stresses, low pitch)
- 25 Fe: (babbling)
- 26 mo: *Ma'e gasu* with pitch darkness. (mid pitch, moderate speed, clear voice)
- 27 fa: Pitch darkness with hurricane.  
(mid to mid high, moderate pace, clear voice, terminal tonal detachment)
- 28 mo: (to Fena)
- 29 fa: Thus, no; if when they cry and fuss you say to them like this, "Hey, don't you all cry again like that."  
(louder, accelerating; mid high, fall to low)
- 30 mo: Crying is bad—don't teach them that.  
(imperative, rasp on "bad") (*lanim* "teach" from SIP)
- 31 Fe: Don't (to Talia).
- 32 fa: If you cry like that (high mid, quietly, rapid)
- 33 mo: then
- 34 fa: (if) you cry like that, they will follow it.  
(sustained terminal tone)

Earlier in the evening, Susuli's parents played on the double meaning of 'aila; here they play on the double meaning of 'a'ana. Beginning at about age two years six months, children who are responsible, polite, and insightful, and whose adult mode performances accomplish work in the spirit of enthusiasm and caring, are praised by "You are (almost) 'a'ana now!" meaning grown up, mature. The phrase endorses and entices children into appropriate behavior and working well. Susuli's caregivers frequently praise her this way, and she is capable of very elaborate and creative adult mode behavior. 'A'ana praise to a child occurs primarily in low rhetoric discourse and contexts. Now in high rhetoric, Susuli is learning that 'a'ana has a second meaning, senior in rank.

The father etangia or tala'aena this segment by addressing Susuli directly, and his opening example that is expanded over the segment is again dramatic. Supported by the mother, the father builds the argument using the epistemological strategies of 'ini te'ete'e sulia, *manata kali ru'anga*, and propositional logic (if-then). As eldest daughter and first child, Susuli

already babysits her younger siblings with supervision. Talia being small and light, Susuli carries her sister around on her hip, feeds her, and rocks her to sleep on her lap in the evenings. Susuli's parents see Susuli as an important role model for Talia and Fena, hence their concern that the twins will "follow" (imitate) Susuli's behavior. At age three years, Susuli should be beyond *angi kore* (cry and fuss), which is *malangela* (be childish), as they have pointed out to her before.

Propositional logic, and if-then possible outcomes for general and specific behaviors, are among parents' most used epistemological strategies with children. Causal relationships, traced out through 'ini te'ete'e *sulia* strategies, underlay the Alita father's, "You garden so that you eat" in Example 2. Susuli has a flair for theatrical, precocious discourse in her own adult mode performances. Thus, although it is an epistemological strategy typically used with children, Susuli's parents are especially justified in turning to metaphor and imagery to dramatically express what it would mean to family life if Talia and Fena follow Susuli in childish fussing. The metaphors are co-constructed by both parents alternating sentences, as happened in the earlier Alita segment (Example 2). The father states that the result of Susuli and her siblings all fussing together will be *ma'e gasu* (darkness with heavy rain, strong wind, and cold). The mother poetically repeats this metaphor and builds on it with *ma'e rodo* (pitch darkness). The father poetically repeats *ma'e rodo* and in a phrase structured to be parallel with the mother's, adds *kauburu* (storm); his intonation suggests hurricane and devastation. The parents' parallel constructions not only give the resulting discourse coherence and cohesion but also indicate their agreement on the points they have set out. Moreover, their co-constructions illustrate a major conversational (and especially high rhetoric) routine in epistemological discourse for showing agreement by outright repeating, or building on a partially repeated portion of, the previous speaker's utterance.

#### *Example 5—Alita Family*

Same evening, before Example 2, the father and mother fa'amanata their daughter Tatali (twelve years, seven months) with the whole family present (including Sila, three years, seven months). Sessions in this household often focus on the key cultural values of *fangale'a'anga* (sharing) and giving. Although very poor, this family is known for their generosity, and tends to give more than they can afford. Recently certain villagers had begun taking advantage of Tatali and Manu's inexperience, to make requests of them for food, betel-nuts, pots, and tools when the parents were not at home. Both

Tatali and Manu have been previously counseled on not giving away items without their parents' permission. A particularly serious instance involving Tatali has just occurred, motivating this lesson.

- 1 fa: What you did, don't do it again, Li (Tatali).  
(mid-high falling to low)
- 2 I say it now to you.  
(low volume, measured speech, moderate pace, terminal rise)
- 3 I am always saying it to you. (as line 2, terminal fall)
- 4 Anything, somebody asks you for, wait instead for me or your mother (to return).  
(mid rise to mid high and then fall on "anything," rhythmically; decelerating with rise to mid high on "asks you for"; rise-fall on "wait"; terminal fall to low)
- 5 mo: She is shocked and looks away. (laughs softly, humorously)
- 6 Tatali (say) this, "Not my mother!" (she does not want the responsibility, either). (low pitch and volume, seriously)
- 7 fa: I'm not going to spank you. (mid, level contour, gently)
- 8 You do it after this, I'll spank you. (as line 7, slight fall)
- 9 You are just a child. (mid high, terminal fall)
- 10 Everything here in the house, I am 'a'ana (senior, i.e., in charge of).  
(mid pitch, terminal fall to low)
- 11 Somebody comes and asks for something, (you say) "Oh, wait for my father (who) is gone."  
(low rise on "somebody," fall; low rise on "asks for"; low fall on "something"; mid high rise, raspy, soft on "oh"; mid high falling, very soft, imitating girls' speech)
- 12 Don't just reach out and give the thing away.  
(mid high falling to low)
- 13 Is that thing yours so that you can just give it away?  
(mid high, then low and accelerating, terminal rise to mid high)
- 14 Si: (whines, unclear)
- 15 mo: What else is going on here, people?  
(low, quietly, to Sila; at "here" accelerating)
- 16 I 'aila (dislike) hearing that kind of thing (i.e., don't make noise during fa'amanata'anga) (rapidly)
- 17 fa: Here in the house and garden. (high mid, fall to mid)
- 18 Those kula (part) I am 'a'ana. (mid, fall to low)
- 19 mo: We (Kwara'ae) fa'amanata (teach) children in the evenings.  
(rhythmic rise-falls, mid to low)

- 20 We (Kwara'ae) say things to them. (rapid, louder; rising)  
 21 We (Kwara'ae) speak, and if you are quiet and sensible, then you  
 will listen to these talks.  
 (mid to mid high, rise-falls; measured, normal quiet voice)  
 22 fa: (speaks aside to another child)  
 23 mo: You say, "That one is bad." (very softly, mid pitch, rapidly)  
 24 fa: (speaks aside to another child)  
 25 mo: You say, "This one is good." (mid, slowly)  
 26 Si: (speaking to father) (8.5 sec)  
 27 mo: If you cannot tell the bad from the good, oh!  
 there's nothing there.  
 (softly, dramatically; rise on "good" after "oh!", constricted voice)

This lesson on seniority addresses boundaries and balance. Fangale'a'anga (giving, sharing) is a very important value, but boundaries must be placed on the extent to which one shares, especially given the Kwara'ae emphasis on the responsibility of the nuclear family to provide its own subsistence and to care for its own children and elderly adults. In contrast to a child's early tendency to not want to share, Selina shares too readily, is too generous. The extreme poverty of her family intensifies why this generosity is problematic. Using the epistemological strategy of 'ini te'ete'e sulia, the father is demarcating one aspect of boundaries on giving: decisions about what to give are made by seniority. This lesson illustrates the importance of the history of the discourse in understanding a particular fa'amanata'anga session. Similar to Bakhtin's (1981) "dialogic principle"—that "all discourse is in dialogue with prior discourses on the same subject, as well as with discourses yet to come, whose reactions it foresees and anticipates" (Todorov 1984, x)—the interpretation of any fa'amanata utterance must be made in the context of previous and anticipated sessions on the same or related issues. Lessons are adjusted to a child's current level of understanding from previous applicable lessons, with the intent of extending those lessons to bring new understanding. The history of the discourse thus qualifies the meaning of a given lesson. The issue of generosity and sharing has been addressed many times in this family's fa'amanata'anga sessions and by punishment (the parents describe their own discipline style as strict—literally, quick to strike/spank').

Example 5 is a small portion of the actual session, throughout which the father uses saefilongisia in the form of rhetorical questions as in line 8, to challenge and expand Tatali's understanding of 'a'ana'anga into hierarchy, rights associated with rank and role, and disposition of family possessions.

The parents' control over possessions is clearly demarcated with relation to the house and garden. Possessions are also positioned as one *kula* in the family social organization (line 18). Moreover, the father positions himself as senior to his wife. Although the set of local villages that includes the village where the Alita family lives is generally egalitarian, this family observes sharper, more traditional gender lines. Also, we hear Alita's wife endorse her position—in a repeating routine (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986a) with three-year-old Sila in which she tells the girl to say, "not my mother" (line 6)—jokingly refusing the responsibility of deciding whether to respond to requests to give when the father is not present. The issue of giving has been a point of contention between Alita and his wife in the past. Sila does not repeat because her mother has not used an invitational intonation contour that would tell her she is supposed to repeat (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986a). Putative repeating routines like the one in line 6 are often used in high rhetoric contexts as a way of communicating information not part of the high rhetoric talk, such as when a woman requests betel-nut from another woman across the room through a repeating routine with a child (the child may or may not repeat, but the routine disguises the words as the child's and, thus, does not inappropriately interrupt the ongoing high rhetoric talk). Here, the mother uses this strategy to disengage herself from the responsibility laid on her by her husband in line 4 ("... wait for me or your mother ..."), and to inform her children of her disengagement.

Both parents are involved as speakers in this session, but in contrast to their efforts in Example 2, are not co-constructing arguments. Instead, the father speaks first as the mother deals with children's interruptions (such as in lines 15–16). Also, she jokingly and seriously comments on her husband's discourse, not only in the repeating routine, but in line 5 when, sitting near Tatali in the darkened room, she sees that the girl is close to tears. By commenting on her daughter's emotional reaction in a humorous way, she both informs her husband of the girl's feelings and lightens the tone of the session. When the father has finished what he wanted to say, the mother takes her turn to *fa'amanata* Tatali about the girl's behavior when Tatali stayed for several weeks as a paid babysitter with the mother's brother in another village. Now, it is the father's turn to deal with interruptions by the younger children.

The mother closes the session with a direct statement of what *fa'amanata'anga* is about: "We Kwara'ae *fa'amanata* our children in the evenings," and if they listen, they will learn to tell the good from the bad. If they cannot make that distinction—which in this instance is about the balance between sharing and not sharing, and the role of seniority in

deciding that balance—she implies, without elaborating, that things will not go well in their lives. The child's task is to learn to discern between the good and the bad in the most general sense—whether the issue is practical, intellectual, aesthetic, or moral. Fa'amanata'anga events teach epistemological strategies toward that end.

*Example 6—Dalea Family*

The following excerpt occurred in the same session as Example 3, prior to the foregoing sequence. Here Dalea directly addresses the issue of seniority:

- 1 Our older sibling is our older sibling, friend.  
(rise to mid high on first "sibling"; fall-rise on second "sibling"; then fall; rhythmical)
- 2 We should not—today we shouldn't be following, as the saying goes, "Following in the footsteps (of people different) from us."  
(low, moderate pace, accelerating on quotative)
- 3 Any person comes along and you just follow him.  
(rapid, low, quiet but emphatic)
- 4 Any person comes along and you just follow him. (as above, line 3)
- 5 No, you're 'a'ana (mature) now. (as above, line 3; with emphasis on "mature")
- 6 Fitting (it should be that) you and your older siblings are one.  
(low, rising to mid high, terminal fall)
- 7 Ne'e (that) you all are one. (ne'e in this case means "that which we have been discussing, as culturally defined"—it references the discourse) (rise-fall)
- 8 All right don't think of yourself—don't think of yourself like this, Sale, "Oh, I am grown up now, I don't listen to/obey any married woman or anyone." (mid high; low rise on "oh"; quotative; rapid, chanted, decelerating at end)
- 9 No, when it comes to the day that something happens to you (=you want to marry), your older brother (will be the one to pay the bride-price), friend. (low rise on "no"; fall)
- 10 Or the day something happens to you (=you want to marry), your sister-in-law (will be the one to pay the bride-price).  
(decelerating; high rise on "you"; fall, rapid, quietly)
- 11 That's the kula (=the point to think about). (high, rapid, quietly)

Several themes in Irosulia and Alita's fa'amanata'anga on seniority also appear here, within a larger social ontology. As with the other two sets of parents, Dalea emphasizes not following others whose values are different from one's own family; the unity of the sibling group; the importance of work; and the place of each theme in the kula system. The two meanings of 'a'ana are also raised by Dalea, who argues that the demands of 'a'ana'anga override the privileges of being an 'a'ana person, as Sale positions himself. In fa'amanata'anga with Susuli, the Irosulia parents characterized the relationship between siblings from the standpoint of the older child's responsibility to the younger. In contrast, Dalea emphasizes the responsibilities of the younger to the older. Using the epistemological strategy of manata kali ru'anga, Dalea develops his argument in the larger epistemic space of sibling relationships across the life-span. Sale should work for his brother Robin and his sister-in-law Mere because the elder brother arranges marriages for his younger brother(s), and bears the greatest responsibility for paying the resulting bride-price. Mere's family will contribute to the bride-price, too, and she herself will lead the contingent of women who bring the bride back to the village and help her settle in. Therefore, willingness to work for an elder brother and sister-in-law are not merely their due by virtue of seniority but an investment on the part of younger siblings in their own future.

Fangale'a'anga "sharing" and *kwairokisi'anga* (reciprocity) are the over-arching facts of Kwara'ae sibling relationships, illustrated and explained in various ways through fa'amanata'anga throughout life. The inevitability of sibling relationships is stressed in line 7. The implication of "you all are one" (*kaul ne' kaul na'*) is that sibling relationships are continuous and permanent. Robin and Sale are now what they have always been, and will continue to be, by biological and cultural definition. Line 7 is structurally parallel to line 1 ("our older brother is our older brother"), and elsewhere in the session to "our sister-in-law is our sister-in-law"—poetic formulations in high rhetoric signaling that they are principles of *falafala*. Thus, these formulations gain some of their rhetorical and epistemological force from their representation as ancient, permanent cultural principles that continue to shape the everyday reality of Kwara'ae family and community life. Dalea completes the parallel formulations by addressing Sale as *ngwade* (friend). Ngwade in this discourse location is emphatic, here as an expression of pain because what Sale has been doing is a serious violation and embarrassing (thus painful) to the entire family. Yet ngwade is also a way to create collegiality and express affection, treating Sale as an equal.

### Discussion and Conclusion

Educational research typically represents Pacific island children as learning primarily through observation rather than in language-intensive contexts. To the contrary, Kwara'ae children—and Mala'ita children generally—grow up in traditions that emphasize not only learning by watching and doing but also in language-mediated interactions, including fa'amanata'anga. Legitimate peripheral participation is a strategy used throughout family and community high rhetoric and low rhetoric contexts to engage interest and develop skills. Its effectiveness for learning how to do epistemology in the context of fa'amanata'anga is represented in Sale's older brother Bulumae, who married at twenty-one years when he was just two years older than Sale in the above examples. Three years later when Bulumae and his wife's first child was a year old, Bulumae began fa'amanata'anga with the boy, in short "proto-counseling" or "counseling moments" (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986b) focused on sharing and helping. His style and approach were a re-voicing (Bakhtin 1981) of his father Dalea when Bulumae was growing up.

As an essential speech event for teaching, modeling, and practicing indigenous epistemology, the roots of fa'amanata'anga lie far in the past. In interviews with women and men who were born before 1920, we were told that, although the topics taken up in fa'amanata'anga now include issues and problems that arise from living in a globalized world, the doing of fa'amanata'anga itself is ancient and is a central element of Kwara'ae identity. They still recalled memorable fa'amanata'anga sessions with their grandparents (born in the 1800s). The persistence of this epistemologically rich event may also be related to the fact that it is not just for children. Fa'amanata'anga is a life-long social praxis: even elders can be counseled by those younger or by other elders. Gwaunga'i to gwaunga'i counseling is called *kwaifa'amanata'anga*, where *kwa-* is a reciprocal prefix indicating that the talk goes back and forth between equals. That is, *kwaifa'amanata'anga* is always dialogic (Bakhtin 1981), whereas fa'amanata'anga tends to be monologic in presentation and participatory only when and if the *ngwael kini ni fa'amanata* (male/female counselor) calls for it or allows it.

In this paper, we have attempted to show the doing of indigenous epistemology and the teaching/learning of epistemological strategies in the discourse of fa'amanata'anga in three families, with children and youth across three age levels. We focused on willingness and seniority because they are among the most frequently addressed themes by Kwara'ae families. Rank and seniority are intrinsic to kinship and *isuisu'a* (genealogy).

Although rank itself is an important element of social organization, genealogy is also a primary fulcrum of knowledge and gives knowledge its *bibi* (weight; a high rhetoric term connected to the ancestral religion; see Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001). As we have argued elsewhere, “Each person’s understanding of where he or she belongs in the genealogical net”—and, thus, his/her rank—“is directly connected to the kinds of knowledge and social responsibilities he or she has,” and “Genealogy thus becomes a framework for knowledge” (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001, 69). It is not surprising, then, that fa’amanata’anga is a primary context for teaching the many complexities of genealogy and kinship obligations, and ultimately Kwara’ae *tua lalifu’anga* (socio-ethical ontology).

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### NOTES

1. *Mala’ita* is the Kwara’ae name for Malaita island, a contraction that derives from *Mala* + *baita* (large Mala) distinguishing the main island from small Mala that today is called South Malaita. Kwara’ae speakers metathesize most words in speech, centralize vowels and diphthongs, and switch “f” to “h,” but always preserve the glottal stop. Thus, *Mala’ita* becomes *Mal’iat* in speech. When we refer to the island, we use the Kwara’ae spelling, but when we refer to the province, we use the national spelling of Malaita. For other Kwara’ae words and phrases in this article, we use the citation or underlying form except when we directly quote speech, where we accurately reproduce what a given speaker said.

2. When we refer to *falafala* as “tradition” or “culture,” we do so within the understandings of contemporary scholarship on the hybridity, fluidity, and imagined nature of culture. Kwara’ae people are aware that *falafala* varies across districts, villages, families, and even individuals and incorporate those differences (or the possibilities of them) in their own process of epistemological discussion in group meetings. By no means do they believe that their culture is unchanged by history. Also, they make a distinction between indigenous culture (and its evolution) and indigenized aspects of outside cultural influences and practices (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2002).

3. An important discourse skill is fluency in *ala’anga lalifu* (speech importantly rooted), the discourse register we call “high rhetoric.” High rhetoric is spoken in all contexts and speech activities culturally defined as *’inoto’a* (important)—in fact, an alternate descriptive term for high rhetoric is *ala’anga ’inoto’a*. “Low rhetoric” or ordinary, everyday discourse register is called *ala’anga kwalabasa* or *ala’anga kakabara*. *Kwalabasa* means

vine-like and wandering, *kakabara* means meandering and lacking foundation. High rhetoric and low rhetoric are distinguished from each other by vocabulary, pronouns, sentence structure, syntactic forms, intonation contours, gestures, and a variety of paralinguistic features (for further elaboration, see Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1986a).

4. In Eastern meditation, such visual experiences occur in *pratyahara*, the channeling of consciousness, an intermediate state in which the mind is open to internal and external suggestion (Mishra 1959, 66–70). Kwara'ae people describe this state in fa'amanata'anga as *gwagwa rorongo* (black + rpl = nothing; hear + repl), that is, absolutely still to the point of nothing or emptiness. Also, it relates to the semi-sacredness of these sessions.

5. Transcription conventions are as follows: underlining indicates strong primary stress; / utterance final; :: lengthened or held vowel, the number suggesting length; /= latching (no break between the utterance and the one that follows); (.) pause less than 1 second; (2) pause, length in parens; [connects where overlapping utterances begin; {} encloses best guess of a word or phrase obscured by extraneous noise; \_\_\_\_\_ untranscribable utterance; ? interrogative rise of the voice; (laugh) vocal gestures as labeled; ! emphatic expression paralinguistically marked; + bound morpheme.

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## **MASCULINITIES, MILITARISM, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN CONTEMPORARY FIJI: PERFORMANCES OF PARODY AND SUBVERSION AS FEMINIST RESISTANCE**

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THE PERFORMANCE OF MASCULINITIES, GENDERED IDENTITIES, and norms has become inextricably linked with a broader culture of militarism in contemporary Fiji. Militarism is a creeping, cumulative process by which “a person or a thing comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being on militarized ideas” (Enloe 2000, 3). Intersecting influences contributing to cultures of militarism in Fiji include established cultural connections celebrating the role of warriors in Fiji, patriarchal cultures that celebrate rigid and highly militarized notions of maleness, Fiji’s colonial history, Fiji’s history of post-independence coups, and increasing levels of militarization.

Militarism as an ideology helped British colonial powers to establish the idea of Fiji as a cohesive, unified nation state to which all Indigenous Fijians belonged, and which should inspire loyalty and sacrifice from its members. The military in contemporary Fiji is a formidable social and cultural force. In 2005, the standing army was estimated at ten thousand, making Fiji the most militarized<sup>1</sup> nation in the contemporary Pacific (Teaiwa 2005, 202). Many people in the indigenous Fijian community have extended family members with military connections, and indigenous families can almost invariably trace connections to the Fiji Army or Navy, the British Army, or to UN peacekeeping forces. In addition to involvement in more established military forces, Fijians have built upon their militarized

reputation as warriors, loyal and brave soldiers, and friendly peacekeepers, to become increasingly involved in the potentially lucrative but high-risk private security industry.<sup>2</sup>

Militarized notions of masculinity are particularly associated with what it means to be an indigenous Fijian man. In 2000, it was estimated that 3,163 Fiji citizens were involved in Fiji's military forces and that less than 0.44 percent of the military population were from nonindigenous backgrounds (Teaiwa 2008, 117). Because the military in Fiji is dominated by indigenous men, it is reflective also of the fact that the vast majority of this population are Christian. Teaiwa (2005) notes the complex intersections between Christianity and the military in Fiji. She argues that because of the conflation of these two institutions, Christianity plays a core role in moulding the "military psyche" in Fiji, and consequentially the military is often "unquestioningly invested with the aura of a Christian mission" (Teaiwa 2005, 211).

This article emphasizes the ways that that cultures of militarism and masculinity have been constructed during the course of Fiji's colonial history, assuming that gendered identities and norms are historically situated and culturally determined. Gendered identities are performed on a daily basis through embodied acts, discursive practices, and in relationship with others (Butler 1990). The ongoing impacts of history on constructions of masculinities in contemporary Fiji are essential to understanding the complex links between cultures of militarism and the construction of gender in Fiji. This paper begins by considering the enduring cultural relevance of the idea of the warrior in indigenous Fijian epistemology. It then explores how indigenous masculinities have been imagined in direct opposition to masculinities among the Fiji-Indian population during wartime.

Cultures of militarism are involved in the social construction of both masculinities and femininities. Growing cultures of militarism and militarization also impact upon the construction of femininities, delineating gendered possibilities for Fiji's women and girls. The second part of this article acknowledges the many silences surrounding the impacts of militarization on women; exploring some of the ways in which women have been impacted by cultures of militarization, and the multiple layers of structural and interpersonal violence that have been a consequence of Fiji's coups (Emberson-Bain 1992). By foregrounding gender as a lens for considering women's resistance to cultures of militarization in Fiji, I assume that a "gendered analysis of militarism can create unique opportunities for comprehending militarism and its effects" (Teaiwa 2011, 3).

Finally, this article presents a case study of the play *Takeover, Takeover*, which addresses deepening cultures of militarism in Fiji. The play was

written by the feminist Civil Society Organisation (CSO), Women's Action for Change (WAC), and performed to diverse audiences across Fiji in 2000. Performances of *Takeover*, *Takeover* explicitly sought to expose gendered norms and to resist simplistic binary notions of masculine and feminine. The play highlights the farcical and constructed nature of male militarized power and challenges militarization and militarism as inevitable features of Fijian society. The play is a localized strategy of resistance and subversion that seeks to provide audiences with spaces in which to become aware of the militarization of everyday sociocultural norms, thus enabling them to critically reflect on current realities and to imagine alternative and more peaceful possibilities.

WAC uses performances as a catalyst for dialogue within and between communities. Performance is an important peace-building tool, which has the potential to expose the constructed nature of dominant social and cultural norms and to increase understanding and empathy between people. Through reflecting on this performance, this paper contributes to a process of "re-membering" (Hooks 1995, 64) feminist activism in Fiji and to exploring the ways in which women have exposed and challenged cultures of militarism.

### **Performing Militarized Masculinities—Quick March!**

To illustrate how militarized norms are enacted within local communities, I would like to begin by sharing an everyday story about the performance of gender in Fiji. It was a Sunday afternoon in Tailevu in June 2011. Church was finished and our stomachs were full. I was sitting with my *ka rua* (sister-in-law) and a variety of nieces and nephews in the shade of the village bus stop, waiting for transport to take me back to Suva. I was also, inadvertently, waiting for a lesson in masculinities and militarization.

As we relaxed together in the shade, my *ka rua* delighted in her youngest child. Her firstborn son was around two years old on my last visit to my husband's village. Treasured as the first baby boy in the family, my nephew's small body was dressed impeccably in his Sunday best—a colorful bula shirt and formal *sulu vakataga*, a mini replica of the clothes worn to church by adult men in Fiji.<sup>3</sup> After a few words of instruction and encouragement from his mum, my nephew's body went stiff and straight. His face took on a serious expression as he obediently started to perform a military style march, finished off with a salute. The adults gathered nearby responded with great amusement and delight, their attention and compliments providing my nephew with an immediate reward for this military play.

As a student of peace and conflict in the Pacific, I was struck by how fluently and accurately gendered and militarized norms were being performed by this little boy, who was still less than steady on his feet. Also, I reflected on the process of socialization that led to military culture being accorded such weight and value and the complex ways in which women have become complicit in ideologies of militarism. Teaiwa (2005, 205) argues that militarism has become a form of “cultural logic” among the indigenous Fijian community, and as this story reveals, militarized norms are reinforced and enacted in complex ways, by both men and women in Fiji’s society.<sup>4</sup>

Militarization has become so widespread in contemporary Fiji, that militarized norms for men and boys are often unquestioningly accepted. Alexander (2008) argues that militarization as a tool for cultural governance often operates at a subconscious level. Militarization involves not only the disciplining of bodies and social relationships (Enloe 1990) but also a less than conscious process of “making people accepting of military values without their necessarily being aware of what is happening” (Alexander 2008, 75).

Incrementally, militarism in Fiji has “seep[ed] into fundamental aspects of social and cultural life” (Teaiwa 2011, 2). Militarized norms are embodied and performed with such frequency within Fijian society that these constructions are often “naturalized” and rendered invisible. Efforts to expose, problematize and defamiliarize (Miner 1956)<sup>5</sup> militarized norms in Fiji, such as those presented in the play *Takeover*, *Takecover* are, therefore, increasingly necessary.

### **Militarism, Histories of War, and the Construction of Masculinities in Contemporary Fiji**

The participation of indigenous Fijian soldiers in the First and Second World Wars played a significant part in accepting militarism as an ideology, supporting colonial processes that sought to unify diverse and often conflicting cultures and epistemologies within precolonial Fiji. Accounts of Fijian culture and society prior to European contact and colonization acknowledge violence between different parts of the *vanua* (Clunie 1977; Durutalo 1986). Masculinities in contemporary Fiji are influenced by the traditional role of the *bati*<sup>6</sup> or warrior in indigenous Fijian epistemology, and these ideas continue to be upheld and celebrated.

The *bati* were traditional warriors in Fiji’s precolonial society. The *bati* were respected, skilled, and “elite freemen” (Halapua 2003, 46), who were paid for their services to communities. The role of the *bati* was explicitly

to protect the chief and, therefore, to safeguard the entire traditional system of production and distribution (Halapua 2003, 47). "The ideology of a warrior people [is] epitomized by the *bati*" (Halapua 2003, 50). Teaiwa (2005, 212) argues that an enduring "*bati* ideology" (Teaiwa 2005, 212) in contemporary Fiji forms a cultural rationale for militarism.<sup>7</sup>

Warrior identities have been reclaimed and reasserted in complex ways in contemporary Fiji, giving them a strong and enduring cultural resonance in the present. The responsibilities of the *bati* have been redefined to involve defending not just the chiefly system but also the idea of Fiji as a nation state.<sup>8</sup> Indigenous Fijian military service to Britain in World War I and World War II on behalf of Fiji as a nation resonated with the call to the *bati* to defend their chief:

[T]he warrior, the *kshatriya*, is the one who struggles with the forces of chaos or order in order to maintain cosmic order. The modern mystique of the military corps, living still, with its music, uniforms, and parades, is a leftover of a faith like that. The warrior is the nobleman, the knight, the representative of power in the service of authority (Panikkar 1995, 31).

Militarism in contemporary Fiji is significantly impacted by histories of military service in colonial and postcolonial Fiji. The construction of a culture of masculinity based upon either participation or lack of participation in the Second World War has enduring impacts in terms of masculinities. Differences in communal identities, histories, and allegiances were embodied and made explicit through action during wartime. Communities who might have been united by their shared experiences of colonialism were instead constructed as enemies and opposites. In postcolonial Fiji, these identities continue to be popularly defined largely through opposition to one another (Leckie 2002a, 257).

The "ideal" Indigenous Fijian man went to war to defend the nation and Indigenous Fijian culture, and ways of life have been constructed in direct opposition to notions of what it means to be a Fiji-Indian man. Because Fiji-Indian men were generally prevented from or chose not to participate in direct combat, they have been constructed as disloyal, selfish, and unpatriotic (Sutherland 1992, 61). However, fighting for the British Empire was counterintuitive for many people in the Fiji-Indian community, who had been brought to Fiji as indentured laborers by the British colonial government, and who regarded involvement in the war as "fighting to uphold a system that was oppressive and humiliating" (Lal 1992, 123). Their involvement in the Second World War was understandably "unenthusiastic and conditional" (Lal 1992, 120).

Fiji-Indians were in fact prevented from directly participating in war in a number of ways. Training the Fiji-Indian community in warfare was seen as risking future governance problems for the colonial administration (Lal 1992, 122), who nervously connected the Fiji-Indian community to political events in India at the time. This included growing Indian nationalism and protest and Gandhi's anticolonial Quit India Campaign. With this in mind, colonial powers were very reluctant to give military training to the Fiji-Indian community, a population who already had a history of organizing strikes and protests in the Fiji context.<sup>9</sup> Instead Fiji-Indians were instructed to contribute to the war effort by working to increase food production (Lal 1992, 122). Fiji's sugar industry continued to be heavily dependent on Fiji-Indian labor. To ensure that production continued, strictly enforced regulations and contracts prevented more than a two-month absence from work, thus making it extremely difficult for Fiji-Indians to participate directly in war (Lal 1992, 123).

These divisions in terms of what was popularly seen as either a willingness to fight to defend Fiji and Fijian culture, or as a lack of patriotism, helped to fuel hostility between the indigenous Fijian and Fiji-Indian communities in the postwar period. Fiji-Indian men's "reluctance" to take part in the war effort led to the emergence of sentiments and stereotypes about Fiji-Indian men as cowardly or weak. Men in the Fiji-Indian community were constructed in direct opposition to "strong" and "brave" indigenous Fijian men. Playwright and filmmaker Larry Thomas explores the social impacts of these stereotypes in the play *Men, Women and Insanity*:<sup>10</sup>

Joeli: Mukesh, you call this your country but when you come to think of it you didn't die for this country. You people didn't go to the war. You people were scared. The Fijians were soldiers and fought hard in the war.

Mukesh: Why do you have to bring that up? I know the Fijian men were good soldiers and everyone admire them; no one is arguing with that. But what you say is not very nice. If the Indian men were told to go to the war then who's gonna work in the cane fields? Somebody have to stay behind and do the dirty work. Who would plant and harvest the cane? You think my grandfather like to get up at four o'clock in the morning and go out and work in the fields . . . The soldiers lost their blood for this country but don't forget those men in the cane fields, they lost their blood too. Their blood is the sweat, the sweat that help build this country (Thomas 1991, 203).

Constructions of Fiji-Indian men as “other” helped to create a sense of community, uniformity, and unity among the indigenous Fijian community that was an essential to successful colonial rule. Colonial stories about binary oppositions between the indigenous and Fiji-Indian communities were used to “maintain hegemonic control and support” (Pritchett 2005, 15) for colonial power structures in Fiji, as part of well-established strategies of divide and rule. Alexander (2006, 7) notes that creating an Indian other also functioned to reduce the diversity, complexity, and divisions within indigenous Fijian communities, thus imposing “an assumption of Fijian unity” on the indigenous population, which in turn was crucial to forming the idea of Fiji as a nation state.<sup>11</sup> The reality, however, was not cultural unity or uniformity but incredible diversity, involving competing power relationships.

In the colonial process of integrating and unifying diverse warring tribes across different parts of the vanua, certain stories and cultural expressions were privileged and came to dominate, because chiefs from the east of Fiji were successfully co-opted by colonial powers. “Polynesian”-influenced cultural traditions from eastern Fiji were standardized, written, and enforced by the colonial administration, and these particular ways of knowing and being were upheld as the model of “tradition” for indigenous peoples across Fiji, thus silencing cultures and stories from the West. This unequal distribution of political power has continued implications in Fiji’s postcolonial history. Allegiances, structures, and power relations formed in the colonial period continue to be significant sources of conflict and division. Alexander (2006) argues that, rather than ethnicity being the major source of conflict and coups, local struggles for power and resources and the militarization of social and political disputes have been central to conflicts in contemporary Fiji.

### **Women, Militarization and Post-Coup Violence**

Fiji’s postcolonial history and politics is littered with a persistent “embarrassment of coups” (Nandan 2009, 166). In these stories of political conflict, men are usually the characters and the authors, and the stories of women and girls are often silenced. Drawing on the work of Caplan, Alexander (2008, 77) argues that one of the consequences of “patriarchal militarism” is that it encourages men to create images of women as devalued others. Dualistic and binary constructions of masculine and feminine are used to enhance male violence, often at the expense of women.

Despite being largely written out of militarized accounts of Fiji, women have been particularly affected by militarization and Fiji’s coup culture. In

her reflections on the first Fiji coups of 1987, Atu Emberson-Bain (1992) documents the multiple impacts of coup-related violence and conflict on women and girls. Her gendered analysis of the impacts of conflict and militarism is equally applicable to the socioeconomic aftermath of the coups of 2000 and 2006. The coups all impacted upon Fiji's broader political economy, leading to multiple consequences for women including job losses in the tourism and garment industries, pay cuts, redundancies, and a devaluation of the Fiji dollar relative to the increasing cost of living (Emberson-Bain 1992, 146).

The economic consequences of the 1987 coups also were felt acutely by Fiji's children, many of whom were kept home from school because increasing levels of poverty meant that families were struggling to cope with the costs of school fees (Emberson-Bain 1992, 149).<sup>12</sup> In a patriarchal society such as Fiji, which often assumes that it is men's role to be the primary breadwinners in families, and when a decision has to be made about which child or children should be educated first, research shows that it is often girl children who lose out in terms of access to education (UNFPA 2008, 50).

Emberson-Bain (1992, 149) juxtaposes Fiji's expenditure on social welfare services with the colossal budget of Fiji's military forces during the same period. Welfare provision rose from \$2 million to just \$3 million between 1986 and 1991. In contrast, the budget of Fiji's Military Forces during the same period leapt from \$16.3 million to a staggering \$31 million. These numbers illustrate that militarism is clearly a national priority and point toward structurally embedded acts of violence manifested through the negligent budget allocated to the welfare of Fiji's poorest people. Many families living in the most extreme poverty are female-headed households. A survey by the government of Fiji and UNDP in 1996 found that one in seven of the poorest households are headed by women (UNFPA 2008, 7).

The impacts of wage reductions and job losses after the 1987 coup, combined with a general increase in all forms of violence in Fiji's society during this time, have been causally linked by many Fiji feminists and NGOs with increases in family violence, violence against women, and instances of rape and sexual assault (Emberson-Bain 1992: 153–54; Griffen 1988 as cited in De Ishtar 1994, 127). Instances of interpersonal and structural violence are intimately interrelated, “linked in a continuum” (Cockburn and Ensloe 2012, 552) of violence. Patriarchy supports acts of violence through assigning binary qualities to men and women, thus reinforcing power inequities (Crittenden and Wright, 2012) and connecting “militarized femininities to militarized masculinities in a way that sustains the domination of certain brands of masculinity, while keeping women in their assigned spaces” (Cockburn and Ensloe 2012, 223).

The popular and stereotypical association of men with war and women with peace functions to maintain notions of essentialized differences between genders (Andermah, Lovell, and Wolkowitz 1997, 195). Pacific women have often been constructed as peacemakers, building upon conventional notions of women as caretakers and homemakers. Pacific women have repeatedly taken important roles in peace-building processes at local levels; however, such spaces for peace building are often possible “precisely because they are women.” They are operating in a patriarchal system, which distances them from power structures (Alexander 2008, 80), and despite intentions to challenge and change patriarchal norms, women’s role as peace builders at the local level often works within the confines of patriarchy as a social system.

### **Parody and Subversion, Performing Fiji’s Coup Culture: *Takeover, Takeover***

We have seen that women and girls have been substantially impacted by Fiji’s coups and increasing militarism in the country. Women’s marginal position in relationship to patriarchal and militarized power structures in Fiji has often meant that their peace-building work has not been widely remembered or acknowledged (Alexander 2008, 80). The final section of this article considers some of the ways in which women have asserted their agency in the face of ever-increasing militarism, through a case study of some of the work of feminist theater company WAC during the aftermath of the 2000 coup in Fiji. This case study contributes to remembering women’s peace-building work and documents an innovative and creative way that feminist women in Fiji have enacted forms of resistance to militarization, seeking to challenge and to reveal militarized norms.

In times of national crisis such as the coups of 1987, 2000, and 2006, public emergency regulation were put in place that severely limit freedoms of speech, assembly, and association in Fiji. This has, in turn, impacted on CSO’s and women’s organizing. Peace-building work undertaken at these moments in Fiji’s history takes on additional layers of risk, as activists attempt to find ways to continue working for change and social justice amid a myriad of constraints. Much dynamic peace-building work occurs within, around, underneath, and in spite of the risks involved in peace work within Fiji’s shifting political landscape (Clery 2013, 15). WAC’s play *Takeover, Takeover* (P. Moore 2001, unpubl. data) is an example of such transgressive peace education work at the local level.

Artists as activists in Fiji occupy positions of both risk and possibility. Insights found within the creative arts, in forms such as poetry, plays, and

novels; and those that are embodied and enacted through forms including theater, music, dance, and festivals can contribute alternative understandings of conflict and possibilities for peace. In response to Fiji's militarized and masculine coup culture, the feminist theater company WAC used performance<sup>13</sup> to challenge militarism and male dominance after the 2000 coup, seeking to bring the stories and experiences of women and children back to center stage.

WAC was founded in Suva in 1993.<sup>14</sup> This feminist, community theater organization uses theater as a tool for initiating dialogue in communities. WAC focus on empowering marginalized women and girls to share stories, and to explore commonalities in their gendered social and cultural experiences. These processes of critical reflection and the relational networks that are often created as a consequence form a basis from which Fiji women and girls can enact change in their lives and societies (Clery and Nabulivu 2011, 166). WAC recognizes that working toward the empowerment of women and girls necessarily involves men and boys.<sup>15</sup> WAC's creative director Peni Moore described men as often being at the root of issues affecting women and girls, and emphasized the need for men and women to work together to achieve social and attitudinal change (*Talanoa*, P. Moore, 4 March 2010, unpubl. data).

WAC has developed and adapted a variety of feminist, participatory, and embodied theater-based peace education processes for working with communities. Their pedagogy assumes that people learn best through doing, through being actively involved in education (Clery 2013). WAC's peace-building praxis is influenced by the work of Brazilian activists Paulo Friere (1972, 1998) and Augusto Boal (1992, 1995, 2000, 2006). In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972), Friere reconceptualizes education as a tool for sociopolitical liberation and community empowerment and as a catalyst for social change. Building upon Friere's ideas of education as a tool for liberation, Boal developed *Theatre of the Oppressed* (2000), a body of theater-based techniques that seek to reveal and disrupt dominant power structures. Boal's processes and techniques use theater as a practical tool for creating spaces for dialogue. Dialogic processes, in turn, can assist communities in rehearsing and acting for individual, communal, and social transformation (Clery 2013, 276).

The feminist values and pedagogies enacted by WAC resonate closely with the philosophies and practices described by Friere and Boal, sharing values, goals and processes. Rather than being a passive response to power imbalances, these approaches all seek to "wage conflict non-violently" (Shank and Shirsch 2008, 220). WAC's post-performance processes within communities<sup>16</sup> encourage audience members to think critically, to "take

apart our world, examine invisible assumptions, and view cause/effect relationships” (Armstrong 2005, 174), and to use play as a tool for rehearsing for social change. In theater that challenges both actors and audiences to become active citizens through the creative process of exploring stories, perspectives, solutions, and possibilities, neither actors nor audiences are mere spectators. This kind of drama enables and prepares participants to become “change makers” in a holistic approach to education as a means of preparing people for social life and citizenship (UNESCO 2002, 22).

WAC’s process of community-based theater involves offering scripted performances to set the scene and to provide a basis for talking about contentious social and cultural issues. The “fictional” nature of performances enables the discussion of issues in a way that is playful and somewhat distanced from daily realities but with a frame of reference that speaks to the everyday. The playful, metaphorical, and imaginary nature of performances can help communities to begin talking about issues that are difficult, divisive, and silenced or *tabu*. The assumption that stories are somehow “not real” when they are performed can help to enable direct speech about the issues raised within them, making the risky business of engaging in peace talk less direct and overtly confrontational (Clery 2013). Performances can provide “safe” spaces for reflection and dialogue; however, speaking out is always a complex, risky, and political act, despite the cloaks of metaphor and playfulness that may help to enable expression (Clery and Nabulivou 2011; Clery 2013).

In the case of *Takeover, Takeover* (P. Moore 2001, unpubl. data) the depiction of reality was so close to the lived reality in Fiji that audiences were left in little doubt as to the place and time in which the conflict being portrayed was occurring. The play involves audience in a process of defamiliarization, using shock tactics to reveal gendered and militarized norms as social constructions and challenging the status quo. *Takeover, Takeover* (P. Moore 2001, unpubl. data) was performed to audiences around Fiji.<sup>17</sup> The storyline of the play reverses Fiji’s male-dominated power relations, imagining a military takeover with women as the aggressors. This “incredibly subversive and transgressive” (*Talanoa*, N. Nabulivou, 23 February 2010, unpubl. data) performance used playful techniques of parody and subversion to challenge and reveal masculine, militarized power.

Tired from years of violence enacted against them, female characters in the play make the decision to overthrow the government and reverse gender privileges. Reflecting the realities of life for Fiji women after the 2000 coup, men are told to remain in their homes during curfew periods and await further government directives or risk violent consequences. With men contained at home, the streets are now declared safe for women and

children. In the following section from the play, the female-led military government announces the new realities of life to the public in Fiji:

Good evening Nation. I am sure there is fear in the hearts of many men as they wonder what is to become of them. Do not worry you have a right to be fearful. The Viola Women's Party has taken over the Government and we have had no opposition ... all army, navy and police personal are under our control ... you have no option but to listen and obey. Indeed, if you obey it may be possible to return to democracy in the near future.

Women have taken over because there was no other way. We women are going to ensure that there are no more violent assaults on women and children. That decision making will be by the women until men are capable of making decisions that are good for the whole community not just them.

If men voluntarily give up this power game of raping and assaulting women and refusing to share power, then the Viola Women's Party will be able discuss shared power with men on an equal footing. But until we can return to normalcy, the following regulations are to be placed on all men.

The curfew remains in force for men. From now on men will be responsible for household chores and minding the family, as women are far too busy running the country. If both the husband and wife are working, then a child minder must be organized by the husband. As the leader I am in charge of the Ministry for Justice, and the Minister for Finance will be the wife of the last Minister. Men don't know how to budget.

It would be wonderful to see men change their behaviour and stop all forms of violence against women and children, and to see men learn how to communicate in a way that enables transformation of conflict and decision making by consensus, then we could stop these drastic measures, but until then ... men beware (P. Moore 2001, 5, unpubl. data).

This atmosphere of vague but tangible threats, combined with continuously emerging and unpredictable regulations affecting the lives of the total population, mirrors the multiple decrees that have been an everyday part of life under coup governments in Fiji. Playing with the limits of possibility, *Takeover, Takecover*<sup>18</sup> challenges audiences to reflect on gendered relationships and the impacts of the increased militarization on Fiji's women and children.

This less than subtle reversal of militarization in Fiji was clearly intended to shock, to act as an overt form of resistance, and to take audience members through a process of defamiliarization, jolting them out of internalized militarized norms.<sup>19</sup> The play subverts dominant assumptions about gender roles (N. Nabulivou and P. Moore 2008, 29, unpubl. data). Within its imaginary, the constructed nature of gendered power relationships is revealed. The revelation is direct and confrontational but also uses humor.

As in many theatrical and carnival traditions, authority figures are ridiculed and parodied. Through play, power structures are challenged and subverted in ways that would not be possible in everyday life. *Takeover, Takeover* (P. Moore 2001, unpubl. data) depicts an alternate reality in which “the high is made low and the world is temporarily turned upside down” (Sinavaiana 1992, 195).

Humor is achieved through an obvious subversion of the realities, gendered boundaries, and power relationships within which people live. Also, the play satirizes the political rhetoric surrounding the coups, which is often communicated through the media. Sorenson (2008, 185) argues that the use of humor in oppressive situations can have wide-ranging impacts on community perceptions:

[b]ecause of its irrationality, humour has an ability to affect relationships in surprising and unpredictable ways and undermine traditional sources of power, such as the police and the military, which are firmly based in rationality. Because the serious mode is the common form of interaction and communication, dictators generally expect to be taken seriously. Symbolic actions, including the use of humour, can have a profound influence if they manage to change people's perceptions of a situation.

There were a range of audience responses to the reality depicted within *Takeover, Takeover* (P. Moore 2001, unpubl. data). Some men were so disturbed by the subverted power relations being portrayed that they were unable to watch the play, heckling the performers, and sometimes walking out of performances. In contrast, WAC actor/facilitator Pita Raloka remembered one male audience member speaking with him and reflecting on the need for men to share “women’s work” (*Talanoa*, P. Raloka and B. Ramode, 25 January 2010, unpubl. data). Although it is clear from this audience member’s comment that gendered constructions endure, his comment also reveals a perceptual shift toward a recognition of women’s labor in the home as “work,” which should be acknowledged. Another WAC actor/facilitator, Litiana Suluka, also remembered male audience members talking

about the need for greater equality in home-based work (*Talanoa*, L. V. Suluka, 16 February 2010, unpubl. data).

Also, women audience members reacted strongly to the play, often laughing and clearly enjoying the reversal of power and gender roles (*Talanoa*, P. Raloka and B. Ramode, 25 January 2010, unpubl. data). Female members of WAC Theatre Unlimited also spoke about how much they had enjoyed taking strong leading roles within this alternative version of reality. In contrast, men within the collective spoke about struggling with feelings of injustice that were generated by playing men in a society where their freedoms of movement and association were extremely curtailed and in which they were bullied by women (Clery 2013).

### Conclusion

Performances enable expression, dialogue, and gendered resistance in otherwise restricted conditions for Fiji's women and girls. Fiji is a highly militarized, patriarchal, and gerontocratic nation, and the voices of women and girls are often marginalized or remain unheard. Theater performances and post-performance processes can enable spaces for dialogue between men and women of all ages, thus helping to involve communities in reflective dialogues around gendered and militarized norms.

*Takeover, Takeover* (P. Moore 2001, unpubl. data) is a bold form of resistance to militarized power, which intends to shock audiences into recognizing the sociocultural norms that have been so widely accepted that they are often rendered almost invisible in contemporary Fiji. Remembering the performance and the impacts of this performance is a way of reflecting upon the diverse ways in which the women's movement and feminist activists in Fiji worked creatively to challenge militarization and violence at the community level in the aftermath of the 2000 coup.

This article has argued that remembering women's acts of resistance, and considering how alternative messages have been enacted creatively in the public sphere is important to remembering Fiji women's activism and peace-building work. Remembering has a further purpose however. Although honoring the work that Fiji women and girls have undertaken, it also integrates the past with the present in a way that builds the work women have undertaken for change into the narrative of possibilities for Fiji. Such work provides examples for current and coming generations, illustrating both that women can effect change and that there are alternative and counter-narratives to militarism.

WAC's theater initiatives emphasize the performative qualities of gender through performance; creating opportunities for communities to reflect

upon themselves, to examine rigid gender constructions, and to consider how these intersect with processes such as militarization. The medium of performance enables audiences to critically reflect on militarized patriarchy as a social construction, highlighting that militarized notions of masculinity are themselves forms of performance. Through acknowledging gender as constructed and performative, creative approaches allow us to glimpse the possibility of a new and alternative script, contributing to the creation of imaginative narratives of becoming.

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### NOTES

1. Militarization refers to the processes by which a society organizes itself for military conflict and violence and involves privileging military concerns.

2. Bolatagici (2011, 9) argues that “[h]istorical and contemporary politics of race and representation, when coupled with a war economy that relies on cheap labour, tend to suggest a de-valuing of the lives and deaths of black bodies. This combined with the economic vulnerability of the Pacific region, has led to a contemporary problem in which Fijian bodies have become increasingly commodified.”

3. The sulu was introduced to Fiji by Christian missionaries; it has become “synonymous with the institutions that regulate life in the indigenous community” and a key signifier of indigenous values and identity (George 2008, 177). The sulu features as part of the school uniform for boys. Also, it is a part of police and military uniform, generally worn on more formal occasions. George (2008, 177) notes that “[a]mong the indigenous establishment, the sulu is the formal garment of choice, worn in public by Methodist Church ministers, indigenous parliamentarians, and members of Fiji’s Great Council of Chiefs.

4. Teaiwa (2005, 206) highlights the multiple institutions with militarized dimensions that are aimed at recruiting young people in Fiji. This includes the Boy Scouts, high school cadet programs, and a general “parading of regimented bodies at national events” as clearly indicative of “the social value placed on militarized and masculinized discipline in Fiji.”

5. Miner (1956) describes defamiliarization as a process of coming to recognise the oddity and particularity of one’s own cultural norms and rituals. Through presenting the “strange and exotic” orally obsessed culture of the Nacerima tribe (Nacerima is American spelled backward), Miner uses humor, subversion and parody as a strategy for exposing and challenging ethnocentrism in the discipline of anthropology.

6. Literally meaning teeth (Capell 1991, 5).
7. Militarism is the idea that a formal military force is necessary to defend and promote national interests.
8. One example of this is the way in which Rabuka invoked and extended the bati ideology as a culturally situated reason for overthrowing the labor government in Fiji's 1987 coups. Rabuka asserted that as a military man and member of the bati clan from his province, it was his duty to defend not just his chief but the whole chiefly system (Teiawa 2005, 212).
9. Indian resistances to colonial rule took the form of strikes over working conditions in the cane fields in early 1920. Striking workers were calling for better working conditions, justice, political representation, and equality (Rakuita 2007, 34).
10. *Men, Women and Insanity* (Thomas 1991) was performed at The Playhouse in Suva in 1991 and at the California Lutheran University in 1992. Also, both performances were directed by the playwright, Larry Thomas.
11. Enloe (1990, 45) defines a nation as "a collection of people who have come to believe that they have been shaped by a common past and they are destined to share a common future." Crucially, she argues that such beliefs are "usually nurtured by a common language and a sense of otherness from groups around them. . . . Colonialism is especially fertile ground for nationalist ideas as it gives an otherwise divided people such a potent shared experience of foreign domination."
12. A survey by the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (FWCC) in 2001 showed that the 2000 coup also had significant economic impacts for Fiji women. Seventy-two percent of women who were in paid employment before the 2000 coup lost their jobs or had their working hours/salaries reduced during this time (FWCC 2001, as cited in UNFPA 2008, 7).
13. Feminism is explicitly concerned with the quality of spaces between people, challenging us to reexamine the values by which human beings live (Bell 2007, 47). Feminism is a contested term. It has been critiqued as Eurocentric by Pacific women who recognized that there is no specific or single perspective on feminism and that feminism is often oversimplified to refer to the idea of women enacting power over men, rather than embracing a concept of gender equality as being liberating for both men and women (De Ishtar 1994, 238).
14. WAC finally closed as an NGO in December 2013 because of ongoing difficulties in obtaining funding for their creative peace-building work.
15. Male actor/facilitators form a core part of WAC's work with communities. They model alternative masculinities and nonviolent methods of conflict resolution, a key part of working with young men, because Fiji remains a gender segregated and patriarchal society (Clery 2013, 222).
16. During my PhD research in 2010–11, WAC travelled to perform to a variety of communities across Viti Levu, Fiji's largest and most populated island. Their performances during this time were primarily to audiences in schools, to students in further

education and vocational colleges, in informal settlement communities, and to inmates in Fiji's prison system.

17. Peni Moore wrote *Takeover, Takeover* in 2001 and the play was performed four times during that year. In 2008, the play was "touched up" and performed at a meeting of the National Council for Building a Better Fiji (NCBBF) (*Talanoa*, P. Moore, 12 January 2010, unpubl. data). Commodore Frank Bainimarama, the current/interim Prime Minister of Fiji, was one of the audience members who watched this performance (*Talanoa*, N. Nabulivou, 23 February 2010, unpubl. data).

18. There were a total of forty-eight school- and community-based performances of *Takeover, Takeover*. Audiences included secondary and vocational schools (where the majority of students are male) across Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, Labasa Prison, Suva Maximum Security Prison, and Korovou Prison. Performances took place at the National Council for Building a Better Fiji (NCBBF) where senior military officers formed a part of the audience, and at Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (FWCC) as part of a regional counselling training programme (N. Nabulivou and P. Moore 2008, 29, unpubl. data).

19. Leckie (2002b, 164) argues that Pacific women's resistance and expressions of agency are often covert and indirect, reflecting the paucity of political and structural space for women's expression. Leckie questions whether such indirect expressions of resistance at the everyday level can affect broader sociopolitical change.

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## BOOKS NOTED

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### RECENT PACIFIC ISLAND PUBLICATIONS SELECTED ACQUISITIONS JULY 2013–DECEMBER 2013

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, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East–West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian studies Resource Center, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen, University of California–San Diego, Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library, Center for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau’s Center for the Pacific Development Training. 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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