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FORUM

THE CANOE, THE WIND, AND THE MOUNTAIN: SHUNTING THE RASHOMON EFFECT OF MAUNA KEA

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The Rashomon Effect

Akira Kurosawa, one of Japan's famous directors, made a movie in 1950 about a murder and a rape in a forest that was witnessed by four people, all of whom have contradictory interpretations of what happened. Titled *Rashomon,* this film became one of the best-known movies by cinephiles around the world (1). Soon, different and conflicting accounts of a particular incident or event became generally known as the Rashomon effect (2). In this paper, we deploy this term to refer to the present controversy surrounding Mauna Kea, a mountain in Hawai'i, and conflicting interpretations about what it is or should be. Our goal, however, is to find a methodology for resolving conflicts that transcend the particularity of Mauna Kea. In this paper, we offer the double-hulled canoe of Oceania as a metaphorical method for resolving difficult and challenging circumstances.

The controversy around Mauna Kea is similar to many other controversies in Oceania and beyond. Deep-sea mining, fisheries exploitation, strip mining, sacred rivers and hydroelectricity, the rising of the seas over sacred lands—there

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is a seemingly endless list of comparable situations and places. By putting the clash over Mauna Kea under a microscope, we hope to bring into visibility various elements, influences, and worldviews that are in conflict, not just in this controversy but also in similar others worldwide.

The Mauna Kea Controversy

Mauna a Wakeā is the proper name for Mauna Kea, which loosely translates as "white mountain" because of the snow that often covers its summit. There are older Hawaiians who believe that the real meaning has more to do with the mountain's famous summit, the piko (navel or belly button) that "ties this earth to Wakeā, the god father who is the sky" (3). We use the latter term here mainly because it is used among the public and the media to refer to the mountain. We are aware, however, of how important it is to call "earth beings" (De La Cadera, 2010) by their indigenous names and point out that the choice we have made is intended to open up for everyone a space that is inclusive. Everyone could and should be able to engage with the issues at hand without feeling that the "mountain" or the issues it has unleashed should not be their concern since they are not Hawaiian. We feel that the issues associated with this controversy are relevant to other contexts and places beyond Hawai'i and the Pacific and as such, transcend ethnicity, race, class, or gender.

The name Mauna a Wakeā suggests that for many native Hawaiians, not just those who lived thousands of years ago but also many still living today, the mountain belongs to Wakeā, the sky father. According to Pua Kanahele, a revered and well-respected cultural expert and practitioner who lives on Hawai'i island, "The mountain belongs to Wakeā. You and what you want to do with it doesn't matter. The mountain is sacred. It is Wakeā. It is not Mount Joe. It is not Mount Kilroy. It is Mauna a Wakeā." She goes on to add that "Wakeā is the broad expanse, the sky father, partner to Papahanaumoku, earth mother, who gave birth to the islands. Hawai'i island is their hiapo, or eldest child. And Mauna Kea is that child's piko, or navel. Because of its place in our genealogies, Mauna Kea is a kupuna, an ancestor" (4).

A dormant volcano on the island of Hawai'i, Mauna Kea rises 9,750 meters (32,000 feet) from the ocean floor to an altitude of 4,205 meters (13,796 feet) above sea level. The summit is made up of cinder cones on a lava plateau, with its highest point above 40 percent of Earth's atmosphere. The extremely dry and cloud-free conditions above the mountain for long periods permit "more detailed studies than are possible elsewhere, while its distance from city lights and a strong islandwide lighting ordinance ensure an extremely dark sky, allowing observation of the faintest galaxies that lie at the very edge of the observable Universe" (5). This unique astronomical observing site makes Mauna Kea

special and is the primary reason scientists all over the world have a particular interest in this location. It is also the main reason that the University of Hawai‘i is embroiled in this controversy over the mountain's management and use.

The Stewardship of Mauna Kea

As the state's only public-funded university, the University of Hawai‘i took a leadership role in the management of Mauna Kea beginning in the 1960s. Its Institute for Astronomy "provided the scientific impetus for the development of Mauna Kea into the world's premier site for ground-based astronomical observatories." More telescopes are located there than on any other mountain peak. Mauna Kea is therefore recognized as the premier site for "optical, infrared and millimeter/submillimeter measurements." In June 2000, the University of Hawai‘i's Board of Regents adopted what is called the Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan, which marked a critical milestone in the management of the mountain (6).

Before the adoption of the master plan with its management guidelines for the next 20 years, meetings and public hearings were held to gather the input of individuals and cultural groups, as well as organizations with a vested interest in the mountain's management and use. This process "reflected the community's deeply rooted concerns over the use of Mauna Kea, including respect for Hawaiian cultural beliefs, protection of environmentally sensitive habitat, recreational use of the mountain, as well as astronomy research" (7). In 2014, like a dormant volcano that has become active, the present controversy erupted when the media announced the construction of a 30-meter telescope (TMT) on Mauna Kea. Somehow, the building of an astronomical observatory with an extremely large telescope (ELT) became the "straw that broke the camel's back." Native Hawaiians who had acquiesced to the state's use of Mauna Kea for astronomy's scientific explorations up to this point discovered the lightning rod they needed to openly protest against the use of their "sacred mountain." These protests struck a nerve among indigenous communities around the world where similar controversies had been happening, and for a period spanning many months, the hot lava of dissent flowed freely, not just in Hawai‘i but also internationally, fanned by opposing points of view carried by broadcast television, radio, and print media.

Why do astronomers want a TMT on Mauna Kea? Aren't the telescopes that have already been built on the mountain sufficient for their purposes? It is a truism that with each passing year (or years), technological inventions become allegedly bigger and better, more efficient and more capable than before. In a similar vein, scientists have desired since the 1980s to build a "telescope with a light-gathering mirror larger than 20 meters in diameter." This desire eventually resulted in the US National Academy of Sciences recommending that a

30-meter telescope be the focus of US interests, seeking to see it built within the decade. Such an ELT would "enable astronomers to conduct research which is unfeasible with current instruments," because it would be designed for "near-ultraviolet to mid-infrared (0.31 to 28 μm wavelengths) observations, featuring adaptive optics to assist in correcting image blur." Positioned at the highest altitude of all proposed ELTs, this 30-meter telescope has government-level support not just from the United States but also from several other nations, including China, Japan, Canada, and India (8). When certain native Hawaiian individuals, groups, and organizations started protesting, such as by setting up camp or blocking access to the top of Mauna Kea, the scientific agenda was sabotaged.

The residents of Hawai'i, in one way or another, became embroiled in this controversy over the mountain as it became an issue of increasing concern. Everywhere one turned, people wanted to discuss and air their opinions. Occurring at the same time was another controversy concerning the building of a rail system in Honolulu for mass transit purposes. Many residents wondered about Mauna Kea's worldwide attention beyond what some considered a worse blight on Hawai'i's beautiful landscape. What makes the mountain more important than other sites? How can we make sense of this Rashomon effect?

In summary, the different perspectives of Mauna Kea can be distilled to two points of view: the sacred and the secular. The sacred perspective views the mountain as an ancestor or "earth being" (9), while the secular view sees the mountain's height and its location as providing perfect conditions for scientific exploration. These two colliding perspectives have resulted in a controversy with seemingly irreconcilable differences.

Our Position

We do not claim to have special knowledge of the issues at hand; we do claim, however, to be interested in examining the large number of academic articles, essays, videos, and other materials that have been circulating about the controversy surrounding Mauna Kea (10). Second, we want to shine a spotlight on a specific controversy in a specific locale with a specific history to understand its implications for other similar situations in which there are different perspectives of the same event or same being. Third, we want to explore a methodology for reconciling different perspectives in a way that is respectful of different or contradictory points of view. Our positionality figures into this third reason, because our dual focus as indigenous community allies who are also academics interested in the broader concerns of humanity affords us (for better or for worse) with a vantage point that is open to exploring different points of view in order to discover the best solution to the present impasse. We feel pulled into this controversy from the inside and the outside at the same time. The

Rashomon effect is therefore happening not just in the larger society but in our minds as well. This paper is our contribution to this important discussion, our way of figuring things out for ourselves as much as for anyone else interested in matters in which the sacred and the secular intersect and collide.

In our search for clarity, the Oceanic double-hulled canoe appears to be an apt metaphor, with one hull representing the secular, unrestricted pursuit of scientific knowledge by humans and the other hull representing the sacred, restricting values of other-than-human entities. Although the Mauna Kea conflict would have us believe that these two main perspectives are radically different from each other, the hulls of the double-hulled canoe look more alike than unalike, suggesting that these two main points of view have more in common with each other than is readily apparent (10).

The Canoe as a Metaphorical Method

A double-hulled canoe gains stability because it has two hulls that are joined together, as well as kept apart, by a wooden platform. Apart from the two hulls and the platform, the canoe has a sail that propels it forward on the ocean. These four parts of the canoe—the two hulls, the platform, and the sail—symbolize for us a methodology not only for understanding the controversy surrounding Mauna Kea but also a way of navigating differing and conflicting perspectives (11). The secret to success, however, resides in a technique called shunting—best described as relational flexibility—in which the sail is flipped from one end of the hull to the other, depending on the direction of the wind (12). Shunting brings one and then the other hull (the sacred and the secular) into focal visibility from the observer's point of view.

Sacred and Secular Hulls

The first hull of our canoe embodies the sacred. The sacred views mountains, rivers, rocks, etc., as things imbued with a life force, and as living beings. Many indigenous cultures around the world are known for holding this kind of perspective about nature (12). However, this view could be held by anyone, including European or American scientists. Similarly, there are many Hawaiians who believe that using Mauna Kea for scientific research is consistent with Pacific people who navigated using their knowledge of astronomy to settle Oceania, long before Europeans arrived in the Pacific (13).

Then there is the second hull of our canoe that represents the secular. This perspective makes a clear distinction between humans and nature. In this view, humans have dominion over birds, animals, trees, rocks, and even mountains. Humans therefore have the right to dominate nature and bring it under control.

Other proponents may also hold a different view, which could be that of trying to live in harmony with the natural world around us. What separates this perspective from the sacred is not believing that other-than-human entities, such as rocks, trees, and mountains, have a life force that makes them equal (or almost equal) to humans. The view that humans are superior is associated mostly with contemporary Western cultures, but it is one that could be held by many indigenous people today, many of whom believe in economic development and the pursuit of scientific knowledge.

The sacred and the secular hulls are different but equal—neither is better than the other. Much like the film *Rashomon,* each is a different interpretation of the same mountain. But unlike the film *Rashomon,* these different perspectives need to be bridged.

The Platform That Separates and Connects

The canoe's two hulls—symbolizing the sacred and the secular—are connected by a wooden platform or bridge that binds them to each other. What then does the bridge symbolize in relation to the Rashomon effect? For us, this bridge is akin to a "method translator" (14)—someone who could draw on, engage with, and speak to the sacred realm, as well as the secular realm—that is a key figure in connecting both dimensions. We do not assume that such a person would succeed on his or her own, and accept that this person could conceivably bring biases or an agenda (real or imagined) to this role. Finding the right individual to take on such a challenging role is difficult, and it is common for one side or the other to object. However, finding an individual acceptable to all sides is imperative. This human bridge or connector is responsible for the translation of different positions to find common ground.

We also wish to suggest that the platform that connects but also separates is analogous to Mauna Kea, the mountain. The impasse that has occurred as a result of two hulls that are not connected could be resolved if the mountain, as a bridge, could be restored to its rightful place and viewed as a method translator, the equivalent of an expert navigator. This could be achieved by asking the mountain what it wants. But how could we know what the mountain wants? The first requirement is a willingness to listen and an openness that the mountain might want to participate actively, instead of passively, in its own affairs.

Nainoa Thompson, a native Hawaiian, as well as an expert navigator and president of the Polynesian Voyaging Society, has spoken about navigating the Hokuleʻa canoe with his naʻau (15). Like many other Pacific people, he believes that the naʻau—located "in the belly"—is where the truth resides. The truth that resides in this part of the body is not the result of intellectual knowledge or

rational thought; instead, it is an assurance founded on intuitive knowledge. According to Thompson, when everything else fails, the moon and the stars have disappeared, or the sky is dark or a storm is raging, he has no other means to steer the canoe but to resort to listening to his na'au. Similarly, because negotiations over the use of Mauna Kea have failed (at the time of this writing), it is imperative that we listen to our na'au. In listening, we might hear the mountain speak, as in this poem (16):

LET THE MOUNTAIN SPEAK

Did you ask me what I want?
Or are you going to speak for me?
I was here before you arrived
And I'll be here today and tomorrow.

Some say I have eyes and teeth,
Others say I'm the perfect mountain,
But have you asked me what I want?

Lay down on the ground!
Feel my truth
Below your belly button

Then crawl on your hands and knees,
Climb to the top of my summit
Where I wait patiently for your arrival
To break YOU open.

Now that you're broken open,
I will send you down.

Embrace your mothers and your fathers
Your brothers and your sisters
Your aunties and your uncles
Your children
Even your children's children.

See enemies with new eyes,
That's when you'll hear
What I want.

The poem suggests it is possible to know the truth about Mauna Kea in our na'au. However, accessing this knowledge is not easy, because as humans we tend to navigate differing perspectives with our intellect, not with our na'au. Furthermore, we have a tendency to speak instead of listening. The poem also suggests that when we listen, and listen with intent, we may hear the mountain speak to us.

Should we hear the mountain speak, we might discover that the mountain wants something different, maybe something that is a combination of different perspectives. For example, both sides (the sacred and the secular) could discover that what the mountain wants today is different from what it wanted when the first settlers arrived on these islands thousands of years ago. Or maybe not: maybe the mountain's wishes will always remain the same. Whatever the case may be, both sides must be open to being surprised, even shocked, if the mountain were to tell us what it wants. This approach could lead to each side discovering that it needs to rise above the narrow confines of its individualistic concerns to focus more on the broader concerns of humanity (17). To get to this broader and larger concern for our collective future together, we turn now to the sail of the canoe.

The Sail That Needs Shunting

In many parts of Oceania, women wove the sails of canoes, even though canoe building was generally the domain of men. Made usually from pandanus, the weaving of a sail was a labor of love, one that could take many months. Similar to the production of the hulls that are imbued with the mana of men, the production of the sail is imbued with the mana of women (18). This is true not just for so-called Polynesia but also for the rest of the Pacific, where sailing canoes were necessary for survival. For example, Marshall Islanders have a legend about the first sail of the canoe as one that was gifted by a mother to her kind son, the only one out of her many sons willing to give her a ride during a competitive race (19). As each son sailed by and saw that their mother had something heavy by her side, they ignored her request, thinking that her weight and her cargo would slow their canoe. But not so with the youngest son, who was more concerned with his mother's pleas for help than winning the race. Once on board the canoe, his mother hoisted the sail that she had been carrying with her, causing the canoe to overtake the others in front. The kind son won the race, the result of which is a story with a moral that has value not just to Marshall Islanders but to all of humanity.

In the Marshallese legend, the shunting technique was part of the reason the mother's kind son won the race. This ability to flip the sail from one hull to another allowed the canoe to travel into the wind and to travel fast. This technique, best described as relational flexibility, will allow humanity to be able to harness the power of differing perspectives. This is the secret to success, because the hulls, connected by a wooden platform, are rigid and inflexible, whereas the

sail, hoisted above the platform that connects the two hulls, will give the canoe the flexibility it needs to pivot in all directions to harness the power of the wind that will take it closer to its destination.

Similarly, to get to the broader concerns of humanity, humans could learn from the art of shunting the sail of a double-hulled canoe. After all, this technique of shunting made it possible for double-hulled canoes to traverse the Pacific Ocean and to settle its thousands of islands before Europeans arrived. The stable hulls, connected by a bridge that keeps them apart, suggests it is possible to hold firm to one's beliefs and yet be connected to other beliefs. But this is not enough if the canoe is to make landfall. It needs a sail, one that can be shunted, so that the stable canoe can pivot in all directions. This nimbleness, this ability to respond to the changing directions of the wind, is the canoe's special feature that sets it apart from the rest.

A Way Forward

We began this paper by referencing the Rashomon effect, used mainly to refer to differing perspectives about the same event—in this instance, differing perspectives about the mountain Mauna Kea. The film *Rashomon* has four points of view; similarly, this brief essay has four perspectives about Mauna Kea that are symbolized by the two hulls, a platform that connects them, and a sail (20). But unlike the film *Rashomon,* which makes no effort to reconcile the different points of view, this paper deploys a navigational technique from canoe voyaging called shunting to integrate the conflicting perspectives.

Shunting involves flipping the sail to harness the power of the wind and thus propel the canoe forward. To know when to flip the sail, one needs to be sensitive and responsive to the direction from which the wind is blowing, a call-and-response relationship that is best described as relational flexibility. Because the wind could shift at any time, flexibility saves the canoe from sinking. Shunting is therefore a process that requires sensitivity to the wind and, in our metaphor, recognition and awareness that humans and other-than-human entities must live in harmony with each other.

There is much that we can learn from the technique of shunting. Shunting the sails of a double-hulled canoe makes all the difference. This technique causes a canoe to win the race (21). In stormy weather, analogous to controversial situations in which the Rashomon effect is most evident, the canoe's sail must be shunted. These challenging and difficult situations call for expert method translators who are the equivalent of expert navigators of double-hulled canoes, the likes of Mau Piailug or Nainoa Thompson (22).

In conclusion, the relational flexibility of everyone who has a stake in Mauna Kea, or in similar conflicts across Oceania and the world, will resolve

the impasse that threatens to keep a double-hulled canoe beached on the shore instead of venturing beyond the reef to discover new lands.

NOTES

1. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashomon

2. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashomon_effect

3. http://www.mauna-a-wakea.info/maunakea/F2_whitemountain.html

4. http://www.mauna-a-wakea.info/maunakea/F2_whitemountain.html

5. https://www.ifa.hawaii.edu/mko/about_maunakea.shtml

6. https://www.ifa.hawaii.edu/mko/about_maunakea.shtml

7. https://www.ifa.hawaii.edu/mko/about_maunakea.shtml

8. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thirty_Meter_Telescope

9. De La Cadena (2010). See also http://sites.coloradocollege.edu/indigenoustraditions/sacred-lands/sacred-lands-mauna-kea/. In addition, Vilsoni Hereniko's 2004 film *The Land Has Eyes* explores the belief among Rotumans that the land is like a human and that it has eyes and teeth. See http://www.thelandhaseyes.org. The belief that the land has its own life force is common among many indigenous cultures around the world.

10. We are aware that the canoe may be seen as useful only for parts of the world where voyaging on the ocean is possible. We think otherwise, because the canoe in this paper is metaphorical and is deployed only to suggest a methodology for resolving different perspectives.

11. We do not include the rudder here, because it was not essential in the ancient models in which steering was done using either paddles or sails. Necessary for a successful journey is an expert navigator, but that too is not elaborated upon in this paper, because our focus is more on the structure of the canoe and how the parts function in harmony with one another.

12. See, for example, Eduardo Kohn's work *How Forests Think* (2013) and the resulting debate (De La Cadena 2014), as well as the burgeoning literature on cosmological perspectivism (Viveiros de Castro 2012) and the ontological turn (Henare (Salmond), Holbraad, and Wastell 2007).

13. See, for example, http://www.keckobservatory.org/recent/entry/manu_imiloa_modern_ancient_ways_o f_navigating_our_universe.

14. See the discussion of Agnes Wegner's idea of a "Methodendolmetscher" or "method translator" in Schorch and Kahanu (2015).

15. http://www.samlow.com/sail-nav/wayfinding.html

16. We resort to poetry because it seems to us to be the most appropriate medium for accessing the spiritual dimensions that transcend the limitations of empirical thought.

17. This is an observation made famous by Martin Luther King Jr. The full quote reads: "An individual has not started living until he [sic] can rise above the narrow confines of his individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity." See http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/martinluth400049.html.

18. For a historical perspective on mana, often understood as ancestral or spiritual energy and force, see Sahlins (1985); for a contemporary perspective, see Tomlinson and Tengan (2016); also see Schorch, McCarthy, and Hakiwai (2016) and Schorch and Hakiwai (2014).

19. This is a well-known legend, made even better known when the Marshallese poet Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner referred to it in a speech on climate change that she delivered to the United Nations in 2014. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4fdxXo4tnY.

20. In some contemporary canoes such as the Hokule'a, there are not only two hulls and a platform that connects them but also two sails.

21. See Jetnil-Kijiner (2014).

22. Mau Piailug was an expert navigator from the Carolinian island of Satawal, and Nainoa Thompson's mentor.

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FORUM

THE CANOE, THE WIND, AND THE MOUNTAIN: SHUNTING THE "RASHOMON EFFECT" OF MAUNA KEA: AN ALOHA AINA RESPONSE

Manulani Aluli Meyer
University of Hawaii West Oahu

The world is not dual, we just think it is. Maunakea is not a polemic discussion, we just make it one. Thus, begins this response to *The Canoe, the Wind, and the Mountain: Shunting the "Rashomon Effect" of Mauna Kea,* written by Vilsoni Hereniko and Phillip Schorch.

The philosophical duality set up in this discussion (secular/sacred) of the Maunakea controversy is a beautiful and poetic attempt to bring understanding to this issue. This dynamic tension, detailed as hulls in a *wa'a kaulua* (or double-hull canoe), links through a platform, the connecting principle between two opposite ideas. The metaphor works to bridge what appears to be necessary—two opposite hulls—to work as part of the structure of a sailing vessel purposed for movement. In this way, maybe the authors are suggesting the inevitable evolution of perceived duality, the predictable conflict of sacred and secular, is the wholeness of its purpose. Maybe not.

Maunakea has been painted a controversy with both sides perceived in polemic discourse. I have learned to call these ideas "false-dualities," especially this one, and to speak instead about their purpose and function in the evolution of our collective consciousness. What exactly then is the purpose of conflict? How do we productively engage wholeness in this process, and what does consciousness have to do with understanding the priorities of an indigenous mind? How does all this help us evolve as a society? Here is where I think Hereniko

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and Schorch wants us to sail to—the Isle of Humanity where both extremes become useful in helping us land on the shores of our own awareness. Then we can be honest about the dynamics of power within a capitalistic world and sound out the purpose of why indigeneity is now vital for our world.

Another idea drawn to help us think about Maunakea differently was shunting, the flipping of a sail to one or the other hull to capture wind more productively and for a desired outcome. Shunting, a synonym for relational flexibility, was a metaphor to harness conflict productively. Relational flexibility helped detail a more flowing capacity to remain ready to change course, capture the benefits of a good wind, and to work efficiently within the context of a given environment. One needs only a good navigator or translator. For the Protectors/Navigators (*Na Ao Koa*) of Maunakea, this idea can best be described through the practice and discipline of a Kapu Aloha.

> A Kapu Aloha, the reverence and practice of compassion, has been called by Nā Ao Koa—by the Warriors of Light, to help protect Mauna a Wakea. It is a spiritual rejuvenation for the world. It helps us re-center *Aloha Aina* once again so we can see, really see, the beauty that nourishes, inspires and teaches us how to best be in the world. Mana Moana, let us rise to this practice of compassion and reverence! *Ku kiaʻi mauna*! (Media summary of Kapu Aloha, April, 2015)

Here, believe it or not, is a segue into cultural empiricism and why relational flexibility is not a synonym for compromise but for deeper and more purposed intentionality. This method translator, or expert navigator, is drenched in experience, practice, and lessons learned within vast and diverse contexts. This kind of knowing can indeed be fine-tuned into intuition, our *ike naʻau*. Couple that with cultural priorities, principles, and the knowledge of history, however, and you have why the Kapu Aloha continues to awaken, direct, and guide those interested back into the practice and purpose of Aloha Aina. To love land. To love water. To love ocean. To love the natural world. To love. This is why "listening to the mountain" is the practice of listening to ourselves. We do not want to be "equal" to rocks. We are Maunakea! There is no such thing as "more or less" in the mathematics of loving.

> Kapu Aloha is a compassionate commitment to *pono*.
> *Luana Palapala Busby-Neff, Aloha Aina Practitioner*

Aloha Aina is not a "narrow and confining individualistic perspective." It is a synonym for Indigeneity, or "that which has endured," or my favorite synonym: continuity. Hawaiians are still here because of the wisdom and practices of our

people, regardless of whether some no longer connect to its efficacy. Many do, however, and many more will always hold love of land and care of people as the central operating principle of their lives, regardless of ethnic distinction. Yes, we are evolving, but Aloha Aina is the clearest priority we have, and it is the hand we must play.

And yes, older Hawaiians are not the only ones who view Maunakea as *Mauna a Wakea*. It is a discipline of awareness not linked with age as with experience, recognition, and absorption of concepts such as Aloha Aina/Aina Aloha, and Kapu Aloha. We have many names for one idea, it is the function of language to be literal, multiple, and esoteric. The wind is shifting. Our lands are degraded, our water table is compromised, our streams are polluted, and our trust in government wains. Care for land is no longer a mainstream cultural affair, it is secondary to the needs of the economy and science. Here are two pillars of capitalism that continue to hold different priorities than the people of place. *Na kua'aina* who know where food is planted, who care for kupuna bones, and who's stories are shared and danced and debated throughout starry nights with food, music, and memory.

There is a movement throughout the world to awaken to the needs and priorities of our beloved aina and to see how our decisions affect every nuance of her mood, health, and capacity. It is not about whether science or culture cannot exist together. Wrong focus. False duality. Hawaiians have always been scientists. We are profound in our interest of heavenly bodies and how they link to our world. It is simply time to be clear about our priority so that continuity does not become a game of Russian roulette. We remain for a reason.

Love of land is this reason.

FORUM

KA ULU KOA MA KAI: THE KOA GROVE RISES IN THE SEA

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Traveling along the Koʻolaupoko mountains of Oʻahu with her female companions, Hiʻiaka—youngest sister of the volcano deity Pele—stopped at the area known as Mahinui and looked down to watch a group of men carrying a canoe seaward to the coast of Oneawa where other canoes were floating offshore. She chanted:

Waiho Mahinui mauka ē
Ka ulu koa ma kai o Oneawa

Mahinui remains here in the uplands
The koa grove rises in the sea beyond Oneawa[1]

Hiʻiaka's "koa grove" was a reference to the Native koa hardwood out of which the canoe hulls were built. Here a set of observational practices led to the voicing of interrelationships between mountain and ocean, gods and people, women and men, and tree and canoe. I open with this story to suggest the significance of the koa that constitutes the Hawaiian canoe and Kānaka (People).

Vilsoni Hereniko and Philipp Schorch invite us to imagine a double-hulled canoe that in other parts of Oceania uses a shunting technique of flipping the sail from one end of the hull to the other according to the direction of the wind. The authors argue that this double-hulled shunting canoe can serve as a

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model for addressing the conflicts surrounding the development of astronomy at Mauna a Wākea (Mauna Kea) on the island of Hawai'i—to which I would also add the related struggles on Haleakalā on Maui—by encouraging all parties to adopt a "relational flexibility" that brings into "focal visibility" the multiple worldviews at play. Such an intervention would make space for alternative voices to be heard—including those of the mountain itself and other "earth beings" (a term the authors borrow from De La Cadena 2010).

Like Hereniko and Schorch (and numerous others before them)[2], I too have drawn inspiration from our wayfinding cultures and worlds in my collaborative work looking for new models of Indigenous anthropological praxis (Tengan, Ka'ili, and Fonoti 2010) and tracing the currents between Native Pacific Studies and American Studies (Lyons and Tengan 2015). Thus, I offer the following comments as a fellow voyager seeking to test the sea-worthiness of our theoretical and methodological vessels as we strive to make landfall on islands that may still only be in our minds' eye (Diaz 2015, 99). I write from a position of someone who for numerous cultural, political, and ethical reasons opposes the construction of the Thirty-Meter Telescope (TMT) on Mauna a Wākea and the Daniel K. Inouye Solar Telescope (DKIST) on Haleakalā. I speak also as someone who strives to bring out both sides of these debates in the Ethnic Studies and Anthropology classes that I teach at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Although I agree that there is much to be gained by applying Oceanic sailing technologies to the present struggles atop Mauna Kea and Haleakalā, Hereniko and Schorch's model requires some revision and refinement. For them, the two canoe hulls represent the "sacred" and the "secular," a binary most frequently (and reductively) invoked in media coverage of Mauna Kea as a battle of "culture vs. science" (Brown 2016; Ladao 2017). Hereniko and Schorch rightly suggest that this dichotomy needs to be bridged to move past that false opposition. They further urge us to see that "[t]he sacred and the secular hulls are different but equal."

The problem here is that, in sailing and in life, not all hulls are built equally—at least when it comes to shunting. Whereas the shunt maneuver is usually associated with Micronesian single canoes (which have one hull and an outrigger), most traditional and contemporary double canoes in Polynesia and Eastern Melanesia (including the *Hōkūle'a* Hawaiian voyaging canoe) have two hulls of equal length with fixed sails (Finney 2006: 125–27). The historical development in Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa of a double canoe that used a detachable sail for shunting in fact had hulls of unequal size; the sail (along with the steering oar) would move from one end to the other of the longer main hull, with the shorter hull always on the windward side (Davis 2006; Finney 2006: 152–53; Neich 2006: 236–38). If this were to be the model applied to land issues today, we would find that the activities directing the movement of the craft/struggle would be very one-sided; both hulls would remain in the same position relative

to the prevailing winds even as the ends of the canoe designated as fore/front and aft/back would switch with each shunt.

A more pressing issue is that the crew—which is the key component Teresia Teaiwa (2005) focuses on in her exploration of the classroom as a metaphorical canoe—is left unaddressed by the authors. Instead, they note that their "focus is more on the structure of the canoe and how the different parts function in harmony with each other" (fn 11). Yet the canoe's harmonious functioning can only occur with a properly trained and led crew. Commenting on the handling of the *Takitumu* shunting double canoe he had built in 1992 with members of his family in Rarotonga, former Cook Islands Prime Minister Sir Thomas Davis (2006) noted that "it took real sailors to sail her," and failure to perform the shunt correctly left the canoe "dead in the water" (314).

The figure of the navigator—who offers "radical possibilities of [an] archipelagic way of apprehending self and space" (Diaz 2015, 91)—receives a bit more attention from Hereniko and Schorch. They argue that the navigator represents a "method translator" that can bridge the two hulls of the sacred and secular; they also take inspiration from master navigator Nainoa Thompson who found that when all other voyaging signs were absent, he needed to listen to his naʻau (gut, seat of knowledge, emotion, and wisdom) in order to arrive at his destination.

Although these ideals appeal greatly, the realpolitik is considerably more complex. As Tuck and Yang (2012, 3) remind us, "decolonization is not a metaphor"—and neither is decolonial voyaging. Despite Thompson's remarkable accomplishments as master navigator of the *Hōkūleʻa* and president of the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS), his leadership on Mauna Kea has been more mixed. While serving as a regent for the University of Hawaiʻi, he abstained from the June 16, 2000 vote on the Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan (which was developed in the wake of a scathing state audit highlighting UH's mismanagement of the summit), in part because "he keenly felt the opposing tugs of science and sacred lands" (Gordon 2001).[3] His silence in the present debates over Mauna Kea stand in marked contrast to the whole-hearted support of TMT voiced by fellow master navigator Chad Kalepa Baybayan, who testified in a contested-case hearing that the telescope would represent a continuation of Hawaiian traditions of celestial navigation (Dayton 2016; Thomas 2017).

In contrast to Baybayan's position, Maui activist and writer Dana Nāone Hall (2018) notes that "[m]auna (mountain) protectors reject this facile proposition and point to the circumnavigation of the globe accomplished by . . . Hōkūleʻa, relying only on traditional navigation methods." Going further, Iokepa Casumbal-Salazar (2017) argues that the "fictive kinship" drawn between "ancient Hawaiian voyaging" and "modern astronomy" by the University of Hawaiʻi, and its representatives is better understood as a settler move that

naturalizes the replacement of Native places and people with Western institutions and capital.

Although I tend to agree with Nāone Hall and Casumbal-Salazar, I admire the courage displayed by Baybayan and the late Paul Coleman (a Hawaiian astronomer from UH) who were at times the only Hawaiians to stand up in support of TMT and DKIST. In many ways, their stances highlighted the words of Mau Piailug, the master navigator from Satawal who trained Thompson, Baybayan, and countless others. Piailug famously explained that to brave the elements, the navigator needed a fierceness that came from "faith in the words" of the ancestors (Diaz 2015, 99; Low 2014, 56). Baybayan, Coleman, and other Hawaiian supporters of the two telescopes have been fierce in their faith that their positions follow the footsteps of their *kūpuna* (ancestors) who were innovators all the way back.

Another form of ancestral courage led Samuel Kaleikoa Kaʻeo to remain steadfast behind his mother tongue as he stood up and spoke in Hawaiian to affirm his being as a Kanaka ʻŌiwi (Native Hawaiian) in a Maui District Court on January 24, 2018.[4] The University of Hawaiʻi Maui College Hawaiian Studies Professor and *aloha ʻāina* (love of land/country) activist was on trial for his role in attempting to block an August 2, 2017, construction equipment convoy going to the top of Haleakalā for what was slated to be the most powerful solar telescope in the world. Kaʻeo was one of six individuals arrested at 3:45 AM by heavily armed Maui police officers. Ironically, the Maui police had earlier played a prerecorded Hawaiian language message warning the *kiaʻi mauna* (mountain protectors) to disperse.[5]

This "weaponization of language" (Rafael 2012)[6] seems to have been a response to a 2016 court case on Hawaiʻi Island where Hawaiian language teacher and kiaʻi mauna Kahoʻokahi Kanuha successfully defended himself using ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian Language) in a trial that ended with his acquittal of obstruction charges during a 2015 blockade of construction crews at Mauna Kea (Associated Press 2016). Because ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi had been declared in 1978 an official language of the State of Hawaiʻi on par (supposedly) with English, Kanuha's use of Hawaiian in court was a double defense of identity, culture, and place.

Kanuha's actions, like those of Kaʻeo subsequently, framed the Mauna a Wākea and Haleakalā struggles within a broader resurgence of aloha ʻāina (Casumbal-Salazar 2017; Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2017). Aloha ʻāina is an activist praxis born of a love of the land and nation that centers Hawaiian ways of being and knowing, including the significance of the concept of "piko" that refers to both "mountain summit" as well as the "umbilical cord." Hawaiians past and present reaffirm intergenerational connection when we bury a baby's piko on the summits of the two mountains (Maunupau 1998, 78,147; Peralto

2014, 238). Kaʻeo (who was also arrested at Mauna Kea) followed Kanuha's precedent by situating his protection of the piko of Haleakalā within a wider assertion of the proper legal and cultural standing of Hawaiian language, culture, and sovereignty.

By the time Kaʻeo entered the Maui courtroom on January 24, 2018, Judge Blaine Kobayashi had already granted a motion made by the prosecution to hold the trial entirely in English attributable to the alleged inconvenience of hiring a Hawaiian language interpreter who was deemed unnecessary since Kaʻeo could speak English if he chose (Hiraishi 2018). Nevertheless, when faced with the judge's order to "identify in fact that your name is Samuel Kaeo," Kaleikoa Kaʻeo responded with the statement "*Eia nō au ke kū nei ma mua ou*," (Here I am standing before you). To follow the canoe metaphor offered by Hereniko and Schorch, one might view this as an attempt to shunt the sail of the justice system so that ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi would come to the fore and English language move to the back—and to do so without access to a translator (method or otherwise).

Kobayashi refused to acknowledge Kaʻeo's use of Hawaiian—and thereby his presence—and instead issued a bench warrant for his arrest for failing to appear in court (Hurley 2018). As Hawaiian Studies professor and legal scholar Kekailoa Perry (2018) commented, "Though the man was physically present, his Hawaiian language made him legally, socially and politically invisible." Speaking outside of the courtroom to the crowd that had shown up in support—many of them young children enrolled in the Hawaiian language immersion program accompanied by their teachers and parents—Kaʻeo explained:

> This is about our right as human beings, yeah. We are human *beings*. We demand to be treated as human beings. All human beings have a *language*. There is no justice when other human beings tell another human being, "You cannot speak the language" Especially the language of this *land*. Yeah, ka ʻŌlelo ʻŌiwi, the real language of this land (Maui Now 2018; emphasis added).

Although the bench warrant was dropped the next day and the State Judiciary revised its policies to provide for more Hawaiian language interpreters (Tsai 2018), the deployment of Hawaiian language by Maui police forces to clear the highway of Haleakalā protectors suggests that "official" recognition of ʻŌiwi culture and peoplehood will occur only as it works to validate rather than question structures of settler colonialism that invariably seek to erase and replace the Indigenous (Wolfe 2006). However, the move to grant equal standing to Hawaiian language in the Hawaiʻi State Judiciary may also represent a return

to the language of the Hawaiian Kingdom courts and renewed possibilities of sovereign speech. It's hard to tell which end of the hull is facing forward in these conditions.

Even as the State attempts to shunt us aside, we stand firmly planted in mountains like the koa tree that is the embodiment of Kū, the god of nation and canoe builders[7]. The term koa, which names "the largest of native forest trees," also means "warrior," "bravery," and "courageous" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 156). In the precolonial period, the massive trunks of the koa trees were ceremonially felled in the mountains and hauled to the shores where they were carved into canoe hulls—thus the allusion that Hiʻiaka made to the koa grove in the chant given above. Because of the impact of large-scale postcontact logging, ranching, farming, development, erosion, wild animals, and invasive species, very few koa remain that are long or straight enough for use as hulls for large voyaging canoes.[8]

Against the historical decimation of koa, there has been a new regeneration of this "earth being" (which for us is also an ancestral deity) in a wide range of environmental, cultural, and political activities. Drawing upon the multiple valences of the term, Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada (2015a) explains that "[k]oa seeds can remain viable in the ground for twenty-five years or more" and germinate only after being "scarred or cracked;" thus, he sees a new growth of koa in the courage demonstrated by the protectors in the battles on the mountains and in the courtrooms. This, in turn, has inspired new sentiments and sentinels of aloha ʻāina across the islands and beyond as people kū kiaʻi mauna (stand to protect the mountains). The efforts to stop TMT and DKIST articulate with other stances on the land, including the formation in March 2018 of the Kanaka Rangers who called out the state for failing to follow through on plans to restore Native forests and create Hawaiian homesteads on the lower slopes of Mauna Kea (Lyte 2018). As Kuwada states, "We are a grove of trees."

Although warriorhood is frequently masculinized, the koa of the past, present, and futures becoming are found not only in *kāne* (men) but importantly also in *wāhine* (women), *māhū* (transgender), and queer aloha ʻāina whose courageous stances on their mauna refuse systems of heteropatriarchy that come with neoliberal settler science (Casumbal-Salazar 2017). In this regard, Hereniko and Schorch rightly point to the significant role that Native Pacific women's knowledge and labor play on the canoe, particularly in regards to the weaving and shunting of the sails. At Mauna a Wākea, *kumu hula* (teacher of traditional dance) Pualani Case and her daughter Hāwane Rios, a performer and cultural practitioner, alongside Mauna Kea Anaina Hou president Kealoha Pisciotta, have been notable *wahine mana* (powerful women leaders). Renowned *māhūwahine* (transwoman) kumu hula and educator

Hinaleimoana Wong, who has been at the forefront of the movement, composed a song that has become the anthem of the kū kiaʻi mauna. Wahine mana Kahele Dukelow, Hawaiian Studies professor at UH Maui College, and Kahala Johnson, a poly-queer PhD student in political science, have been prominent figures in the Kākoʻo Haleakalā group. Johnson explains that for himself, his wahine (female companion) Māhealani Ahia (PhD student in English), and their *punalua* (unnamed partner), it is "decolonial love that grounds our activism on the mauna" (email to author, April 11, 2018). Many more have lent support through organizing testimonies at the University of Hawaiʻi or the State Legislature, including ʻIlima Long (faculty specialist in Native Hawaiian Student Services) and Healani Sonoda-Pale (organizer with Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi Political Action Committee). Māhūwahine anthropologist Kalaniopua Young notes that the voices of the Mauna a Wākea goddesses such as Lilinoe and Poliahu remind us of the importance of the mist and clouds for a wayfinding "that moves beyond binarism" and points to the liminality of space, gender, and sexuality on the canoe (email to author, April 10, 2018). Indeed, koa is coming back in all forms imaginable on land, sea, and sky.

Where then does this leave us with the voyage we embarked on with Hereniko and Schorch? I'm on board with the assertion that canoes are good to think with. When sailing into resurgent waves of Indigeneity, the dual hulls and shunting sails will undoubtedly come to represent more than just the sacred and the secular as a whole host of relationships between state and subject, gods and people, male and female, human and nonhuman, and time and space come to the fore and then recede to the back like the "moving islands" that navigators use to constantly re-triangulate their position with (Diaz 2015: 97–99). Given these conditions, the relational flexibility that Hereniko and Schorch call for is critical. So too is the ability to manifest koa and kū, to stand steadfast against the forces that would swamp one's vessel.

The essential tie that binds all of this together—both materially and metaphorically—is the *ʻaha* (sennit cordage), a mode and symbol of genealogical connection across Oceania that in Hawaiian also references a gathering of people and a ceremony (Tengan Kaʻili, and Fonoti 2010). Indeed, it was Mau Piailug's quick action with cordage that allowed him to repair the broken booms of the *Hōkūleʻa* on the open ocean before currents could carry the crew off course (Low 2014, 56). It is in the spirit of gathering us all together to address such challenging environments that I restate a call that the late Paul Lyons and I made "for coalition building, solidarity among Oceanians and the peoples who encircle the ocean, that pays special attention to the place-based knowledge that emerges from the large and small currents of the Moana Nui (Pacific Ocean), including the dangers and opportunities for movement that currents present" (Lyons and Tengan 2015, 546). Referencing back to the chant of Hiʻiaka,

Kuwada (2015b, 576) has articulated a new poetics of voyaging into sovereignty as follows:

> Koa has always grown on this sea, in our masts, our hulls, our hearts
> Leaving only the question of crew
> We accept only those who will step bravely into darkness
> For we have the generations to light our way

On double hulls, we stand, maneuvering sails bound by cordage and courage as we journey on the currents—koa groves rising in the sea.

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NOTES

1. Hoʻoulumāhiehie (2006a, 147; 2006b,156).

2. Wendt 1976; Diaz and Kauanui 2001; Teaiwa 2005; Hauʻofa 2008; Diaz 2015; Kauvaka 2016 to name only just a few.

3. Summarizing the audit (Office of the Auditor 1998), Casumbal-Salazar (2017,10) states that it "found that after thirty years of construction on the mountain, the University of Hawaiʻi's management was 'inadequate to ensure the protection of natural resources,' controls were 'late and weakly implemented,' historical preservation was 'neglected,' and the 'cultural value of Mauna Kea was largely unrecognized.'"

4. Kaʻeo was the first person I heard quote Piailug on courage. At the 2010 ʻAha Kāne Native Hawaiian Men's Health Conference, Kaʻeo gave a keynote speech on the importance of knowing ones history to know ones place in the world. Among other things, he discussed Mau Piailug's leadership of the 1976 crew of predominantly Hawaiian men, whose fears he allayed with the words, "If I have courage, it's because I have faith in the teachings of my ancestors" (Kaʻeo 2010).

5. Video (https://vimeo.com/228127405) of the arrests include footage of the Hawaiian language warnings issued at minute 2:05 and an officer motioning with his hand at his neck to "kill it"—presumably he is telling this to whoever was playing the recording because the message stops at 2:20 when he is returning to the group of the other officers, but the additional meanings one could derive from that command are profound.

6. I thank Vernadette Gonzalez for pointing me to this citation.

7. Kū took many forms and covered many aspects of human activity, including governance, building, farming, fishing, healing, and war; he has also served as a primary deity of men's work and activities, both in the past and present (Tengan 2016). Although a number of male and female gods were invoked by canoe builders, the greatest number were manifestations of Kū (Malo 1951: 127–28; Polynesian Voyaging Society [PVS] n.d.)

8. Ben Finney (2003, 15–21) describes how the failure to find a suitable koa tree for the construction of the *Hawai'iloa* voyaging canoe led the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS) to enact transindigenous relations and receive two spruce trees donated by the Alaskan Native–owned Sealaska Corporation.

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FORUM

HE LANI KO LUNA, A SKY ABOVE

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My remarks are written in response to a paper by Vilsoni Hereniko and Philipp Schorch entitled "The Canoe, The Wind, and The Mountain: Shunting the Rashomon Effect of Maunakea." This paper is not intended to be an academic response, it serves simply as an opinion piece from an oceanic wayfinder with forty-three years of canoe sailing experience. I use the favored grammar practice of Hawaiian linguists of spelling all proper names as a single word; hence, "Maunakea" and not Mauna Kea. I write this paper while the Supreme Court of Hawaii is deliberating on the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) appeal to decide whether to hold valid the award of a Conservation District Use Permit to TMT by the Board/Department of Land and Natural Resources.

There are five sections to the Hereniko and Schorch (VH/PS) paper:

1. The Rashomon Effect
2. The Maunakea Controversy
3. Our Position
4. The Canoe as a Metaphorical Method
5. A Way Forward

My approach in responding to the VH/PS paper is to make comments pertaining to each section.

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The Rashomon Effect

The Rashomon effect is named after the 1950 Akira Kurosawa film *Rashomon* in which four people describe a single murder from four very different perspectives and in the process offer different interpretations of the same event. This effect has been represented on the Hollywood big screen in movies featuring Ben Affleck in *Gone Girl* (2014), Denzel Washington in *Courage Under Fire* (1996), and Kevin Spacey in *The Usual Suspects* (1995).

The events surrounding Maunakea and in particular TMT have been characterized as a "controversy" in the VH/PS paper; however, when segments of society express opinions that come from differing corners of the same compass, I would not characterize the discussion as controversial, rather I would describe it as healthy community debate reflecting different perspectives. Yes, it has been heated, emotional, and vocal, but not controversial. The VH/PS article correctly points out that similar debates occur throughout Oceania and beyond. As long as developing communities continue to live and grow together, there will always be tension between those who support growth and those who want to preserve. That process is not controversial, and I am happy that we live in a society that, through hearings, affords the community an opportunity to express differing perspectives.

The Maunakea Controversy

On the issue of whether Maunakea and TMT is exclusively a Hawaiian debate, I agree with the VH/PS opinion that "everyone could and should be able to engage with the issues" whether they are Hawaiian or not. There were a few non-Hawaiian litigants that took part in the contested case hearing, demonstrating that the debate over TMT is not based solely upon race, rather the process was open to the greater community. Concerning the name Maunakea, for all of my adolescent and young adult life I believed that the literal translation of Maunakea was White Mountain because of its periodic snow covered slopes. Over the past fifteen years, I have heard the mountain referred to as *Mauna-a-Wākea* because of its genealogical connection to *Wākea*, "Sky Father." Two noted Hawaiian historians, Pua Kanahele and Kepā Maly, have cited historical and cultural sources that support this tradition. I believe that the cultural belief that Maunakea is genealogically connected to Wākea is historically accurate and should always provide the cultural framework for understanding the mountain and its relationship to Hawaiian people.

On the use of "sacred mountain" to describe Maunakea I would argue that Hawaiians saw all places, i.e., summits, valleys, coastlines, and seas, as being sacred, each possessing its own special *mana*. Although it is not done in the VH/

PS paper, it would be worrisome to designate Maunakea as the *most* sacred place in Hawai'i, as others have done. If it becomes the most sacred place, then what is the second most sacred place? The third? I don't want to fall into the trap of ranking our *wahi pana*. Let's just agree that all spaces are sacred to Hawaiians.

The authors, Hereniko and Schorch, have summarized the second section of the paper well in its treatment of Maunakea's environment and stewardship, the astronomy taking place there, and the historical record of the debate over Maunakea and TMT. No further comment is warranted.

Our Position

This section of the VH/PS paper outlines the process and methodology they used for analyzing the TMT/Maunakea debate. Their process focused on the issue using three approaches:

1. To converse with a large number of academic articles, essays, videos, and other materials.
2. To focus on a specific debate, location, and history to understand its implications for other situations where different perspectives for the same event exist.
3. To explore a methodology that reconciles different perspectives in a way that is respectful of different points of view.

I respect the VH/PS attempt through this paper to contribute to an important conversation from an academic and islander perspective. The intersection of what we consider to be sacred and secular will always be cause for community debate. I would have titled this section "Our Approach" and not "Our Position."

The Canoe as a Metaphorical Method

Here VH/PS treats the debate by analyzing the problem and comparing it with three different sections of a double-hulled canoe; (1) the twin hulls, (2) the deck platform, and (3) a shunting sail. The intent is to understand the debate and to demonstrate how each section of the double-hulled canoe can be used to provide a different perspective and lens to navigate a solution.

Sacred and Secular Hulls

The metaphor of the twin hulls of a double canoe for approaching the problem of TMT/Maunakea proposes that each hull represents its own perspective,

that differing perspectives can coexist, and that both hulls are committed to the same destination. The use of this metaphor implied by VH/PS suggests that some kind of complementary resolution is possible even if your view comes from a different hull perspective. In this view, hulls of differing or opposing perspectives, sacred or secular, can coexist because they are metaphorically connected together to become a single vessel with a common destination.

I contend that the twin hulls of a canoe are aligned to a singular purpose and that opposing hull perspectives cannot exist if the intent is to arrive at a desired destination. Hulls work synergistically, with common performance characteristics, joined together with cross pieces that unify complementary sections into a single stable craft. The intent of VH/PS is to draw attention to the belief that different hull perspectives can coexist and result in an agreed upon solution to a problem. My forty-three-year experience tells me that hulls don't work that way, they work together, unified to become a singular craft, with one intent, to arrive at a predetermined destination. Sacred and secular is one belief and not two.

The Platform That Separates and Connects

VH/PS makes a metaphorical comparison of the double-hulled canoe deck platform serving as a bridge and a method translator, an interpreter that can both speak to the sacred and the secular. They admit that this mythical interpreter that is skilled in translating the sacred and the secular may not always exist, and that if they do that person may carry with them personal biases that may influence their objectivity. They are accurate in pointing out that finding the right person to serve in the role of a method translator may be difficult, but that person is necessary and vital if you expect a resolution that all parties can support. The role of the method translator is to find common ground, but in my observation, resolution is not always possible. In any debate, there will always be those that effectively argue their case and those that fall short of communicating their cause persuasively.

I am lost in the suggestion that we allow Maunakea to serve as a method translator, that we listen openly to a conversation that the mountain may want to participate in. The debate around the mountain is people centric, people speaking for the mountain, whether they support construction of a new observatory or support no further development. The conversation is between people, all of whom purport to know what is best for the mountain.

VH/PS uses the example of navigator Nainoa Thompson of the iconic double-hulled sailing *Hōkūleʻa*, navigating through his *naʻau* (his belly), where Pacific islanders believe truth resides. Truth, as described in the VH/PS narrative, is not a result of intellectual knowledge, it is a result of intuitive knowing. Nainoa's successful navigation in moonless and starless conditions, in shifting

wind episodes, and in the absolute confusion of the storm is intuitive, but that intuition is derived from previous experience. It comes from familiar past experiences, remembrances of previous situations. Intuition is attached to previous experience, and like a reservoir it continues to fill and build upon past experiences. I suspect that there is an aspect of an islander's intuition that is a part of our Oceanic DNA, I just don't know how to measure or quantify that repository that we call Oceanic intuition.

The use of the poem "Let the Mountain Speak" suggests that we should listen to our naʻau to resolve and find answers to the TMT/Maunakea debate. The paper recognizes our human tendencies to prefer to speak rather than listen intently. But humans have difficulty relieving themselves of hard held beliefs. The VH/PS narrative encourages an open ear by both sides, which could lead to discovery of a new perspective and a shift away from an individualistic mindset to a broader community centric attitude. In the ideal world, the suggestion of VH/PS is noble; it calls for a broader dialogue and an openness to hear different perspectives; however, the debate over TMT/Maunakea has been ongoing for several years; the arguments are well defined; and the only resolution lies in the Supreme Court.

The Sail That Needs Shunting

The shunting sail as an oceanic development represents a hallmark achievement by Austronesian mariners and the seafaring technology that enabled them to settle the largest expanse of ocean on planet Earth. Along with the shunting sail, a double ended canoe had to also be conceived to work in conjunction with the sail. A double ended canoe is one that has an identical bow and stern. It allows the sails to be shunted; that is, the sail can be switched from bow to stern and reverse sailing the canoe. Having an interchangeable bow and stern allows the canoe to maneuver into the wind, making upwind canoe progress possible. The ability to quickly maneuver the canoe into the wind makes the vessel highly versatile and enables the canoe to be sailed in any direction regardless of wind direction.

The metaphoric comparison that VH/PS contrasts with the shunting sail is described as relational flexibility, the ability to harness the power of differing perspectives. They assert that the wooden deck platform and the hulls are rigid and inflexible, while the sail provides the flexibility for the canoe to pivot in all directions, harnessing the power of the wind to provide forward propulsion. They are accurate in describing the ability of a shunting sail to provide propulsion in any direction, but the hulls, deck, cross pieces, and gunnels are designed to be flexible because of the lashings that hold the different pieces together. The lashings that are used to assemble the many small pieces of a sailing canoe into a

single vessel are a natural reliever of the total load placed upon a canoe; the load would be much greater if the canoe was constructed of one solid piece of wood. With vessels under sail, parts are always being stressed, to treat the stress you want to find ways to diminish the load. The way this is done is to sew a canoe together through its many lashings.

Although the idea of relational flexibility is offered as an antidote for the debate over TMT/Maunakea, I believe there are only two results that a shunting sail can produce. One tack takes you in the direction that allows TMT to be developed; the other tack takes you in the direction of keeping the mountain as it is. This may be an overly simplistic view, but given that we are awaiting a court decision, I see things in the reality of the true situation.

A Way Forward

Hereniko and Schorch offer the example of the shunting sail and the concept of relational flexibility as a metaphorical way forward in the TMT/Maunakea debate as well as for other situations in Oceania where the sacred and the secular intersect. I agree with the authors' assertion that in order to resolve and interpret the debate with clarity, making the differing perspectives translatable, you need expert method translators. The difficulty is locating effective persons that possess those interpretive skills. The message I take away from this paper and the treatment of the TMT/Maunakea debate is that a willingness to listen to the many perspectives surrounding the issue and a desire to act toward the broader consensus of community is encouraged; however, the debate is over and now we await a court decision.

Closing Personal Comments

I am a science literacy advocate; astronomy is but a field of science. My support of astronomy should not be misconstrued with my love for science. I have three reasons why I support astronomy:

1. I support the cross-pollination of new ideas that comes from interdisciplinary sciences acting in concert and working together in the development of technologies and instrumentation that support astronomy and advance greater society. When scientists and engineers work together, they develop new technologies in the process of the research they are carrying out. Innovations in mammography, CAT scans, communication platforms, computer technologies, etc., have all benefited from the science of astronomy.

2. Identifying Near Earth Objects (NEO). Some sixty-six million years ago a six-mile wide asteroid impacted the Yucatan Peninsula, wiping out 70 percent of all flora and fauna on the planet, and was solely responsible for the extinction of Earth's dinosaurs. I believe having an early warning system for identifying rocks and NEOs hurling in space toward our planet is a good thing.
3. Earth's demise is a scientific fact. Five billion years from now our yellow dwarf Sun will turn into a red giant, and the surface of the Sun will consume Earth's orbit. The Sun will finally exhaust the hydrogen that fuels its core, and it will collapse into itself. Our job as humanity is to ensure that the Earth lives a full and fruitful life. Long before that, our species will need to figure out if living in another part of the universe is possible. I support a science that will inform me about the options humanity has toward sustaining itself.

FORUM

AUTHORS' RESPONSE

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Reading the responses by Manulani Aluli Meyer, Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, and Chad Kalepa Babayan moved and inspired us. It is rare to have three well-respected members of any community respond to one's ideas, let alone to do so with wisdom, productive critique, and generosity of spirit. We thank them all from the bottom of our grateful hearts, and we are grateful as well to the editors of *Pacific Studies* for their visionary leadership in organizing this forum of ideas.

The ultimate goal of our paper is to find a methodology for resolving conflicts, using the physical form of the double-hulled canoe as a metaphorical method. However, the canoe as metaphor is a means to an end, a way of thinking through (see also Tengan's response), and responding to the challenges of the times we live in without losing sight of who we are and where we have come from. Toward this end, the three respondents have given us metaphorical winds (food for thought), encouraging us to respond with "relational flexibility" to reach a conclusion that we believe is the most compelling.

We preface our response herein with the knowledge that the mountain of Kilauea on the island of Hawai'i has been erupting since May 3, 2018 (more than two months now, at the time of writing), has destroyed more than 700 homes, and could continue for months to years. The sustained flow of magma

from the summit of the mountain Kilauea is a reminder of our possible demise in the face of environmental forces beyond our control, such as hurricanes, droughts, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and even climate change. Humans might make plans, but mother earth has the last say, underscoring the belief held by many indigenous cultures (before the privatization and commodification of land) that "people belong to the land, the land does not belong to people."

Humans are supposed to be good stewards of the land. In this context, Meyer refers to the philosophical practice of Aloha Aina (love of land), a notion that is also elaborated upon politically and legally in Tengan's response. Both of these papers recognize the importance of preserving the land for future generations. However, for humans to survive, land has to be transformed in some way or other to build houses, and trees need to be cut down to build canoes so that humans can set sail to discover and populate new lands. This has been the human condition since time immemorial.

At the same time, humans across the ages and places have often aspired to live in balance with the environment, with some societies more successful than others. An awareness of the interconnectedness and vitality of all "things" and "beings," including plants, animals, trees, rocks, and mountains, thus widely informed (and continues to inform) a variety of forms of the human existence. In ancient Oceania, for example, chants and incantations that asked for forgiveness preceded the felling of trees for canoe building. The reason here is the belief that trees, like the land, have a life force of their own. As such, they could "see" and "feel," and they could also "bite" (kill or destroy) if they are not treated with respect.

Given the enormous environmental challenges caused by capitalist expansion and its side effects, which seem to suffocate such ancient yet continuing beliefs and practices (see response by Meyer), it is easy to conflate the proposed building of a Thirty Meter Telescope on Mauna Kea with capitalism's impulse to accumulate wealth, if not directly, then in covert ways. Another easy conflation is thinking that it is impossible to build such a large telescope on Mauna Kea and not destroy the sanctity of the mountain. But suppose that, what is driving the building of a Thirty Meter Telescope, is a sincere effort to discover the mysteries of our universe that are yet unknown to us, in much the same way that the building of large double-hulled canoes of old was a sincere effort to sail beyond the reef and discover new lands unknown to our ancestors

In addition, suppose that it is possible to build a Thirty Meter Telescope for the reasons outlined in Babayan's response and NOT destroy the sanctity of the mountain. This could arguably be achieved through rigorous supervision and oversight of the management of the mountain, in ways that are far superior to present practice. We firmly believe that proper management of the mountain is key to a successful resolution to the present impasse. Just because this has not been the case in the past (see response by Tengan) does not mean it cannot be done. Were

this to happen, could we love the land and love scientific exploration at the same time? Is it possible that both could coexist or even be released and merged from their current entrenchment as "false-dualities" (see response by Meyer)?

The late Paul Coleman, the first native Hawaiian to earn a doctorate in astrophysics, certainly had a love of the land as well as a love of scientific exploration (also see response by Babayan, who identifies himself as a "science literacy advocate" and asks us to "agree that all spaces are sacred to Hawaiians"). Before he passed away this year, Coleman spoke often and passionately about the importance of astronomy to Hawai'i and to Hawaiians. He even led members of the Hawaiian community to the observatories on Mauna Kea and Haleakalā, another contested mountain (see response by Tengan). He also established an endowed University of Hawai'i scholarship in his honor that will ensure that scientific exploration to find answers to some of humankind's most pressing concerns will continue (see response by Babayan).

Tengan's reference to the importance of sennit cordage that binds and holds the various parts of the canoe together ties in well with our view that relational flexibility is important in resolving colliding cosmologies. A cosmological collision, after all, lies at the heart of the Mauna Kea "controversy" (which might be less or differently controversial as one thinks, according to Meyer and Babayan). Yet, does this controversy really have to get and remain entrapped in the entrenched thinking through false-dualities (to borrow Meyer's term again) such as "culture versus science," " culture versus nature," "sacred versus secular" or "humans versus mountain"?

In a presentation at the Ludwig–Maximilians–University Munich, Germany, in late 2016, Bruno Latour (French philosopher, anthropologist, and sociologist), laid out the trajectory "from the anthropocene to the new climatic regime." He argued that humanity needs to think about the Earth as a living system, assuming center stage rather than being relegated to the background as "Nature." To achieve this, Latour argued, knowledge needs to be harvested from across the disciplines. When probed about a concrete pathway, he referred to the cosmologies once collected and stored in archival and museum collections, in the name of anthropology, to salvage a past doomed to disappear. This treasure trove, Latour suggested, should be revisited to reimagine humanity's multiple potential futures.

It is easy to dismiss Latour as a Western scientist outside the Pacific and his reference to anthropology and museum collections of our past as irrelevant to this discussion. However, Meyer's views are similar to his. "Indigeneity is now vital for our world," Meyer writes. Tengan adds that to recover what we can learn from the past, "new models of Indigenous anthropological praxis" have a significant role to play and will allow us to better understand the relationships between humans, the world, things, bones, and mountains. Is it possible that

supporting an indigenously inflected science could get us closer to finding an alternative home for humanity, should we discover that mother earth can no longer sustain us indefinitely (see response by Babayan)?

Returning to the notion of relational flexibility, we conclude by stressing once again that relationships among humans as well as relationships between humans and the environment strengthen and nurture our interdependence with each other. When there's a collision of values or perspectives, a certain flexibility is necessary to find common ground, which hopefully will lead to a solution to our most pressing problems. This could be achieved by harnessing the value of differing perspectives to move humanity forward. Difficult as it is, we must "see enemies with new eyes."

New eyes require us to see beyond what we can see and touch, as well as deep within us. On a clear day on the summit of Mauna Kea, looking out toward the rolling hills turned golden by the rays of a setting sun, we may feel "a chicken skin moment," a bodily manifestation of a "knowing" that we are experiencing the sacred, invisible but real, and now palpable, on our skin. This happened when one of the authors of this essay, Vilsoni Hereniko, and a small film crew went to Mauna Kea to listen to the mountain and to hear and see what it might suggest, visually, to accompany the poem "Let the Mountain Speak" that's at the core of our original paper.

As Hereniko's small crew waited at the base of one of the telescopes after the sun had set, they heard an eerie sound that reminded them of an oli or chant. They turned to see where the sound was coming from and realized that a large telescope was opening to face the infinite sky. In the dark, with the stars illuminated like beacons calling humans unto themselves, they felt a powerful sensation that gave them another chicken skin moment, accompanied by this realization: scientific exploration is also sacred.

This realization urges us to rethink our original model of the two hulls of the canoe, with one being sacred and the other secular. Using our relational flexibility model to harness the power inherent in the three different responses to our original paper (the equivalent of responding to winds to harness their power) as well as the views of Latour and personal experiences of listening to Mauna Kea, we have come to the conclusion that because both the mountain and scientific exploration are sacred, both hulls of our canoe must be sacred.

This conclusion speaks directly to the initial impetus that prompted us to write the original paper: the need to engage with differing, even conflicting, perspectives. This productive engagement encourages us to leave the lagoon where our double-hulled canoe has been moored and to yield to the wisdom and courage of ancient voyagers ("innovators, all the way back" Tengan reminds us), who sailed beyond the reefs that protected their tiny islands to discover new lands—unknown and unseen—but waiting for them.

VOICES OF LIBERATION: INDIGENOUS POLITICAL WRITINGS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA, SOLOMON ISLANDS, AND VANUATU DURING THE DECOLONIZATION ERA

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Historians of post-1945 decolonization in Oceania often say that British "administrations were pushing for independence more than the islanders" (Thompson 1994, 153), and a literature scholar criticized indigenous political writings for their "absence of a truly revolutionary heritage [or] utopian schemes" (Subramani 1992: 18–20). Yet, considering the arbitrary colonial bordering in linguistically diverse Melanesia, "national" political consciousness was still under construction. Islanders had governed themselves in local village councils for millennia and had very limited access to colonial education, so grassroots movements for self-empowerment rarely embraced the entire colonial territory. The foreign-derived names of Melanesian countries typified their nation-building challenges: Papua (a Malay word), New Guinea (after West Africa), New Hebrides (after islands north of Scotland), and Solomon Islands (after the Hebrew king); Melanesia was a Greek-derived term for islands of dark-skinned people. "Decolonization" under a centralized administration thus became a paternalistic, even neo-colonial, process of top-down "modernization" by foreign rulers and indigenous elites (Banivanua Mar 2016).

In 1960, the United Nations reiterated its appeals for decolonization, so Britain and its settler dominions of Australia and New Zealand began to heed the "winds of change" (McIntyre 2014). Between 1962 and 1970, Western Sāmoa, the Cook Islands, Nauru, and Fiji all became self-governing states. In Papua New Guinea (PNG), Solomon Islands, and New Hebrides (Vanuatu), first generation

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educated elites were very aware of their future roles as civil servants or political leaders of democratic "nation-states," so they engaged in thought-provoking discussions. This essay will re-present voices from a sampling of their articles and letters in student or elite publications during the 1960s and 1970s, because they reveal both indigenous intellectual agency and the ongoing challenges of liberation. Two salient circuits of discourse emerged: one at the University of Papua New Guinea (founded in 1966), in *Nilaidat* [Ndt] (1968–71) and the Waigani Seminars (from 1967 on), and another spanning New Zealand (*One Talk* [OT] in Auckland 1967–69), Solomon Islands (*The Kakamora Reporter* [KR] 1970–75), and Vanuatu (*New Hebrides Viewpoints* [NHV] in the 1970s). The regional University of the South Pacific in Fiji (founded in 1968) produced *Unispac* (1968 on) and *Pacific Perspective* [PP] (1972–79), but this essay will focus mainly on PNG, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu.

Decolonizing the Mind in Papua New Guinea

Colonialism was transnational in that it linked competing industrial powers to overseas territories in hierarchical ways, so decolonizers responded with subaltern networking. During medical training in Fiji, for example, Albert Maori Kiki of PNG was inspired by watching a documentary film about community development in Nigeria. By 1960, he was organizing social welfare and labor associations to end racial discrimination in PNG. He felt that the supremacist White Australia policy was preventing the country from being independent (1968: 78, 97–100). In PNG the local Native Councils, modeled on British colonies in Africa, still relied on expatriate patrol officers to liaison with the capital, Port Moresby, while the Legislative Council had two dozen members but only three appointed indigenous advisors. The first "national" elections were held for a House of Assembly in 1964, but many members lacked education or national-level experience (Nelson 1974, 125). Some asked if PNG could become a state of Australia, so officials quickly "began to preach national unity [within PNG], and designed a flag, an anthem, a national day, a university, an airline, and a local bureaucracy" (Denoon 1999, 286). Tom Mboya of Kenya visited PNG and called his people "brothers" of Melanesians, and Ali Mazrui of Tanzania visited but criticized the lack of preparation for independence. PNG educator Ebia Olewale voiced his approval of Kwame Nkrumah's achievement of national unity in Ghana and of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere's nonaligned socialism in the Cold War (Griffin et al. 1979: 147, 249, 262). Michael Somare would visit Africa and the United States to examine efforts by "black countries" to run their own affairs, but he was stung by African criticism that PNG was not pushing hard enough for sovereignty and also sobered by African-American struggles against racism and poverty. He read Mboya's book *Freedom and After*

and decided that PNG needed more preparation for independence, especially in education (Somare 1975: 75–82).

In 1965, the PNG House of Assembly created a university, though critics said that it was premature. In a population of 2.2 million, only 200,000 students attended primary schools, 17,000 attended high schools, and 5600 were in technical or vocational schools. Racists claimed "rock apes" did not need universities, and some critics warned the university might be a "Mau Mau factory" (Nelson 1974: 176–79). Ulli Beier, who had taught literature in Nigeria, began teaching at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) in 1966. He created the literary journal *Kovave* ("initiation"), started the *Papua Pocket Poets* series, and edited the autobiography of Kiki; his wife also promoted visual arts at UPNG. Beier was surprised by the racial segregation in the capital: "many expatriate public servants in Papua New Guinea held the opinion that Africans were more civilized 'natives' than Papua New Guineans." Ikenna Nwokola, an Australian-trained Nigerian lawyer, also taught at UPNG, represented local people in the courts, and became "a role model for many of our brightest students." Nigerian Nobel Prize laureate Wole Soyinka visited, and his plays were soon performed in PNG; they inspired Arthur Jawodimbari to study theater in Nigeria (Beier 2005: 135–39; Denoon 1997). "African literature became an inspiration to many Papua New Guinean writers," Beier recalled, "because they identified with many of the cultural anxieties and political issues which African authors—particularly those of the French négritude school—were concerned with" (Beier 2005, 138).

Beier's writing courses attracted "the most politically conscious students. . . . They were aware that they were the first generation of Papuans and New Guineans who could talk back at the white man." Yet *Négritude* authors (usually in France) had idealized rural African culture and the beauty of blackness, while PNG students "were less romantic and more down to earth." Some went home to work for change in their villages: John Waiko tried to persuade his Binandere people "not to sell their forest," and John Kasaipwalova founded a self-help movement in the Trobriand Islands (Beier 2005: 56–57). Beier recalled, "The writers fulfilled an important political function. . . . They helped to raise the level of political consciousness on and off the campus [and] forged links with the young politicians and with Highland workers" (Denoon 1997: 192–3). At the 1972 Waigani Seminar at UPNG, agriculture expert René Dumont, author of *False Start in Africa*, gave the opening address. He warned against letting foreign development experts marginalize their indigenous traditions, expertise, and self-respect. Students crowded the meeting hall and applauded such radical insights (May 2004, 94). In March 1968, the first issue appeared of a student journal called *Nilaidat* (Our Voice), edited by Leo Morgan, with Leo Hannett and Moses Havini. They were all from the island of Bougainville

near the Solomon Islands, where the Panguna copper mine was a major money-maker for the country, without much benefit to the local inhabitants.

Nilaidat criticized Australian Minister of Territories Charles Barnes, who was suspicious of educated indigenous nationalists and regarded Bougainville's copper as a resource for the "people as a whole," not only for local landowners (Downs 1980: 274–8). Morgan said a "cultural revolution" was transforming the country, which needed to integrate indigenous cultural values into the "future way of life," although "It is not easy to touch the roots of nihilism and disorder in the hearts of men" (*Nilaidat* [Ndt] 1:1 1968). Leo Hannett, a former seminary student studying law, wrote essays about the assassinations in the United States of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy. Despite being the model for democracy, he said, "America has again, as it did in the case of Abraham Lincoln and John Kennedy, cast to the ground its invaluable and rarest gems. . . . We too in New Guinea have a dream. We want to see our land grow into a nation, where all are free, enjoying equal rights and opportunities." To achieve "nationhood," PNG needed to overcome "ignorance, disunity or that embryo of racism engendered by injustices and discriminatory practices of today—all must be stamped out. Now is the time" (Ndt 1:4 May 1968). "Elites must speak with open minds and independent thinking," he argued, because through understanding the local culture, they "can lead our people to the threshold of civilization and modern life [through] an alliance . . . with the voiceless mass at home, in the plantations, and in the town slums where the indigenous people are silently taught the language of hatred, racialism and disunity." Even tribalism embodied "love and brotherhood," which he said activists might reshape into "genuine nationalism" (Ndt 1:6, July 1968).

Cultural change had created ambiguities and anxieties in Western-educated students. In "Rainmaker's Child," Hannett wrote of his village, where his father was a rainmaker who protected canoe voyagers. But young Leo's Christian, English-language schooling cut him off: "By the time I was old enough to have gone on an expedition and thus become part of the traditional trade cycle, the trips, like so many of our old customs, had been abandoned" (1974, 58). Hannett had first wanted to be a Catholic priest but was disillusioned when "the priests themselves were not free from racial prejudices" (*Kovave*, 2:1, November 1970: 22–28). In *Nilaidat*, Hannett asked "Is Christianity Still Christian?" and likened it to "opium or L.S.D." (Ndt 2:1 1969: 7–10). He felt discriminated against as a "Solomon Islander" for being too black and witnessed the harsh treatment of plantation laborers, while rival Christian sects competed for souls instead of following Jesus: "I loved my people too much. . . . For the first time also, I became very critical of the Administration." He and John Momis, a future president of autonomous Bougainville, formed a student group to discuss unfair mining agreements and timber leases and created a paper called *Dialogue* to

express their ideas. An official accused Hannett of being Communist, and the church censored *Dialogue*, so Hannett left the seminary (*Kovave* 2:1, November 1970, 28). Morgan said Australian paternalism "carries gradualism to the point of imperceptibility." Barnes resented the nationalist party, Pangu, which wanted self-government, but Morgan said "the majority of the Territory's educated elite" supported it. *Nilaidat* also printed the Tanzanian policy on self-reliance under democratic socialism that intervened "actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to assure the well-being of all citizens" (Ndt 1:6, July 1968).

In July 1968, UPNG students formed a Politics Club influenced by Pangu, with future prime minister Rabbie Namaliu as president. They soon organized their first demonstration, against apartheid, when the South African ambassador to Australia visited. Black Power and anti-racist signs greeted him, and Beier, Hannett, and Morgan asked pointed questions, which the ambassador evaded or dismissed as "communist" (Ndt 1:7, August 1968: 8–9). When the university tried to control *Nilaidat*'s content, the editors resigned, but the protest made national news, so a petition of 150 signatures won their reinstatement. Charles Lepani said the protest was not the expression of a "frustrated minority" or a "pressure group" but rather of broad opposition to racism. Future leaders had to have "the 'guts' to stick their necks out for their convictions" and the "conscience" to stand up for the "rights and freedom of their nation" (Ndt 1:8, September 1968). Parei Tamei asked, "Will you really join in? The first locally-trained University students incline more to see things in national terms, whereas most of our brothers and sisters see them in [local] terms." Education enabled him to understand issues better, so he called for a "great national struggle for the survival of Papua-New Guinea," because "young people the world over are on the search for truth, peace and prosperity" (Ndt 1:9, October 1968). In 1969, Indonesia held a disputed "Act of Free Choice" in West Papua to legitimize its authority over the western half of New Guinea, and Australia acquiesced without consulting the PNG legislature. Five hundred UPNG students marched in protest, and *Nilaidat* satirized Barnes in a cover cartoon as a little god, with people bowing and reciting, "Our Father who art in Canberra, Charles be thy name, give us this day our daily blarney" (Ndt 2:3, June 1969, 2:3, July 1969). Afterward, the paper called itself "A Sort of Journal of News and Opinion (Allegedly All Radical!)" (Ndt 2:6, October 1969).

John Waiko, the first Papua New Guinean to obtain a Ph.D. in history, contributed regularly to *Nilaidat*. He condemned the theft of traditional artifacts by outside museum collectors, who were "incompetent to paddle against the ocean of our culture [so they] seduced us, the islanders, to swim with them until we were drunk [then] stole all our values and left us unconscious on the 'restless nowhere'" (Ndt 1:7, August 1968: 8–9). Yet he predicted that the Eurocentric "rejection of the traditional culture and the 'ancestro-centric' view point will

pave the way to modern nationalism. . . . Papuans and New Guineans will use every means to defend their culture against foreign swamping." Outsiders had tried to paint the people white, but in the tropics that washes off in the rain: "the black heads which God created will always show" (Ndt 2:4, August 1969: 4–5). Waiko's play, "The Unexpected Hawk," portrayed police burning a village to force the people to move to a site where the colonizer regrouped tribes for better control. A boy asks his mother, "Why do they treat us like this?" She answers, "No one knows why. We do not understand them, and they do not try to understand us. But every tree has its roots deep down in the ground. . . . I want you to go to school, so that you can dig out the roots. . . . Do not hesitate to uproot their tree and drink their wisdom" (*Kovave* 1:2, November 1969). Waiko criticized colonizers who regarded local resistance movements as irrational "cargo cults" or as divisive threats to their cadastral partitions. Instead, he saw both continuity and change in cultural separatism and religious syncretism, because such responses to domination showed vitality and resilience: "a cult is the new-old way of responding to an old-new situation" (Waiko 1973, 420).

Ulli Beier wrote, "The only work of New Guinea literature which so far can be seen forming part of the wider scene of Third World nationalism is John Kasaipwalova's poem 'Reluctant Flame.' This poem is a spectacular outburst of passion, with echoes of Aimé Césaire and the négritude movement but with a human warmth and New Guinea imagery that are entirely the author's own" (Beier 1973, xiv). For example, "Every turn of my head sees your tentacles strangling innocent *kanakas*. . . . People will live, people will die, but the tiny flame will grow its arms and legs very slowly, until one day its volcanic pulse will tear apart the green mountain [of money]" (Ibid. 57–58). During Kasaipwalova's studies in Australia, leftist activism against the U.S. war in Vietnam had inspired him, but at UPNG, he hated his law course, wrote a diatribe on his final exam, switched to literature, and joined Hannett in the Black Power movement. In *Nilaidat*, he adapted ideas from Frantz Fanon. Kasaipwalova criticized colonizers who psychologically conditioned indigenous people to accept an inferior role in their own country as mere "stone age pagans" who had "no ideas of independence." Black *self*-education could promote national consciousness, which was "a creative search for what has been robbed . . . the new awareness of their common exploited state unites the black people in a common struggle." Political action could cause a "re-awakening by the colonized," despite attempts to divert leaders with "a national flag, the divisive borderline between Papua and New Guinea, a common language and even the national anthem." Like Waiko, Kasaipwalova saw local protest movements as "the beginning of what is to come in Niugini," because they expanded beyond ethno-linguistic identities (Ndt 3:1, July 1970: 7–12). In PNG, Kasaipwalova said "modernization" meant selling resources to industrial countries, creating a politics of manipulation, an economics of

dependence, and a culture of consumption, but he sought a politics of creativity and grassroots alliances (1973 Waigani).

PNG nationalism also emerged through indigenization of the bureaucracy. In 1964, Barnes fixed pay scales for civil servants so that indigenous workers would receive less than half the pay of their white counterparts. Kiki called that regression "the biggest political blunder the Australian government has ever made in the territory" (1968, 144). At the two year Administrative College, "it was there that I met many of the men who are my closest friends and allies." Kiki helped to create the Bully Beef Club, which bought tinned corned beef to share during discussions, fueling their "political consciousness" (Ibid. 126, 149–50). Michael Somare joined and called the Bully Beef Club "the first political forum we had," even though spies asked them, "What is this Kiki up to?" (1975, 46). In 1967, they formed the Papua New Guinea United Party, or Pangu Pati, whose name Somare said was partly inspired by the Kenyan party acronyms Kanu and Kadu (Somare 1975, 51). Pangu described the colonial administration as "out of date, autocratic, unrealistic and inflexible" (Kiki 1968: 153–4). By 1973, Pangu's eight point program would have pleased Dumont: increase the people's role in the economy, spread wealth more equally, decentralize economic activities, encourage small-scale artisanal and agricultural development, reduce dependency on imports or foreign aid, promote women's equality, and expand government control over the economy. Somare said self-reliance planning drew on indigenous values of communal egalitarianism: "We do not want to build a modern society if that means a society in which only the powerful and wealthy can get the benefits. . . . We are developing in a Papua New Guinea way. We want to stand on our own feet . . . beggars cannot be choosers . . . all of us will have to share the burden of supporting our country." As for university students, they "must be aware of their responsibilities to the common people" (*Pacific Perspectives* [PP] 1973).

Walter Lini's Wantoks

Like many Pacific leaders, Walter Lini of New Hebrides (Vanuatu) was educated at mission schools, but when he studied to be an Anglican priest at St. John's College in Auckland from 1966 to 1968, he complained that the coursework contained "very little New Zealand and Pacific thinking." He helped to organize the Western Pacific Students' Association (WPSA) "to bring us all together . . . so that we would not feel lost in cities." They published *One Talk*, from the pidgin word *wantok* for "members of one language group or close friends." Lini and John Bani sent the paper to south Pacific countries to "help them think about the ways in which they would like their countries to develop." Lini said, "life in Auckland grew frustrating for me because I felt that the western ways and influences there

were almost overwhelming me. I think I got away from New Zealand just in time" (1980: 14–15). *One Talk* first appeared in October 1967: "Our group" went to church gatherings; sang island, pop, or folk songs; organized picnics; and held a discussion on "Women's Role in the Islands." "The most surprising thing," Lini wrote, "is the hectic pace of daily life, where man is continually competing against time [plus] we have to face the difficulty of attempting to think and reason like a New Zealander, if only because New Zealanders mark our exams." In a letter, two islander carpentry apprentices warned, "Overseas students like you . . . have had some experience of Western civilization as 'Melanesians.' What are you going to do when you return to Backward Melanesia? You young people should stir up the people and show them the right track. Be sure to make use of your education and set a good foundation for Melanesia as a whole" (*One Talk* [OT] 1, October 1967).

WPSA President Mostyn Habu, a Solomon Islander at Auckland University, wrote, "the West Pacific is a region of muddled diversity . . . not only in political and economic dependence but there is also diversity in religion, language, custom and tradition." The students wanted "to build a strong and united foundation on which their people can stand to face the buffeting from the harsh world into which they have been introduced." The WPSA hoped to

> combat this paralyzing state of affairs, so that we become first of all citizens of a certain nation . . . the most critical strategic position we have is the rising number of our young educated people. This section of the population of today will be the most influential elite of tomorrow. Believe it or not, like it or not; it is from this group that our leaders will come. Are we going to allow our leaders to be divided? No! Never. Let us face the future as one" (OT, 2 February 1968)

Lini observed that

> Everywhere in the world today, there is the air of freedom, and independence, man is battling for his rights in . . . Vietnam, the Civil rights in United States, Rhodesia. . . . A Melanesian now wonders whether to drop his own culture or to know what his own culture is and to know what outside cultures are good, and to formulate from these two strands a new culture based on Christianity (OT 3 1968: 2).

Lini expressed concern over the crises in new African countries, due to ethnic disunity, corruption in the civil service, emphasizing urban over rural development, and unemployed school leavers—which was partly due to the British style of education that neglected specialized training. Yet protests everywhere

suggested that "The adult world is on its way out and the new generation is curious to take over." John Bani criticized Britain and France, who shared the New Hebrides as a "Condominium," for not preparing his country for independence. He saw a "black cloud over New Hebrides" because self-determination faced insufficient coordination between the two rival colonial rulers (OT, 3 1968: 11–12).

As a deacon in the Solomon Islands in 1969, Lini helped to start the Kakamora Sports Club in Honiara, the capital, and also helped to launch a newspaper, *The Kakamora Reporter*. After returning home, he, Bani, and Donald Kalpokas founded the New Hebrides Cultural Association in 1971, and soon published *New Hebrides Viewpoints* (NHV), the voice of the National Party (NP). NHV invited open discussion, and Lini regarded it as a continuation of *One Talk* and *The Kakamora Reporter*. He encouraged people to join the party so they could elect a Pacific-style government that would improve resource development and train local people to take over managing the country. He said the British and French were moving "in the wrong direction" by creating dependence on overseas aid while foreign planters and businessmen exploited valuable lands: "if you disagree you had better tell us before we convert everyone to our belief! It is our right to insist on the need to control our political destiny" (NHV 6, February 1972). Support for the NP came mainly from the anglophone, Protestant circuit, but Britain and France disagreed about granting independence: the British were willing, the French not. Indigenous people had no citizenship rights, and Lini said "all New Hebrideans today believe rightly that they were cheated over land." The NP vowed that "all claimed but uncultivated land must in the end go back to the right people of the land" (NHV 6, February 1972). European settlers were only 3 percent of the population but claimed to own 36 percent of the land, and half the cultivable land in use was controlled mainly by French planters (*Vanua'aku Viewpoints* [VV] 8, 3, January–February 1978).

Lini proposed rural cooperatives to create jobs and grow food instead of importing it: "We have always been independent through all these years of Condominium Administration but Britain and France have tried to colonize us. In reality the New Hebrides could be independent tomorrow: what is hard is for the New Hebrides to be self-supporting" (NHV 7, September 1972). George Kalkoa lamented the lack of national integration: "We are a lost society. We are a people looking for a new identity." To build "brotherhood," people should participate in associations, school activities, and "small meetings of people in a community to exchange ideas" (NHV 8, November–December 1972). John Bani said the United Nations (UN) should send a fact-finding mission to decide on a date for independence, and he found support at a Pan-African Congress in Tanzania, while activists protested to regain their lands, but white settlers armed and formed political parties to attract Catholic or syncretic religious minorities

(NHV 11, October 1973). Lini told the UN Decolonization Committee, "there is tension in the New Hebrides that has never been felt before. People are politically awake . . . the way out, in order to retain peace and justice, is for the British and French to leave the New Hebrides and for us to have one government" (PP 3:1, 1974, 81–83; NHV 12, June 1974). In 1975, the NP changed its name to Vanua'aku Pati ("Our Land Party," or VP), so *NHV* became *Vanua'aku Viewpoints* (VV), with Nikenike Vurobaravu as editor and Hilda Lini (Walter's sister) as assistant. To push for progress, the VP created a People's Provisional Government with a flag, land reoccupations, road blocks, and tax collection (VV 8:4, June 1978). The first elected national assembly failed because it still had too many appointees instead of "one person, one vote," so the VP boycotted it until universal suffrage won the VP by a two-thirds majority: "The party has always been the vanguard of the struggle against any form of colonial domination in Vanuaaku, part of a common struggle in the Pacific." (VV 9:1, March 1979).

Seeking Solomon's (Wise) Islanders

In 1970, Henry Raraka and Ella and Francis Bugotu founded *The Kakamora Reporter* (KR) to promote national unity and decolonization, because "things are not altogether what they seem to be." The British Solomon Islands *News Sheet* could not be frank, because civil servants were banned from politics, so the "true situation" was not known by the majority (KR 4, June 1970). KR's editors saw "an urgent need for a 'Forum' where the 'old' and the 'new,' the 'policy-maker' and the 'academic' must meet, to discuss informally important issues that affect or will affect our country." The intelligentsia and civil servants "must work together." KR also supported the creation of a regional organization to discuss issues (KR No. 19, September 1971). Thanks to Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara of Fiji, the South Pacific Forum was born, but member states had to be self-governing. Raraka said a "Melanesian press" was important "for the creation of genuine national unity and self-identity among Solomon Islanders." He criticized the British administration's lack of development priorities, because it suppressed dissent among the educated elite, who depended on civil service jobs. KR was "run for Melanesians and by Melanesians," because they "are in a better position to understand, dissect, present and argue their own particular problems." Raraka saw four categories in the existing regional press: mission/government, commercial, tertiary institutions (e.g., *Nilaidat* at UPNG and *Pacific Perspective* at USP), and "political papers" like KR or NHV: "they all have a common end, and that is, to bring about awareness among the people," not only about local issues but also "outside events [to] broaden the horizons of the population" (Raraka 1973: 437–9).

KR hoped to dispel fears that self-government might hand over power to a particular indigenous minority. It was "known as a controversial paper—and we would like it to stay that way!" Raraka envisioned a "Melanesian press, in Melanesia . . . now is the time—tomorrow will be too late" (Ibid.). Such indigenous newspapers also cross-fertilized. When NHV appeared, its first issue reprinted an article from KR, which reciprocated by reprinting an NHV essay, in which Lini contrasted British and French rule in the Pacific. Unlike Britain, France favored the assimilation of its subjects, not independence, so Lini wondered, "What is the future of the New Hebrides?" (KR No. 19, September 1971: 6–9). KR published UPNG student protest demands over public service wages and university stipends and also a reply from Chief Minister Somare (KR No. 43, May–June 1974: 7–10). Like the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands had few secondary schools and lacked a university, so KR was interested in what students from the Solomons at UPNG were thinking. It sent Geoffrey Beti to investigate. He reported that the students were "above all concerned about the future of their country," because "they knew they must play a leading part." They were "eager to change what seems wrong, ready to learn from the experience of other countries and to build a new Melanesia." KR praised the students' goals but hoped they would not all go into politics, where salaries were higher, because the civil service needed to localize (KR No. 15, May 1971: 1–2).

Beti interviewed law student Frank Ofagiono, who suggested that their country had gone through three phases under British rule: stagnation (1893–1960), when people had a voice mainly in local councils and were outnumbered by expatriate appointees in the protectorate's Advisory Council; "wakening" (1960–70), when people had more voice in the 1967 Legislative Council and "Solomon Islanders were beginning to see what they are and where they stand in relation to their expatriate masters"; and, finally, participation (1970 to the present). Ofagiono predicted that "the 1970s should see the death throes of colonialism in the Solomons," though the urban elite still had to communicate better with the rural majority. Resources needed more development, but no country, on its own, was "completely viable in economy. There is always interdependence." Regarding non-Melanesian minorities, such as expatriate Europeans, Gilbertese, Fijians (including Indians), or Chinese, Ofagiono said the British had moved such people around their empire, but with independence Solomon Islanders could decide who came in, since some migrants acted superior to Melanesians. The Solomons should make it "on our own," but "common trade or interests should be encouraged," and they should have relationships with all sides in the Cold War: "Why should we take sides anyway?" KR also printed a speech on adult education by Nyerere of Tanzania and quoted President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who said that independence was just the first step in decolonization (KR No. 15, May 1971: 8–12). Both leaders were in the Non-Aligned Movement.

Neighboring elites compared notes when their leaders considered using local council style consensus building instead of political parties and votes of no confidence (Kenilorea Waigani 1973, Paia *Journal of Pacific History* [JPH] 1975) and when they discussed making pidgin languages official alongside English (N 2:5, August 10, 1969; KR 4, June 1970). One UPNG student said "Solomonizing" the constitution was better than "packaged tangibles, whereas the qualities of the Melanesian way of life that are needed to be injected into the Constitution are based on intangible values . . . what is Melanesian can also be modern. Modernization is not the same thing as Westernization" (KR 34, January 1973: 3–12). The British Westminster system prevailed officially, but Sam Alasia suggested that the two systems blended, because new "parliamentary big men" had to deliver improvements for their voters or else not be reelected, which often happened. Yet he still felt that centralization had created "a marked gap between the government and its subjects" (1989, 151). Jonathan Fifi'i, a mission-educated teacher, became "Mr. Rural Area" as an elected leader, because he sought to protect ancestral customs and land rights from "neo-colonial" development (1989: 137–47). After the Solomon Islands' independence in 1978, Francis Bugotu felt nostalgic about KR, in light of the "lack of vision and responsibility in our present media in Solomon Islands," which preferred "flashy headline clichés" in a "neo-colonial . . . flabby 'copy-cat' nation" that was "not able to think realistically." He said that KR had been acclaimed as "the most effective indigenous and radical publication" in the region and as an "intellectual magazine." KR's purpose was "informing and involving the public in preparations for independence" and was thus "the forerunner of articulate and responsible reporting. Can we say it is something of the past, or something that is missing now and is needed for the future?" The Solomon Islands kept the British monarch as Head of State, but KR had once satirized a visit by Queen Elizabeth II: "Most of us never give this a thought, and those of us who do, don't agree with it. . . . The Queen will say how she looks forward to welcoming us as a full member of the Commonwealth, even if we are bankrupt when we apply for membership, and we shall drown our sorrows in some royal gin and tonic" (1983: 208–14).

Intellectual Liberation

Several themes emerged in writings by the indigenous educated elite in "British" Melanesia, where national-level government participation was a belated novelty. One of these was intellectual liberation, because as Frantz Fanon argued in his study, *Black Skin White Masks*, colonialism upheld white racial supremacist hegemony through psychological domination as well as forms of coercion. Decolonization would therefore require a synthesis of "modern" and "traditional" knowledge (Gegeo 1998). In 1972, John Saunana, a Solomon

Islander who graduated from UPNG in 1971 and taught there, spoke at the Waigani seminar on "The Politics of Subservience." Borrowing from Fanon, he said colonialism had inculcated inferiority complexes, so "localization" created "white-masked boot lickers." Europeans had preached obedience and subverted traditional leadership skills. In World War II, the "mastas" fled from the Japanese, enabling the Maasina Rule movement to regain self-government under hybridized custom. But the returning British arrested the leaders and kept control over indigenous participation; rewarding students with civil service jobs and council seats while warning them not to "rock the boat." Schools taught "an outmoded pattern of thought that is transplanted on an alien soil and in a rapidly changing society," ensuring a "piece-meal politics dominated first and foremost by the word complacency." Yet Saunana believed "educated nationals can translate the multifarious problems of their countrymen into something intelligible, both at the grassroots level, and at national and international levels." "It was time for the [British] captain to jump ship," since London "had never in fact tried to develop the islands for Solomon Islanders" (1973: 429–36). In his novel, *The Alternative* (1980), the hero clashed repeatedly with colonial authorities and finally won election to the legislature, as Saunana did himself in 1977.

Warren Paia, a Solomon Islander who also taught at UPNG, cited Saunana and Fanon in KR. He said indigenous leaders should reject colonial brainwashing, take off their white masks, "set some examples for the masses at the grassroots to follow . . . and see what elements of their way of life can be regarded as our national heritage." They should affirm "Solomon Island culture" not only in arts festivals but in schools, "giving our own writers and poets the chance to promote literary expression" (KR No. 31, October 1972: 7–10). Peter Kenilorea, a future Prime Minister of the Solomons, said terms like Solomonization or self-determination implied a liberation struggle in the "minds of the citizens" against the colonial myth that local cultures were timeless and changeless. Now the colonizers said "they have had enough of it all. That the Solomons is a nation capable of self-respect and national identity." But imitative institutional freedom "while our mentality is still imprisoned" was "the wrong road," so a "revolution of mental decolonization," was needed first, and it "must be deeply marked by our own particularity . . . our humanity in the world of artificiality, materialism and automation. We have our own national identity" (KR No. 30, September 1972: 4–5). Bugotu pinpointed racism: "The trouble with us Solomon Islanders is that we are too black. . . . We were treated as boys rather than men. We were children not knowing what was good for us" (PP, 1973, 79). He said, "we don't want to be passengers all the time, we want to hold the helm, and you don't get a sailor able to steer a ship by lecturing to him on land all the time. He is put on the ship and given the wheel, and through rough and fine seas he pushes against the waves" (1969: 555–6). Tapesu Tata of Vanuatu reiterated such ideas

after a radical economic development conference in Port Vila: "Why not change the educational curriculum to suit the environment in which we live . . . you will gain psychological security, because unnecessary fear of the colonizers will disappear" (NHV 10, 1973).

At UPNG, Hannett formed a Niugini Black Power group in 1969, after the West Papua protest. He said the media called them anti-white but they were actually pro-black. Citing Malcolm X, Fanon, Stokely Carmichael, and Négritude writers who promoted pride in black identity, Hannett said, "Niugini's present political state makes Black Power an essential part of nation building—in a sense self-knowledge is the foundation of nationalism." Hannett saw black people everywhere being dominated and exploited by whites, so they had to unite (Ndt, May 1971). Adapting Paulo Freire, he told the 1971 UN Visiting Mission, "The task of the Black Power group is obvious, to redeem ourselves from our oppressors first of all, but in so doing, redeem our oppressors also to the totality of their humanity." Their group was small, but native Niuginians were the majority and were "richly endowed with our own cultural, social and religious values which make us distinct as people or as a race. These values alone give us our corporate personality and identity." "Localization" had put "democratically elected black slave traders in the House of Assembly" because "White Power" ran PNG, from bad mining deals to lower salaries for indigenous civil servants. The Niugini Black Power Movement hoped to create "a Niugini Nation," to "reclaim our history and our identity from what must be called cultural terrorism." He praised local communalism: "In all the micro-cultures of Niuginians there is that latent homogeneity. . . . In nation building such a concept if given positive all-embracing width, would certainly form the genuine foundation of nationalism." Their motto was "Black man, know thyself and act accordingly" (1972: 41–50).

Kasaipwalova joined the Black Power group and wrote in *Nilaidat* on the "Role of Educated Elite," which he called "an exotic house plant." "Governments, armies and corporations," shaped modernity, which in Niugini had created "a form of neo-colonialism floating on foreign investment," leaving "the mass of the population [in] mediocrity. . . . The elite must set a standard for a Niuginian future society" (Ndt, 12, 1971: 9). Colonialism "established a completely new ruling class [and] the new economic system which depends on the making of profit for its very existence. . . . Black Power does not seek to create racial disharmony, but harmony between races. Our present condition is one pregnant with racism. . . . It is white defined by whites, re-inforced by white interests, and maintained primarily for the supremacy of whites" (NGW 3, 1971: 14–15). Jawodinbari said PNG culture was not "some specimen [that] should be preserved in a bottle for exhibition. Every Black man is involved in his culture whether he is aware of it or not [so] it is high time we, the Black people, stood up

bravely and declared that we are human beings with established traditions. . . . Let us prove that we believe in the destiny of the Black man" (Ndt, December 1971). Grace Mera Molisa of Vanuatu, a student at USP in Fiji, noted, "No one has ever labelled the expatriates involved in politics in the New Hebrides white power men. Power is neither black nor white. The only nonentity in New Hebrides is the New Hebridean" (*Unispac* 1975). In KR, secondary school student Andrew Oara'i reported that "colonial attitudes" persisted among expatriates: "They are like roaring lions looking for a chance to jump at their preys. Look out for the enemy. Our own leading men are masking themselves with honorable names like, 'Elders,' 'Experienced Old Timers,' 'Retired Civil Servants.' The collective name which suits them all is really, 'Products of Colonial ideologies' [with] black skin like ourselves but beneath that skin are all the elements of the 'DEVIL' himself." (KR 45, May 1975).

National Unity and Identity

The UN promoted the preservation of national territorial integrity to avert fragmentation, yet in culturally diverse Melanesia, breakaway movements remained a threat, for example in the western Solomon Islands in 1977 (Premdas et al. 1984). Nation building required a process of unification by activist elites, but gradual institutional reforms by Australia and Britain in PNG and the Solomons were designed to defuse militant nationalism, whereas French reluctance to decolonize in Vanuatu (and New Caledonia) fueled stronger liberation movements (McIntyre 2014; Connell 1988). After postindependence challenges to national unity, historian Tarcisius Kabutaulaka of the Solomon Islands theorized that national states would have to bridge both the regional superstructure of Melanesia and the grassroots substructure of many linguistic "nations" (*wantoks*): "The states of Melanesia must rethink their concepts and redefine their nationhood in order to strengthen both internal unity and Melanesian solidarity. There is more to a nation than the boundaries and interests of a state" (1994, 78). Havini of PNG had proposed a voluntary Melanesian federation "that might benefit 'the whole of Melanesia'" by giving it more clout, like the European Common Market, while protecting local rights (1973: 103–5). The Melanesian Spearhead Group would form in 1987 to support the Kanak liberation movement in New Caledonia, but when Bougainville tried to secede militarily from PNG in 1988, negotiators found it hard to resolve the crisis. After peacekeepers left, they were needed to end the Solomon Islands civil war (Kabutaulaka 2005). Vanuatu had become independent in 1980, despite two secession movements, but PNG troops had to intercede to enable the Lini regime to preserve unity, because the new national elites feared a potential domino effect (Van Trease 1987).

At the 1972 Waigani Seminar, three PNG presenters reported that local councils remained suspicious of the central government. Ebia Olewale said the police, army, and the university were "alien to the village way of life. They have been imposed from without" and left villagers "to wonder at it all." The "white man's education" lured away children to become "stateless persons," whose "future profession will require them to live in an urban area." Olewale warned, "Our future is tied up with the land. We must make village life appeal to the people." Elijah Titus warned that university students proposed innovations that made village leaders feel a threat to their own status, so expatriate officers propagandized "that university students are just 'stirrers' and 'bigheads' who are too young to make decisions and are just showing off. . . . why are students so reluctant to carry knives and axes, hoes and shovels, to work in the hot day?" The university should instead engage in organized outreach programs and "provide impetus for nationalism." Titus said studying what had happened elsewhere in Africa, Asia, South America, or other Pacific islands would be better than trying to turn Papua New Guineans into "brown Australians." The people searched for a "common identity," because "the concept of nation was not part of our tradition." J.K. Nombri said "the House of Assembly and the university are just names or sounds that do not convey anything at all to villagers;" some thought those institutions were in Australia (1972). There was talk of decentralization through creating provincial assemblies, but KR said PNG's coercive response to secessionism on Bougainville showed that it preferred centralization (KR 43, May–June 1974). Barak Sope of Vanuatu said education might help decentralization, but the risk was, "The central government may be controlled primarily by commercial interests" thereby creating "neo-colonialism" (1977, 113).

Martin Buluna wrote in *Nilaidat* that "effective nationalism" in PNG, "is as yet non-existent. Niugini is a colonial country," because dependent leaders in a "mediatory position between the government and the people cannot spearhead a nationalistic movement." The educated elite were "the future, true leaders of Niugini," but they had to become "a united political pressure group" (Ndt 2:4, July 10, 1969). Bart Philemon was optimistic, since education helped to cure indigenous people of their awe of white men: "The young New Guineans are in the ascendant" (Ndt 1:8, September 4, 1968). PNG legal reformer Bernard Narokobi would even propose a synthesized "Melanesian Way," which might build consensus through negotiation (1980). In Vanuatu, J.T. Lulu said mobility was developing new layers of identity:

> Nowadays New Hebrides men and women go from their families, their clans and their districts to other places to work for the good of people who are not their "wantoks"! New Hebrides is growing up [into] a nation. We must think about our country . . . we should be proud of

> what we are BECAUSE we are first New Hebridean. I believe we can do this . . . we are one people (NHV 11, October 1973)

Molisa blamed disunity in Vanuatu on the dual colonial administration and lack of schools: "The Colonial Administration did not offer any substantial education to the New Hebrideans until the last ten years. Even now there is only one fully fledged English speaking High School and one French speaking" (*Unispac* 1975). KR called efforts by leaders to educate the public about the proposed constitution a "big flop," because officials lectured the people instead of discussing: "only by stepping outside the framework of orthodox economic thought and examining these possibilities can we begin to prepare adequately for tomorrow" (KR 36, March 1973). "We want dialogue so we can have our say too. After all, where is the Melanesian Way?" Leaders should dialogue more closely with civil society: "We cannot discover other options and decide our future in a 'Melanesian way' if we are addressed to all the time by politicians" (KR 46, July 1975). After the Solomon Islands civil war of 1998–2003, indigenous analysts and conciliators recommended the same approach (Kabutaulaka 2005, *Pacific Islands Report* [PIR] "Traditional Governance Policy," August 16, 2016).

Nilaidat writers tried to navigate the distinction between nationalism and subnational "regionalism." In 1968, Bougainvilleans in Port Moresby proposed a referendum to decide if they wanted to remain part of PNG, be independent, or join the western Solomon Islands. Hannett said Bougainvilleans had more familial exchanges and racial ties to western Solomon Islanders than to PNG (*Pacific Islands Monthly* [PIM], November 1968, 26). An illustrated cover of *Nilaidat* portrayed Hannett and Morgan, the former in a military uniform with medals and a skull and crossed bones on his hat as President of Bougainville, and the latter in a camouflaged uniform as Prime Minister (Ndt 1:9, October 1968). Morgan initially supported the breakaway effort to redress neglect, but he opposed the referendum, because Bougainville needed to be better developed first. He said that if Bougainville joined the Solomons, Bougainville might wind up supporting the Solomons, when PNG had more economic potential and also Australian aid (PIM, February 1969). PNG assemblymen accused Bougainvilleans of being selfish about keeping more mining revenues, but Somare said, "I trust the people of Bougainville." Before PNG's independence in 1975, Somare negotiated with several separatist movements to preserve unity, offering them more voice and revenues (1975: 67–68, 122–8). But Havini accused PNG of regarding Bougainville "to be secondary to the needs of the Territory" (Ndt 2:5, August 1969). He called Bougainville the "forgotten island"; it wanted to secede "instead of living on the scraps left behind by big capitalist enterprises" (1973: 103–5). Some observers said the Solomons were

too small and should join PNG, but KR proposed a union of the Solomons with Bougainville, not PNG. The Solomons would gain "economic independence" from the mine revenues, and Bougainville would get more money than PNG permitted (KR 43, May–June 1974). Hannett remained pro-independence, so Somare "appointed this angry, table-thumping man as my special adviser on Bougainvillean affairs" (1975: 67–68, 117). Hannett became a planner for the provincial assembly of the renamed "North Solomons Province" and a re-negotiator of the mining agreement. Havini became executive officer for local councils on Bougainville, and his wife created the Bougainville flag, but he was wounded by PNG police. He later served as speaker of the provincial assembly in the early 1980s, with Hannett as premier.

Regarding national cultural identity, KR ran this joke about the arrogance of the so-called "civilizing mission": a monkey once saw a fish swimming in a stream and said to it, "For your own good, I must save you from drowning." The monkey then lifted the fish out of water and put it on a tree branch (KR 7, September 1970). A teacher training college student urged people to call themselves "Solomon Islanders" and to mix more in sports teams, as ethnic groups in Honiara did (KR 4, June 1970). Raraka felt that mixed sports teams could create "better unity spirit through healthy inter-school competition and relationships," yet rival associations might also cause tensions among unemployed youths "who perhaps need the most help to adjust and 'find themselves.'" "Unity is the word," he noted. "'Unity first,' many people say, 'before we can talk of independence.' But who is doing what for unity? What does it really mean for us in the Solomons today? We have so many groups and strange divisions. . . . It is a matter of national planning and concern" (KR No. 21, November 1971).

> We went too far, too quickly and without thinking, towards the European way. Unfortunately, we can't stop it. . . . In this situation, we turn again to our customs. We dig up old men to teach us old dances, old ladies to tell stories; if we don't have customs, or we've forgotten them, we invent new ones and say "that is our custom." We should look at our custom, our traditional ways, as a storeroom of ideas, skills and crafts which we can open and take out for use in our lives today and tomorrow . . . our past is in danger of slipping away from us if we do not study it, practice its arts and skills, learn its songs and dances. We need to know our history to understand ourselves . . . and in the future our children can put their hands into the storeroom (Raraka, 'One Man's View,' KR No. 15, May 1971)

In Vanuatu, Molisa said the NP was learning through action: "Nationalism has its roots in rural areas. The vocal Nationalists happen to be in the urban

areas because that is where they need to make their voice heard . . . that is where the body and head of the colonizing octopus is located." The NP struggle would create something new, she argued:

> Our New Hebrides cultures are diverse. . . . Our age old customs and social practices have been massacred by European infiltration, intervention, and oppression. Whatever culture emerges from the past and the present as today's New Hebrideans evolve it is still custom and New Hebridean no less. Time will give it the brand of approval. However, even if the National Party did break some customs it is time New Hebrideans made their own mistakes (*Unispac* 1975).

"I am a human being who has an identity, a NEW HEBRIDEAN," Kalkoa wrote. "The struggle for a new society by New Hebrideans is for an identity, self-respect and freedom." The dual colonizers "have no programme for nationhood. We are not known internationally. The western concept of nationality is wrapped up in flags [but] the Pacific Islander could more easily identify each island territory through its indigenous carving, symbols or emblems than by flags." Without citizenship, New Hebrideans were "stateless," so the whole system needed unifying, he said. "These two fairy godmothers" were keeping the country from developing and instead were increasing dependence on British or French aid money. "Oppression is a dehumanized and dehumanizing totality affecting both the oppressors and those whom they oppress," he concluded. "It is the latter who must, from their stifled humanity, wage for both the struggle for humanity" (1975: 84–85). When France tried to delay constitution-making by supporting regional or religious minorities, Niko Vurobaravu wrote, "Nationalists in Vanuaaku will always know where they stand. They will always struggle to achieve their nationalistic 'unity': i.e. a common stand or solidarity to attain freedom from any form of colonial or neo-colonial domination before and after independence. THIS SOLIDARITY IS INVINCIBLE!" (VV 9:1, March 1979).

Development and Education

At the 1972 Waigani seminar, Father John Momis said development in PNG was "confused," because the promises about modernization "do not seem to be coming to fruition." He wanted not only economic but spiritual, intellectual, and political progress: "We want to contribute to our own civilization. We do not want to operate within a pre-structured, prefabricated system imposed on us by our expatriate educators." Social justice and freedom must coexist, because Melanesians were egalitarians, but under Australian rule "we are creating a society which will be dominated by the privileged few even when the

expatriates go: it will be dominated by privileged black capitalists [so] let us shift this social power from the apex to the base" (Momis 1973: 447–50). Momis believed that "demands for secession, autonomy, restrictions on the powers of the central government" were really traceable to the need for PNG to control its own development and "change the existing foreign imposed systems which are widely recognized as being inappropriate to our needs." World economic pressures should be balanced by "a policy of self-reliance in basic products," to avoid "pollution of the environment, the disruption of traditional systems and values . . . the alienation of man, and the exploitation of the poor by the rich" (Momis 1975: 81–83). He told a story about an Australian and a Niuginian who wanted to visit an outer island. The Aussie disliked the canoe because it was too slow, so they took a motorboat, but the engine broke down. The Aussie blamed the Niuginian, who replied, "It's not my fault, it's yours. The thing has stopped, and I don't know how to handle it, because we have no sail or paddles." Momis explained, "many times we have been required to operate within a structure which has no basis in our culture. We must be the point of reference. We do not want to be marginal people," but Westerners provided "the perfect answers to the wrong questions!" (1973: 447–50).

In KR, A. Fegeta warned that Solomon Islanders in their "small and scattered islands . . . must be sure if the Solomons is really ready to handle independence, and that these ideas are in line with future prosperity of our people. We want a spread out development," not "money devouring projects of 'Americanizing' our towns" (KR 10, December 1970). Bugotu argued that "Urban problems are created. . . . Our acceptance of this 'civilised' way of life makes these problems part of us and we part of them." Leaders invited foreign "expert town planners, sociologists and psycho-analysts [but] should planning be modeled from outside or from within?" Could leaders "bring into town-life some of the quality and character of village life?" Might "friendly inter-relations with sharing and personal interdependence" remedy "imported" selfish egotism and segregation? A young urbanite wanted a motor-bike for status: "He is in fact the laziest character in town." The rural migrant is "bewildered," but he "works harder than the town lad and so settles down better." Bugotu said urbanization should be "modern, but Melanesian in character" (KR No. 18, August 1971: 10–12). Francis Saemala, a student in New Zealand, liked the idea of linking "village life and urban 'confusion,'" but preachers still told people "their ways are unchristian, backward and old-fashioned [so] to be a good christian one must necessarily be europeanised." People had to choose wisely whatever may help them in the "modern world" (KR No. 20, October 1971: 7–8). Bugotu wrote, "We must know that what is Melanesian can be modern and what is modern is not necessarily Western. . . . Let's draw our own plans and map out our own strategies. Let's get information flows to the grass-roots. Let us study village economy and

dynamics and make them live" (KR No. 34, January 1973: 15–17). KR satirized some urban stereotypes: the idle Honiara Cowboy who wore imported hats and belts, played a guitar and cheered for the good guys in movies (KR 10, December 1970); the expatriate "Jolly Clubmen" who spent their time, even during work hours, drinking in bars and were unlikely to return to their home country where they might have to work (KR 12, March 1971); the Town Drunk, who on pay day had too much beer, staggered and shouted nonsense, neglected his wife and family, and created a bad image for Solomon Islanders (KR 16, June 1971); and the Politician, who spoke not to express truth or goodness but rather to get what he wanted from the British political system (KR 46, July 1975). KR also mocked perspiring people in suits, ties, underwear, and shoes at official meetings or cocktail parties (KR 30, September 1972).

Donald Kalpokas of Vanuatu spoke at UPNG about "Community Development." He said that the dual administration and rival missions had divided the people in the New Hebrides, which "is an agricultural country, with a subsistence economy and copra as its main cash produce." The colonial school system left many twelve year olds unable to return to village life and stigmatized as failures, so they went off to towns without necessary job skills. But the teacher training college was sending people back to the villages to teach, the agriculture department was training and sending staff out for field work, and the medical department trained dressers and nurses to work in village dispensaries, clinics, and hospitals. The NP was the only organized party, and it recommended that New Hebrideans should form cooperatives instead of leaving the economy to foreigners (1975: 671–2). The Vanuaaku Pati rejected "a neo-colonial road." "Communal land ownership," it argued, "conforms to the traditions of the people—it also lays the basis for a more egalitarian society, avoiding the traps of a privileged Black elite arising to step into the white colons' shoes" (VV 8: 3, January–February 1978). The NP promoted respect for indigenous custom, proposing "Melanesian Socialism," which was similar to Julius Nyerere's experiment in African Socialism in Tanzania, because it sought to raise to the national-level indigenous traditions of communal sharing in villages and families (Premdas 1987). KR recommended a community development approach to link the towns and the villages, if extension service officers were trained to ask villagers what their needs were and facilitated that process rather than imposing top-down projects that wasted money (KR 12 February 1971). That idea was later revived by David Gegeo (1998). KR told a fictional story about a Development Committee that was looking for new sources of revenue. They asked the advice of outside experts, who suggested doing a survey to find out how much "nodi" the country had. But local critics complained, "You have sold our birthright of nodi to foreigners, and they will take the nodi out of our children's mouths and give us nothing in return." The ensuing "great

nodi survey row" became a political issue about executive vs. legislative powers, rivalries among politicians who often switched sides in Parliament to suit their own ambitions, and lack of consultation with the people, so ultimately nothing happened, and "everyone lived happily ever after [in] a place that does not exist" (KR 20, October 1971: 3–5).

In *One Talk* in 1968, Lini had asked the question, "Why should I be educated?" In the past, he wrote, the "Melanesian lived a life of self satisfaction and self sufficiency [but] change has made Melanesia more like the rest of the world . . . in this day and age my being educated is so that I can specialize in a job from which I can earn my living" (OT, February 1968: 18–20). Ruben Taylor said vocational training was needed, because not all graduates could get the white collar jobs they had learned to aspire to (OT, June 1968, No. 4: 7–8). Habu reported that "300 students have been sent overseas by business, government, and the Missions from the Solomons. Of these the majority are in technical institutes in New Guinea, Australia, Fiji, and New Zealand." Yet too many technocrats might reproduce "such social injustices as snobbery, discrimination, unemployment, etc. Is technological advancement the only value on which a developing country depends? I do not believe that Jesus was simply a carpenter" (OT October 1968, No. 6: 7–8). Lini said the Anglican Church wanted to teach New Hebridean Culture in its schools, but what was that exactly and how should it be taught, since eighty islands with 86,000 inhabitants spoke eighty languages? They invited custom chiefs to suggest ideas: traditional songs, dances, and stories that taught proper obedience and portrayed laziness and theft negatively, genealogy to inculcate respect for the family, peace keeping customs, punishments for not being peaceful, handicrafts, and the names of things in their own language. Lini held several customary titles and argued that a chief had to have sound character and serve his people well to earn respect. He endorsed ceremonial pig killing, because its symbolism would help preserve the chieftaincy (NHV 5, January 1972, Lini 1980: 10–11). Kalkoa wrote, "The oppressors used to say we were unproductive, lacked aggressiveness, were discouraged and neglected, lazy and drunkards, and that is why our country is being developed without us. It is all lies, we were exploited. To France and Britain, you have brought us this far, you have made us what we are, let us see if you can pull us out of this hell" (1975: 84–85).

Education for development has gone through recurring cycles of policy proposals. Renagi Lohia of PNG complained that Australian teachers came on short contracts, and just when they began to be useful, having adapted to local conditions, they went home. Niuginians should replace them, and university students needed to "unite and be realistic instead of sitting back and assuming that things will naturally work perfectly for us" (Ndt, February 1971). Kasaipwalova said that when he went home, people expected him to help them "take control

of our economy from the white man. . . . We should have an education where we can share as well as learn" (1975). L. Tagaro of Vanuatu argued, "we must be educated and above all practice Western life in rhythm with our own culture . . . we hope for the young men and women to come from Universities and lead us [but] have they had any means of learning the history of our ancestral warriors and philosophers?" Otherwise, "we will be moving along with modern civilization faster than we can really comprehend it" (NHV 6, February 1972). In a 1973 report, Bugotu asked a question from his MA thesis: "Education for What?" The study proposed adapting school curricula to local needs and cultures "as well as the demands of a twentieth century society and the outside world" (1975, 156). But Kenilorea cautioned about "Solomonizing" too much, because they had to "face a world of nations, universal technological advancements, human pride, social prestige, human acquisitiveness and man's competitive spirit" (PP 5: 3, 1976: 3–8). By 1983, Bugotu lamented that "the devolution of powers and decentralization of services into the provinces" had been "misunderstood or abused" by corrupt local leaders, and his education report was marginalized by a uniform program based on global standards, increasing youth unemployment (1983). A decade later, Stanley Houma again called for more balanced and "relevant education," because learning should prepare students to return to their villages to help with development (Houma 1997: 172–4). More vocational training for agriculture and rural enterprises was needed, because colonial education was socialization for dependency on imports. "Even fourteen years after independence, formal education is still not relevant for the majority of Solomon islanders, rather it contributes to their alienation from their communities and the continuing colonization of their minds."

Educated women also voiced their concerns. In 1970, Meg Taylor, future president of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, admitted "there is no present role filled by women" in PNG politics, but better access to education might enable women to enter the House of Assembly, perhaps through reserved seats: "It should be respected that the women are not only the mothers of the country, but are the cultural carriers and repository of the lore of the tribe" (Ndt 3:1, July 30, 1970: 1–3). By 1972, Josephine Abaijah was the first woman in the legislature, and other women would win election or serve as provincial governors. But some male nationalists saw Western-educated women as "inauthentic" (Dickson-Waiko 2013). Hilda Lini was assistant editor of *NHV*, and Molisa reported on international women's conferences in Mexico City and Australia. She said, "women from the rich and advanced Nations have a different view" that stressed equality, "while women of the poorer Nations place emphasis on political, economic and total human liberations." In Vanuatu, both men and women had to struggle for progress, while women liberated themselves from within (*Unispac* 1975). The NP organized

Women's Conferences, because traditional and Christian patriarchal attitudes had mentally "enslaved" them, so they needed to reeducate themselves and the men (VV 9:1 March 1979). Gwen Sarufi of Solomon Islands wrote, "In Melanesia women are thought of as inferior to men. But it is about time we realized that both men and women have equal rights and responsibilities" (OT, February 1968 No. 2: 14). Seventeen female students from the Solomons said girls were running away from home to schools: "As the country is developing, villages need more educated women to become mothers, teachers, nurses and women's leaders. Why? In order to help raise the standard of living." Even if married, they could "still be an important influence in our community to run clubs, dispensaries, and become Mothers' Union leaders . . . we shall expect to be treated as equals with boys of a similar background and given opportunities and responsibilities" (OT April 1968 No. 3: 22–23). Another woman wrote, "you men of Honiara better decide what qualities you really want instead of accepting European values and expecting us women to remain true to custom" (OT, October 1968: 14).

Epilogue

Clearly, indigenous leaders sought ways to liberate their countries while combining aspects of traditional custom with modern development, but how strong a nation-state did colonizers really want to encourage, when their self-interests favored "free trade" by outside companies and, if needed, sending in peacekeepers to restore "order"? In 1973, Bugotu said,

> Neo-colonialism is disguised behind clever and effective manipulation and planned role-playing [hiding] paternalistic attitudes. This is true not only of the Solomons but also of Papua New Guinea and the New Hebrides . . . neo-colonialism aims at serving first of all western strategic, economic and political interests. The "native elite" in the Solomon Islands is derived from the same process as in Africa, alienating the "educated," through foreign schooling, from village life (1973: 77, 79)

In 1997, Kabutaulaka wrote, "many Solomon Islanders still have inferior perceptions of themselves as compared to Europeans." He urged his people to complete their own liberation: "Decolonization should be as much a process of rediscovering one's dignity as it is of making constitutional changes. Independence, therefore, is only the beginning of that process, not the end" (1997: 165–71). In 1982, Stephen Pokawin of UPNG argued, "the lack of major changes in the inherited institutions have been caused by lack of political will and initiative from both leaders and the population. The government failed to push to implement the

nationalistic sentiments found in the constitution." But provincial governments, village associations and trade unions still protest, because "the authorities give attention to those who make much noise" (1982, 47). Fifteen years later, Rona Nadile of PNG told a story about a hen who had raised some ducklings—until they finally realized they were not chickens! "Colonial political, bureaucratic and socio-economic systems and structures continue to be regenerated," she said. We have grown accustomed to our colonial heritage. What happened to the graduates, the intellectuals?" Colonialism had created "intellectual dependency," but she still hoped that through education, "confidence in the intellectual capacity of the people can be rebuilt and restored" (1997: 175–9). Molisa of Vanuatu once wrote, "Neo-Colonialism [is] a parasite accommodated by hosts open and susceptible to external influences, usually certain well-trained colonial civil-servants and weak politicians" (1983, 37). Twenty years later, she still hoped that women would gain more political voice and that civil society would participate more in decision making, so that "we can evolve our own brand of governance that is uniquely ours" (2002).

NOTES

JPH: *Journal of Pacific History*, Canberra: Australian National Univ.

KR: *The Kakamora Reporter* Honiara Monthly 1970–75.

Ndt: *Nilaidat,* UPNG newspaper 1968–71.

NHV: *New Hebrides Viewpoints*, newspaper of the Vanuaaku Pati 1971–75.

OT: *One Talk,* Auckland WSPA monthly 1967–69.

PIM: *Pacific Islands Monthly* magazine, Sydney.

PIR: *Pacific Islands Report*, East–West Center, Honolulu.

PP: *Pacific Perspective*, periodical of University of the South Pacific, Fiji, 1972–79.

VV: *Vanuaaku Viewpoints*, newspaper of the Vanuaaku Pati.

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A CRITIQUE OF THE YOUTH BULGE THEORY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND MELANESIA

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Introduction

In this presentation, I address a pressing development issue in Papua New Guinea, an independent nation in the subregion of the Pacific known as Melanesia. Papua New Guinea is undisputedly the largest country in Melanesia in terms of land mass and population size. The sociocultural diversity and complex precolonial history of Papua New Guinea is highlighted as one of many contributing factors to the contemporary challenges it faces as a nation.[1] In this paper, I will use Papua New Guinea and Melanesia interchangeably.

The issue I will discuss is the perceived problem associated with Papua New Guinea's increasingly youthful population. Youth are defined by multilateral development institutions such as the UNICEF (2001) as the population between the ages of fifteen to twenty-five years. The age range useful in this research will be limited to the population between the ages of fifteen to twenty-nine years.

Papua New Guinea, like other Melanesian countries has consistently recorded a high population growth rate. PNG's annual population growth rate is estimated at 2.7 percent. In the general population, a significant number is comprised of young peoples. Papua New Guinea, like its Melanesian neighbor, the Solomon Islands, is said to have a very young population (Fig. 1).

Demographers refer to the significantly high population of young people in the population as the youth bulge. The youth bulge is evident where there

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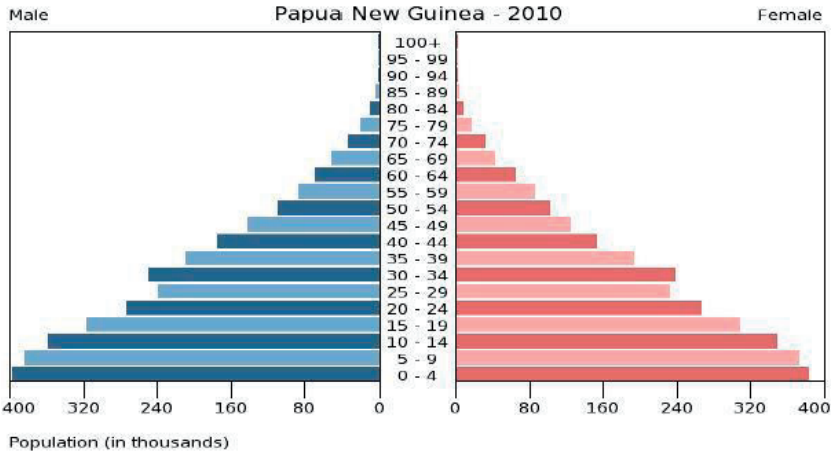

FIGURE 1. **Papua New Guinea Population Pyramid. Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2010).**

is "a sudden change in the age-structure of the population characterized by an increase in the number of young people aged 15–24 (or 29)" (Daumerie, 2008, 2), or the "population comprised of a large number of youth compared to other age groups" (UNICEF, 2001).

Since 2001, scholars and commentators on Melanesia argue that the unprecedented increase in the number of young people in the demographic structure of these countries as alarming developments, with potential effects on stability in the region. For instance, Graeme Dobell (2006) observes that "[W]hen 20 per cent of a country's population is aged between 15 and 24 years *you got something that looks like it is potentially revolutionary*. . . . [In] . . . Papua New Guinea and the Solomons the youth demographic was already hitting the 20 per cent mark. It averaged 17 per cent for the rest of the Pacific" (emphasis added).[2]

Neil Plimmer (2007) also states that ". . . demographers pointed out the seriousness of the 'youth bulge' in many PICs [Pacific Island Countries] as a factor behind unemployment and social unrest . . .[Moreover, this] . . .bulge is and will be more marked in the Melanesian states than elsewhere in the Pacific."[3] These impressions of the potential threats that high numbers of youth in Melanesia stand to generate are perhaps the most telling indicators of the preoccupation with the demographic phenomenon of the youth bulge.

Understandably, some of these impressions are viewed through the strategic and security lens within the post–September 11 global environment and especially the fear of failed states and instability in the region. Even the Australian

TABLE 1. **Median Age Range of Selected Melanesian Countries. Source: International Labor Organization (2000).**

	Total Population, 2,000 (millions)	Median Age (years)	Youth Pop (15–24), 2,000 Number (millions)	Percent of Total Population
Melanesia				
Fiji	0.8	23.7	0.2	21.30
PNG	4.8	20.5	0.9	19.70
Solomon Islands	0.4	18.2	0.1	20.50

Defense Update of 2007 specifically refers to the youth bulge in Australia's neighborhood as a potential threat to Australia's national security interests.

Other scholars and commentators merely promote well-meaning policy agendas such as the labor mobility scheme pushed by various interest groups in Australia and New Zealand and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF).

Because the discussions on the youth bulge in PNG or Melanesia has been defined by mostly non-Melanesian scholars and commentators, how do Papua New Guineans or Melanesians understand and deal with challenges of the youth bulge? Are there mitigating factors that non-Melanesian youth bulge theorists know little about, and shouldn't these be articulated in mainstream scholarly circles? This study is informed in part by research data I generated in the MA work I carried out in 2009–2010 as a graduate student in the Pacific Islands Studies program at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

A Pessimistic View of Demography—The Youth Bulge Theory

In Melanesian countries, considerable discussion is focused on the increasing number of young people in the general population. Such discussions are usually framed in negative terms. The youthfulness of the populations in Melanesian countries is evident from the demographic data (Table 1). In their problematizing of the youthful populations in Melanesian countries, analysts and commentators advance the notion that these countries will, because of the demographic bulge, inevitably confront issues of instability and crisis. Combined with weak governance and a lack of socioeconomic advancement, the mere presence of so many young people will only exacerbate internal insecurity in Melanesian countries (Ware 2005; AusAID 2006; Booth et al. 2006; Dobell 2006).

The potential security threat that large cohorts of young people pose is the very basis of the youth bulge theory. This security aspect of the youth bulge is informed by the "power in numbers" argument—the more people in that age category, the more dominant and imposing their presence in society will be. Samuel Huntington (1996) here provides a threshold of 30percent—that is, if 30percent of the general population comprises of young people, the probability of violence and armed conflict or unrest are high.

Young people are portrayed in the youth bulge theory as devoid of complexity and humanity. There is no ownership of any collective optimistic destiny in the youth bulge discourse. Little wonder Anne Hendrixson (2004) argues that the theory of the youth bulge is inspired by racist and gendered considerations outside of the contexts it purports to describe.

The problematic nature of the youth bulge theory as it is applied to the Melanesian context focuses primarily on its security implications.[4] These discussions assume that lack of socioeconomic opportunities in these countries will only create a generation of discontented young people who will ultimately seek to influence the outcome of development in their countries through a range of unlawful or even revolutionary means. Limited opportunity for Melanesian young people to migrate out of their countries[5] in search of employment is seen as exacerbating this discontent (Ware 2004).

Confined within nation-states that persistently fail to provide for their well-being and aspirations, young people are seen as being extremely susceptible to being mobilized into disruptive or destabilizing movements. Although relatively recent in the Pacific Islands or Melanesia, the strategic implications of the youth bulge theory feeds into an existing imagery of Melanesia as the most problematic part of the Pacific Islands Region.

However, there is ambiguity as to logic of cause and effect in explaining the potential role of youth in conflict and violence. Are young people the cause of conflict and violence, or are they just mere pawns in some of the crisis situations in the Melanesian subregion? Based on my survey of the literature on the comparative historical progression of the youth bulge, the impression is that there is no consensus on the triggering factors of violence and conflict.

To illustrate, Beatrice Daumerie (2008) and Paul Dyer (2008) outlined three basic conditions where violence and conflict instigated by youth is high. First, they argued that there is a higher probability of political violence and armed conflicts when youth are faced with limited economic opportunities.

Second, an uninspiring education system that either produces disenchanted graduates without any available employment opportunities or, conversely, an education system that is dysfunctional leaving youth without any form of education and potential recruits into armed groups or indoctrinated ("schooled") by extremist ideologies.

Third, a generation of young people growing up in a political system that is intransigent to the political ideals of the general population is also seen as a trigger point for youth becoming a source of instability in society.

A Critique of the Youth Bulge Theory

A reading of the assumptions of the youth bulge theory, one will notice how limited it is in providing context and history and answering the critical question of whether youth are the actual source or symptoms of large-scale violence and instability. With a superficial look at the incidences of crisis situations in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (two countries that have featured prominently in the youth bulge thesis in Melanesia), it is obvious that assumptions in the youth bulge theorists seem unjustified and at best inconsistent as a predictive science of human behavior.

We read of young men significantly involved in the notable crisis situations in PNG (and Melanesia). However, the youth bulge omits the converging influences of external global forces and the historical developments of societies. For instance, the youth bulge theory may not account for the agitation that evolved out of exploitative agenda of the multinational corporation, Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) on Bougainville. Through its subsidiary Rio Tinto, BCL plundered the environment of the people of Panguna, leading to resentment by younger generations of Bougainvilleans who subsequently joined the fight to dispel the BCL.

The youth bulge theory could be least informed on the colonial partition of Bougainville from the British Solomon Islands Protectorate to Germany in the Anglo-German Treaty of 1884—an event that invariably contributed to long-standing secessionist sentiments of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). Even the challenges of nation-building in a country such as Papua New Guinea with more than 850 different languages and traditions has no place in the predictive method of the youth bulge theory.

Moreover, the youth bulge theory notes that the presence of the formal Western education system as a precondition in the mass production of potential violent young men. The context where this Western education system is situated is secondary or irrelevant in the assumptions of the theory. The youth bulge theory is not an empowering approach to appreciating the complex transitions of societies. If it were, it would admit that the modern education system in Melanesia is a system that promotes false expectations and churns out culturally displaced young men in society.

Commenting on some of the underlying factors leading up to the crisis in the Solomon Islands in 1998, one observer said that "the bulk of Solomons youth has been schooled for non-existent urban jobs, effectively alienating them from

their village resource base and branding them as failures in a system foreign to their lives" (Roughan, 2002). If the Western education system is a catalyst for the displacement of young Melanesians from their sense of identity to the land and cultures, it is disregarded as a contingent variable in the assumptions of a Eurocentric discourse as the youth bulge theory.

The Papua New Guinean and Melanesian systems of social relationships and interactions also provide an enabling environment for an interactive generation of youth, not wholly committed to violence and armed conflicts. There is no conclusive evidence to suggest that the high numbers of young people in Papua New Guinea will naturally lead to uncontrolled and sustained youth-initiated acts of crisis.

And if youth-initiated conflicts are apparent (as was the case in the Solomon Islands), such acts may not always appeal beyond the social and cultural boundaries of the perpetrators of the destabilizing activities. To understand the dynamics of the subregion and the case of PNG, I highlighted above some of the factors that are less apparent in the overall discussions of the youth bulge theory.

For instance, the accessibility to customary land by youth is a safety net against the challenges of unemployment in the formal sectors of the economy.[6] And especially in predominantly agrarian societies as PNG, the delaying of civil unrest and armed confrontations becomes apparent when young people can opt to sustain themselves through working the land instead of heavily depending on the formal sector of their economy to meet their daily needs. Economic-driven conflict situations are averted given the access to customary land by youth and where the informal economic sector is a source of material sustenance.[7]

Also, identities and extensive social linkages are constantly being negotiated by youth in Papua New Guinea. The oppositional forces/processes of national identity formation in a postcolonial nation-state and maintenance of tribal/ethnic mobilization defines the manner and appeal of conflict situations in PNG. Indeed, the challenge of "thinking" beyond the tribal, ethnic, or regional identities is being played out in postindependence Papua New Guinea. This problematizes the youth bulge theory, which assumes that a nationally conscious youthful populace would trigger violence or instability.

Conflict or armed revolt on a national scale needs the ability of young people mobilizing around national agendas—something that is lacking in most parochially oriented communities of PNG. And in a society where the state system is limited in its reach, the most apparent source of allegiance is to the clan and tribe. Therefore, I find that the potential for young people to form long-term coalitions, and the sustenance of broad-based armed revolutionary movements is found wanting in PNG.[8]

However, one will find in multiethnic societies like PNG the sporadic problems of tribal or ethnic conflicts. Such acts of violence and instability will

equally be futile and isolated to specific zones—owing in part to more subtle forms of checks and balances in a multiethnic society.[9]

Likewise, the rural–urban divide is demonstrated in Papua New Guinea. Where mass mobilization is a prerequisite for sustained and coordinated acts of revolutions or armed conflicts, there is no definite ideological sense of commonality that rural-based youth can align with their urban counterparts. In a predominantly rural-based society as Papua New Guinea, tribal and ethnic attachments are seen as the most immediate identity markers for the rural-based youth.

The tribe and clan are more immediate affiliations that work in the village setting and where allegiance to the tribe/clan is rooted in social obligations and reciprocity of service to the tribe/clan. This is compelling evidence enough to suggest that fighting for a national cause may not necessarily appeal beyond the village boundaries where tribal or ethnic loyalty is most intrinsic.

Another theme that is worth taking note of is the self-restraining nature of Papua New Guinean society. In postcolonial societies such a Papua New Guinea, tribal and clan allegiance are checks and balances on the outburst of communal violence and upheavals. The clan and tribal distribution of Papua New Guinea mitigates any potentially destabilizing role that young people may instigate. In the context of conflict prevention, Ganjiki, one of my informants in my MA field research succulently states a positive aspect of PNG's multiethnic make-up. He says:

> we don't have a big group of Papua New Guineans who can really lead, you know, like you see in countries like Rwanda, when they were divided into two—Hutus and Tutsis. . . . So you don't have one group rising up and expecting a whole bunch of people to follow that group. You will have one group of people from one province rising up but you will have one group from the other province or region will say: *Yupela husait na mipela bihainim yupela*? [Who are you that 'we' should follow 'you'?]

Far from being a problematic, the multiethnic nature of Papua New Guinea lends itself into a mitigating factor in terms of its nation-building efforts and the containment of internal strife associated with communal violence. Young people are indeed denied of the opportunity to be part of any rampaging mob rule in a society when ethnic groups counterbalance their respective ambitions of national control.

The gendered nature of Papua New Guinean society provides informative insights into understanding the gendered nature of conflict in PNG and Melanesian communities. The youth bulge theory, true to its homogenizing

and stereotypical representation of the youth population fails to account for the gender relations in its conception of violence and crisis situations in Melanesia. Victims of conflict—especially women who caught up in some of the most recent outbreaks of violence in Melanesia—also demonstrate the mobilizing capacity toward the realization of peace and rehabilitation in the community.

The youth bulge discourse would ideally be engaging to providing the alternative in rethinking the role of young women in post-conflict scenarios. Drawing on these interrelated themes, I conclude that a Melanesian/Papua New Guinean–centered discussion on the notion of the youth bulge should embrace the complexity and dynamism of the contexts it depicts.

Conclusion

The youth bulge theory perpetuates the stereotype that explosion in population growth rates and large numbers of volatile young men are inherently part of the Third World story. However, little attention is given to the context and how inherent mitigating factors are alternatively useful variables to learning about Melanesian societies. The lesson here is that such Orientalist representations are unproductive for any context-informed policy intervention.

In this study, I showed why the youth bulge theory is a problematic discourse in its application in Melanesia. I conclude that the youth bulge theory discounts significant factors that serve as mitigating factors against full-scale civil unrest or armed conflict in PNG society. The argument presented here is that there are alternative themes in explaining the situation of youth in their communities.

Factors that are contributing to the avoidance of conflicts include the extended or cross-cutting social relationships in contemporary PNG and the access to land. Unlike previous generations, young people in Melanesia and especially PNG are mobile and beholden to a variety of practical means in expressing themselves or pursuing their personal goals. The faintest of optimism is reflected in the accounts of these young Papua New Guineans, in part suggesting that not all news is bad news in this part of the world. Young Papua New Guineans are unguided by a pessimistic and determinist trope scripted of their diverse societies.

NOTES

1. Some argue that "the absence of a sense of nationhood is the foundation of many of Papua New Guinea's problems" (White and Wainwright 2004, 34). For instance, the law and order problems are attributed to the lack of any "sense of common identity," and especially in a

country that had "relatively short and uneven experience of central administration," allegiance to a central authoritative entity is an attributable cause for the lack of law and order (Dinnen 2001, 1). Faced with linguistic and sociocultural complexities, even the absence of any shared precolonial history or mythology Papua New Guineans are expected to confront challenges within the colonial construct of the Papua New Guinea nation-state.

2. Dobell is quoted in *The New Zealand Herald* article titled "Revolution warning for Pacific as 'youth bulge' keeps growing" (July 1, 2006).

3. Neil Plimmer (2007, 10), Chairman, Pacific Cooperation Foundation.

4. Cross-national studies have been conducted claiming to demonstrate the causal relationships between large youth-bulge proportion and high risks of political violence and civil strife (see for instance Leahy et al. 2007; Urdal 2006; Mesquida and Wiener 1996).

5. Fiji, however, is the exception where immigration is one of its major revenue earners as evident in the remittance sector.

6. The most recent global recession (2009) revealed the fallacy of absolute faith on growth-oriented "solutions" to the problems of the Pacific. Ralph Regenvanu revealed how "Vanuatu's 220,000 people had been largely unaffected by the global financial crisis—because they did not belong to the modern economy." He cited statistics to show that 80 percent of ni-Vanuatu "lived in the traditional village economy, while even the rest—including his Port Vila constituents—rely on tradition and kinship for food, work exchanges and dispute settlement" (McDonald 2009).

7. The informal sector of the Papua New Guinean economy may play a role as well in the preoccupations of youth. Theodore Levantis (1997) explains that "Often, people are forced into informal earning activities through necessity due to difficulties in finding formal sector employment" (73–74). In the absence of "government-provided social security system for the unemployed. . . . Informal income-earning opportunities are thereby taken up as a "second-best" option to formal employment" (74). Levantis (1997), in defining the notions of "employment" and "work" shows the vague interpretations of "unemployment" in societies where the informal sector caters for people engaging in productive, income-earning activities.

8. The case of the Solomon Islands is worth mentioning. The immediate conflict zone was limited to the northern part of the island of Guadalcanal where the capital of Honiara is located.

9. For instance, although the tribal wars or ethnically driven conflicts in the Highlands of PNG are notorious for their portrayal of PNG as a lawless society, there are increasingly a growing resentment among coastal Papua New Guineans that such acts of violence have no place in a diverse society. The ethnic violence at the Gordon market in Port Moresby in early 2011 generated a lot of condemnation from non-Highland Papua New Guineans. Some Papuans even called for the repatriation of the suspected perpetrators back to their respective provinces. Other non-Highlands commentators called for the educated elites of the Highlands provinces to take the initiative in educating "their" tribesmen" about living in a "civilized" society. This exemplifies how there are inherent checks and balances on the behavior of Papua New Guineans, potentially delimiting acts of violence and instability.

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BETEL MANIA, FROM CULTURE TO CANCER: DIGESTIVE AND DISCURSIVE USES OF THE BETEL NUT *(ARECA CATECHU)* IN GUAM

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Chewed in the Marianas for centuries, *pugua,* known scientifically as *Areca catechu* and colloquially as betel nut, is the world's fourth most commonly used psychoactive substance after tobacco, alcohol, and caffeine-containing beverages. It has and continues to serve numerous cultural, social, political, medicinal, and economic purposes. At the same time, health concerns are mounting against *pugua* due to its classification as a carcinogen by the World Health Organization, as well as to high rates of cancer among Chamorros and to federal research funds that promote an antichewing agenda. This paper uses a range of sources to examine the historical use of *pugua* on the island, specifically reflecting upon tensions of race, class, and culture as they play out in twenty-first century Guam.

Introduction

My grandmother, Maria Uncangco Leon Guerrero Perez, died was I was eight years old, and I don't have many memories of her. The most richly detailed one involves betel nut—referred to as *pugua* by Chamorros and scientifically classified as *Areca catechu*. The year was 1969, and my grandparents were preparing for a trip to the United States, a trip that included me and my cousin Geraldine. Traveling to the mainland was a big deal, especially in the nineteen sixties, when air travel was still uncommon among Chamorros. It was a huge production, a chance to meet with the diasporic Chamorro relatives scattered around a variety of American bases in places like Vallejo and Long Beach, California.

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The night before our departure, the scene played out with my nana, my mother (Fermina Perez Hattori), and my aunties Lole' (*si difuntan* Dolores Leon Guerrero Francisco), Chai (*si difuntan* Rosita Leon Guerrero Jesus), Winnie (*si difuntan* Winnifrieda Perez Quintanilla), Cathy (Catherine Perez Emmi), and Mona (Ramona Perez Cruz). Sitting around the dinner table, they laboriously prepared a sack of *pugua* for travel. It was painstaking, unpleasant work, requiring them to husk the rock-hard nuts, split them in half, and wrap the individual pieces in aluminum foil. The betel nut scissors, *tiheras pugua,* are not easy to use, and the arthritic hands of Nana and my older aunts struggled to make it through the sack.

They laughed about what they were doing, joking that by the time we arrived in California, the *pugua* pieces would already be withered and hardened. Within just a day, those rock-hard slices would be the pieces that folks at home would throw into the trash, bearing little resemblance to the flavorsome nuts that the Chamorros on Guam chewed. Yet to their California recipients, those little nuggets may as well have been made of gold. They had the magiclike ability to transport people to a different place and a different time—to their island, their village, or their ranch or to a wedding, political rally, or family meal.

Days later, as my California aunties and uncles put the *pugua* into their mouths, I watched as they closed their eyes and slowly and patiently sucked on the pieces to nurse them back to life, using their saliva to remoisten them, using their mouth's muscles to extract some flavor out of them. Later in life, I came to realize that in those moments, the hardened remnants of *pugua* represented home, family, and friendship. They were markers of hospitality and vessels of reciprocity. *Pugua* inspired bittersweet tears of joy and pain, each morsel bringing home to the homesick.

This paper examines the story of the betel nut as it interacts with its human consumers, showing it to be a rich conveyer of numerous cultural and social concerns on Guam for at least the past 400 years. The nut has played a starring role in Chamorro cultural dynamics and family interrelationships for centuries, and over the course of the island's long colonial history, its treatment has revealed tensions of class status and cultural identity, particularly in the face of rampant Americanization. In recent times, *pugua* has become ensnared in contemporary racial tensions as the numbers of chewers from beyond our shores increasingly immigrate to Guam. Furthermore, this small nut has become the featured subject of a bevy of studies by international researchers in the sciences and social sciences, leading to its 2003 identification by the World Health Organization (WHO) as a substance cancerous to humans (International Agency for Research on Cancer [IARC] 2003). Subsequently, the University of Guam (UOG) formed a Cancer Research Center (CRC) in partnership with the University of Hawai'i and immediately

began funding betel nut–related projects. Millions of US federal tax dollars have been dedicated to *pugua,* climaxing with feasibility studies aimed at creating *pugua* cessation programs to steer the island's chewers away from the nut. This paper explores the power of *pugua* to transcend its nutritional value as a carrier of proteins, fats, and carbohydrates and convey stories of Guam's past, present, and future. *Pugua* here serves as a lens through which a variety of Chamorro cultural, social, and biomedical issues can be viewed and understood.

Telling the History of a Nut

This research situates the consumption of *pugua* as a special, social act that activates a variety of specific cultural and historical contexts and meanings. It owes much to a growing body of scholars who have trenchantly demonstrated that nature's products can tell important stories in history. Transcending their value as simple objects for human consumption, items grown naturally, such as foods, drinks, spices, and drugs, contain the power to convey histories of people and events from ancient to modern times. Food scholarship has proliferated over the past four decades, encompassing nearly every consumable imaginable and, as expressed by Ken Albala, demonstrating the potency of a "combination of food and history" (2009, 7). On its heels are histories and anthropologies of psychoactive substances, similarly demonstrating that an exploration of items labeled as drugs can fruitfully open windows into cultural, political, and social life.

Sidney W. Mintz's seminal *Sweetness and Power* (1985), for example, emphasizes the importance of substantiating the "many local, particular, and distinctive meanings" of items such as sugar, cakes, puddings, and other consumables throughout the course of human history (172). He reminds us that ingestibles have particular, local meanings, as well as broader, global consequences. Similarly, Wolfgang Schivelbusch's *Tastes of Paradise* (1993) demonstrates that since the fifteen hundreds, even items consumed purely for pleasure, including spices, sugar, coffee, chocolate, tea, tobacco, and opium, have taken turns driving the course of foreign trade. Tom Standage's *History of the World in 6 Glasses* (2005) likewise assesses the history of beverages, including beer, wine, coffee, and tea, to assert that specific drinks have influenced the course of history in unexpected ways. More than simply participants in a range of cultural rites throughout the course of human history, foods and beverages have participated in the constitution of class and culture.

As with foods and beverages, researchers exploring the cultural history of a range of psychoactive substances have demonstrated their fluidity and significance in history as natural products and as items whose uses have been subject

to culturally constructed notions of propriety and legality. In Thomas Maroukis's treatment of peyote, for example, he argues that its spread in the early eighteen hundreds from Mesoamerica into what is now Texas and Oklahoma and across the southern and northern Plains was met with opposition by both government and nongovernmental agencies, believing it threatened their joint "'civilizing' and Christianizing agendas" (2013, 162). Even more broadly, Andrew Sherratt argues that psychoactive substances ought to be considered "not so much a category in themselves" but alongside foods and other consumer goods that provide insight into a range of social activities (Goodman, Lovejoy, and Sherratt 2007, 7). In their edited volume *Consuming Habits* (2007), Goodman, Lovejoy, and Sherratt aggressively assert that "no ethnographic or culture-historic account is complete" without consideration of the ways in which psychoactive substances such as betel nut and kava are integral to the constitution of culture, the nature of sociality, and the construction of religious experience, gender categories, and rituals of social life (230). As the only psychoactive substance known to the Chamorro people before colonization, and as a major participant in both daily and ritual activities, *pugua* is poised to guide us closer to an understanding of Guam's past and present.

International Areca

The IARC, a branch of the WHO, urges disuse of the term "betel" in favor of "areca," maintaining that the wording "has caused considerable confusion in the scientific literature and should be avoided" (2004, 42). The areca nut is the seed of the fruit of the *Areca catechu* tree, a member of the palm family within which there are more than 50 species of *Areca* and several botanical varieties. *Areca catechu* thrives in "tropical everwet climates" and adapts to a "wide range of soil types," thus finding wide distribution in East Africa, on the Arabian Peninsula, across tropical Asia, and in the Pacific Islands (Staples and Bevacqua 2006, 4). The botanical misnomer "betel" has been misused by people throughout the world for centuries, caused by the areca nut's enduring association with the betel pepper vine, *Piper betle,* whose leaves serve as the wrapper when preparing a package for chewing.

The chewing package, referred to as the quid, varies significantly from one place to another and even from one person to another. The areca nut can be eaten young and soft or mature and hard. Some people eat it raw, while others dry or cure the nut. A variety of ingredients may be added to the chewing quid, including slaked lime, tobacco, cardamom, cloves, freshly grated coconut, ginger, turmeric, saffron, cumin, coriander, nutmeg, and cinnamon (Reichart and Philipsen 1996, 18). In much of South Asia, for example, the quid features a cured or dried mature nut with a variety of spices, while Pacific Islanders

tend to chew raw nuts, either young or mature, topped by slaked lime and all wrapped in the *Piper betle* leaf.

The WHO estimates that 600 million people around the world chew the areca nut, making it the world's fourth most commonly used psychoactive substance, after tobacco, alcohol, and caffeine-containing beverages, and even more popular than chewing gum (IARC 2004, 33). Archaeological evidence of areca nut chewing dates back to more than 3,000 years at a Neolithic village site in Southern Vietnam. At Nui Nap in Thanh Hoa province, archaeological examinations of human remains reveal both residue of the nuts and teeth stained by prolonged chewing (Oxenham et al. 2002, 909). The oldest written mention of betel nut dates from 504 BC in a description of a princess of Ceylon making a gift of betel to her nurse, as recorded in the *Mahawamsa,* a register of events in Ceylon written in Pali (IARC 2004, 33). Accounts by some of the great early travelers such as Marco Polo in 1298 and Ibn Battuta in the thirteen hundreds show the extent and significance of areca in India, as well as in Arabia, Yemen, Oman, and East Africa.

Numerically, most of the world's chewers are from the heavily populated region of South Asia, including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, where the habit is described as ubiquitous, although countrywide surveys have not been conducted. Large numbers of chewers can also be found in China's Hunan Province (IARC 2004: 63–64), as well as in Taiwan, where an estimated 10 percent of its 2 million population chews, although among the indigenous Taiwanese, the percentage rises to 42 percent (Gupta and Warnakulasuriya 2002, 81). Chewing is also prolific throughout Southeast Asia, from which the WHO believes the plant may have originated, specifically in Malaysia, although the habit appears to be on the decline in Thailand and Cambodia, as well as in Indonesia, according to an East Java study published in 2001 (quoted in IARC 2004, 70). The widespread Indian diaspora has transported the areca nut to parts of Africa—especially South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya—as well as England, Australia, and Canada, where much of the leading biomedical research is being conducted on the topic.

In the Western Pacific, *Areca catechu* is believed to be native to Melanesia, and chewing is widespread, particularly in the Solomon Islands, northern Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea's coastal villages, where the nuts are grown (IARC 2004, 71). Within the northwestern Pacific, natives of Palau, Yap, and the Mariana Islands have long chewed the areca nut. In the Republic of Palau, research data demonstrate that betel chewing is truly a ubiquitous habit. Among both men and women, a 1988 survey conducted of thirty-one Palauans more than ninety years of age found that all of them had regularly chewed *Areca* in their lifetime, although three had quit (IARC 2004, 72). The most recent islandwide survey of Palau, conducted by the government's Office of

Planning and Statistics, reports that 76 percent of its islanders chew, including 55 percent in the 5- to 14-year-old age bracket. The Palau survey also found that 86 percent of all chewers added tobacco to their quid (Republic of Palau Office of Planning and Statistics 1995, 5). Although surveys have not been conducted in Yap, anecdotal evidence suggests that the chewing habits there likely mirror those in Palau. Furthermore, as Palauan, Yapese, and Chamorro chewers interact with increasing numbers of other Micronesians, particularly from Chuuk, Pohnpei, and the Marshall Islands, the habit is spreading to islands where the habit was not indigenous. WHO evidence shows "that the frequency of betel nut use is increasing in the Western Pacific Region and that its use is more frequently associated with the chewing of tobacco" (WHO 2012, 7).

Classified as a stimulant, the physical effects of areca nut chewing include skin warmth, with temperature increases of 0.5°C–2.0°C, as well as palpitations, sweating, and facial flushing. Novice chewers report such symptoms, while frequent users have "reported the development of tolerance to its effects" (IARC 2004, 173). The major constituents of the areca nut are carbohydrates, fats, proteins, crude fiber, polyphenols (flavonols and tannins), and alkaloids (IARC 2004: 55–56). While polyphenols are responsible for the astringency and bitterness, the alkaloids within the areca nut are of the most biological and chemical interest due to their psychoactive effects. Specifically, among the five or so alkaloids present in areca nuts, arecoline features prominently in scientific studies due to its "cholinergic effects (enhanced effects of the parasympathetic nervous system) and anthelmintic effects (expulsion of parasitic worms)" (Paulino et al. 2011, 20).

The IARC reports rare episodes of areca nut psychosis, altered states of consciousness, and intoxication (2004, 173). As quoted in one psychiatric study, "Generally speaking, betel nut produces very little significant emotional change" (Cawte 1985, 84). In anthropologist Mac Marshall's study of drugs in Oceania, he likens areca chewing to coffee or tea drinking in the West. Describing it as "a mundane, widely shared substance," Marshall identified it as a substance that "stimulates social activity, suppresses boredom, enhances work, increases personal enjoyment, and symbolizes friendly, peaceful social relations" (2004, 201).

Chewers self-describe a variety of physical, at times conflicting, effects. Some, for example, report that it relaxes and soothes them, while others say it reenergizes them. Commonly, chewers proclaim its benefits as an appetite suppressant, as a breath freshener, and as an aid to alleviate stomachaches and headaches (Paulino et al. 2011: 22–23). In countries across Asia and the Pacific, areca has been used to treat dysentery, tapeworms, rheumatism, and arthritis, to name a few issues. Positive health benefits have also been reported in numerous

dental studies, showing that areca chewers have fewer dental cavities than nonchewers as the "fibrous substance acts as a cleansing agent" (Hornung 1930, 73). This finding has been replicated in archaeological studies of areca-stained teeth that report few cavities among ancient areca nut chewers (Leigh 1929, 15; Gerry, Smith, and Carlton 1952, 19; Pietrusewsky et al. 1986, 6; Haddock 2010, 177). Yet despite its numerous medicinal and hygienic uses across the Pacific and Asia, a 2009 study reported, "Few health benefits of betel nut chewing have been described in the literature" (Paulino 2009, 4). Rather, in a bevy of scientific studies, areca has been predominantly associated with a battery of negative health consequences, including asthma, diabetes, obesity, hypertension, and cardiovascular disease.

Undoubtedly, the predominant focus of disease due to areca nut chewing has been the human mouth. Chewers have been reported to experience higher incidences of a range of periodontal problems and diseases, ranging from severe tooth wear, particularly degrading the enamel covering, to oral submucous fibrosis and oral cancer. The IARC has noted the difficulties in interpreting dental studies due to "confounding variables such as the level of oral hygiene, dietary factors, general health and dental status, and especially tobacco smoking, which may have a significant influence on periodontal status" (IARC 2004, 174). Despite these analytical challenges, amid a plethora of intertwined factors, the IARC declared, "A growing body of evidence over the last five decades from epidemiological and experimental studies has shown that areca nut, *even when consumed in the absence of tobacco or slaked lime,* may have potentially harmful effects on the oral cavity" (IARC 2004, 173, emphasis added).

For the past few decades, chewing on Guam has been on the decline among Chamorros, as well as among the island population at large, according to data available in the annual Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System surveys. While the 1991 survey reported that 26 percent of Guam's Chamorro population chewed, by 2007 the figure had dropped to 24 percent, although 44 percent reported that they had chewed at some point in their lives (quoted in Paulino 2009, 11). By 2010, the percentage of Chamorro chewers had decreased to 16.6 percent, while on an islandwide level, chewing among the 657 people surveyed was reported at 10.6 percent At the same time, while numbers of Chamorro chewers on Guam decreased from 24 percent in 2007 to 16.6 percent in 2010, chewing among other Micronesian residents on the island increased from 23.6 percent in 2007 to 28.9 percent in 2010 (Government of Guam Department of Public Health and Social Services 2010, 1; A. Uncangco, pers comm.). Statistical trends point to some of Guam's shifting social and cultural dynamics, as the *pugua* chewing populations on Guam become increasingly numbered by non-Chamorros, raising issues that will be addressed later in this paper.

Areca catechu on Guam

In the Mariana Islands, areca nuts are grouped into two cultivars, red *(ugam)* and white *(changnga)* with the mature *ugam* nuts being, by far, the more popular among Chamorro chewers. Research by Guam's leading *pugua* scholar, Yvette Paulino, documents that 91.0 percent of Chamorro chewers opt only for *ugam,* while an additional 5.1 percent chew both varieties. Fewer than 4 percent of her study group expressed a preference for the white *changnga* (Paulino et al. 2014, 4). For much of Guam's history, the typical chewing quid, or *mama'on,* was composed of pieces of the husked nut, topped with a small quantity of slaked lime *(åfok)* and wrapped in the *Piper betle* leaf *(pupulu)* (Cunningham 1992, 141). Explorers' accounts from the fifteen hundreds onward repetitively describe the three-ingredient quid. Contemporarily, however, inclusion of lime in the quid has all but disappeared among Chamorro *ugam* chewers. When and why the use of lime diminished is unclear, the earliest survey documenting its disuse dating to 1986 (quoted in IARC 2004, 73). More recent investigations posit that only 3.8 percent continue the *åfok* practice (Paulino et al. 2014, 5).

While tobacco is a common ingredient of the quid in the wider region of Micronesia, Chamorros rarely add it and have not generally done so throughout history. In 1819, for instance, French explorer Louis Claude de Freycinet wrote that tobacco was not an ingredient in the Chamorro quid but was instead popularly consumed in cigar form (Freycinet 2004, 118). He observed:

> …*betel* is an object of prime necessity on the Marianas, where that masticatory is made of nothing more complex than palm kernel, *betel* pepper leaves, and a touch of lime. Tobacco, which was only recently introduced to the Marianas, was never an ingredient and is not now. It is in connection with cigars that the tobacco plant has become very fashionable and popular. (118)

This observation was repeated in 1899 by US Navy officer William Safford, who wrote that although nearly every family on the island has a tobacco patch, the ingredient was not added to the basic nut, lime, and leaf chewing quid (1903, 8).

The inclusion of tobacco is noted in a song penned sometime in the nineteen fifties or nineteen sixties by the late Clotilde Castro Gould. In her *Manbiha na Tiempo* (The Old Lady's Time), she writes:

> *I mambiha na tiempo mamboka mama'on*
> *Mana'dana I afok, amaska yan hagon*
> *Yanggen mahulat mangangas pues siempre mafa'on*

Machuli'i i mattiyu ha hagu mafa'on
Ti sina un sangani ni uno na lachi.

Translation:
In the old lady's time, they ate areca nut
They mix lime, tobacco, and betel leaf
When they can't chew it, then they'll pound it
Take the hammer and you break it.
You can't tell them they are wrong. (Gould n.d., 44)

Gould's nineteen fifties and nineteen sixties reference to elderly women adding tobacco to their quid correlates with visiting American anthropologist Laura Thompson's observation in 1939 that "Occasionally a piece of tobacco leaf is added to the quid, a recent innovation to give more punch" (1941, 26). US Navy dentist Roger G. Gerry and colleagues likewise conveyed in 1952 that "older users will sometimes also add some tobacco to the quid for additional flavoring" (Gerry, Smith, and Carlton 1952, 8). Surveys in recent decades have found rates of tobacco inclusion by Chamorros ranging from 5.9 percent in a 1993 survey of 402 chewers to a high of 38.8 percent, found in a 2014 survey of 300 self-identified chewers (Jarvis, Wood, and Bachtold 1993, 8; Herzog 2014, 154). However, these 2014 data are highly suspect, even based strictly on observation of Chamorro chewing practices. The small sample size (n = 300) is perhaps responsible, and perhaps the author's failure to separate Guam's Chamorros from those of the Northern Mariana Islands, where chewing the young nut with lime and tobacco is the norm, could explain the irreconcilably high figure.

Paleoenvironmental data collected in Guam's Orote Peninsula area establishes that *Areca catechu* was an indigenous plant, present in early Holocene deposits, after the Ice Age but before human settlement (Athens and Ward 1995, 205). Archaeologist Nicolette Parr's recent work, however, suggests that *pugua* chewing was not yet a common activity among prelatte Chamorros—that is, those who lived before the innovation of megalithic latte stones on Guam. Her archaeological studies from the Naton Beach site, dating from AD 590 to AD 1000, showed only 3 percent of the studied human remains exhibiting betel stains (6 percent adult males and 3 percent adult females), compared to 66 percent who lived in the latte period (Parr 2012). Parr's findings corroborate archaeologist Mike Pietrusewsky and colleagues' study of an ancient burial site that included a population of 28 prelatte individuals, among whom none of the teeth are stained (1986, 9). Their pronouncement of prelatte Chamorros as nonchewers was put forward cautiously, with the researchers writing that the "conclusions reached are tentative given the small samples involved" (14).

Excavations of latte era sites, however, consistently demonstrate high rates of *pugua*-stained teeth. Dental analyses thus affirmatively date the consumption of *pugua* to at least 1,500 years ago; human skeletal remains show almost universal *pugua* staining of teeth among both males and females, from teens through adults. Leigh's 1929 study of 106 Chamorro remains held in the Bishop Museum's Hornbostel Collection reports that all adult females had areca-stained teeth, while all but six adult males were unstained (Leigh 1929, 13). Similarly, Pietrusewsky and colleagues' study of 54 human remains found at two sites in Tumon village discovered that almost all examined teeth revealed betel staining (1986: 6, 12).

Thus, both archaeological evidence and written sources affirm that by the time of contact with European voyagers in the fifteen hundreds, *pugua* had become an indelible part of the daily life of the Chamorros. Moreover, the resultant staining of the teeth was regarded as a sign of beauty on Guam, as indicated in written accounts over a 400-year span. One priest commented in the sixteen hundreds of teeth staining that "they think it makes them beautiful, or majestic," while another in the seventeen hundreds wrote, "As regards their beauty, of which they are very proud, their ideas different much from those of European ladies; for to them beauty consists in black teeth" (Coomans 1997, 9; Delgado 1912, 1). In 1850, more than a century into Spanish colonial rule, a visiting whaler expressed, "The young Ladrone beauty prides herself as much on the bright-red appearance of her teeth as the American ladies do on the pearly whiteness of theirs," while a 1925 American naval dentist wrote, "The Chamorro is far from reluctant to display his share of black concretions and the ability to exhibit a row of dirty-looking black teeth seems to be regarded as a mark of real accomplishment" (*Guam Recorder* 1921, 3; Wells 1925, 437). The popularity of stained teeth on Guam finds parallels in the rest of the areca-chewing world, illustrated by the nineteenth century example of Thai dentists producing sets of black false teeth (Rooney 1993, 28).

The most extensive archival descriptions of areca-chewing practices among the Chamorro people come from the 1819 account of French explorer Freycinet. Describing *pugua* as "an object of prime necessity in the Marianas," he documents its social function in everyday life, as well as its ceremonial role in festivities surrounding birth, death, and, perhaps most prominently, marriage (2004: 137–38). As Freycinet documented,

> As soon as a marriage union was planned, the mother of the would be bride-groom or, in case of need, his grandmother or closest female relation, would arm herself with a box for *betel (saluu)* and pay a visit to the mother of the girl he had in view. On arrival, she would hasten to offer some of the *betel* she had purposely brought with her, before the

> hostess had time to offer her any of the usual *betel*. By starting her visit in this particular way, she immediately gave her hostess to understand that a marriage was to be discussed. (2004: 137–38)

By initiating the social call in this particular way, flagrantly forestalling the hosts who would ordinarily provide the areca and its accompanying condiments, a formal betrothal would be initiated. Furthermore, by accepting the *pugua* offering, the bride's family signified their endorsement of the marriage proposal.

In addition to its pivotal role in marriage ceremonies, the areca nut has long been associated with peace and peaceability, because sharing *pugua* requires a level of mutual amity and camaraderie. Freycinet's 1819 account reproduces a chant sung at the end of war "in the course of festivities held specifically to mark the return of peace" (2004, 145). The first verse of this chant reads (2004, 146):

Hasngon, gof-dja pala-uan ho,	Deliberately, beautiful woman of mine
Nga ho saddi, gui mina-ho	You sit on my lap, in my presence
Ho sunni ngo mamaon	I inflame (your desire) with (a wad of) betel,
Ngo plupludjon djan puguaon.	With a betel leaf and (crushed) areca nut.

This chant of peace reads like a courtship verse, implying perhaps that the end of war opens the doors for the start of different kinds of pursuits. In one of its multiple meanings across Asia and the Pacific, the areca nut is connected with romance and seduction. Anthony Reid, for example, has noted that in Southeast Asia, placing the nut, the lime, and other ingredients in a delicately rolled betel leaf was one of the intimate services a woman could perform for a man (1988, 44).

The areca nut and betel leaf also serve a number of functions in the medicine chest of traditional Chamorro healers. For example, the betel leaf and nut are boiled to make a tea for infants with sore mouths or diarrhea due to teething, and the boiled juice from the young green nut can be used to treat vomiting (Haddock 2010, 207). In the panoply of remedies made and used by traditional healer *Suruhåna* Tan Carido Ogo Kiyoshi, *Åmot Påchot* (mouth medicine) is made by "pounding the young noni fruit that has flowers and the *ugam* (red) betel nut and then apply it to the mouth" (Inetnon Amot Natibu 2009, 244). *Suruhåna* Aguida Pangelinan Sablan, as well as *Suruhåna* Trinidad "Daling" Pinaula Magofña, use *pugua*—both the leaf of the plant and the *ugam* nut—as ingredients in their *Åmot Såggue,* boiling it with leaves from the *dågu* (yam), *nika* (wild yam), and *pågu* (red or yellow wild hibiscus) trees and then imbibing it as a medicinal tea (Inetnon Amot Natibu 2009: 441–42, 253).

This sketch of betel nut use provides a glimpse into a society that, over the past 1,500 years, viewed *pugua* chewing as a positive activity, associating it with a range of emotions and occasions. It has been present during historical episodes of socialization, romance, beauty, seduction, and marriage and at births and deaths, political gatherings, and religious feasts. Implemented as an herbal medicine, *pugua* takes its place in the repertoire of traditional healers and has served as a vessel of peacemaking and conflict resolution. *Pugua* serves as a vehicle of *inafa'maolek,* the Chamorro philosophy that prioritizes group harmony and reciprocity. In its versatility and easy portability, *pugua* opens doors to hospitality among strangers as much as among family and friends, breaking the ice and slowing the pace so that social interactions can occur.

Ultimately, *Areca catechu* serves a plethora of purposes, many of them unique to the particular chewer or to the particular occasion. Contemporary studies of Guam's Chamorro chewers show a diverse range of reasons for chewing, aligned with factors identified in the global chewing community: some flocking to the nut to relieve tension and stress, others using it to suppress their appetite, some chewing to freshen their breath or cure stomachaches and headaches, and others using it to bond socially with other chewers (Paulino 2009: 66–68). Yet on Guam, while the percentage of Chamorro chewers declines, the meanings for its chewers appear to be expanding. As members of the chant group Fanlalai'an expressed to me, *pugua* reinforces their sense of being Chamorro, their uniqueness as indigenous people, and their self-conscious perpetuation of cultural traditions (J. Cepeda, G. Ecla, and J. Pangelinan, pers. comm.). Respondents to other studies have echoed these sentiments, proclaiming that chewing relates to "keeping the culture alive" and practicing "the Chamorro custom of inafa'maolek, or caring for one another" (Paulino et al. 2011, 23; Sablan 2016a, 1). In its twenty-first century incarnations, *pugua* has expanded to become a modern marker of Chamorro cultural identity.

Class, Race, and *Pugua*

Declining patterns of *pugua* use among Chamorros on Guam, accompanied by rising use among Micronesian immigrants living on the island, point to a complex history that is informed by a variety of entangled considerations. Among Chamorros, its decline can be traced in written accounts to the latter half of the twentieth century, although disparaging remarks by colonial officials since the sixteen hundreds convey a general Euro-American disdain for the custom. Little evidence exists of Spanish attempts to subvert the practice through their seventeenth to nineteenth centuries of colonial rule, but from the earliest years of the twentieth century, US Navy officials expressed opposition to the practice. Even Safford, who served essentially as the de facto governor

upon the navy's arrival on the island in 1899 and who is generally admired in Guam's historiography for his cultural sensitivity, wrote of the *pugua* practice, "it discolors the teeth in time and causes them to crumble away, while the constant expectoration of saliva, red like blood, is a disagreeable habit" (1903, 8). The charge against *pugua* chewing among the Chamorros was part of a broader effort to Americanize the natives. Within the continental United States, assimilation programs instructed immigrants on personal grooming and hygiene so that by "linking the toothbrush to patriotism, Americanizers clearly demonstrated that becoming American involved a total makeover of personal habits" (Hoy 1995, 89). On Guam, in the broader context of a new colonial regime and its aggressive campaign for Chamorro assimilation into American social and cultural norms, the physical appearance of their teeth, fingernails, and other body parts became markers of progress and modernity (Hattori 2004: 183, 186).

By 1911, the US Navy's Health Department joined forces with the Department of Education to collectively address Chamorro notions of hygiene. Medical officer C. P. Kindleberger announced in April 1911 that an elementary course in hygiene would thereafter become integrated into classroom instruction in the island's schools (1913, 87). These included lessons on bathing and toothbrushing, with Kindleberger stating that "nearly 60 per cent of the natives are very dirty in their habits, … usually eat with their fingers from a common dish, and are frequently inveterate chewers of betel nut" (1913, 87). Through these lessons in hygiene, navy officials conflated culturally informed ideas about hygiene with lessons on morality and propriety, evidenced in school superintendent Thomas Collins's *1924 Course of Study* that made this link explicit. Collins wrote, "Clean people are liked. Negligence in bathing ears, hands, hair, and teeth are disagreeable and impolite to others" (1924, 488). He added, "The practice of certain health habits gives evidence of good manners and good breeding" (1924, 488).

Although navy dentists such as Dr. Ralph Hornung in the nineteen thirties and Gerry in the nineteen fifties consistently commented on the lack of cavities among Chamorro chewers, they nonetheless discouraged *pugua* chewing due to its staining of tooth surfaces. In 1925, for example, dentist Wells reported on the effort to "discourage the masticatory use of the peppery pellet," stating that "the school children of the island … have been made to see that betel nut chewing is a disgusting habit which will eventually impair their health and good looks" (438). He claimed not only that "many school children" had discontinued the habit but also that "in many cases," children and other family members have come asking the dental officers to remove the black stains from their teeth (438). By 1939, visiting anthropologist Thompson observed, "Due to American influence the betel-chewing habit is losing favor with the young natives who have turned to chewing gum as a mild substitute" (1941, 26).

Despite such pronouncements, in 1952, dentist Gerry and colleagues reported that 62 percent of the more than 2,000 adults that they had examined admitted to chewing, including over three-fourths of those over the age 40. Furthermore, their report asserted that the 62 percent figure was "artificially low" (Gerry, Smith, and Carlton 1952, 891). Gerry and colleagues assessed that Chamorros were underreporting their chewing habits because of social and cultural pressures to quit that were part of the navy's Americanization campaign. As they stated, "there has been some tendency to deny its use by the Guamanians as they feel that the American population of the island considers its use primitive and old-fashioned" (Gerry, Smith, and Carlton 1952, 889). Nonetheless, their perception that betel nut was "considered uncivilized by the more socially and economically advanced," as well as their recognition that Chamorros realized that the Americans considered it a primitive habit, speaks even to contemporary perceptions, as seen in both personal interviews and research studies. When asked why he refrained from chewing areca while most of his family and friends chewed, UOG student Ignacio Dela Cruz emphatically responded, "I love my pearly whites!" (pers. comm.). While stained teeth signified beauty in past centuries, modern dentistry had effected a shift in social attitudes.

But "to chew or not to chew" should also be considered in the context of class issues, in conjunction with Gerry and colleagues' statement that "Betel chewing is considered uncivilized by the more socially and economically advanced Guamanians" (Gerry, Smith, and Carlton 1952, 906). This class dimension contradicts other descriptions of areca chewing as perhaps the most egalitarian of customs in the region. Dawn Rooney's study of areca in Southeast Asia, for example, demonstrates that the habit "cuts across class, sex, or age" (1993, 1), an analysis also made in the case of Yap, known for its highly rigid class system. Dr. David Rutstein, a physician and active member of the island community, observed this class fluidity in Yapese areca chewing practice, stating that "The caste system prevents people from eating together, and in some cases, touching each other's possessions. But people can chew betel nut together and even reach in each other's baskets to do so" (quoted in Huyser-Honig and Huyser-Honig 2002, 202). On Guam, archaeological studies of precontact Chamorro society, in tandem with written accounts from the fifteen hundreds through the late eighteen hundreds, paint a uniform picture of areca chewing as universal among the Chamorros, practiced regardless of gender, age, or class. More recent surveys confirm this analysis; a 1993 report on areca nut use, for example, stated that "betel nut use was not associated with gender (both males and females), age (younger and older), nor income or education (working and middle classes)" (UOG CES 1993, 6). Although the numerous studies conducted in the past five years by members of UOG's CRC have not

surveyed for information pertaining to income and employment, they report that most surveyed chewers are at least high school graduates (Herzog 2014, 155; Little et al. 2014, 2).

Paulino's study divulges that some Chamorros perceived that chewing is "negatively looked upon" and cited this as a major reason for their disapproval of the habit (Paulino 2009, 79). Although part of this negative response no doubt relates to more than a century of colonial indoctrination, some of the sentiment may emanate from the presumed link between *pugua* chewing and spitting, a habit not condoned in modern society. Chamorros have generally frowned upon the practice of spitting since ancient times, demonstrated in both historical documents and in the cultural teachings of elders. One account from the seventeen hundreds reports that "While the people are barbarous and uncouth, there is a sort of culture…. They seldom expectorate, never without taking many precautions. They never spit towards the house of another, nor in the morning, for reasons not very comprehensible, but to them, sufficient" (Delgado 1912, 2). Padre Delgado here refers to cultural mores against the unrestricted elimination of any bodily waste, including hairs, fingernails, and sputum, because of the belief that enemies could use such items in malevolent potions. Moreover, as reflected in Freycinet's 1819 account, "to spit in a man's presence … was the height of rudeness … thus [Chamorros took] great pains not to commit that error.… In fact, the Mariana Islanders rarely rid themselves of saliva or, at least, always did so with meticulous precautions" (Freycinet 2004: 132–33).

This aspect of spitting by contemporary areca chewers on Guam adds a new layer of complexity to the topic, that of race, highlighting tensions between Chamorro *ugam* chewers who chew and swallow the entire quid and chewers from other islands in Micronesia who not only spit, because the common inclusion of lime in their quid causes an increase in saliva production, but also do not swallow the quid, because it often contains tobacco. Specifically, immigrant chewers from Palau and Yap have traditionally preferred the young, green nut with a soft interior, wrapped in a quid that incudes slaked lime and tobacco. But this form of areca chewing has extended to other Micronesian islanders for whom it was not part of their traditional cultural practice, including growing numbers from Chuuk, who now constitute a notable ethnic minority on Guam. Although some Chamorros, particularly younger ones, have adapted to the younger nut, that particular style of chewing is still associated with Micronesian immigrants. Some observers have assessed the posting of "No Spitting" signs in public places around the island as blatantly racialized markers of tension between indigenous Chamorros and islanders from elsewhere in Micronesia (D. Subido, pers. comm.; J. Viernes, pers. comm.). Spitting has thus become a sign of racial tension on the island.

Consequently, on Guam, the issue of spitting regularly degenerates into thinly veiled racialized comments about "Micronesians" and their supposedly uncivilized habits. Comments posted to the daily newspaper's online poll on May 8, 2016, asking the question, "Do you think chewing betel nut is bad for your health?" reveal this tension. While more than half of the 439 respondents believed that chewing was not bad for your health, half of those leaving comments expressed negative views about spitting (*Pacific Daily News* 2016, 1). One respondent, logging in as Doris Ogo, replied, "I do think that they should stop islanders that spit in public places cause [sic] that just is disgusting and ruins our island of Guam!" Another commenter, identified as Tessie, responded, "Yes [it's bad for your health], if it is chewed like that other islanders that now live in Guam…. When people spit, they do not realized [sic] that they are polluting the ground and we tend to step on it and carry the bacteria into our automobiles, homes, hospitals, clinics, offices, schools, stores and any place we walk on." Tessie added, "let it be known that green beetle [sic] nuts with the yacky [sic] stuff added is bad for your health." Doris's and Tessie's references to "islanders" implicitly target Micronesian island immigrants to Guam, chewing green nuts, and spitting. Through the lens of *pugua,* escalating tensions between the Chamorros and the growing population of Micronesian immigrants living on Guam gain expression.

The history of areca nut is thus densely layered in Chamorro traditions and rituals, as well as in recent expressions of cultural identity and in past and present issues of class and race. Most of Guam's residents do not believe it to be a harmful activity, based on available evidence from an online poll and social research (*Pacific Daily News* 2016, 1; Moss et al. 2015, 147). Yet this precise concern drives a bevy of well-funded research projects active on the island.

Cancer, History, and *Pugua*

Cancer has received international attention for nearly a half century, the United Nations creating a body specifically focused on its research, the IARC Working Group on the Evaluation of Carcinogenic Risks to Humans. A branch of the WHO, the IARC Working Group began in 1969 to evaluate chemicals that might pose a cancerous risk to humans, and it has since expanded to include other potentially cancerous risks, such as viruses, pesticides, and natural products like tobacco and areca nut. To make public its scientific findings, the IARC issues monographs that share the results of an enormous body of scientific and social research before making official pronouncements regarding cancer risks. IARC monographs are recognized as authoritative sources of information on the carcinogenicity of a range of human exposures. Although the IARC explicitly states that "no recommendation is given with regard to regulation or

legislation, which are the responsibility of individual governments and/or other international organizations" (IARC 2004, 10), it invariably exerts pressure on people working in health-related fields.

In 1985, Monograph 37 declared areca nut to be carcinogenic when chewed with tobacco, and 1986's Monograph 38 declared tobacco smoking to be carcinogenic. Perhaps because tobacco was not an ingredient in the typical Chamorro chewing quid, little notice on Guam was paid to this pronouncement. Almost 20 years later, an even bolder announcement was made. On August 7, 2003, the WHO issued a press release stating that the "IARC monographs programme finds betel-quid and areca-nut chewing carcinogenic to humans" (IARC 2003, 1), even without tobacco. IARC Monograph 85 presents a substantial body of scientific and social research, including studies of patients with oral cancer and research on experimental animals such as rats, mice, hamsters, and baboons. In addition to areca's carcinogenicity, the IARC expressed concern for the spread of "a variety of mass-produced, prepackaged areca-nut products" increasingly available around the world and the seeming proliferation of "aggressive advertising," some of which targets children (2004, 34). Increasing mobility and improved means of transportation have also contributed to the nut's spread.

The determinants for oral cancer include not only chewing of the areca nut but also tobacco use, heavy alcohol consumption, tuberculosis, history of oral cancer, and diet low in fruits and vegetables. Despite the many possible causes of oral cancer, the WHO has expressed concern over evidence both that the frequency of betel nut use is increasing in the Western Pacific Region and that its use is more frequently associated with the chewing of tobacco (WHO 2012, 7). In 2012, WHO published a follow-up to IARC Monograph 85 that focused specifically on the Western Pacific, titled "Review of areca (betel) nut and tobacco use in the Pacific" and highlighting its concern for islands in Melanesia and Micronesia that continued to demonstrate increasing patterns of areca nut chewing.

Cancer researchers and epidemiologists have pointed out that although oral cancer is the sixth most prevalent cancer worldwide, it ranks in the top three cancers in countries where areca chewing predominates. The Globocan arm of the IARC, providing statistical data on major types of cancer for 184 countries of the world, reported in 2012 that oral cancer is the leading cancer in Papua New Guinea in terms of incidence among both men and women. While it is the leading cause of cancer mortality among men in Papua New Guinea, for women, oral cancer ranks third for both incidence and mortality, after cervical and breast cancers (Globocan 2012, 1). The IARC reports Melanesia as a whole "to be the Region with the highest incidence," with oral cancer accounting for 12 percent of all cancers, compared to 1.6 percent in the United States and 1.0

percent New Zealand (WHO 2012, 41). In Yap, it is the second most common cancer, reported at 14.1 percent of all cancer cases.

As the second-leading cause of mortality on Guam, accounting for nearly one in every five deaths (Guam Comprehensive Cancer Control Coalition 2009, 11), cancer is of serious concern. Moreover, while oral cancer rates in the United States have shown a downward trend over the past thirty years, in Guam, as in the rest of the Western Pacific, the opposite is observed (Kingsley et al. 2008, 87). Since 1998, when the Government of Guam began systematically gathering cancer statistics, cancer incidence and mortality rates have steadily increased. Among cancers on Guam, oral ranks as tenth in overall incidence, with a rate of 10 per 100,000, but sixth highest in incidence among men and ninth in mortality among both men and women (WHO 2012, 43). Between 2003 and 2007, thirty-five new oral cancer cases were identified on Guam. The statistics, however, fail to specify whether the oral cancer patients are tobacco smokers or areca nut chewers and, in the case of *pugua* users, whether they include tobacco in their quid. Rather, *pugua* has become the presumed culprit. Further calling into question the blame placed on areca chewing is evidence from the 2007 Guam Behavioral Risk Survey showing that 79 percent of current *pugua* chewers also smoke (quoted in Paulino 2009, 118). Partly because of the questionable data, Chamorro chewers have lingered in denial about the carcinogenicity of the tobacco-free quid.

Capitalizing on global concerns about areca and local concerns about Guam's rising cancer rates, the UOG created the CRC, in partnership with the University of Hawai'i and funded by the National Cancer Institute. Since 2003, UOG's CRC has received $15 million in funds dedicated to developing the institution's cancer research capacity, specifically as it relates to "topics of regional relevance, including cervical cancer and betel nut chewing" (2017, 1). Despite its stated focus, the CRC has thus far funded only one cervical cancer study, compared with seven areca projects, highlighting one that intends to be the world's first direct-intervention cessation program (Eugenio 2016, 1). UOG has obtained sizable grant funding in an otherwise highly competitive arena partly by capitalizing on its unique focus as an areca-cancer research center, the only one of its kind in the United States.

Most research has been sociocultural in nature, explicitly conducted to develop an effective cessation program. As CRC researcher Thaddeus Herzog pointedly states, "behavioral and psychological research is essential for the purposes of designing interventions to reduce betel quid chewing" (Herzog 2014, 155). Appreciating that areca nut chewing is integral to social and cultural practice, whether in everyday life or in ceremonial ritual, the CRC scholars have been careful to suggest that "interventions designed to treat or prevent betel-quid chewing may need to include a strong social/cultural component"

that provides those wanting to quit "with skills regarding how to deal with the social/cultural pressures to chew" (Little et al. 2014, 6).

Herzog's research concluded that areca nut chewers had levels of dependence comparable to those of smokers, based on a survey sample of 300 current chewers. His limited sample included a majority who included tobacco in their areca quid, despite other evidence that shows that as few as 5 percent of Chamorros do so, thereby failing to account for differences between those who did and those who did not include tobacco. Herzog's study also failed to distinguish Guam's Chamorros from those of the Northern Mariana Islands, who more commonly chew the soft nut with tobacco. Consequently, in Herzog's analysis, the classic Chamorro *ugam* chewer was defined as chemically dependent, alongside those who added tobacco to their quid. Similarly, referring to areca as a "recreational drug," cancer research John Moss and colleagues liken chewers and smokers in their attitudes concerning cessation (Moss et al. 2015, 144). Charging that "betel quid chewers have dependence levels similar to those of cigarette smokers," they urge the implementation of a cessation program modeled after existing ones for tobacco smokers and chewers and have received CRC funding to implement one (145).

Paulino stands alone among Guam's CRC researchers in identifying the classic Chamorro *ugam* chewer as separate from other *pugua* aficionados. Her work, beginning with her doctoral dissertation in 1993, has advocated the identification of two separate classes of chewers: Class 1, Chamorros who chew the hard, mature nut, sometimes wrapped in the betel leaf, and often swallowing, and Class 2, a mix of island ethnicities, including small numbers of Guam Chamorros and large percentages of Northern Mariana Islands Chamorros, chewing the young, soft nut, typically with betel leaf, lime, and tobacco, and often spitting. Despite her consistent plea for a two-class framework, other CRC scholars have lumped all chewers into one basket. Such slipshod bracketing makes it difficult to convince the nontobacco *pugua* enthusiasts of the veracity of their research data.

More than thirty years after IARC's initial classification of areca as carcinogenic when chewed with tobacco, CRC researchers have found that Guam residents are unaware of its health risks. While attempting to establish a cessation program on Guam, UOG CRC researcher Moss learned that although most of his participants knew of tobacco's carcinogenicity, "None of our participants were aware of the link between pugua chewing and cancer" (quoted in Sablan 2016b, 4). Most respondents to the *Pacific Daily News* online poll believe that *pugua* chewing is not harmful to their health. As celebrated weaver James Bamba stated of *pugua* in an interview regarding the UOG CRC's new cessation program, "It's not negative and I've never known it to be negative" (quoted in Sablan 2016b, 4). Interviews with community members invariably position

pugua either as an engrained social and cultural practice or as a medicine, especially for nausea, stomachaches, and headaches (Eugenio 2016, 1; Sablan 2016a, 1). Moss and colleagues reflected that in their personal contact with areca chewers, "many people … viewed betel quid chewing as an essential part of their cultural heritage as Pacific Islanders" (Moss et al. 2015, 146). This pervasive disbelief in *pugua*'s benign nature, however, runs opposite to mounting biomedical data and international pronouncements of its deleterious health effects.

International concern expressed by the IARC and local interest reflected in the CRC funding patterns hence foretells a bumpy road ahead for *pugua*. The 2012 WHO report recommends a "platform for action" that includes regulating the sale of betel nut, establishing and enforcing laws restricting betel nut use on school property and at health care facilities, and formulating effective mass communication and education campaigns regarding the dangers of areca chewing, among other actions (10). Cessation programs run out of the UOG, intensifying Americanization of the island, and negative racialized connotations about spitting and chewing, along with a slate of UOG CRC research projects that dissect the nut in every possible social, cultural, and biological way imaginable, promise to keep the nut alive, alongside those who cling to it as an emblem of their cultural identity as Chamorros and as Pacific Islanders.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 2018–JUNE 2018

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

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