YOU'LL ALWAYS BE FAMILY: FORMULATING MARSHALLESE IDENTITIES IN KONA, HAWAI'I

Laurence Marshall Carucci
Montana State University

In a flowery speech welcoming the Republic of the Marshall Islands into the world of nations in 1985, U.S. President Ronald Reagan noted, "You'll always be family to us" (O'Rourke 1986). Less than twenty years later, however, Enewetak Marshall Islanders on the Big Island of Hawai'i live with a sense of dread and fear of those around them.[1] It is easy for members of this transnational community to detect that not only do a large number of their neighbors not welcome them as family, they also wish they would go home. Just under the surface landscape of aloha that permeates the tourist literature, bumper stickers, and overt discourses of Hawai'i lies a minefield of ethnic and racially grounded stereotyping that makes Marshall Islanders—among the newest of immigrant groups to the islands—the least desirable and most despised of those newcomers who, in earlier Hawaiian tradition, were to have been loved and welcomed.

Disenfranchisement and Desire: The Historical Grounding of Identity Work

There are currently (2010) over five hundred Enewetak people living on the Big Island, a community that has grown rapidly in recent years. Their motives for moving to this location are multiple but largely reflect disenchantment with life on their primordial home, Enewetak Atoll. Over 20 percent of the Enewetak population was killed during World War II, as

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the Allies invaded the atoll and eradicated the Japanese military forces that were based there. Valued for its strategic position, Enewetak became a staging area for forays into the western Pacific as U.S. forces moved rapidly up the island chains toward Japan. Enewetak residents, whose numbers were reduced to about 135 people after the battle, were moved to the margins of their own atoll during the final one and a half years of the war. With the U.S. decision to begin nuclear testing on nearby Bikini in 1946 and to monitor those tests from Enewetak, the Enewetak people's temporary residence on small northern "Native Islands" of the atoll continued. In December 1947, residents were forced further to the fringe as their atoll became more central to U.S. designs on world history. With the decision to expand nuclear testing to Enewetak, local residents were moved to Ujelang Atoll, 130 miles southwest of their homeland. Despite promises to return them to their home as soon as possible, Enewetak people remained on Ujelang for the next thirty-three years. During the 1950s and 1960s, they faced repeated periods of hardship and famine on this small, typhoon-ravaged atoll. The overall size of Ujelang was much smaller than Enewetak. Soil quality was poor, and exploitable reef space (directly correlated with fishing potential) was one-fourteenth that of their primordial homeland. After court battles and repeated pleas for help eased their plight slightly in the 1970s, residents finally negotiated to have Enewetak returned to them. A massive cleanup of WWII and nuclear-testing era rubble stripped large sections of the atoll of all vegetation and removed from four inches to two feet of surface soils. Following this cleanup and an initial replanting and building program, residents were allowed to return to some radiologically safe islets in the southern part of Enewetak in 1980.

Although they had dreamed of their return for decades, people soon became disenchanted. Only four of forty-eight islets had been thoroughly cleaned up and replanted, leaving the residents with a smaller resource base than had been available to them on Ujelang. Even though the Enewetak Rehabilitation Plan suggested that food plants would be fully productive by 1985, stripping the rehabilitated islets of topsoil and the bush plants that normally buffer salt spray along the outer fringe of the atoll meant total dependence on imported and USDA foods for decades into the future.[2] After ten years of such a diet (see Carucci 2004), diabetes, heart disease, and hypertension began to invade people's bodies. With the resource base obliterated, the course of daily life also changed. Fishing was restricted by the lack of resources required to build canoes as well as a shortage of fuel to power outboard motor craft, and gathering land foods was not possible in the early years.

In the midst of this disenchantment, the community began to explore the possibility of purchasing a parcel of land on the Big Island of Hawai'i in 1990. They controlled a small trust fund that had been set aside to rehabilitate the islet of Enjebi in the northern half of Enewetak Atoll. That fund was far too small to begin any meaningful rehabilitation effort, but it was large enough to purchase a sizeable parcel of land in the hinterlands of Hawai'i. The Enewetak/Ujelang Local Government Council (a dozen mature adults elected to represent the community), along with a few additional respected elders, visited the Big Island and viewed the land, a prime parcel for growing coffee located just south of Kailua Kona. Following an animated community-wide discussion after the council's return, the community ultimately voted not to pursue the purchase. Nevertheless, three young family heads, excited by the possibilities of an enclave in Hawai'i, moved to the Big Island in 1991. Within two years, they were joined by several siblings and their families, and by 1994 some of their parents were coming to visit for ever-longer periods of time. In 2002–3, the Big Island Marshallese community was nearing a thousand residents, over 400 of whom had immigrated from Enewetak or were born to parents who considered themselves Enewetak people.

Motivations and Constraints: Interactive Contexts and Identity Work

If the initial impetus for their move was an underlying disquietude with life on the "New Enewetak" (Carucci 2004), those now residing on the Big Island rationalize their existence in Hawai'i in terms of increased opportunities. Schooling and health care top their list, although the convenience of many stores well stocked with a diverse array of goods is an equally important theme that emerges more subtly from Enewetak migrants' and transmigrants' discourses and daily activities.[3]

Alongside these positives, however, members of the community often talk of hardships (*intan*), which are cautiously weighed against the Big Island's advantages. In the words of one long-standing resident, "We live here in a life of difficulties. Nevertheless, it is okay if we are in a state of some hardship,[4] because there are a lot of children who are realizing their potential in terms of school. Perhaps there are more than ten children whom the two of us [my wife and I] have watched over during the time they [attended] school." The cost of living is one source of difficulty, he continued: "Life here is not like on Ujelang. As you know, [there] you just go out and fish and come back and eat, and then remain inactive for a while. But here, you can never just remain [sitting] still. You will be done

in. If you do not have some sort of work, you will be a goner [*Ne ejjelok am jerbal, kwe jako*].” Or, as another resident put it: “Well, there is nothing here that does not have a cost. Everything is costly; and if you have no money, well, ‘I’m sorry’ [in English], you will become one of the unfortunate ones [*kwe jerata*].”

Another dimension of hardship has involved learning to live according to legal codes that are nonexistent in the Marshall Islands:

> Well, when we came here to this place, we just built a house and remained, but now they are saying there are many laws [building codes], and that you have to build in this way and that way. You cannot just go ahead and build in accord with the needs that you see for yourself as in the Marshall Islands. As you know, there you have no hardship, but here we are always a little worried, for if you do not build in precise alignment with the law, maybe they will come and throw you off of the land that is yours. This is true, even though you have taken your own money and purchased that land, and they say it is yours.

This is perhaps the most critical juncture where Marshall Islanders have come to fashion new images of themselves in relation to others. Although people may have moved to Hawai‘i imagining a life of abundance, with access to goods, hospital care, advantages of better schools, and a better life, they come to see themselves in comparison with other residents of Hawai‘i as deficient, powerless, and insecure. Rather than a life of ease, Big Island Marshallese life is seen as a life of “hardship.” But such hardship is obviously relative, because life in most ways is physically less trying than life on Ujelang or even on Enewetak. However, relative to the opulence of many people around them, Marshallese life on the Big Island is arduous and taxing, both physically and psychologically.

But Big Island Marshallese hardship is not solely psycho-cultural, as issues of control and power provide the critical grounds for people’s insecurity. On the Big Island, Marshallese have no control over the larger milieu within which they live. This unanticipated insecurity has driven them toward insularity within their own group. It has heightened their commitment to “being Marshallese,” and their Marshallese identity has been fashioned and reinforced through an elaboration of daily routines that involve members of the community with one another and separate them from non-Marshallese. No matter how much Enewetak/Ujelang people may have believed in the American dream, after a short period of time, members of the Marshallese Big Island community discovered that the

progressivist and assimilationist myths did not include them. In response, their daily practices have solidified their community boundaries and elaborated the practices that stress their Marshallese identity, precisely because they have little power to alter the shape of the larger social scene within which they live.[5]

Nearby neighbors complain about the noise level of the outdoor-living Marshall Islanders; they express public-health concerns; they gripe about the numbers of vehicles collected in side yards. In each of these attempts to force Marshallese to conform to Hawaiian-American ideas of proper demeanor, their complaints mark the otherness of the newly arrived Marshallese, stressing their lack of being welcome. Neighbors also enlist the assistance of authority figures in law enforcement, in the health department, and in the schools to bring pressure on Marshallese to change their ways. These complaint and enforcement strategies reflect different appropriations of, and instrumental attempts to use, power. In Michel Foucault's terms (1989), these strategies are schemata of surveillance, discipline, and control, instigated at many different levels, not only by nearby neighbors but also by authority figures who are perceived as threatening by local Marshallese. As viewed by Enewetak people, these forms of surveillance and discipline are multilayered and beyond their control. Sometimes the voices are those of nearby neighbors who are seen as powerful. In other cases, they involve state authorities whose powers are feared because the extent of their authority is unknown. Therefore, Enewetak Marshallese see forces of this sort as a constant threat, far different from the consensus of authorities who assert control over community miscreants at the behest of the community as a whole on Ujelang and Enewetak. This newly complicated set of power relations is worthy of special attention—not because Ujelang and Enewetak people are forced to submit to the will of those around them, or because they will not assimilate into Hawai'i's landscape, but because, in creating a new identity in opposition to those who have fashioned them into "others" through categorization and disciplinary constraint, Hawai'i Marshallese have responded with identities that are more consciously constructed and, in many respects, more markedly Marshallese than those of their compatriots in the Republic of the Marshall Islands. In the latter setting, Marshallese feel that they control more of the grounds for their identities. Therefore, they are free to explore new types of internationalist identities unfettered by the daily surveillance of others living nearby.[6]

Indeed, although the first Enewetak families to move to the Big Island were welcomed by local residents, including native Hawaiians, *kama'āina haole* (long-time resident white foreigners), and Hawaiian Japanese, this

sentiment changed as the size of the Marshallese community on the Big Island increased and began to threaten the status quo. Although the first families lived in or near Kailua Kona, a large segment of the Enewetak community has moved from its point of first landing to Ocean View, "the world's largest subdivision," in the northern sector of Ka'ū, amid recently cooled lava flows of Mauna Loa. This move made sense to Enewetak residents because of the high cost of living in Kona, where most newcomers could only rent a dwelling. In Ocean View, they could purchase land and build their own dwellings. Nevertheless, the rapidly increasing size of the Enewetak community in Ocean View threatens other subdivision residents. In this locale, retirees from the U.S. mainland brush shoulders with Hawaiians, dealers in prohibited drugs, kama'āina haole, working-class folks, teachers from the local schools, and other groups. Fancy retirement-home retreats abut many houses in the subdivision that are not built to code; other homes are surrounded by automobiles being stored for spare parts. Neighbors and subdivision officials in Ocean View frequently complain about Marshallese homes and the Marshallese style of life. Yet having long applied a policy of leniency toward others, officials are now unable to do much more than warn Enewetak residents that their homes are not built to code. The warnings, however, along with hordes of other complaints about "those people" (from the Marshall Islands), lie at the base of the Enewetak sense of being in a land beyond their control, a land where they are despised rather than welcomed, and a land in which "some people, they are good but, equally, there are many evil people out there as well."[7]

A kind of paranoia and feelings of vigilance against the dangers presented by others is one dimension of identity formation held in common by Enewetak residents, by Marshall Islanders on Majuro, and by Marshallese residents on the Big Island. After years in relative isolation on Ujelang, life on Enewetak has brought many marriages with Marshallese from other atolls, and along with those newcomers has come the sense that local people have now lost control of their own identity. Enewetak residents now feel that others are changing "our customs" (*manit*), so now people are unsure of who they are. On Majuro, people live in fear of being taken over by Chinese/Taiwanese, much as residents say that before World War II people were afraid that the Japanese wanted to take over the Marshall Islands and eradicate local Islanders. On the Big Island, however, the sense of danger presented by outsiders is different. In this locale, the dynamics of power are also much different. On Enewetak, local residents could decide to restrict the number of outsiders allowed to live on the atoll. In Majuro, *alab* (land parcel heads) could refuse to lease land to Chinese/Taiwanese, thereby limiting their power (much as has been done in Laura district on

Majuro Atoll). In contrast, on the Big Island, people live in fear of their own powerlessness. Even though Marshallese reside on the Big Island as legal residents under the Compact of Free Association, they have no legitimized source of power that would allow them effectively to ask those around them who work so hard at "othering" them to simply go away.

Although people's fears of being kicked off of their land for breaking various codes are probably ill founded, they result from monitoring the ongoing derision of their community by neighbors and government authorities. With few exceptions, the large group of Hawai'i residents who are aware of the Enewetak Marshallese community have, through their comments and practices of exclusion, made far more attempts to fashion Enewetak people into radical others than they have to break through the layers of separation. Nevertheless, as members of the disempowered group, Enewetak residents are coparticipants in action scenarios that add to their own separation. As Aihwa Ong suggested, "Cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being made within webs of power linked to the nation state and civil society" (1996, 738). Avoidance of Marshall Islands' residents of Hawai'i by others is frequently complemented by Marshallese insularity. Big Island Marshallese often pursue internal communal activities that contribute to their sense of separateness at the same moment they help fashion strong identities among Marshallese. Enewetak residents dominate the Marshallese community along the Kona coast, and Marshall Islanders as a whole live in much the same way they did in the Marshalls. They have their own churches and their own communal activities; they have continued to expand the parameters of their residential community in Ocean View and, since 2005, have been building a church nearby. In contrast, they do not often participate in the activities of the larger community.

The Ka'ū Cultural Fair was held in Waiohinu in early September 2002. Although many Hawaiians, Filipinos, and haole were in attendance, there were no Marshall Islanders in spite of a large part of the Enewetak group living in Ka'ū, just a dozen miles away. At an "Aloha Welcome" put on by the Na'alehu Elementary School, only one Marshallese family showed up. Although many at the school took this as a sign of noninterest, several Enewetak residents indicated that they feared attending this and similar events. By keeping very little contact with institutional officials, community members attempt to minimize their vulnerability. Others cannot complain about them or ban them from important activities like school if they cannot be found. *Tileekek* (hiding out) is an interactive mode of choice. With the feeling that others do not like them, their hope is that they can extend their tenure by remaining "out of sight, out of mind." In 2002, Bilimon,[8] an Enewetak migrant whose house is built next to the main road that passes

through Ocean View, said: "If I bought land now, because I have greater understanding, I never would have purchased here. I would have purchased at a distance up there [away from the highway], on account of the fact that it would be a good place for me to hide out a little bit." In 2006, with his older brother having moved to a land parcel two blocks above him, hidden behind a hill in Ocean View, Bilimon reiterated: "Well, that place belonging to that guy, your other sister's son [Bilimon's older brother], it is much better than here because in that location he is able to hide out."

If tileekek is a mode of interaction perfected by Enewetak on the Big Island, it was certainly not invented there. Enewetak people say that the very first time they encountered white men they ran and hid in the bush, "like rats hiding under coconut fronds." During their thirty-three years on Ujelang, people complained about the isolation of life on that outermost atoll of the Marshall Islands, but they also used the isolation to their advantage and, in some ways, came to value it. Indeed, the distance and marginality helped preserve the independence of Enewetak/Ujelang chiefs from the power of Marshall Islands chiefs, much as had been the case in past centuries, and it helped build a solid sense of Ujelang identity, much as it continues to do on the Big Island today. Indeed, even daily patterns of eating within the community are laced with tileekek. Because all food should be shared, anytime people eat food when others are not eating, or any time they eat highly ranked foods, they hide their actions from others in order to break the rules of sharing without damage to the sense of group solidarity.

At the same time, hiding out forever in a place like the Big Island is unlikely. Therefore, even though most people have the intention of remaining in Hawaiʻi as long as possible, a tentativeness can be readily detected in most Enewetak residents' discourses. In 2002, Joniten spoke as though he were fighting a losing battle on several fronts, particularly in relation to the schools and in relation to Ocean View building codes. But he also said, "I am not yet gone, and many children have already reached their goal here [a better education, a high-school diploma]." In 2006, Joniten's agemate and cousin, Jonaten, sacrificed his dream of long-term residence on the Big Island, but it was a charge of spouse abuse rather than building codes or school-related concerns that forced him to return to the Marshall Islands. Prior to leaving Hawaiʻi, Jonaten had said, "Perhaps if they grab me [for not building properly], I will be gone. But we are continuing to try [*kate*], until they throw us out." Little did Jonaten recognize that his own demeanor within his own family would prove to be of far more concern to state authorities than the physical condition of his house.

Life, Land, Love (Cohesion/Solidarity) and the Grounding of Identity

The tentativeness voiced by Enewetak residents of the Big Island represents insecurity about identity that is far less elaborated in the Marshall Islands. Even as Enewetak people worry about control over what constitutes "Enewetak custom" in the latter locale, personal and extended family identity is solidly grounded in long-standing relationships with land.[9] People live on lands inhabited by their ancestors, which provides unquestioned psychological comfort because the lands are inalienable. These ties only increase as one works the land, invests labor in it, ingests its produce, and ultimately infuses one's own substance into the land at death. That lands in Hawaiʻi can be bought and sold on a fee-simple basis, that the substance of one's clan ancestors is not indelibly embedded in these lands, and that people fear they may be forced off the lands they have purchased, worked, and infused with their own substance creates insecurity in the way members of the Enewetak community negotiate their senses of identity in Hawaiʻi.

In spite of these insecurities, many of the ways Marshallese fashion identities in Hawaiʻi rely on social practices of long standing. Enewetak people are hardly becoming radical American-style individuals. Rather, senses of self are highly dynamic and continue to be woven into the mesh of interrelationships that dynamically constitute the local Marshallese community.

One major event in which communal relationships are actively enabled is *Kūrijmōj* (Marshallese Christmas). Although the building of solidarity is hardly a new feature of Kūrijmōj (Carucci 1980, 1997a), the centrality of this celebration as the primary setting in which community is enacted is perhaps even greater on the Big Island, where people are dispersed across the landscape from Kawaihae to Ocean View, about a two-hour drive to the south. Frank, who lives in Kawaihae, noted, "There is a great deal of sadness here [on the Big Island] because people are separated one from another. Some are here, some in Waimea, some in Kailua, some in Ocean View, and it is only occasionally that we see one another. We are here in Kawaihae, and a long way from other people." Frank sees this as a cause for "creating a lot of sadness." Nevertheless, Kūrijmōj provides an antidote to isolation. Not only does Kūrijmōj continue to be a central social event through which happiness is created, it is also eagerly awaited as a time for gathering together. Indeed, although many activities during Kūrijmōj pit the abilities of song-fest groups against one another (Carucci 1993), on the Big Island, the very act of being with one another, far more than the rituals

of competition among opposed groups, makes the celebration of Kūrijmōj an occasion filled with joy.[10] In the 2002 competition, two respected elders spoke for their respective song-fest groups in nearly identical terms. Both noted, "If it were not for Kūrijmōj, we never would have gotten together and created happiness with one another."

It is important to note that first-birthday celebrations (*keemem*), weddings, funerals, and weekly church services are equally critical ways that communal identities are maintained and renegotiated on the Big Island. Indeed, as others have claimed (e.g., Gershon 2007; Allen 1997), the church becomes a highly overdetermined site where continuities of identity are perpetuated in diasporic situations. However, as much as this is true of Enewetak residents on the Big Island, it is also true that the very setting that fashions community by physically bringing people together into a corporate unit also divides them. For the Enewetak community, the fissioning of religious groups began about a decade after the community was repatriated on Enewetak (see Carucci 2003), and by 2008 community members on the Big Island had split their allegiances among five different sects.[11] Nevertheless, churches provide a physical locale where spatially remote community members meet face-to-face, and it is this coming together as a community that replicates a social condition recalled with great nostalgia when thinking about life on Ujelang or Enewetak. Indeed, as much as religious affiliation can divide the community, Kūrijmōj provides one context in which an attempt at reconciliation has occurred between the various religious sects. Although most song-fest competitions still occur among the three *jepta* (song-fest groups) of UCC followers on the Kona coast (with a fourth Hilo jepta occasionally in attendance), occasional song-fest competitions (*kamolu*) are held with the other sects as well. However, it is at large and inclusive weddings sponsored by well-positioned families and, equally, at funerals that the sectarian divides are most commonly bridged, because ties of extended family crosscut the various religious sects. Indeed, for extravagant weddings and for funerals, all Marshallese living on the Big Island are invited.

As one would expect, capitalism has forced certain kinds of change on the community, but as noted, it has not reshaped Marshallese extended families into nuclear units. Rather, to cope with the high cost of living in Hawai'i, already extensive families have extended their range. Equally, although young people and newlyweds often work as hourly laborers, both older and younger people perpetuate the structure of family subsistence pursuits, although modified to fit the exigencies of capitalism. Indeed, even though extended families are spread across the landscape in a more dispersed pattern than on Enewetak (or in former times on Ujelang), working

together on day trips to "make coffee" or "make macadamia" (that is, harvest these products) creates bonds of solidarity among members of extended families. These subsistence pursuits, along with such activities as joint shopping ventures, operate on the margins of capitalism, reproducing several features of "living in the ways of the past" at the same time that they forge new channels of identity, making and allowing people to come to think of themselves as examples of the modern.

The collection of raw materials and foodstuffs is another important component of identity making, central to how people define themselves to outsiders, and equally important to internal processes of identity formation. In contrast to residents of the southern Marshall Islands, for example, Enewetak/Ujelang people have long considered themselves as fishers. Majuro people, and others closer to the equator, were viewed as dependent on breadfruit, taro, coconut, pandanus, and arrowroot. These were the primary land foods in the northern Marshall Islands and were closely associated, both in myth and daily practice, with being a certain type of person—a planter (*di kalip*). At the internal level, other critical components of identity are engendered, because raw foods have long been gathered in gender-specific groups in the Marshall Islands, with males responsible for providing sea products and females focused on gathering most land foods.[12] Nevertheless, each of the identity-fashioning components of subsistence and food production have been sensitive to historical shifts, and the move to the Big Island provides only the most recent pragmatically inspired set of cultural reformulations in the alignments between food and identity.

Making coffee and making macadamia are conducted as extended family activities involving both males and females, young and old. Similarly, provisioning from the grocer also involves both male and female members of extended families, because these trips require excursions that rely on transportation by automobile. Although some women drive, the long-standing association between men and *wa* (sailing canoes) has resulted in an overdetermined relationship between men and *wa* (land-based vehicles) in the contemporary era. From these examples, it is clear that pragmatic conditions on the Big Island have required a renegotiation of the gendered division of labor and a concomitant revaluation of power relationships within extended families and communities. At the same time, these shifts are far from simple "westernization."[13] Indeed, the male provider/female shopper stereotype that was once pervasive in the United States is not reflected in Marshallese practice. Rather, Big Island Marshallese subsistence activities are based less on gender groups and more on family groups. Equally, rather than nuclear families it is large extended families—even more expansive in their contours than extended families in the Marshall Islands—that pursue these activities.

Such large extended families are, in part, a response to the costs of paying rent or of purchasing land and building a dwelling on the Big Island. Large extended families also result from a plethora of students who join their extended families on the Big Island to pursue an education. This pattern was established in the 1950s and 1960s among extended families on Majuro, long before migrations to the Big Island began. As on Majuro, if households become too large, internal conflict increases. Unlike Majuro, however, the large household units on the Big Island provide a centralized source of labor. More family members can pick more coffee or gather more mangoes than just a few. In addition, bilingual students, or those recently graduated, can often provide translation assistance within a family on the Big Island, something of little value in the Marshallese-speaking urban center of Majuro.

From Face-to-Face to Technological Interface: Channels of Communication and Cohesion

Equally important to the recontouring of identity-fashioning practices and the construction of sociality within the Enewetak community on the Big Island is the telephone, a device that perpetuates facets of the face-to-face interactions that are compromised by the dispersed settlement pattern in Hawai'i. People's dependence on the telephone to maintain close social ties with relatives in the homeland is legendary, with the cost of long-distance telephone calls to the Marshall Islands running into the hundreds of dollars. Indeed, residence patterns are often altered after Marshallese have been forced to default on paying their telephone bill and choose to move rather than face creditors. This, however, is a minor cost in relation to the extremely high value placed on maintaining social connections through the telephone. These social connections are nothing less than a manifest expression of a person's own relational identity, and international calls are far less frequent than the barrage of local calls that help weave Big Island Marshallese into a viable community despite their being spread out along the full length of the Kona Coast. Even though the phone is highly valued as a medium of Marshallese identity construction, the content of telephone conversations is discussed in far more ambiguous terms. Accustomed to an internal politics negotiated face to face, first-generation Enewetak immigrants to the Big Island recognize the limitations of the telephone because without "standing in front of [someone's] face, you will never know if s/he is truth-telling or lying." For respected elders in the community, telephone conversations serve as simulacra (Baudrillard 1988: 166–84), capturing a few critical dimensions of interpersonal relations without being able to

subvert the desire for the intimacies of actually being with other members of the community. Not surprisingly, youth have a different sensibility, viewing face-to-face and telephone communications as complementary, rather than considering the phone an inferior mode of interaction.

Among Big Island Marshallese, life-cycle and church-related rituals occur two or three times a week, becoming a burden in a location where transportation is quite costly. Nevertheless, such face-to-face encounters occur far less frequently than on Ujelang. Although occasions to meet in person with one's relatives in the Marshall Islands are extremely desirable, the high cost of travel makes them far less frequent, elevating the value of telephone calls as well as the risks associated with unpayable telephone bills.

The phone, then, is viewed as enabling at the same moment it introduces a foreign interlocutor into any long-distance conversation, an outside presence with considerable power. As one old resident commented, "On this island [Hawai'i], even speaking with people in your own family has a high cost!" By introducing an element of foreign surveillance into extended families, the telephone is simultaneously desirable and a source of threat. Given that "hiding out" is one of the community's adaptive strategies, the calls of bill collectors and others who have no position within the Big Island Marshallese community disrupt people's ideas about the boundary that should separate family and community affairs from the concerns of others. If Marshall Islanders on Hawai'i find the community-engendering possibilities of the telephone beneficial, and see bill collectors as invasive, survey calls are even more perplexing. As I sat through one such call in Bilimon's cookhouse, he answered questions of a telephone survey worker patiently but unenthusiastically. When he hung up the telephone, he immediately asked, "Why is it that *di palle* [white people/Americans] call and ask questions of this sort? Are they crazy, or what? What result [are they expecting to achieve]? Can they not see that they are destroying the peacefulness within a family when they call us here? We say that di palle are smart but, in actuality, they are really mentally disturbed [*relukuun tano*]."

Enewetak and Majuro present quite different symbolic appropriations and pragmatic routines in relation to telephones. Other than the land lines of businesses and government offices, virtually all telephones in Majuro are now cell phones. Easily regulated by pay-as-you-go cell-phone cards, communications by cell phone provide an inexpensive option to telephone line service on an atoll that from tip to tip measures twenty-six miles. At the same time, with increasingly apparent lines of distinction between wealthy and poor, cell phones provide one way to both enact and track such claims of rank. Poor families do without any cell-phone service, whereas

the wealthy and most highly ranked (often, government employees) carry several cell phones and distribute their different telephone numbers to select audiences as a way of controlling pleas for assistance from demanding relatives. Although land lines began as the standard on the Big Island, economically advantaged Marshallese now also carry cell phones. Because these are contract-service phones, service is frequently disconnected when overdue bills remain unpaid. Those with questionable credit histories, however, still have access to pay-as-you-go cell phones. Therefore, in this context, rank is often projected in a number of ways, all conflated into a multilayered social space. In some ways, the old-style rank that could be held only by the eldest lucid *alab* (respected elders) is still in evidence. Yet, attempted contestations of this type of rank can be seen among economically well-situated Marshallese who use technological devices like telephones to enhance their ability to position themselves at the center of communication networks that are themselves markers of persons of importance in the community. Those with such economic advantages have both land lines and contract cell phones. Others have only land lines or pay-as-you-go cell phones and, of course, some community members have neither. All of these links to potential sources of power overlap in ways that may seem seamless, while at the same time they are multilayered and highly productive in a cultural sense. Such uses are not only contextual but also strategic, contributing to the way in which families and communities "circulate knowledge" and, therefore, how they also renegotiate identities in a wide variety of transnational contexts (e.g., Gershon 2007, 490; Linnekin and Poyer 1990).

The local potentialities of telephone technologies in the varied contexts in which Enewetak people reside in the current day are founded on a much more constrained model developed on Ujelang. During the years that people lived in isolation there, radio communications (*wailej*) with Majuro and other atolls in the Marshalls and Eastern Caroline Islands provided a relatively dependable although very public form of communication. Indeed, as a social event, wailej (as a nominative category) designated the temporal period as well as the gathering each evening when people came together to make such calls. This same pattern continues until the current day on Enewetak, even if the more dispersed residence pattern (in comparison with Ujelang) makes wailej a less communal event. Nevertheless, a kind of elitism has now been introduced on Enewetak because a single satellite telephone is currently available at the Department of Energy (DOE) office. Exploiting familiar patterns of family networking, phone use by close relatives of DOE office workers is very common. Except in serious emergencies, all others must communicate by wailej, giving to those community

members who control access to the DOE phone a feeling of ranked status and others a reason to criticize their presumption of privilege (regarding the dynamic social import of newly emergent communicative strategies, see Howard and Rensel 2004, 2012 [this issue]).

The automobile is another technological device that has become integral to the way Marshallese fashion a sense of communal identity on the Big Island. Nuer people, who migrated from the Sudan to Minnesota, have said that "a car is like a bad cow" (Holtzman 2000: 64–70), and for Big Island Enewetak residents automobiles have become, in many senses, "bad sailing canoes." Nevertheless, most Marshall Islanders' encounters with cars have endured for more than a generation, and although cars have replaced canoes and outboard motor boats on the Big Island as foci of male activity —since men are often engaged in "sailing" and repairing the vehicles— these vehicles are also seen as imperative to the construction and perpetuation of community in a dispersed residential setting like the Kona Coast of the Big Island. In this sense, automobiles are much like telephones. Indeed, as with unpaid phone bills, automobiles are also one of the rough-edged situations where Marshallese often come into negative interactions with authorities—in this case, the police. Driving with an expired registration, or driving without a license or insurance, are all sources of state discipline. Nevertheless, relational identities cannot be fashioned without relationships, and automobiles are maintained in spite of their inordinately high costs because they bring Big Island Marshallese into face-to-face relationships with one another. Cars consume tremendous amounts of cash, but they also produce opportunities. Much as canoe builders were highly respected members of the community in the recent past on Enewetak and Ujelang, those who can repair and maintain cars are held in high regard by others within the community. However, whereas young canoe builders always apprenticed with an aged expert, young men frequently teach themselves to repair vehicles. Indeed, without an apprenticeship program, the large number of failures are clearly marked by the accumulating array of junk vehicles in the yards of Ocean View Marshallese homes. An eyesore for irate neighbors and a constant source of complaint, these mini-junkyards are viewed as a resource by budding mechanics, who constantly negotiate exchanges with other Marshallese residents to obtain a part needed for repair.[14]

Bonds that Bind: Insularity and Marriage

Marriages have long required Marshall Islanders to publically project as well as renegotiate identity because they involve revitalizing relationships

among at least two groups. On the Big Island, marriage relationships underlie the reconstruction of in-group solidarities as well as the sense of isolation and "remaining by themselves" that outsiders attribute to the Marshallese. As has been the case since the mid-1980s, marriages between Enewetak people and other Marshall Islanders are quite frequent. Although intermarriage has blurred boundaries between these groups, it has certainly not extinguished them. Many Big Island residents with Enewetak ancestors continue to speak of themselves as "Enewetak people," and speaking styles as well as a number of distinctive social practices are used as markers of group distinction. At the same time, marriages between Marshallese and other Big Island residents are almost nonexistent. Although this is likely to change in upcoming generations as today's children raised and socialized as Hawai'i Marshallese mature, at the moment the sense of a Marshallese community, separate from others on the Big Island, rests squarely on the marital insularity of the group. Bilimon noted, "Oh, there are some [or many] Marshallese marriages with Hawaiians." As he begins to enumerate these unions, however, it becomes clear that they are extremely infrequent. Moreover, of the marriages he lists, most are marriages between Marshallese women and Hawaiian-Filipino, Japanese-Hawaiian, and haole men who were working on Kwajalein, Enewetak, or elsewhere in the Marshall Islands when the marriages took place. Under the very different social conditions on the Big Island (where potential spouses from many backgrounds are present), only a very limited number of Marshallese women have married non-Marshallese Big Island men, and only one di palle woman had married a Marshallese man.[15] None of the "out marriages" contracted by Marshallese in Hawai'i as of 2008 involved Enewetak people.

Speaking Internally; Internally Speaking

The Enewetak dialect of Marshallese has long separated Enewetak/Ujelang people from the residents of the Ratak and Ralik Chains respectively.[16] Indeed, in the 1970s Ujelang residents frequently defined their identity in opposition to Marshall Islanders, a separation based on speech style as well as various cultural practices. On the Big Island, however, the foregrounding of internal differences among Marshallese is managed quite differently. Extant differences in speaking style are often overlooked in public, where spoken Marshallese serves as a secret language, promoting privacy and solidarity while resisting disciplinary practices that attempt to force all residents of Hawai'i to speak in English. However nonstandard these forms of spoken English may be, Marshallese discourses at home, on school playgrounds, and in the corners of classrooms serve to perpetuate a solid

sense of Marshallese identity in the multivalent ethnic climate of Hawai'i. At times, children, youth, and even mature adults play with spoken English. Code switching is far more common in Hawai'i than in the Marshalls, and reformulated English phrases are integral components of Big Island Marshallese discourses. I heard English phrases with greater frequency in 2008 and 2010 than in 2002, pointing perhaps to a long-term demise of spoken Marshallese in Hawai'i and in other locations where Marshall Islanders live in the United States. Nevertheless, in the shorter term, Marshallese language predominates in the home and at all community activities, and will produce robust identities at least as long as Marshallese–Marshallese marriage continues to prevail.[17]

If the significance of different forms of spoken Marshallese has been diminished, they have not disappeared. Rather, distinctions in discursive style are only discussed in private settings, whereas the potent myth of Marshallese as an undifferentiated mode of speaking is more frequently asserted in public contexts as a symbol of unity in opposition to the speaking styles of very different others next door. The language is in constant flux, incorporating new reformulated elements from English, Hawaiian pidgin, and other sources at the very moment that the use of Marshallese as a preferred mode of communication within the community is paraded as an icon of core Marshallese identity. Thus, the repositioning of identity within the community relies on representations of linguistic unity, fixity, and opposition to other linguistic possibilities.

Rethinking Land, Food and Atmosphere

Central components of Enewetak identity have long been transmitted through links to land, through consuming foods that are the products of one's own labor on those lands, and, as Susanne Kuehling (2012) notes elsewhere in this issue, through inhaling and existing in a certain "atmosphere" (*mejatoto*) that involves breathing scents and sharing in the vibrations and air of any location of cohabitation. At the same time, the many years that Enewetak people lived in exile on Ujelang, and the years spent consuming USDA foods since their return, have changed the texture and altered the density of these identity markers. Nevertheless, Big Island residents continue to use atmosphere, food, and land as identity markers even at a distance from the original products and places.

Atmosphere/air is the most pliable mode through which identities may be perpetuated and recontoured. Marshall Islanders believe it is imperative to live in a suitable atmosphere, breathing air and feeling vibrations that are positively inclined to avoid a sense of total disenfranchisement (*abnono*).

The unsettled life that one may lead in a location where the atmosphere is undesirable is extraordinarily dangerous, even life-threatening. Again, as Kuehling (2012 [this issue]) notes for Carolinians, Enewetak/Ujelang people on the Big Island work to fashion settings with desirable scents and sounds and to avoid those they consider threatening in their day-to-day lives. Although these practices are woven throughout each activity, they are particularly marked at ceremonial events like first-birthday celebrations, the celebration of Kūrijmōj, and funeral services.

Both food and land are equally important, but representations that rely on food are far more readily recontoured into markers of identity on the Big Island than are representations that rely on land. This reflects an uncertainty about land ownership under capitalism that is not felt with food. Like scent and music, food is a readily pliable representation, transformed into bodily substance on a daily basis. Continuities that might align people and land are much longer-term associative chains requiring people to stay on the land for many years, even generations. Although Enewetak residents of Ocean View have purchased their land, they live with the fear that those who sold them the land or someone else with a complaint about Marshall Islanders will, at some point, appear and attempt to take it back. Hence, great uncertainty surrounds these new lands.

People speak with a sense of satisfaction at the plentitude of food in Hawai'i. Nevertheless, they also yearn for Marshallese foods and use them in nostalgic ways that extend images of being "Marshallese to the core" into the current moment and the current location. For example, Linei, the wife of a former Protestant pastor from Wotje, said: "Oh, don't we yearn for (*iokwe*) Marshallese breadfruit! Such is its deliciousness. We are tired of eating the breadfruit from this island because they are very different from Marshallese breadfruit." Like many utterances of this sort, Linei's contains two levels of identity perpetuation: first, people continue to consume breadfruit here, much as in the Marshalls; second, local varieties in Hawai'i are seen as lacking some of the desirable attributes of Marshallese breadfruit.

For Enewetak people, who have lived for so many years without many of these products, Ujelang foods are used to represent this sense of who they really are. Tonita and Timilej (pseudonyms), for example, spoke with nostalgia about being on Ujelang, where "everyday there are many pandanus to chew, breadfruit to consume, and fish to eat. [These items] are extremely delicious and, on Ujelang, we just eat them to the point of impossibility [that is, until we could not possibly eat another bite]." Part of this portrayal speaks to former experiences shared with me, yet it also points out the critical importance of Marshallese foods on the Big Island

today. Not all of this is nostalgia. While I spoke with Tonita, we ate "sprouted coconut soup," a concoction made with sprouted coconuts that Tonita had just brought with her from the Marshall Islands. On my next visit, we consumed *juup in panke* (softened rice and squash soup). Although this is another standard type of food prepared on Ujelang and Enewetak, all of the ingredients in this meal had been purchased or raised in Hawai'i. At every meal, Big Island Marshallese consume the same sorts of food they eat in the Marshall Islands. Not infrequently, they also eat food imported from the Marshall Islands. Both of these practices, at different levels, help to construct and perpetuate core elements of Marshallese identity.

In addition, pandanus, breadfruit, and other plants have been transported from the Marshall Islands to the Big Island and planted in the soil surrounding people's homes, creating continuities of identity in people's lives. Biijen (a pseudonym), for example, said: "Yes, that pandanus is from Ruujia [Biijen's land parcel in the Marshalls], and it is extremely delicious. When it is mature, it will bear fruit and we will be able to take its fruits and chew on them just as if we were sitting on Enewetak." Biijen also spoke of two decorative trees that he had planted from "our [dual, inclusive] land parcel on Enewetak." These identity fragments iconically and indexically re-create the conditions through which continuities of identity are sewn into the land to make it into home. More subtly, a large (although not exhaustive) array of Hawaiian plants, animals, and fishes have been identified, classified, and discussed, thus bringing them alive for Marshallese. This may seem a trivial process of finding local tokens of long-standing types, but, left unattended, it obscures a significant process of transmutation. One of the most commonly consumed fish on the Big Island is *bwilak*, a variety frequently encountered when spearfishing along the Kona Coast. Although this fish has its own Hawaiian name and its scientific designation, *Naso lituratus*, as a regional subspecies, for Big Island Marshallese it becomes "indigenized" as bwilak, giving a Marshallese sensibility and familiarity to the local universe at the same time that people temporarily recognize differences. Thus, Tobin said, "These fish are not as delicious as are bwilak from Ujelang; those are so greasy; nevertheless, these are better than nothing." And one of Tobin's sister's sons says, "Well, these bwilak are not the same; do you see their skin? Its contours are a little different than the skin of bwilak on Enewetak." In subsequent years, however, without the comparative frame, the "new" bwilak will likely become the original in the minds of this transnational community, not a simulacra that points to a different original. Breadfruit (and similarly, pandanus) are often referred to by varietal names in the Marshall Islands, but on the Big Island they are just *mā* (breadfruit), since most local types are not known. Only the name

mejwaan (a type of breadfruit whose name literally means untrue [or wild] breadfruit) is used in Hawai'i to distinguish *Artocarpus incisus* (breadfruit with seeds) from other, more desirable varieties. Renaming the local universe by analogy with a set of Marshallese simulacra will occur only once, for adults and relatively mature adolescents who move here from the Marshall Islands. The "similarity to a prototype" will disappear for youth who have lived most of their lives in Hawai'i. It is with those upcoming generations that major modifications in expatriate Marshall Islands identities and worldview can be expected to emerge.

Unlike plants, land has not been physically transported to the Big Island. Nevertheless, land plays a central role in current constructions of identity. For example, when Kreita, an aging family head, was confined to a strict regimen of dialysis to perpetuate her life in the face of her diabetes-related disease, she eventually made the decision to return to the Marshall Islands so she could "see again the atoll one more time prior to my disappearance." She did not want to be embalmed or to have her body frozen. The sole option, according to her son, was to return while she was living, even though she realized that she would live no more than a few weeks once she distanced herself from the hospitals in Hawai'i that could "sieve" her blood. Kreita's choice to "return to the source" is an example of perpetuating one's sense of identity by re-linking, either temporarily or permanently, a person with his or her homeland. Similarly, residents attempt to travel back and forth with some frequency, in spite of the considerable cost, to perpetuate ties with community and land on Enewetak (for similar practices on Namoluk, see Marshall 2004: 84, 98–111).

Kreita's son, Joniten, however, has adopted an opposite strategy. As one of the founders of the Big Island community, the length of time he has spent away from home has become a marker of his seniority within the Big Island Marshallese community. He specifically discussed the length of his absence as one element of the "struggles" (*iñtaan*) he must overcome to remain in Hawai'i. Contrasting his experience with other long-standing Big Island Enewetak people, he noted that it was he alone who had never returned to the Marshalls. In Joniten's discourse, then, the incessant nature of his struggles on the Big Island becomes a central component in the sacrifice he makes for the community as a whole and, therefore, a unique defining feature of his symbolic power in the Big Island community.

The songs and speeches of Kūrijmōj are used, with some subtlety, to create continuities with the homeland.[18] For example, in "*Ilo jebiloklokin aelōn kein*," one of the Ocean View jepta songs from 2002, the singers project an image of "these islands of ours"—the clear referent being the Marshall Islands—onto the Big Island.

Ilo Jebloklokin Aelon Kein[19]

1) Ilo jebloklokin aelon kein	1) In the scattered nature of these atolls
rej ebebe ioon lometo	they (the atolls) float on the ocean,
in aelon kein ad	of our atolls (collective)
Aelon eo am ej bed im romak	Your atoll remains where it is, and shines
raan nan raan	day-to-day
kin naan eo ear	with the Word (i.e., God's Word) that
rubrube aelon kein	blew up (exploded) these atolls
Chorus:	Chorus:
Tuuri im boklontak	Dive down and bring it up (toward me)
jan ikijet im kalikar	from the floor of the ocean and clarify (place on display)
Imejan lal in ke	for the world to see that (literally: in the face of the earth's surface that)
e bar jetjet	it is time again (literally: it is once again fitted/aligned)
Let im lot	Which woman and which man
enaj kaliktak	will shy away (literally: will fly to the rear)
jan im eo im e bar ien	from the uprising as it is time once again
keke toto	to stand strong (literally: to flex muscle)
Oh, rainin	Oh, this day (today)
2) Kwo bed ia, kwo mad ia	2) Where are you, where do you remain
urak tom, jab ettolok	move toward me, do not distance yourself
koba ippen doon	come together
jooj tutu rake	all of us uphold it as a group
Bwe momaan in aelon kein	For the (real) men of these atolls
rebed ippen ri-Ocean View	are with the people of Ocean View
kin ke rej kemaramlok	because they are illuminating
aelon kein ad	these atolls of ours

The second verse begins with the query, "Where are you?" and then entices the listener to become part of the group because "the men of these [nearby] atolls are with the people of Ocean View, because they are illuminating [continuing to bring light to] these atolls of ours." "Ocean View" refers to the name of a song-fest group (jepta) as well as a Big Island residence location, but the song elides the distance between Ocean View and the Marshall Islands ("these atolls of ours"), creating a continuity of spatial referents that unifies locales separated by vast expanses of ocean. The song relocates "our atolls" as if they were adjacent to and included Ocean View, not over two

thousand miles distant. Other Kūrijmōj songs perform comparable transpositions of space, whereas most of them accomplish a similar spatial displacement or reorientation by locating the singers of the songs (along with active listeners) as if they were elsewhere, in the Marshall Islands, where events described in the songs are discursively situated.

A battle among respected elders giving speeches at a song-fest competition in 2002 reinforced these spatial realignments. One of the respected elders, speaking allegorically, said, "And so the passport and [plane] ticket are really one and the same. You cannot go anywhere without those two things, the passport and the ticket, because they go together." The respected elder from the opposite song-fest group, contesting the first elder's analogy, responded, "Well, this thing is not true; the passport and the ticket are really different. And while you need both to fly to America, here in these islands of ours, you need only a ticket. There is no value to a passport, and if you give it to the [airlines] people they will just grab it and throw it on the ground, for it has not the least significance in these islands of ours." The second respected elder transported the entirety of the Marshall Islands to Ocean View, where these particular activities were taking place, and argued that it was in the Marshall Islands (however much the audience might have been sitting in the fiftieth state of the United States) that the meaningful interactions of the song-fest groups are taking place. Whatever physical distance may separate Big Island residents from their homeland, the linguistic and psycho-cultural distance is often elided in the performances of Kūrijmōj.

Conclusion

Big Island residents from Enewetak, now three decades after the arrival of the first community members, have adopted numerous strategies to build a strong sense of themselves as "Enewetak or Ujelang people" and as "Marshall Islanders." In this environment, however, their sense of themselves has necessarily taken on new contours as a result of very different power relations—contours similar to and yet, in certain respects, quite distinct from those found in the Marshall Islands. There is an insecurity that occupies the sensibilities of Big Island Enewetak residents in reaction to others' negative portrayals of them. Yet to the very degree that their sense of being cannot exist other than in relation to their own formulations of an internal image of the negative imprint of others' stereotypes, however incompletely known, this insecurity has resulted in communal practices that help inscribe a well-defined sense of what it means to be a Big Island Marshallese. Although a variety of hybrid identities with new sets of innovative and blended contours lie on the horizon, the conscious sense that

Enewetak/Ujelang Marshallese are not wholly welcome members of the American family has produced a certain insularity within the community. This insularity, rooted in marriages, shared activities, and linguistic practices, helps perpetuate a strong sense of distinction precisely because the contours of difference are developed in direct relation to others' practices of distinguishing Marshall Islanders in Hawai‘i. This odd juxtaposition of contested identities and projections of others provides the context within which a clearly bounded sense of Big Island Marshallese-ness has been developed today.

NOTES

1. Research on which this article is based was conducted in the Marshall Islands and in Hawai‘i between 1975 and 2010. Funding has been provided by the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, INBRE (National Institutes of Health), the Enewetak/Ujelang Local Government Council, and Montana State University. Although I am most appreciative of the support of these agencies and institutions, all interpretations expressed herein are those of the author. An initial period of over two years of research was conducted with Enewetak/Ujelang community members on Ujelang between 1976 and 1978 with a return visit to Enewetak for thirteen months in 1982. Frequent summer research visits to the Marshall Islands continued between 1990 and 2000 along with more extended periods of residence in 1990–91 and 1995. The author worked for eight months with the Big Island Marshallese community in Hawai‘i in 2002–3 with repeat visits in 2005, 2006, 2008, and 2010. Research with Enewetak-Ujelang people in Majuro and on Enewetak was again carried out in July and August 2009. In addition, comparative research has been conducted on Kwajalein Atoll, Utedik Atoll, and with Rongelap people on Mejatto (along with visits to Rongelap), as well as a brief visit with Marshallese residents of Arkansas. The assessments of members of the Ujelang, Enewetak, and the Big Island communities are grounded in the histories of life in these varied locations as compared with the lives of other Marshallese mentioned above.

2. Even in 2009, more than thirty years after the first replanting effort, coconut production remained around 25 percent of its predicted potential by 1985, despite coconut being the heartiest of food crops. Pandanus, breadfruit, and specialty crops like taro, bananas, and papaya lag far behind coconut production. Recent droughts have complicated agricultural rehabilitation, but lack of quality soil remains the largest single factor inhibiting successful plant growth.

3. These dreams are quite analogous to those voiced by Pohnpeians who have moved to Hawai‘i (see Falgout 2012 [this issue]). However, although Falgout, following Hau‘ofa, suggests that all "Oceanic peoples in diaspora, are indeed 'doing what their ancestors had done before them: enlarging their world as they go, but on a scale not possible before'" (Hau‘ofa 1993, 10), I suggest that this typification is too speculative, too generic, and too generously indulgent of Euro-American bias. As for speculation, the actions of ancestors, particularly ancient ones, are knowable only in their most generic outlines. There is no doubt that Big Island Marshallese are reshaping "their world as they go,"

but it is questionable whether their world is now enlarged or only contoured and specialized differently from the world of their Marshall Islands ancestors. Larger worlds generically experienced by all Oceanic peoples are also far too reminiscent of a progressivist view of the world deeply interwoven with developmental and social evolutionary biases. Instead, I argue that each community must be scrutinized cautiously with careful attention to local practices linked to specific cultural and historical contexts.

4. Intaan (hardship or suffering) appears, on the surface, to be an unusual category to be used to describe daily life on the Big Island by a group of people who suffered huge losses during World War II as well as cycles of hunger, starvation, and even death during their lengthy period of exile on Ujelang. Yet, in the context of life on the Big Island, intaan is a type of "reconversion strategy," as Pierre Bourdieu might refer to it (1984: 125–68), in which symbolic capital is evaluated and deployed in a very complex social setting. Now living in a capitalist society with ostentatious and visible indexical markers of rank distinction all around them, it is easy for Big Island Marshallese to see themselves as suffering. However, not only is today's suffering rooted in contemporary social/psychological and lifestyle comparisons with others on the Big Island but this form of commentary is also directed at (outer island) Marshall Islands' image of "the easy life" led by Big Island Marshallese. Hence, the subtext of this resident's comment is, "In reality, life here [on the Big Island] is not easy at all. Instead, we have to endure a lot of hardship so that [your outer island kids as well as our own] can benefit from the education they are receiving in this place." At yet another level, the respected elder who made the statement might also have been addressing two younger men in his household who had been grumbling about their elder just living off their wages and the support checks provided for the students who resided in his household. The young men were not personally monitoring this conversation, but the wife of one of the young men was within hearing distance of the conversation.

5. Certainly, Enewetak people have long fashioned *di palle* (literally, clothed people, and particularly Americans) into beings with substantial, even supernatural, power (see Carucci 1989). Indeed, the WWII battle for Enewetak and the nuclear tests that followed the war added substantially to their constructions of Americans as empowered beings. Nevertheless, on the Big Island, living in close proximity to powerful others and having to deal with them on a regular basis adds a much different dimension to the types of opportunities and types of threat that these others represent.

6. Marshall Sahlins warned against the idea that such newly fashioned cultural shapes are nothing more than a thing predetermined as a negative image of the irreversible effects of regimes of colonial power. Certainly, I agree that this "reaction formation" model of cultural construction is "culturally insufficient," that history is neither made by colonial masters nor manifest as an "essentialized culture" lived as an error-filled tragedy (Sahlins 1994: 378–80). Nevertheless, it is equally important to recognize that the "novel local accents" in which new representations are uttered, and in terms of which new practices must be understood, do bear contorted and sublimated images of the colonialist/capitalist forces that have come to be part of their productive landscape (Sahlins 1994, 385). It is these emotive relations of de-centered power, of a force beyond their control, that make the contours of Big Island Marshall Islanders' activities worthy of attention precisely because these contours always include an indexical mark of insecurity.

7. In an analogous way, many Honolulu residents have now fashioned Marshallese into the newest "most hated" group of Pacific others. One close friend who works at Kapi'olani Park told me that, although Marshallese were formerly invisible, beginning about 2006–7, as their numbers increased, they were scorned by other local visitors to the park. Some Marshallese workers in ABC stores and similar locales also have received threats on their lives simply by now having become a representative of a recognized and despised group.

8. Some of the Marshallese personal names in this essay are pseudonyms, whereas others are people's actual names, depending on their preference or on risk.

9. In this section, I do not mean to imply that Marshallese tradition is, in any sense, unchanging. Such a vision would only perpetuate what Sahlins called one of several "triste tropes of Western hegemony and local anarchy" (1994, 381). Indeed, elsewhere I have argued strongly in favor of a deeply historic and ethnohistoric rendering of the contours of social life in the Marshall Islands (see Carucci 1997b, 2001, 2003, 2004). I believe there is strong evidence that relations to land were overdetermined in the copra era of the late nineteenth century and that the twentieth-century pattern described in this paragraph bears the indelible imprint of those overdeterminations. In the pre-copra era, seafaring formed a much more central part of daily practice, particularly in the northern Marshall Islands, and cultural constructions of identity reflected those distinctions. In the post-independence, post-copra era of the current day, relationships to land in the Marshalls are being significantly reformulated once more, although present-day beliefs still draw heavily on culturally fashioned land–human connections.

10. Of course, "creating happiness" has been one of the core aims of Kūrijmōj long before Ujelang and Enewetak people came to the Big Island (Carucci 1997a). Nevertheless, in this new setting, the sense of separation (much like the value of family reunions for many Americans, even if the Enewetak/Big Island separations are much smaller scale) creates the altered context in which yearning for a past sense of community as a daily performed component of identity that is now lost creates the context in which being together is, in and of itself, enough to "create happiness."

11. By far the largest segment of the community were still loyal Congregationalists (UCC), with a second sizeable contingent attending Assembly of God, the sect that had been introduced as a competition to "*Protijen*" (Protestant, UCC) in the 1990s on Enewetak. Small numbers of converts attended services of the remaining three sects on the Big Island. By 2010, additional small new sects had gained a foothold among Marshallese.

12. Although Kosrae, a near neighbor to Ujelang, provides a sharp contrast to the specific types of labor accomplished by Enewetak/Ujelang males and females, with female fishers and males tending crops, the division of labor along gender lines remains important. Many other Pacific locales, however, have an array of gender-appropriate tasks similar to those on Ujelang and Enewetak (e.g., Feinberg 1986). At the same time, there is some overlap, with females allowed to fish within the reef, even if it is considered somewhat laughable, and males relatively heavily involved in collecting land foods during times of famine. With Big Island life also described as "living in hardship," it should not be surprising that the overlap in gender-appropriate labor discussed in this section becomes part of the daily way of life.

13. When I presented an earlier version of this article to an audience of anthropologists, sociologists, and historians, several of the non-anthropologists insisted on seeing Big Island Marshallese as a microscopic dot on a line that inevitably led to modernization/westernization. Not only does this perspective seem to be extremely paternalistic and ethnocentric, it radically oversimplifies the way in which local conceptions and daily practices come to have significance for Marshallese. If anything, the Big Island experience has led Enewetak/Ujelang people to see themselves as far more radically "other" in relation to Americans than they once felt themselves to be when living a relatively independent existence on Ujelang. At that point in time, Marshallese, Pohnpeians, and other nearby groups constituted the category of "other," and Ujelang people felt they were more like Americans than were the others around them. However, as I attempt to show in this essay, those immediate Big Island others who must now take account of the Marshallese in their midst have forced Enewetak/Ujelang people to entirely reassess their similarity to and difference from those (now much more differentiated) Americans. One never hears a Big Island Marshallese talk about how similar they are to these "American" others who surround them.

14. By 2006, the accumulation of junk vehicles around Marshallese houses had become one of the most recent arenas of neighbor complaints and police "discipline." One consultant told me that police had warned some Marshallese residents about accumulating junk vehicles. A meeting was planned for autumn 2006 to discuss several complaints, but he said the meeting would focus on junk vehicles. As with similar housing and sanitation complaints, actual enforcement is unlikely because other land parcels in Ocean View inhabited by haole and Hawaiian residents have more junk vehicles. (One land parcel has forty-four junk cars in the yard.) Marshallese residents see the old cars as a resource, using them within the community as a source of parts to repair usable vehicles. The number of junk vehicles tends to correlate directly with the length of residence in a certain location, and I counted as many as seventeen junk vehicles on one land parcel in Ocean View inhabited by a long-resident Enewetak family. Nevertheless, a midden of accumulating junk vehicles may also be disrupted when other motivations come into play. The consultant who told me of the autumn 2006 meeting, a long-standing community member concerned about maintaining good relations between the Marshallese and others living in Ocean View subdivision, had only four junk vehicles, fairly well hidden from view. As representatives of the community, he and his wife saw it as their responsibility to set an example for the other Marshallese families in Ocean View.

15. This union lasted less than one year. Another American woman, working for World Teach on Enewetak, married into the Enjebi chiefly family, a union that was quite viable in August 2009. This couple was establishing a residence on Majuro at that time with possible plans to move to Enewetak in the future.

16. Although dialectical variants meld into atoll-specific registers within the Republic of the Marshall Islands, it was relatively easy in the 1970s to identify three distinct dialects of spoken Marshallese: Ratak (sunrise chain) dialect, Rālik (sunset chain) dialect, and Enewetak/Ujelang dialect. In some respects, Bikini speech was said to be distinct from the Rālik variant at that time, but it was certainly not as distinguishable as the Enewetak/Ujelang variety. The first elements of an emergent nationalism have involved the elimination of linguistic variants of Marshallese, a process that itself has been highly contested as well as incomplete. If Enewetak/Ujelang speech is now much closer to Rālik speech than it once was, Ratak and Rālik variants are very much alive and well in this century.

17. Alan Howard and Jan Rensel have argued for a distinction between strong and weak versions of cultural identity and suggest that Rotumans manifest a relatively weak version (2004). Clearly, at the current historical moment, Marshallese on the Big Island represent the opposite end of the spectrum. Nevertheless, there are risks to classifying identity on such a linear scale, as if identity were an object with fixed properties. Marshall Islanders view the components of identity in relational terms, and it is those terms that I have chosen to adopt in this essay. Regardless of their daily practices, Marshallese of all stripes consider themselves Marshallese to the core, while at the same moment they objectify other Marshall Islanders as less authentically Marshallese if they do not speak Marshallese at home or if they do not contribute in full measure to community activities. Thus, although Marshallese identities may be currently strong in relation to Rotumans, and although Marshallese on the Big Island see their own identities as stronger than Samoans or Hawaiians, such judgments are always relative. The relatively new status of the Big Island Enewetak/Ujelang community, now just over thirty years in existence, the commitment to spoken Marshallese, and the persistent "othering" of Marshallese newcomers by their neighbors, are all core relational features of their currently "strong" cultural identities. At the same time, Marshallese on the Big Island as well as on Enewetak always see contemporary practices as degenerate, as features of identity now lost, both in relation to recently deceased past generations and, ultimately, in relation to the extremely powerful (*beran*) identities of the first Marshallese ancestors to inhabit the earth (Carucci 1997a).

18. As I did in *Nuclear Nativity* (Carucci 1997a), I choose here to use the Marshallese "Kūrijmōj" rather than "Christmas" to represent this celebration, because it has been culturally fashioned as a festivity that differs radically from anything Euro-Americans would recognize as Christmas.

19. My thanks to Alfred Capelle for assistance with this translation. The Marshallese transcription largely reflects the version written down by Ocean View song leaders with occasional alterations for clarity. Diacriticals are not included.

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