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Special Issue
Europe and the Pacific

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Radboud University

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Introduction by the Guest Editor

Relations between Europe and the Pacific have always been multistranded, diverse, and highly dynamic. Yet in the wake of the decolonization process, they have no doubt changed more substantially than in the centuries before. The peoples of Oceania have long been renowned for taking outside interests forcefully on their own terms, but today they also insist on the need to address structural imbalances of power between the region and its former colonizers. The quest for more equal relations with outsiders has even received a sense of urgency because the impact of climate change can no longer be neglected, at least not in the Pacific region. After all, ironically, Pacific peoples may be seen to contribute least while suffering the most from the effects of climate change.

Changing relations between Europe and the Pacific triggered the European Society for Oceanists (ESfO) to organize its tenth conference around this theme to generate new thoughts for the reconsideration of interregional relations. In this special issue, five keynote speeches delivered by leading scholars in the field are brought together to continue the debate about relations between Europe and the Pacific held at the conference in Brussels in June 2015 and also to engage with a wider audience. Collectively, these papers offer some innovative ideas and insights for developing new kinds of relations between Europe and the Pacific in the twenty-first century. They address not only the elementary question what emergent roles and capacities Pacific peoples are fashioning for academics who are interested in their region, but they also discuss the more

fundamental issue concerning the implications of a transformation of research relations for academic questions and the status of knowledge and epistemology. Indeed, they show that a demand for exchanging knowledge into activities that are directly useful for Pacific peoples themselves not only entails different working relations but also new conceptual frames that derive their force from different rationales. Let me begin, however, with a brief sketch of ESfO and its landmark conference in Brussels.

Founded at Radboud University in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, in 1992, ESfO is a loosely structured organization that meets once every two or three years in some European city, attracting scholars in the field of Pacific studies from around the world, including Australia, New Zealand, the United States and, of course, from the Pacific Islands (see http://esfo-org.eu/). ESfO does not raise membership fees; therefore it operates on a zero-sum budget with no institutional anchorage. In practice, ESfO simply comprises a social network of scholars with a professional interest in the Pacific. ESfO does have a constitution, but this has no statutory status. In fact, it is no more than a set of guidelines for the operation of the organization. The so-called constitution stipulates that ESfO is run by a board, made up of representatives of a range of European countries with some tradition of Pacific studies, but non-Europeans doing research in the Pacific can also become a member. This is also reflected in the countries represented at ESfO conferences. Over the years, the number of delegates from the Pacific, and from the southern hemisphere generally, has increased substantially. In this context, it must be realized that ESfO was established in the era before the Internet was available, which made it inherently more complex to advertise and organize international events. At the same time, it is fair to say that initially European scholars conducting research in the Pacific were not immediately imbued with the need to collaborate with their so-called informants from the South Seas. As His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi astutely remarked in his opening speech in Brussels, ESfO began talking chiefly about the Pacific, if not talking "down to" the Pacific, which gradually changed into talking with and alongside the Pacific. ESfO conferences have always been advertised as widely as possible, but during the first couple of conferences, not many delegates from the Pacific made it to Europe, although an effort has always been made to invite Pacific scholars to deliver a keynote lecture at each conference.

A turning point in the history of ESfO was perhaps the conference held at Verona, Italy, in 2008, which was organized around the theme "Putting People First." This theme was derived from the motto of the Suva Declaration on sustainable human development, which was adopted by the South Pacific Forum in 1993. It expressed a concern for enhancing the quality of life and the continuing well-being of Pacific peoples in light of accelerating processes of economic

and environmental change. The conference theme was addressed most explicitly during a closing round table discussion with only representatives from the Pacific in the panel. All of them forcefully urged their European colleagues to follow up the consequences of adopting the agenda of "Putting People First." They applauded European research in the Pacific but drew the attention of the largely European audience to the fact that research activities entail obligations that tended to be neglected too often. Hence, they appealed to all academics to recognize their responsibilities not only to the academy but also to the peoples of Oceania. They did so by reminding them that Pacific protocol prescribes them to develop research relations into a mutual exchange of knowledge. And they not only wanted knowledge transfers to work both ways, but they also expressed a desire for academics to act upon their findings.

The conclusion of the conference in Verona was subsequently turned into the point of departure for the next conference, held at St. Andrews in 2010, that was organized around the theme "Exchanging Knowledge in Oceania." Theoretically this conference built not only on the call from the Pacific to acknowledge obligations activated by research relations in the region, but also on a parallel call from governments, research funding agencies, industry, and policymakers to demonstrate explicitly the usefulness of academic research and academic knowledge. Indeed, knowledge transfers and plans for public engagement have become key conditions of research funding. The widespread demand for knowledge exchange and its transfer into useful activities, however, entails different working relations and new conceptual frames that derive their force from different rationales. As a consequence, it has become necessary to reflect on the epistemological status of academic knowledge since its exchange value runs the risk of being determined solely by the use value that others consider it to possess. This instrumentalization of knowledge might transform anthropology into a discipline of prescription instead of a refined technique of description that necessitates a fundamental rethinking of cultural concepts.

Interestingly, the conference at St. Andrews was also attended by two representatives of the European Commission, one working for the Directorate-General for Development and the other for the Directorate-General for Research, but both being responsible especially for "relations with the countries and the region of the Pacific," as it was formulated. The European Union's development cooperation with the Pacific is significant, with the EU being the second largest donor of development assistance to the region. Yet it was argued that EU-based initiatives for research in the Pacific are fragmented and also hardly accessible by EU institutions and perhaps also by the wider academic community in Europe and elsewhere. This was thought to hamper the development and coordination not only of Pacific-oriented academic work in Europe but also the establishment of Pacific-tailored policies and strategies by

the European Union. The goal of the visit by the two representatives of the European Commission, therefore, was to explore the possibilities for enhancing cooperation among Pacific-focused academics working in countries belonging to the European Union and to attune their research more to the strategy of the European Union for engaging with the region.

Since the representatives of the European Commission were impressed with the level of expertise available in the European Union and the invigorating debate at the conference of the European Society for Oceanists at St. Andrews, they decided to organize an expert meeting in Brussels in the fall of 2010. For this workshop, some 40 people were invited, including 30 European researchers, mainly anthropologists, who discussed "EU Pacific Research: Contribution to EU-Pacific Relations and the Way Forward." At the workshop, thematic discussions were held about regional security and stability, about the impact of climate change, and on the need to improve the understanding of the Pacific context for more efficient external action on the part of the European Union.

Following the workshop, the European Research Council advertised as part of its Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) a call for proposals on "Climate Change Uncertainties: Policymaking for the Pacific Front." In the call, it was contended that climate change had already had a negative impact on the livelihoods of Pacific people. It was emphasized that it was affecting infrastructure, agriculture, food, and housing availability as well as access to land and water resources, all with the potential to exacerbate tensions around scarcer resources and to affect food security. At the same time, it was stated that European researchers on the Pacific were poorly coordinated and insufficiently linked to policymaking. For that reason, the European Commission advocated the formation of a network of European researchers, including European and non-European researchers from the Pacific and the Overseas Territories in the region, which should develop tools to take stock of ongoing research on the impact of climate change on the Pacific Islands. Furthermore, the network was expected to support EU policymaking on the links between climate change and security-stability-conflict–prevention issues but also migration, governance, access to resources, and economic development to define better options for sustainable development. Finally, the network should also help to address key policy coherence issues, such as the challenge to define the Pacific as a "climate change global priority."

As a result of this call, the European Consortium for Pacific Studies (ECOPAS) was established; it was officially launched at the ninth conference of the European Society for Oceanists held at Bergen in December 2012. Following the aims outlined in the call of the European Research Council, the specific goal of ECOPAS was to provide coordination and support to research and policy communities on issues connected to climate change and related processes in

the Pacific Islands region to define better options for sustainable development. Linkages between research networks and policy interfaces had to be reinforced to contribute to more context-sensitive EU external action and to set a future research agenda for the social sciences and humanities in the Pacific.

ECOPAS was hosted by four recognized European university centers of excellence on Pacific research, in Bergen (Norway), Marseille (France), St. Andrews (United Kingdom) and Nijmegen (Netherlands) and by two major Pacific institutions (i.e., the University of the South Pacific in Fiji and the National Research Institute in Papua New Guinea). ECOPAS was active over a three-year period and intensified extensive collaboration between European and Pacific scholarly institutions, as well as between research institutions and local, national, and international political agencies. It outlined and strengthened the potential of European research in the Pacific by creating a platform and portal for knowledge exchanges (www.pacific-studies.net), a long-term plan for capacity building and a strategic plan for Pacific state and non-state involvement. A final outcome of the project was the delivery to the European Commission of comprehensive, forward-looking, long-term social sciences and humanities research policy agenda for the Pacific Islands region.

The closing event of ECOPAS was organized in collaboration with the European Society for Oceanists that was preparing its tenth conference to be held in 2015. In view of the important connections between the many European researchers affiliated to ECOPAS and the European Society for Oceanists, between which substantial overlap existed, it was decided to organize the conference in Brussels, the capital city of Europe. This major event in the history of Pacific studies in Europe was focused on relations between Europe and the Pacific in a broad sense. It is important to emphasize that the call for proposals did not simply follow the political agenda of the European Union, but it departed from the apparent irrationality that the geographical distance between the regions of Europe and the Pacific does not necessarily hamper cooperation between peoples of the two regions. Although in Europe the region of the Pacific was long viewed as a remote and isolated continent, in recent decades European researchers have capitalized on the insight that Pacific Islanders themselves do not necessarily view spatial separation as problematic. On the contrary, as Epeli Hau'ofa (1994) pointed out so well, spatial separation might paradoxically be regarded as promoting proximity and stimulating connections. This perspective on connectedness characterizes not only social relations across the region, whereas it remains equally important to those islanders who now belong to diasporic communities on the Pacific Rim. Such a vision also suggests that Europe's geographical distance from the Pacific needs not necessarily place it at a relational disadvantange. For European scholarship, the distance between Europe and the Pacific might even be regarded a virtue, as shown, for example,

by the strength of Pacific studies in Europe and the increasing size of ESfO conferences (Hviding 2015).

In some respects, however, European connections to the Oceanic region relate uncomfortably to the aspirations and ambitions of Pacific peoples themselves, as mentioned before. The peoples of the Pacific Islands not only have a long and distinguished history of engaging with the people from other regions in the world on their own social and cultural terms and on the basis of their own economic and political interests. After the decolonization was completed, the spirit of Hau'ofa's "Sea of Islands" (1994) and Ratu Mara's "Pacific Way" (1997) has come to characterize the Pacific's vision for its future, indicating also that Pacific Islanders increasingly demand to define their own priorities in their connections with Europe, including not only policymakers but also academic researchers. These calls from the Pacific for a new kind of relationship with Europe—in whatever shape or form Europe may be perceived as a region—were taken as an interesting yet also critical starting point for further reflection, debate, and dialogue, all in light of the goal to rethink and reconfigure historical, contemporary, and future connections between Europe and the Pacific.

The conference theme generated wide interest such that eventually some thirty sessions were run in parallel over four days, in which a record of 250 papers were presented. Over the four days, the uniqueness and diversity of the Pacific region was explored, debated, and celebrated. Engagements between Europe and the Pacific in past and present were discussed in a variety of dimensions, ranging from colonial relations, contemporary legal-political relations, trade relations, sustainable development programs, humanitarian aid, new migration patterns, and tourism, to environmental concerns and widespread anxiety about the impact of climate change. Many presentations testified to the strength of the Pacific region and the cultural creativity of Pacific peoples in developing alternative future orientations to contemporary global challenges. We were reminded that the problems to be addressed and the questions to be raised in the examination of the multitude of alternatives that the Pacific is offering to the global community are far from simple.

The opening ceremony of the conference was held in the Gothic Room of the old City Hall of Brussels, for which special permission was granted by the Mayor of Brussels. We welcomed 280 participants from more than twenty different countries and nations, with a significant number from the Pacific region, including Samoa, Hawaii, Fiji, Tonga, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, and French Polynesia. Included in the audience were also forty-three delegates from Australia, twenty-four from New Zealand, and twenty-two from the United States. Indeed, it might be noted that informally the conference has been described as the largest gathering ever to have taken place in the field of Pacific studies. In any case, the conference is being remembered as a gathering

about the Pacific that was held in Europe but that was attended by a sizeable number of people from around the Pacific Islands.

One of the reasons why such a large contingent of scholars from the Pacific was attracted to the conference was undoubtedly the early announcement that the opening keynote address would be delivered by the Head of State of the Independent State of Samoa, His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taʻisi Efi, one of the foremost Pacific thinkers and writers. His Highness is the eldest son of Samoa's first Head of State and was himself Prime Minister of Samoa from 1976–82. He took up the role of *O le Ao o le Malo*, Head of State, in 2007 and since 2012 has been serving his second term. His Highness is highly respected as a leading expert on Samoan culture and philosophy and is the author of dozens of scholarly papers and addresses (cf. http://www.headofstate.ws/; see also Suaalii-Sauni et al. 2014). His Highness' scholarly writings have reached into climate change, Pacific leadership, the aesthetics of fragrance and sound and political discourse, traditional navigation and bio-ethics, and in each case offer important and original thinking about the issue.

Through his dual role as Head of State and scholar, His Highness was in an exceptional position to comment upon the rubric of the conference about "Europe and the Pacific" and to speak to the emphasis on the human dimensions of climate change in support of European efforts to galvanize the international community and reach a breakthrough to challenge the status quo. In 2014, Samoa hosted, on behalf of the Pacific region, the Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States (SIDS), which put not only Samoa but the entire Pacific region on the international map. The event itself was hailed as a success that demonstrated a Pacific way of putting dialogue rather than negotiation at the heart of international relations. The conference outcome document, entitled the "Samoa pathway," had a significant impact on the changing character of development partnerships and the politics of climate change. As such, Samoa accomplished a remarkable feat. It politely but firmly showed the international community how it should be thinking about partnerships and where it should be going. It demonstrated a Pacific way of responsibly doing relations between persons and it advocated a Pacific way of doing relations between humans and nonhumans. It offered these up as resources to the international community to breakthrough the current paradigm and impasse on climate change.

Following this unprecendented contribution to the international debate about climate change, we were indeed delighted to welcome His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taʻisi Efi to open the tenth conference of the European Society for Oceanists in an overwhelming ambience in Brussels. In his paper, entitled "*Le fuia, le fuia, e tagisia lou vaelau:* Starling, starling, we pine for your nimbleness: Towards a Samoan indigenous framing of responsibility for

'climate change.'" His Highness reflected on the issue of climate change through an exploration and exposition of Samoan indigenous knowledge. His scholarly intervention into the debate about climate change built on his well-known development of the method of using Samoan indigenous reference as a means of engaging contemporary issues and a means of advocating cultural history as a resource for guiding the future. He used the trope of the *fuia*, the Samoan starling bird, which is exceptionally skilled in finding a right balance on flimsy leafs, as a model for the need to strike a new balance between humans and the environment as well as between humans with different cultural values from around the world. He promoted a fundamental dialogue, both critical and commending, with one's own cultural assumptions about the world, with the aim of avoiding both reverential adherence and unthinking abandonment so that everyone may be able to fashion future orientations through the cultural creativity of their own peoples and places.

The address of His Highness represents a relatively recent trend in the international and interdisciplinary field of Pacific studies, which he described as a shift from talking about the Pacific to talking with and alongside the Pacific. This comment in his speech was not only an empirical observation of developments in the European Society for Oceanists, but it was also reflected in the trope of the fuia that simultaneously symbolizes a type of scholarship that is principally based on indigenous knowledge. As such, it is testimony to the progressing process of decolonizing Pacific studies (Uperesa 2016). Initially, it was advocated that decolonization had to be achieved by introducing more indigenous voices and perspectives in the scholarly debates, but soon it was recognized that it also requires the critical scrutiny of established modes of inquiry. This tendency has also been noted by Terence Wesley-Smith (2016), former editor of *The Contemporary Pacific*, who recently revisited his classic paper of 1995 on Pacific Islands studies programs, which was originally published in this journal, *Pacific Studies*.

Some twenty years ago, Wesley-Smith (1995) put out an overview of Pacific studies programs, in which he made a distinction between three different rationales for Pacific studies teaching and research: the "pragmatic rationale" that emphasizes the need to know about the Pacific Islands for metropolitan countries, the so-called "laboratory rationale" that values the Pacific Islands and their peoples as objects for study, such as in classic anthropology and linguistics, and, finally, the "empowerment rationale" aiming at the liberation of Pacific studies from the hegemonic use of western theories and methodologies to complete the process of decolonization. A seminal contribution to the latter frame for doing research was the highly influential book *Decolonizing methodologies* (1999, 2012) by the Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai-Smith. She focused especially on the question whether western intellectuals can be reliable allies in the resistance

to imperialism and argued that peoples who are subjected to research should always be able to control all research that concerns them directly or indirectly. Soon, however, the debate shifted from the question who is conducting Pacific Studies to the question how it is practiced, which introduced the demand for more attention to indigenous epistemologies.

Over the past two decades, a range of Pacific intellectuals has been instrumental in the reconstitution of indigenous knowledge, including David Gegeo (2001; see also Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001, 2002), the Hawaiian educationalist Manulani Aluli Meyer (2001, 2003), the Maori scholar Mere Roberts (Roberts and Wills 1998; Roberts et al. 2004)), the Fijian scholars Elise Huffer and Ropato Qalo (2004), and, last but not least, the Indo-Fijian professor in literature at the University of the South Pacific, Subramani (2001, 2003), who was a strong advocate of an interdisciplinary approach in which distinctions between oral speech and written materials, and between visual imageries, music, and performance had been abandoned. Subsequently, he became an important drive behind a major, interdisciplinary conference on Pacific epistemologies held in Fiji in 2006. The ultimate aim of the quest for indigenous knowledge was formulated unequivocally at this conference: to discard the mantle of colonialism and to achieve indigenous sovereignty throughout the Pacific.

It is beyond the scope of this introduction to reflect on this new, important body of indigenous scholarship from the Pacific in depth, but I would briefly like to raise two issues. First, Houston Wood (2003, 2006) and Terence Wesley-Smith (2016) have pointed out that the rise of indigenous epistemology is particularly strong in societies that are suffering from the legacy of colonialism, such as Hawai'i and Aotearoa New Zealand, where they have emerged as central part of widespread campaigns to regain sovereignty. Intertwined with the colonial experience, however, is a rather strict demarcation of boundaries between indigenous and nonindigenous, implying an essentialization of cultural differences, which also disguises cultural diversity within indigenous societies. Second, indigenous knowledge itself is, as a corollary, often also essentialized in such a way that it hardly reflects the various ways of knowing that characterize Pacific societies (Wesley-Smith 2016, 162; see also Van Meijl f.c.). Indeed, knowledge in the Pacific is rarely bounded and unquestionable and it has always been subject of debate, contestation, and negotiation. Many influential Pacific scholars, among whom Epeli Hau'ofa (2008), have demonstrated compellingly that consensus about knowledge is rarely given and usually only temporary, which should be taken on board in any attempt that aims at the completion of the decolonization process of Pacific studies. The various contributions to this special issue endorse and elaborate the view that various ways of knowing are characteristic of Pacific epistemologies, although they focus especially on their implications for future relations between Europe and the Pacific.

These insights into the debate about indigenous epistemology are directly relevant for a range of topical issues, among which climate change and how this should be addressed by institutions of governance in the Pacific and elsewhere because it is a global phenomenon par excellence. Indeed, one of the major strategic challenges in the Pacific relates to the governance of the region, including Overseas Countries and Territories, which has become especially urgent in the context of climate change and its dramatic consequences (e.g., sea level rise, ocean acidification, droughts, and related processes of variable weather systems combined with other forms of environmental change posing threats to the future viability of local lifestyles and national economies that rely on the biodiversity of coral reefs and coastal rain forests, in some cases on low-lying land of very modest extent). In her paper "Our rising sea of islands: Pan-Pacific regionalism in the age of climate change," Katerina Teaiwa discusses scholarly, artistic, and activist networks and projects that move beyond national borders to address issues of growing regional significance such as climate change. Since climate change, much like the earlier *Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific* movement, has begun to achieve multigenerational and multiscalar resonance, an increasing number of critical, engaged Oceanians are writing, performing, and speaking regionally and globally about a range of important issues associated with climate change. The participation profile of these people and projects challenges what some scholars used to critique as regional idealism of interest just to political elites, including Hau'ofa's "Sea of Islands" and Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's "Pacific Way." Teaiwa discusses "Oceania Rising" in Honolulu, "Oceania Interrupted" in New Zealand, "Oceania Now" in Australia, the "Rethinking and Renewing Oceania" discussion forum, the "350 Pacific" and "Pacific Climate Warriors" actions against climate change and fossil fuel consumption (see also McNamara and Farbotko 2017), and the multisited "Wansolwara" movement from which the "We Bleed Black and Red" campaign emerged. She also contextualizes these social movements in terms of official Australian, New Zealand, and European research and development policies, and, following Kate Stone, offers a an innovative perspective on critical regionalism and "an Oceanic identity for the ordinary people."

As Teaiwa focuses on social movements that are reinforcing Oceanic regionalism, which is also crucial for the coordination of international climate change policies, Joeli Veitayaki expands the debate into a geopolitical perspective on international responsibility for the governance of the Pacific Ocean. In his contribution about the "Ocean in us: Security of life in the world's largest ocean," Veitayaki offers a compelling description of the vulnerability of many Pacific Island countries that are threatened to become conquested by the sea, which is even predicted to worsen with the effects of climate change. Most of his

examples are from Fiji but many also from other Small Island Developing States in the Pacific that are not benefiting fully from their marine resources attributable to inadequate technical and management capacity and also because of limited financial and physical resources. These are not only critical aspects of life in the Pacific Ocean, but the unprecedented levels of change threaten even the very existence of countries and communities. Although Pacific peoples are observant, adaptive, and resilient, traits honed by millennia of close association and intimacy with their ocean and island homes, contemporary changes such as global warming, acidification, environmental degradation, alteration and loss of natural habitats, loss of territory and boundaries, globalization, and rampant consumerism seem to herald a gathering tropical cyclone or tsunami of a magnitude greater than anything Pacific Islanders have ever faced. To be sure, Veitayaki sketches a bleak picture of the contemporary situation in the Pacific, but in his view there is still hope for the future. Following Henry Puna, Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, he emphasizes the urgent need to recast a regional identity into a Large Ocean Island State to define the future of the Pacific on its own terms.

Emmanuel Kasarhérou, former head of the Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Centre (Nouméa) and currently curator in the Musée du quai Branly (Paris), contributes a unique paper, entitled "The sharing of cultural heritage between Europe and the Pacific: The Kanak experience," in which he explains how European and Pacific relations are being renegotiated in museums that are holding objects originating in New Caledonia. For more than twenty-five years, New Caledonia has experienced different projects aiming to reconnect the Kanaks, the indigenous population of the archipelago, to their material culture from which they have been separated for more than a century. Mainly held abroad and particularly in museums in Europe, this part of their tangible culture has found its way back to New Caledonia successfully through different ways: temporary exhibitions, long-term loans, and publications. The Inventory of the Kanak Dispersed Heritage (IPKD) totaling 5,000 significant cultural objects held in eighty museums throughout the world has been the last project that was released in Nouméa in July 2016. Kasarhérou examines the conditions, expectations, and results of these experiences in a nation-building context and discusses their implications for reshaping relations between Europe and the Pacific. His article offers a compelling description of changing practices in museums that reflect not only the emergence of indigenous models of cultural property that redefine relations among objects, property rights, indigenous peoples and ownership regimes of institutional or other authorities. At the same time, they emphasize, the complicity of the cultural sector in creating powerful interventions into ways of thinking about relations between indigenous peoples and their former colonizers.

Finally, we are pleased to include the Sir Raymond Firth Memorial Lecture, which was delivered by Joel Robbins, Sigrid Rausing Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, who talked about "Anthropology between Europe and the Pacific: Change, exchange and the prospects for a relationship beyond relativism." He departs from the major role that anthropology has played in mediating the relationship between Europe and the Pacific, which is no doubt more significant than it is for any other world region. This implies that changes in the wider relationship between these two regions may have a strong impact on anthropological thought, even as disciplinary changes can in some respects shape at least the European view of the Pacific. In this paper, Robbins considers changing anthropological understandings of this relationship and their impact on the ways anthropologists approach their studies of Pacific societies. In particular, he zooms in on how studies of social and cultural difference tied to notions of relativism and its critical potential have given way to a focus on local responses to broad global problems such as AIDS, climate change, and increasing inequalities generated by the global economic system. In an attempt to reframe what too often appears as a choice between exoticizing particularlism and Euro-American common sense universalism, he examines Pacific models of sociality to find a relational value for difference beyond relativism that suggests some truly novel grounds for thinking about the relations between Europe and the Pacific. Robbins argues, in other words, that the rise of a universal discourse of human rights in international debates about global issues has not only led to the disappearance of relativism but also to a decline of the anthropology of cultural differences. As a consequence, he promotes the recovery of anthropology's commitment to cultural diversity without falling into the trap of relativism, which in his view would encourage Europeans and others generally to rethink and revalue the important value of connectedness for Pacific Islanders.

In sum, these five papers by leading thinkers in the field of Pacific studies offer new thoughts for reconsidering relations between Europe and the Pacific in a variety of dimensions, with significant implications for anthropological and other academic practices. Oceania has given anthropology a disproportionate amount of the discipline's intellectual resources and key theoretical tools. Even aside from a rich body of influential ethnography, it has provided the exemplary materials for the development of fieldwork methods and analytical models of kinship, gender, and exchange. As mentioned before, however, the peoples of Oceania are also renowned for taking outside interests forcefully on their own terms, as the histories of colonization and decolonization attest. Therefore, all issues and questions that are addressed in this special issue are newly implicated again in the transformations of research relations between Europe and the Pacific in the twenty-first century.

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LE FUIA, LE FUIA, E TAGISIA LOU VAELAU "STARLING, STARLING, WE PINE FOR YOUR NIMBLENESS": TOWARDS A SAMOAN INDIGENOUS FRAMING OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR "CLIMATE CHANGE"

Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taʻisi Tupuola Tufuga Efi
State of Samoa

Over a century ago Augustin Kramer recorded a Samoan song with the line: *le fuia, le fuia, e tagisia lou vaelau*. I have translated this into English as "Starling, starling, we pine for your nimbleness." The references to nimbleness and to the *fuia*, or native Samoan starling bird, are literal and metaphorical and were chosen deliberately for their ability to make visible an indigenous context. The line reminds that, with skill and dexterity, one can find in nature balance, hope, and support despite the potentially harmful effects of gravity. This address uses this phrase and its Samoan indigenous references to frame an indigenous contribution to current conversations on what to do about the effects of climate change. It argues that for the island Pacific to have a say in how its islands are to survive, we must take the time and space necessary to openly dialog in the manner and style of the fuia.

We, Pacific Islanders and Europeans alike, today more than ever before, live in an integrated world. In the space of only four days, I have been able to travel 16,000 odd kilometers from my home in Apia, Samoa, to be here today to give you this address. In terms of the mechanics of doing this took a lot of human "know how" (i.e., a lot of industrial and engineering prowess). It also took the existence of an integrated world economy. I cannot help but marvel at the human genius behind such technological advancements. But equally I cannot help but wonder at the price we have to pay for having, and indeed still wanting to have, these advancements.

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The issue of climate change is very much at the forefront of world issues and is one that is particularly felt by those of us living in small island countries. I have followed the debates closely and have been intrigued by the different lines of argument put forward. I have noted that beneath the technological scientific argument there lie pressing moral and ethical questions about responsibility. These questions are rising to the top of high-level conversations about climate change and are staying there refusing to be resubmerged back under.

In this address, I wish to visit the question of an ethical responsibility for protecting our environment and wish to do so from an indigenous Samoan perspective. In this instance, I wish to use the image and nature of the fuia to frame my talk on the indigenous, on responsibility, and on climate change.

The fuia is the Samoan starling bird. It is not the common, plump, short-tailed, oily black bird originally found in Europe and considered a pest, driving out native birds and destroying fruit crops (Natural History Guide n.d.). It is the brownish-black starling unique to all of Samoa. The Botany Department of the University of Hawai'i states that ". . . if the *fuia* became extinct in the Samoas, there wouldn't be a single one left in the world. . . . Fortunately," they say, "there is little danger" of that. "It is a survivor, a real Samoan success story. It is the most adaptable bird we [in Samoa] have, equally at home in [the industrial towns of] Pago Pago [and Apia], in small villages, in plantations, and in the rainforest. . . . The secret to its adaptability," they say, "is its eating habits—a *fuia* will eat almost anything. They gobble down a wide variety of fruit, from the hard seeds of the *mamala* tree to the big stinky fruits of *nonu* bushes, from the leathery fruits of *lau pata* to the soft figs of the *mati*. They also love insects, including big stick insects, caterpillars, and even eat lizards, and indulge their taste for sweets with visits to lick up the nectar of [coconut] and *gatae* flowers. Because of their broad diet, *fuia* can always find food, and can live almost anywhere there are trees" (Natural History Guide n.d.).

The University of Hawai'i botanists also note that: ". . . As [with] most Samoan birds, male and female *fuia* look almost the same. [They] nest in all months of the year. . . . [Their] nests are usually placed in hollows in trees, [and] snapped-off coconut trunks are favorite nest sites. They will also nest among the dense fronds in the top of a coconut [tree], and even use man-made nest sites, like cracked telephone poles" (Natural History Guide n.d.). The Samoan fuia bird, in other words, is a bird that obviously wants to stay around and has been given, it seems, the wherewithal to do so. In Samoan oral history the fuia is a bird celebrated not only for its uniqueness to Samoa but also for its nimbleness as a bird.

In researching for an address I did in 2009 for the Fifth Parliament of the World's Religions, I came across a chant that was sometimes recited by my cultural mentors or older family folk when I was young, especially when they

wanted to tease, be flirtatious, and/or provoke arousal.[1] Now I tread carefully in speaking of this chant because, even though I have already written and published on it, its specific subject focus still provokes, even for me, discomfort and self-consciousness (Tui Atua 2014b), not necessarily because I am embarrassed by the topic, but more because I am very aware of the hang-ups we, Europeans and Pacific Islanders alike, have about it.

Dr. Augustin Kramer described this chant as a "*kava* song" and suggested that it was an "obscene song."[2] So much so, it seems that he, or perhaps more Dr. Theodore Verhaaren, the English language translator of his *The Samoa Islands* volumes, could not bring himself to translate the song from Samoan to English. He (or they) chose instead to translate it to Latin.[3] An English language translation of it was not published for wide academic consumption until Dr. Richard Moyle's 1975 article titled "Sexuality in Samoan art forms" published in the *Archives of Sexual Behaviour* journal.

If it was indeed a song sung during an *'ava* or kava ceremony as noted by Kramer, then it would most likely have been an 'ava ceremony involving an *aualuma* (an untitled women's guild) and *aumaga* (an untitled men's guild). This is because the one stanza that is cited sings both playfully and graphically of a pining, not only for sex, but, and perhaps more importantly, for playful arousal. In Samoa at this time sex and/or the naked body were not things to feel guilty about in the way we do today. They, in the appropriate context, were celebrated and flaunted. They were part of us, part of our humanity, part of what connected us to God. For ancient Samoans, it was God that made life and God that took life. Through sex, humans can make new life and because of this can share in some of God's divinity. The blatantly sexual fuia song chant when understood in this context was, therefore, far from obscene.

The first line of the one stanza of this fuia song reads: *le fuia, le fuia, e tagisia lou vaelau*. I translated all six lines of the stanza into English in my paper for the Fifth Parliament of the World's Religions (Tui Atua 2014b: 34–6). In that translation, I was explicit about the reference to *vaelau* as "leg": "Starling, starling, we pine for the nimbleness of your leg."

In my morning observations of the iao (or wattle honeyeater) birds that frequent my residence in Vailele, I note how playful they are and how sometimes, while in a passionate embrace and falling from the top of a tree, they, instead of letting go of each other or stopping their furtive mating, would deftly perch their feet (or *vae*) to what looks like a flimsy leaf (or *lau*) and somehow miraculously find balance on that leaf. Not only do they keep themselves from falling further but are also able to continue their mating. I marvel at this spectacular display of dexterity and balance. This gravity defying image of deftness and nimbleness is what I see in my mind's eye when I read or hear the word vaelau in the line le fuia, le fuia e tagisia lou vaelau.

In the title of my address today, I have left the reference to leg implicit in the idea of nimbleness. One cannot be nimble without assuming balance. One (whether bird or human) cannot assume balance (especially when falling) without some suppleness in the legs, literally or metaphorically. And whenever one is falling, one must be able to find firm support to gain or regain balance. In the current context of taking responsibility for the care of our planet, like the fuia, we must exercise deftness and nimbleness in our search for balance and support in our conversations on what to do and why we should do it.

In November last year, at the Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development in Aotearoa New Zealand, I had the privilege of engaging in a conversation with a group of approximately fifty (in total) environmental specialists, academics, and tribal leaders about laws, ethics, and responsibilities for environmental public goods, especially water. In this conversation, there was an emphasis on opening up "a new paradigm of responsibility and guardianship or stewardship of water". The symposium organizers saw a paradigm "different from rights and ownership approaches" and suggested a "trusteeship system" to accessing, managing, and using water.

Sir Taihakurei Eddie Durie provided a paper at this symposium titled "Maori proprietary interests in water" (Durie 2014). Taihakurei is a Justice of the High Court of New Zealand and cochair of the Maori Council. He is regarded as a leading legal expert on the Treaty of Waitangi. In his paper, Taihakurei points to indigenous custom as the basis of Maori proprietary interests in water. This interest, he argues, although perhaps less than full and exclusive ownership, is more than merely a management interest. This something "more" is orientated in the spiritual and ancestral. Taihakurei points to the role of animal *kaitiaki* (protectors/custodians) as key directors for indigenous Maori in how best to manage and use the natural resources of their environment. For Taihakurei's family, this was the *ruru* (morepork) bird on one side and the *kotuku* (white heron) bird on another (Durie 2014: 1–2).

In Samoan traditional culture, there is a similar belief in a shared genealogy and spiritual affinity between people and animals. In this ancient spiritual affinity, there exist four harmonies: the harmony between people and the cosmos; between people and their environment; between fellow people; and between people and their inner selves.[4] When these four harmonies are in balance, there is in life a state of sacred balance.[5] When these harmonies are disturbed, indigenous Samoans, like indigenous Maori, are reminded by their kaitiaki or *tapu-a-fanua*[6] of the need to restore balance. Like kaitiaki, tapu-a-fanua are custodians or protectors of the sacred boundaries (or *tuāʻoi*) that hold our worlds, living and spirit, in balance.

Tapu-a-fanua mostly take animal form, mainly as birds or fish. They are manifestations of family or village ancestors or gods. For some villages or families, the *lulu* (or owl) is their tapu-a-fanua. In the district of Aana the *feʻe* (or

octopus) was their tapu-a-fanua. In Asau, the *atule* (or mackerel) was considered their sacred fish, and if it did not appear as expected, the fishers and villagers would reflect on their fishing and consumption practices in an attempt to discern whether they had breached a tuāʻoi (or sacred boundary). If they had, they might then engage in a *tulafono* (law making) process to work out what to do about the breach.

In my contribution to the Waikato Law, Ethics, and Responsibility symposium, I spoke about tuāʻoi and tulafono (Tui Atua 2014a). I raise comment on them here to reemphasize their importance to an indigenous Samoan framing of responsibility. It is important to retain these Samoan terms as Samoan terms in global conversations so that some, if not all, of what is uniquely Samoan is retained in the overall narrative. As with all translations, there is always a loss of nuance and context. Having the original word(s) remain visible with the appropriate translation(s) alongside, however, can help minimize this and is something that ought to be encouraged as standard practice for an integrated, multicultural world such as ours, a world that has really only one or two truly global languages.

Like many indigenous Samoan words, tuāʻoi is a term that came about through the abbreviation of a phrase. As I have said before, it is an abbreviation of the saying: *i tua atu o i e le au iai lau aiā po o lau pule* ("your rights [*aiā*] or authority [*pule*] do not extend beyond this point"). Tuāʻoi is generally about boundaries. It is a concept that assumes the existence of a relationship or what Samoans call the *va*.

Albert Wendt, Samoa's most internationally well-known novelist and poet, describes the va as "the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the relationships/the contexts change" (Wendt 1996).[7] Then in ending his brief description Wendt asserts: "We knew a little about semiotics before Saussure came along!" (Wendt 1996).

Samoans believe that, within all human experiences, there exist relationships, and within these exist boundaries or tuāʻoi (secular and sacred). These tuāʻoi or boundaries mark the point at which one's rights and responsibilities either begin or end. This includes human relationships, rights, and responsibilities to the environment. It also includes the assumption that the ultimate boundary or tuāʻoi that must not be transgressed is that between us and God.

There are a myriad of different concerns within the concept of tuāʻoi, but especially important are those relating to how to determine where boundaries begin and end and, once determined whether they can be negotiated, who can negotiate them, how, on what grounds, and so on and so forth. These concerns gave rise to a process for rule-making and dispute resolution that Samoans traditionally

called *tulafono* and to its outcomes, also called tulafono. Today the word tulafono is understood to refer more to the outcomes of this process (i.e., to the resulting rules, customs, laws, and/or foundational principles) than to the process of making them itself. However, the word does itself offer some insight into its broader meanings. Literally, the word tulafono means a meeting (*fono*) of wise heads (*tula*).

In the traditional tulafono (law-making) process an understanding of tuāʻoi as inclusive of the secular and sacred was/is presumed. As cited in my Waikato paper (Tui Atua 2014a), there are six general steps or stages:

Step 1: Tuvao fono (lit. to step into the forest/meeting). This is the stage when a tula (lit. wise head, referring to a chief, leader or knowing person) would raise an issue for discussion.

Step 2: *Loʻu fono* (lit. the bending of a branch—*loʻu* is "to bend"). This is the stage in the fono when an issue is being explored and the right to critique or raise question is given to members of the fono.

Step 3: *Lauga Togia* (lit. to give a speech; the act of speaking in accordance with fono tradition and custom). This is the stage where those who according to fono tradition and custom had the right to speak and make interventions on an issue were given the space to do so.

Step 4: *Faaʻiu Fono* (lit. to end or conclude the meeting). This stage involved giving those who by fono custom or tradition had the right to conclude the meeting to do so or to postpone concluding the meeting if they wished to revisit an issue.

Step 5: *Faaola Fono* (lit. to give the meeting life). This stage involved reviving a meeting, in the sense that the meeting may be experiencing problems moving forward and require some positive intervention. If so, this intervention was usually sought from the *tamālii* (high chief) as opposed to the *tulāfale* (orator chief). The tamālii was consulted for his skills in and responsibility for discerning the bigger picture and knowing what might be most appropriate in the long-term. It is hoped that the tamālii would give new life to the meeting.

Step 6: Tulafono (lit. the rules or laws made by the consensus or coming together of *tula* or chiefly heads). This is the final stage and involved the actual making of rules or laws. It assumes a level of consensus among all fono participants (i.e., a coming together of all chiefly heads in agreement) and producing the principles, rules, and/or laws (tulafono).

In each of these stages, the va and tuāʻoi between them (i.e., those involved in the tulafono process) as people and as leaders and between them and God is respected. In this tulafono process, the influence and respect that Samoans held for the environment as teacher and family is assumed. This is implied in the naming of the first two stages of the process.

I recall speaking with my elders about these stages. They have all passed on now. But I can still feel the pining in their voices as they shared their thoughts

and experiences with me. A pining, I assumed for a time, for a way of living, being, and knowing now gone. As I reflected on my time with these elders, I also remembered how, when answering my questions about the tulafono process, they would speak, like they did when they were explaining the fuia chant, in somewhat hushed tones. By this time, the cultural biases of nineteenth-century Christian European society had taken root in the Samoan psyche. A key challenge to introducing indigenous Pacific concepts and worldviews to the world beyond ourselves is the ability to make this world feel that such concepts are worth knowing. In this point, I am always reminded of Maya Angelou's words: "People will forget what you said, people will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel".[8] A Samoan indigenous ethics of responsibility that can speak to the world is one that must not only hold its own uniqueness, its indigenous logic, flavor, and integrity but must do so in a way that can touch the hearts and minds of people such they can feel its worth.

In the Samoan indigenous reference, people share a responsibility to care for all that God has created, including the earth and cosmos, because all are kin. Samoans honor and remember this in language: *fanua*, for example, is the Samoan word for both land and placenta; *eleele* is the word for earth, mud, or dust but also for the blood of chiefs and for menstrual blood. Here, there is equivalence between humans and the environment. We share a common origin, a common need for protection and survival, and a common destiny. If we care for each other, as is the responsibility of kin, we (both humans and the environment) stand to survive.

Within this belief that people share a kinship, a genealogy, with their lands, seas, skies, moon, sun, trees, rivers, animals, and so forth, sits the *feagaiga*. The feagaiga, like the va, assumes the existence of a sacred relationship. The term has been translated by Reverend George Pratt to mean: "1. an established relationship between different parties, as between brothers and sisters and their children. Also between chiefs (*tamālii*) and their *tulāfale* (orator chiefs); [and] 2. An agreement, [or] a covenant" (Pratt 1893, 153). Usefully, the verb *feagai*, which sits within the term feagaiga, is also defined by Pratt, and as he writes, refers to the notions: "1. To be opposite to each other. 2. To correspond. 3. To dwell together cordially, to be on good terms; as a chief with his people, or a minister with his flock" (Pratt 1893, 152). More recently, as Pratt points out, the term feagaiga has been used to describe a sacred relationship or covenant between a church minister and his congregation. The point here is that the feagaiga assumes a kin-like relationship, with all its attendant assumptions about origins, rights, and responsibilities and furthermore assumes a feminine quality and status.

The feagaiga demands, in theory and practice, nurturing and peace-keeping skills and qualities, those believed special to women, especially to sisters. The role of the feagaiga is to keep the peace within the family, to ensure that conflict does not brew into all-out war, to ensure that decisions made on behalf of

the family by family chiefs are wise and good. The feagaiga works in tandem with family *matai* or chiefs to ensure that the *aiga* or family is safe and well. In Samoa, the feagaiga system works alongside the *faamatai* (chiefly system) to ensure that Samoa's resources and inheritances—its people, environment, lands, language, and ethnic culture—are protected. Both systems are founded on a philosophy of family—on the idea of aiga and fanauga. It is within this *faasamoa* (Samoan) framework, with its concepts of feagaiga, *matai*, tulafono, va, tuāʻoi, and tapu-a-fanua, that one will find Samoan ideas of responsibility for the care of the environment.

The Holy Father, Pope Francis, last week released his Encyclical Letter, *Laudato siʻ—On care for our common home* (Francis 2015), and opens his letter by first acknowledging his namesake Saint Francis of Assisi, who had an especially close and spiritual relationship with animals and nature. He then acknowledges that our common home, which we call earth, "is like a sister with whom we share our life and a beautiful mother who opens her arms to embrace us" (Francis 2015, 3). He reminds all his followers that "we ourselves are dust of the earth (*cf.* Gen 2:7); our very bodies are made up of her elements, we breathe her air and we receive life and refreshments from her waters" (Francis 2015). There is room for reading within the Holy Father's words the spirit of fanauga, feagaiga, va and tuāʻoi.

In drawing from his predecessor's 29 June 2009 Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate*, Pope Francis acknowledged that "the deterioration of nature is closely connected to the culture which shapes human coexistence" (Francis 2015, 6). Currently this culture, he suggests, is dominated by "new power structures based on the techno-economic paradigm" that threatens to "overwhelm not only our politics but also freedom and justice" (Francis 2015, 39). Like Professor Hans Küng, who ten years ago called for the declaration of a Global Ethic and Human Responsibility to address what Küng termed a crisis of orientation,[9] Pope Francis has declared not only an environmental crisis but also a crisis in global leadership. The Holy Father states:

> The problem is that we still lack the culture needed to confront this [environmental] crisis. We lack leadership capable of striking out on new paths and meeting the needs of the present with concern for all and without prejudice towards coming generations. The establishment of a legal framework which can set clear boundaries and ensure the protection of ecosystems has become indispensable, otherwise the new power structures based on the techno-economic paradigm may overwhelm not only our politics but also freedom and justice.[10]

Not everyone will be happy with what the Pope is saying here. But all will agree that our climate has been changing dramatically over the last half century.

These changes have affected the health of our planet, and many in the Pacific are experiencing the negative effects of these changes (rising sea levels, increased soil erosions, floods, cyclones, hurricanes, earthquakes, tsunamis, and typhoons) right at our door-steps. All must agree that something needs to be done. Taking responsibility and cooperating together is the only way to move forward and survive.

The hard work of all who are advocating for global togetherness in this issue of taking responsibility for the care of our planet can only mean something if we are willing to listen and learn from each other. Attending constructively to our environmental crisis requires a collective change in paradigm, orientation, culture, leadership, and behavior. All of which sees us taking care for our planet together. This can only happen if we can dialogue together as coinhabitants and only if our dialogue is held in a way that makes us feel that our different cultural values and approaches are given due respect. Finding balance among the different perspectives and ways of doing requires the skill, grace and dexterity of the fuia, who even when falling can still manage to make love.

I wish to end my address by making two reflections. One is about your conference theme; and the other is about a movie I watched on a flight over. The theme for this tenth meeting of your society is *Europe and the Pacific*. In reading through your present and past conference programs I see a slow but sure movement towards "talking with and alongside" rather than "talking about" and "talking down to" the Pacific. When I was younger I was sceptical of people who "talked about" Samoa and Samoan culture. I was sceptical of academia and academics because, when I read their work on Samoa, it made me feel like I was being talked at and talked down to. But times have changed, thankfully, in this regard, mostly for the better.

In talking to anthropologists, Epeli Haʻuofa urged many years ago that: "We must devise ways or better still, widen the horizon of our [academic] discipline, in order to tap instead of suppressing [its] 'feel' and [its] subjectivity" so that we can "humanise our study of the conditions of man in the Pacific" (Hauʻofa 1975). Although Epeli Hauʻofa was appealing specifically to anthropologists, it is an appeal that given our current environmental crisis, we can all do well to bear in mind.

My final thoughts are about a movie I was watching on a flight over. This movie was about the life of Stephen Hawking. His was a life of sacrifice, achievement and love, notwithstanding. The movie is called *The Theory of Everything*. In one of the scenes Stephen Hawking is sitting in his wheelchair, the mother of his children standing beside him. He is looking out to a beautiful garden. His children appear and they start running happily toward him. He looks at them and smiles, then turns to their mother and says: "Look at what we produced."

In my meditations on what I wanted to share and leave with you today, I remembered this scene and I saw the many faces of the people and environment I love. I saw lush greenery, light blue skies and deep blue seas. And I heard the

birds. I heard the birds welcoming in a new morning. In this prayerful moment, I couldn't resist saying: "Please God, make us worthy of this beautiful planet." *Soifua*.

NOTES

1. I read this chant first in Moyle (1975, 235) and then in Kramer (1995, 48).

2. See Kramer (1995), supra fn. 4, p. 47.

3. See Moyle (1975), supra fn. 4.

4. For more detailed discussion on these four harmonies, see Tui Atua (2009).

5. For another indigenous perspective on the notion of a sacred balance between the environment and humans, see Aroha Te Pareake Mead's paper titled "Sacred balance" written for inclusion in the *Global biodiversity assessment: Cultural and spiritual values of biodiversity*, United Nations Environment Programme. Online at: http://d3n8a8pro7bvhmx.cloudfront.net/ubcic/legacy_url/1533/sacred.pdf?1426351324. Accessed 20 June 2015.

6. The term *tapu* refers to the sacred; the term *fanua* refers to land.

7. Originally published as Wendt (1996). Also available online at University of Auckland's New Zealand Electronic Poetry Centre (NZEPC) site: http://www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz/authors/wendt/tatauing.asp. Accessed 17 October 2015.

8. Quote taken from Good Reads website online at: https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/5934-i-ve-learned-that-people-will-forget-what-you-said-people. Accessed 20 June 2015.

9. See Hans Küng, "Global Ethic and Human Responsibilities," online at: http://www.oneworlduv.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/hkung_santaclara_univ_global_ethic_human_resp_2005.pdf. See also declaration discussed at the 1993 Parliament of the World's Religions, online at: http://www.parliamentofreligions.org/_includes/fckcontent/file/towardsaglobalethic.pdf.

10. Holy Father, Pope Francis (Francis 2015, 39) supra fn. 19.

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OUR RISING SEA OF ISLANDS: PAN-PACIFIC REGIONALISM IN THE AGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE

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Australian National University

Remember, Recommit, Resist

In 2013, one of the largest gatherings of Pacific Islanders occurred on the campus of the University of Hawai'i to mark "Nuclear Survivor's Day," promoting political and cultural solidarity, and a commitment to a just and peaceful Oceania. Established to pay respect to Marshallese victims of US nuclear testing on their islands, the gathering, which was titled "Oceania Rising," grew to include the participation of communities throughout not just Micronesia but islands of Polynesia and Melanesia as well. "It happening to us meant that it happened to Oceania, the whole Pacific," one of the organizers said, "it's a shared history, and so it's not just 'my tragedy.' It's all of our tragedy" (Verán 2013).

Cristina Verán (2013) wrote of how Oceania Rising's mission is often expressed in a three word mantra: "Remember, Resist, and Recommit." At the "Waves of Change" symposium that was part of the gathering, participants joined in a performative protest. Verán described how members stood up from different points in the audience to speak out about something personal and powerful, referencing one of the R's, and later invited others in the crowd to join in. Their chant included the words:

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> REMEMBER: We remember a time, when our ancestors fought against colonizers, and we had agency and control over our resources, living by our traditions.
>
> RECOMMIT: We recommit to speaking our Indigenous tongues, so that our children may speak through their ancestors and our language can flourish throughout all our lands.
>
> RESIST: We resist the US military taking our lands, the legacy of our colonial history and being second-class citizens on our own islands (Verán 2013).

The gathering embodied the spirit of self-determination in Epeli Hauʻofa's now celebrated essay:

> Oceania is vast, Oceania is expanding, Oceania is hospitable and generous, Oceania is humanity rising from the depths of brine and regions of fire deeper still, Oceania is us. We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth. . . . We must not allow anyone to belittle us again, and take away our freedom (Hauʻofa 1994, 160).

The "Pacific Climate Warriors," a group of passionate climate change activists from across diverse Pacific islands, expressed similar sentiments a year later with their slogan: "We're not drowning, we're fighting" (Steiner 2015, 152; McNamara and Farbotko 2017, 17). In 2014, three of these young Pacific Islanders visited the Australian National University and took part in a large, well attended forum on climate change supported by the global grassroots activist network 350.org. They were members of the Climate Warriors who had traveled to Newcastle, Australia, a major coal port, to block massive transport vessels with their canoes and kayaks.

These islanders were students, two of them female and from the University of the South Pacific, who had never traveled outside the islands until this epic trip to take on coal ships and to occupy banks and other institutions as part of the fossil fuel divestment campaign (see Fig. 1). These were not island elites or elders, these were young people in their early twenties whose first trip to Australia was not to visit relatives or have a holiday but to protest against the industrial forces that are accelerating climate change (IPCC 2014a,b).

Both Oceania Rising and the Climate Warriors represent postcolonial, antihegemonic movements that are grounded in contemporary customs, realities, and cultural identities, while simultaneously championing broader regional identities and unifying concerns. This essay tentatively explores these

twenty-first century expressions of a shared Oceania in relation to earlier unifying concepts such as those expressed by the late Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara (1997) and Professor Epeli Hauʻofa (1994).

Critical Oceanic Regionalism

Since the 1960s, Pacific leaders, scholars, students, and artists have expressed both national and regional identities and visions in poetic and compelling ways. These have been bold ideas such as Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's "Pacific Way" (1997) referencing Oceanian forms of dialogue and consensus building, and Albert Wendt's articulation and documentation of empowering Oceanic identities through literary expression (1986). Such visions were at times muted as critics dismissed some of the ideas as elitist or impractical, and as reinforcing unequal relations within Pacific societies, especially as neoliberal economic policies, structures and forms of governance and development began to dominate social and economic organization and regional relations (see Firth 2006; Lawson 1996).

In a paper on critical Oceanic regionalism, Kate Stone (2011, 1) wrote about how "the dominance of internationalised regional institutions by political elites influenced by external forces fuelled the need for the development of regional civic infrastructure." The participation of Pacific peoples in the regional or international arena is often viewed as marking an "elitism" that is achieved by crossing imagined local, tribal, or village thresholds to pursue more worldly, economically lucrative, and cosmopolitan identities and activities while still espousing some form of kastom or "tradition" (cf. Lawson 2010; Jolly and Thomas 1992; Crocombe 1976).

Pursuits involving academic, activist and artistic activities, even if these involve regular critiques of systems of power and inequality, are often conflated with that elitism regularly charged to bureaucratic, political, business, church,

FIGURE 1. **Members of the Climate Warriors at the Newcastle Port in 2014 (Photo by Jeff Tan courtesy of 350.org; used with permission).**

and customary leaders. Similarly, subscription to cultural identities beyond the local are seen as less authentic and disconnected from grassroots Pacific lives and realities. "Cosmopolitans" are seen by some scholars as so beyond the norm that they have inspired ever growing research on Pacific and indigenous modernities (see Besnier 2011; Lockwood 2004; LiPuma 2000). Certainly Hau'ofa was sometimes dismissed for being elite and fanciful in his thinking by both Pacific and foreign scholars (see Waddell, Naidu, and Hau'ofa 1993). Stone (2011, 1) went on to argue that "if an Oceanic identity is merely a guise for another elitism, it will fail to liberate Pacific peoples from the domination of external ideology, be it neoliberalism or post-colonial traditionalism. If, however, a collective Oceanic identity can truly recreate a Pacific for the people, then it may yet be a vehicle for Pacific autonomy and self-determination."

I propose that a collective Oceanic identity has always been about self-determination, and in the context of climate change and earlier regional activism, both within and beyond formal organizations, Pan-Pacific identity and solidarity has been critical. While many islands are proposed to "sink" as a result of climate change–induced sea level rise, Pacific Island voices and activism are actually rising. Taking into account and moving beyond class politics, these contemporary movements are built on and deeply linked to earlier Pan-Pacific ideas such as those championed by Ratu Mara, Epeli Hau'ofa, and Albert Wendt.

Although the decades long "Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific" (NFIP) movement, the work of the Pacific conference of churches, and gender equality initiatives achieved region-wide participation, and while Hau'ofa's "Sea of Islands" has inspired countless scholars and students to question neocolonial framings of Pacific Islands and Islanders, there have still been few, internationally visible, "whole of Oceania" grassroots campaigns until climate change and the Free West Papua movements began to achieve multiscalar resonance. The increased visibility of this activism is partly attributable to new technologies and digital platforms that allow participants to widely share opinions and activities otherwise not covered by mainstream media (Tarai interviewed by Subakti 2017).

In this essay then, the "rising" in "rising sea of islands" references not just the impacts of global warming and Hau'ofa's expansive vision of mobile but grounded islanders but the rising and increased visibility of critical and engaged Oceanians who are thinking, writing, performing, and speaking regionally and globally about a range of important issues including climate change (Steiner 2015). The participation profile of these projects involving people of all ages in and beyond the islands, and modes of communication via social media, challenges what many scholars used to critique as regional idealism of interest just to political elites.

Here, I outline a preliminary genealogy of regional activism and engagement that was sketched in dialogue with a long serving member of the Pacific Conference of Churches and other regional organizations and initiatives,

Fe'iloakitau Kaho Tevi, and based on my own observations at Pan-Pacific arts based events. "Pan-Pacific" in this context refers to participation that references and acknowledges while moving beyond national, ethnic, and class borders and the sub-regions of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

I contemplate the power of Pacific forms of knowledge such as art and performance, and the power in combining those forms with others for emotional, aesthetic, social, economic, and political effects, particularly those to do with ideas of self-determination. I do this in two ways, first by reflecting on the application of Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's and Professor Epeli Hau'ofa's ideas, which I see as originating in two rather different but now overlapping regional contexts—one more technical and formal, and the other more scholarly, artistic and organic; and second by exploring intersections of the arts, activism, and regional dialogue alongside a reflection of how we approach or reframe our studies of Oceania. I propose that climate change, perhaps even more than the NFIP movement—and this is certainly enabled by the availability of user generated news content and social media—is inspiring multiscalar and transdisciplinary Pacific research, activism, and dialogue on an unprecedented level.

Victims and Agents

Currently I teach a core course for the Pacific Studies major at the Australian National University called "Pacific Studies in a globalizing world." The aim of the class is not to churn out experts who know everything about the many nations, states, and territories in Oceania, or even everything about one complex island country, but rather to inspire students to learn from and with the Pacific, to be both critical and self-reflexive, and to apply what is gained in the class to any course, discipline, or aspect of their lives. All this is reflected in the kinds of diverse assessments I design for the course, which aims to bring out different strengths in students, rather than assess them within one dominant framework, which gives advantage to those who excel at reading and writing in English.

One of the assessment items is a group research project, and in 2015 one group explored the issue of environmental migration. As part of their final presentation they created two versions of a board game to reflect the stages through which an environmental migrant might go through in the process of attempting to leave their island home (see Fig. 2). You moved forward in the game if you already had relatives overseas, a high level of education, funds to relocate, and there was a well thought out policy and well-implemented national plan for relocation. However, you were stagnant or went backward if other obligations arose, no avenues for environmental migrants existed, visas were denied, funds were low, and relocation programs were unsuccessful or poorly implemented (cf. Campbell 2014).

FIGURE 2. **Students Playing the Environmental Migration Game, ANU 2015 (Photo by Katerina Teaiwa).**

My students remarked on how, while playing the game, they became anxious, especially when certain stops directed them to watch short films about the kinds of challenges people from their home countries were having adjusting to new cultural contexts. The students just wanted to get to the end of the game and attain successful relocation with dignity but in a very small way felt some of the frustration and anxiety that many in the past must have felt and many more in the future will feel in moving or being moved from their island homes. At the heart of the frustration was the lack of ability to determine their own future because the board game was inflexible, the rules controlled by its makers and the players could not make up their own rules or get to the end by skipping any of the steps. They could not determine their own future in their own way or at their own pace; they had to play the game.

The age of climate change has rightly stimulated global reflection and action addressing the devastating impact of humans on the planet and on the long-term viability of our intensively extractive, contaminating, and unsustainable ways of life (see Klein 2015; Lynas 2008; Flannery 2005). Climate Change is increasingly becoming the framework around which Pacific regionalism will need to be configured, now and into the future (Tarte 2014). It is a game-changing issue that will see humanity reconceive its relationship with the environment, and, it is hoped, eliminate many destructive consumption practices that we in Oceania are taking on at much too rapid a rate. As former President of Kiribati, Anote Tong, said regarding the urgency of collaborative international action, "...our entire survival is at stake" (ABC News 2014).

As much as livelihoods and cultural practices have changed dramatically in recent decades, many Pacific Islanders still live in relatively sustainable ways, closer to the very solutions that the globe will need to seek (cf. West 2016). I recall a discussion at my university that echoed these sentiments during the height of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). A group of PNG women were gathered at ANU to discuss various issues and the GFC was raised. One woman said, "well, we don't care if all the lights go out and the shops close and the banks fail because we don't as yet rely on those systems. We'll be okay because we still know how to survive and feed ourselves with what we have."

That capacity is being eroded in Oceania by mining, logging, land grabbing, overfishing, many forms of tourism, and the incessant emphasis on bringing islanders into the formal (and more highly valued) economy, which often results in a movement to cities and towns where living sustainably is much more challenging. The issues are complex, national priorities and agendas are often set by aid and development partners, and lip service is paid to the wealth of solutions available from within our own cultures that have survived and thrived in Oceania for thousands of years. This is not meant to paint a romantic picture of the past but a pragmatic one. Certain practices and forms of social organization make sense in island

environments for very practical reasons and when these are dramatically transformed the effects on islander efficacy, agency, and self-determination are major.

Much of the climate change discourse has focused on Pacific peoples as small island victims of global processes who will likely have to leave their homes (ABC News 2015; cf. Steiner 2015). But many of us know that we also have something to share—other than fish and minerals—and that global humanity can learn from our historical experiences and customary practices. As Kohlitz and Mukhaibir (2015) have argued, the rhetoric of victimhood "builds on colonial perceptions of Pacific islands suffering from geographic 'smallness', isolation and being resource-poor; notions that Pacific scholars consider belittling. There is, in fact, good reason to believe that Pacific islands and their inhabitants are not inherently vulnerable" (cf. Campbell 2009). If resilience and adaptability are key to navigating the effects of climate change, Pacific Islanders have already been proven to exhibit these skills in spades (cf. Campbell 2014, 7). Most Pacific Islanders still know how to move while staying rooted, "develop" while still valuing kinship within and beyond our own cultures, and maintain a sense of collective care and stewardship of the land and sea in the face of a variety of major challenges.

Hau'ofa's Hope, Mara's Way

In his essay, "Hauʻofa's Hope," influential interdisciplinary scholar James Clifford wrote of the profound ways in which Pacific scholars and ideas shaped his work. This included Kanak leader Jean Marie Tjibaou and Epeli Hauʻofa of whom he wrote:

> Tjibaou and Hauʻofa shared an expansive regional vision, an alter-globalization. Each in his own way was bent on re-inventing the Pacific Way in new circumstances. Post independence euphoria was gone, and they confronted structural realities of neocolonialism and globalization, along with their possibilities. Both were committed to the renewal and transformation of local traditions, to 'indigenous' spaces. And both refused to be limited by exclusivist ethnic or national politics projecting 'indigenous cosmopolitan' visions (Clifford 2009: 239–40).

Another influence for Clifford was a network—his own Pacific doctoral students including my late elder sister, Teresia Teaiwa. Although there was no structural reason why the University of California at Santa Cruz where Clifford worked should become a critical node in a growing network of Pacific scholars, it "took person to person ties—the friendships, communications, alliances, and world making projects of a far-flung community of younger intellectuals"

(Clifford 2009, 240) to carve out a dynamic space for contemplating Oceania from its California edges. Most importantly, these were Pacific Island students studying history, cultural studies, anthropology, and other humanities and social sciences—fields in which few Pacific Islanders receive scholarships to pursue graduate studies in metropolitan countries. Teresia encouraged him to read Hau'ofa's famous essay "Our sea of islands" (1994), which opened his eyes to all kinds of critical world-making projects in Oceania.

The late Ron Crocombe, reflecting on Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's coining of a phrase that would signal Oceanian forms of dialogue and consensus building, wrote that, "The Pacific Way is spoken rather than written" (Crocombe 1976, 16). This became very clear as I was discussing regionalism with Tevi and noted how little detailed documentation there was on the kinds of grassroots and wide-ranging activism that has characterized the work of many "unofficial" Pacific leaders. These are people like Clifford's students, Pacific women like Konai Thaman (1993), Grace Molisa (1983), and Atu Emberson Bain (1994) who linked poetry or film with their thoughts on gender relations and the impact of globalization, the church ministers, politicians and diplomats who were also musicians, artists, and writers, and those in some of the movements I speak of today, who place art at the center of their critical Oceanic work.

Various scholars have critiqued or dismissed both the Pacific Way (see Fig. 3) and Hau'ofa's expansive, self-determining Oceania on charges of idealism and elitism. Lawson (2010), for example, asserts that the Pacific Way as originally articulated by Ratu Mara was an expression of traditionalism and conservatism, a "way" that maintained rather than subverted sociocultural norms, particularly to do with hierarchy and status. She wrote that: "Indeed, Crocombe's interpretation of the Pacific Way was far more attuned to postcolonial approaches than Mara's" (Lawson 2010, 299). His assessment of the great potential of the term was that it helped "to fulfill a growing demand for respected Pacific-wide identifying symbols and for Pacific unity" (Crocombe 1976, 1). Lawson (2010) believes it was Crocombe that gave the Pacific Way "its edge."

This may be partially true, especially in the formal space of customary culture and activities involving international diplomacy, trade negotiations, and the setting of aid and development priorities. But while exchanges between Europeans and Pacific Islanders have been well documented, and literature on intergovernmental or nongovernmental regional organizations is widely available, many scholars do not study contemporary intra-Pacific or interisland cultural exchanges and collaborations, and may have missed how work on the ground has been shaping a more dynamic and integrated vision of and hope for Oceania long before and continuing after Hau'ofa's "hope" and Mara's "way." Even if, as Lawson charges, Mara's original articulation of a Pacific Way was less postcolonial than hierarchical and customary, the idea that islanders often do things

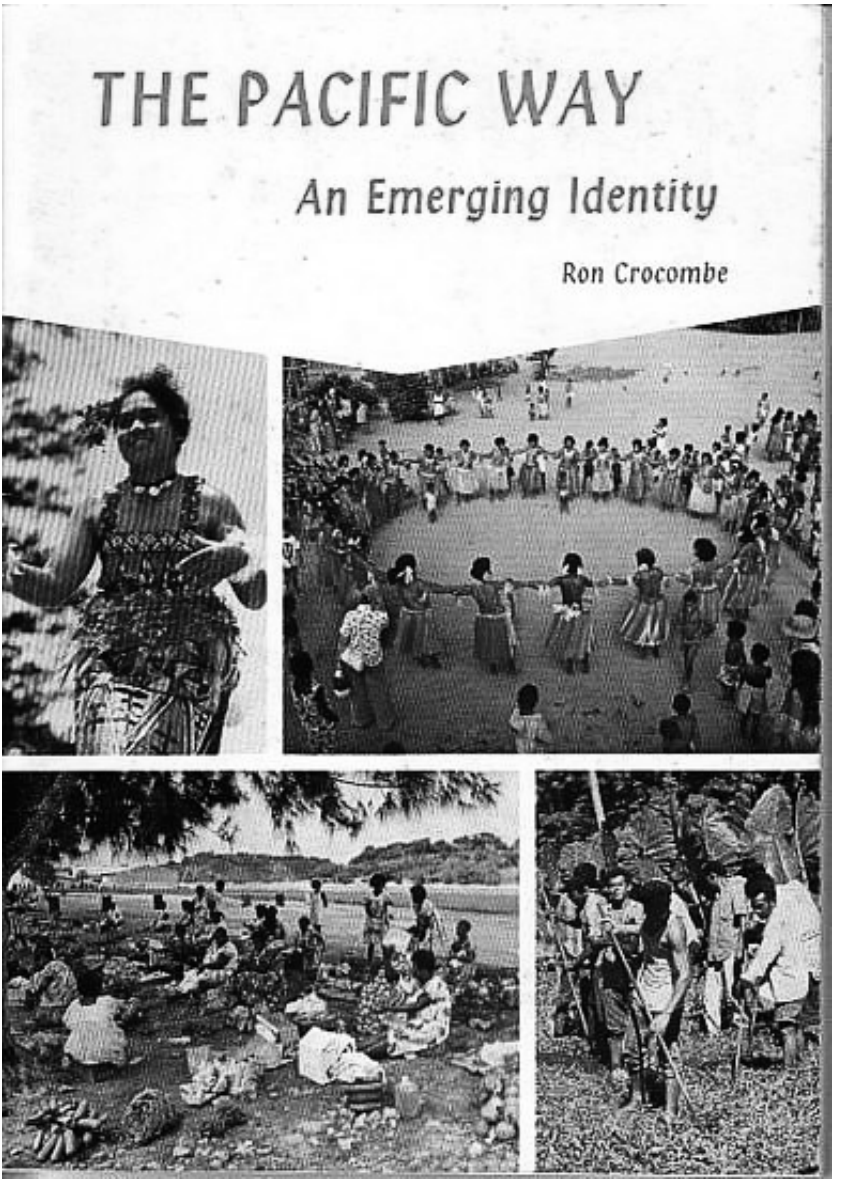

FIGURE 3. **The Cover of Crocombe's 1976 Book Now Out of Print.**

"differently," and if unconstrained by foreign agendas and limitations would leverage their wide kinship networks for much Pan-Pacific good, still stands.

Pacific Islanders in the 1960s and 70s were actively seeking models and ideas from each other, and other black and brown peoples according to Tracey Banivanua-Mar (2015), who gave the 2015 Australian Association for Pacific Studies Epeli Hauʻofa public lecture on twentieth century Melanesian activism and exchanges with Caribbean and African American activists—links that have also been explored by David Chappell (2005 and see Teaiwa 2012), and links that certainly inspired Hauʻofa. These exchanges alarmed British and Australian officials and intelligence agencies. Banivanua-Mar spoke about how the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) was keeping an eye on Epeli Hauʻofa during his time as a young man in Papua New Guinea. One of the insights in her presentation was the way in which Australia was particularly interested in keeping PNG and other Melanesian countries isolated from broader ideas and dialogue, regionally and internationally. But, as Hauʻofa (1993) had stated and as backed by research in linguistics, archaeology, and genetics, which examines the flows of language, genes, and material culture between islands in more ancient ways, such desires for geopolitical insularity were and will always be futile (Spriggs 2009; Evans 2009).

I repeatedly cite an essay by archaeologist Matthew Spriggs (2009) called "Oceanic Connections in Deep Time" in which he wrote:

> It would seem that about 3,000 years ago people from the New Guinea Islands and out as far as Tonga and Samoa were more interconnected than at any time until the age of mass transportation began some two centuries ago. People were moving between islands, pots were moving, obsidian was being exchanged and art styles that developed in one area could spread across many thousands of kilometers. The Lapita culture is the shared heritage of almost all Pacific Islanders today and could provide a powerful message of shared values and connections (Spriggs 2009, 14).

This is what makes our region unique, the actual, traceable shared genealogies, histories, and art forms that cross thousands of kilometers of ocean. The kind of voyaging that—not without controversy—recently inspired the Disney film *Moana* (Musker and Clements 2016) set 3,000 years before the present, which wove together elements of Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, and other Pacific oral traditions and material cultures and highlighted stewardship of the environment. And we are still voyaging today, in spite of attempts to bound islands in provinces, nation-states, subregional blocs, and geopolitical spheres. Marshallese poets are inspiring Samoan and Rotuman artists and activists, I-Kiribati dancers are inspiring Samoan choreographers, Fijian musicians are inspiring Papua

New Guinean and Ni-Vanuatu youth, and representatives of most islands have been involved in climate change activism and in supporting sovereignty for West Papua. Regionalism exists in many forms through the institutions, bureaus, and programs that leaders like Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara helped shape, and the scholarly and student networks inspired by Hau'ofa's work, but there are many more collaborations and activities that exist regardless of either Mara's or Hau'ofa's ideas.

Thus, I would like to explore some of the specific gatherings and projects that are happening across the region that embody the "Pacific Way" and Hau'ofa's vision and are partially inspired by them but would also likely happen regardless of them because in many ways Ratu Mara and Epeli Hau'ofa were articulating something that had already been there and would be happening whether or not scholars or politicians pronounced them. Coincidentally, many of the projects here are conceived of or driven by women, and although I do not intend to imply there is some kind of deliberate division of labor between men's individual vision, leadership and scholarship and women's collective action, there is definitely a gender dimension to how regionalism is conceptualized, for what ends, and mobilized accordingly.

Wansolwara Rising

There is a very consistent antihegemonic dialogue focused on self-determination that has been happening for decades in Oceania crystalizing around a number of NGOs and projects who run things in a "Pacific Way." This is possibly not in the exact same way as Ratu Mara may have imagined given his chiefly status and work in the more formal political and economic sphere, but nevertheless it is a Pacific Way defined by Pacific peoples themselves.

"The rethinking and renewing Oceania" dialogue on Facebook, the Wansolwara ("one saltwater" in Melanesian pidgin) and Youngsolwara (youth) activist collectives, and the "We Bleed Black and Red" campaign for West Papua all emerge out of the efforts and alliances built through people involved in one way or another with the Pacific Conference of Churches. This has been a long-term dialogue that unfolds in poetic, pragmatic, and deeply reflective ways with ideas of self-determination, postcolonial, and neocolonial critique at the core. I have tried to sketch some of the participating movements or organizations in Figure 4.

Wansolwara, for example, emerged in 2014 out of a group of people gathered for a planning meeting of four days at the Nadave Training Centre in Fiji:

> Participants came from Rapa Nui, Guam, West Papua, Bougainville, Hawaii, Papua New Guinea, California, Aotearoa, Vanuatu, Fiji and Australia. Individuals and representatives of organisations, people of diverse professional and organisational backgrounds and personal

FIGURE 4. **A Preliminary Sketch of Regional Resistance and Activism by Katerina Teaiwa in Dialogue with Fe'iloakitau Kaho Tevi (PANG: Pacific Action Network on Globalisation; ECREA: Ecumenical Centre for Research, Education and Advocacy; ECOPAS: European Consortium for Pacific Studies).**

> journeys. Yet, they share the one dream for our Ocean, free to be self-determining. The intention was to tell stories and share experiences on what the "Rethinking the Household of God in the Pacific" is asking. The movement is coordinated by regional partnership from Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC), Bismark Ramu Group (BRG), Pacific Network on Globalisation (PANG) and Social Empowerment and Education Program (SEEP) (PNG Mine Watch 2014).

The major Wansolwara 2014 event supported by the Pacific Conference of Churches was called "Madang Wansolwara Dance." Dawea for the *Solomon Star* (2014) and Act Now! For a Better PNG (2014) reported on how the event had attracted attendance from all over the Pacific, including artists, musicians, traditional leaders, academics, clergy, activists, youth and university students, and civil society representatives. Spokesperson, Reverend Francois Pihaatae (Act Now! For a Better PNG 2014) said: ". . . dance is a narrative of decades and centuries of exiles, expulsion, persecution and pogrom, beginning with the first colonisation of our 'sea of islands' to where we are today." He talked about the celebration as a protest against a dominant narrative where: "development means selling of/or exploiting our lands and our seas for the riches within; it is about adopting universalist ideals, it is about endless growth in which people and cultures are nothing less than commodities; and it is about not having moral limits to what we can do" (Act Now! For a Better PNG 2014). He said:

> We live in the world of the faceless empire(s). We see, think and construct our realities with the frames and lenses of the alternative, and have become its impeccable protégés in alienating our mother from her children, in condemning our people to a life of poverty and shame. . . . The gathering will affirm who we are as Pacific people using our own art, music, dance, poetry and story-telling to be the writers of our own history (Act Now! For a Better PNG 2014).

Several newspapers reported that Bismark Ramu Group Coordinator and local host, John Chitoa said the celebration of this Pacific gathering was centered around "reclaiming of our Wansolwara: one people, one sea." Reflecting on the Free West Papua campaigns inspired through Wansolwara such as the wearing of black and red on Wednesdays under the banner of "We Bleed Black and Red," University of Hawai'i PhD student Tagi Qolouvaki (2015) wrote:

> While artists and activists consistently respond with creative/storied protest across Oceania to injustices occurring throughout our Wansolwara—aided as much by the connections made possible by

> social media platforms as by our kinship networks—not since the launch of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement in the 70s has there been so much pan-Pacific unity around an issue as that of West Papua . . . both movements of our salt water people have had to stand strong against incomprehensible power—of capital, militaries, occupying regimes/the support of nation states powerful in the region, such as the United States, Indonesia, Australia, and unfortunately in the case of West Papua, some of our own "independent" Pacific nations like Fiji and Papua New Guinea, and both necessarily utilize Pacific arts/stories and kinship . . . for mana-full resistance and an Oceanic imaginary that is decolonial, contagious and muscled.

Oceania Interrupted

And that decolonial imaginary has a powerful reach. Working in dialogue and solidarity with those involved in the "We Bleed Black and Red" Campaign is the "Oceania Interrupted" (see Fig. 5) Auckland based collective who staged a series of performance protests in New Zealand in 2015 highlighting the fight for freedom and independence in West Papua. Oceania Interrupted is a group of Pacific women, many of them Polynesian, and at the core are three Leilanis:

FIGURE 5. **Oceania Interrupted Logo by Katarina Katoa (Used with permission).**

Leilani Salesa, Leilani Unasa, and Leilani Kake along with Ema Tavola, Luisa Tora, Kolokesa Mahina-Tuai, Marama Davidson and others. The goal of the group is empowering collective action with a commitment to undertaking public interventions to raise awareness for issues that affect Pacific Islanders in New Zealand and throughout the region (Oceania Interrupted 2014).

They planned actions to mobilize a New Zealand response in support of freedom for West Papua, the first six of which involved: raising the West Papua flag ("The Morning Star") on Queen's Street in Auckland; a silent march through the Otara markets titled "All I want for Christmas is a Free West Papua"; "Free Pasifika-Free West Papua," a two-hour silent march through the hugely popular Pasifika festival in 2014; "Freedom Is, . . ." involves a video production with Tanu Gago on 3 May, World Press Freedom Day; and finally "Whose Pacific Shame?" a gathering to welcome and host West Papuan journalist Victor Mambor at a seminar. Here, Oceania Interrupted intends to gently interrogate the ideas of blame and shame from the perspective of Pacific women in Aotearoa (Oceania Interrupted 2014).

The rationale and the passion behind these Pacific women's work is described by Leilani Salesa:

> Our freedom as indigenous Māori and Pacific women in Aotearoa New Zealand is inextricably bound up with that of our Pacific West Papuan brothers and sisters.
>
> Our mouths are adorned with the Morning Star flag as symbol of enforced West Papuan silence. Our hands are bound to symbolise the lack of freedoms experienced by West Papuan people. Our voices and movement are restricted to symbolise the lack of freedom of expression of political opinion, the lack of access to just and equitable resources, the lack of access to free and independent media. Our bodies are adorned with black to celebrate the female form and to draw on black as a symbol of mourning (Oceania Interrupted 2014).

In the context of what Julie Bishop began calling the "Indo-Pacific" soon after beginning her tenure as Australian Foreign Minister, many Pacific nations feel they need to tread lightly around the West Papua issue to respect Indonesian sovereignty. This is in spite of the fact that Indonesia's claims to the land are controversial and resistance from the Melanesian West Papuans has been consistent since the 1960s (King 2004). According to many local, scholarly and media sources thousands of West Papuans have been killed over the years because their minerals and lands are exploited for Indonesian profit. Their plight has resonated strongly with other Pacific peoples who view them as their Oceanic kin.

Oceania Now: Hauʻofa's Hope in the Suburbs of Melbourne

My final example is from an event that I attended in March 2015—the Contemporary Pacific Arts Festival (CPAF) at the Footscray Community Center in Melbourne (see Fig. 6). The gathering was a tightly scheduled three-day event consisting of two days of symposium that ran from 10:00 am to 9:30 pm each day and a community day from 12:00–6:00 pm on the Saturday. It was organized by a passionate group of volunteer artists, curators, and producers including Lia Paʻapaʻa, Torika Bolatagici, Grace Vanilau, Léuli Eshraghi, Thelma Trey, Jacob Tolo, Pauline Vetuna, Jess Latham, Fipe Preuss, and a host of more volunteers with the support of the Footscray Community Centre (2015).

Bougainvillean curator from the National Gallery of Victoria, Aunty Sana Balai, was viewed as a Pacific elder for all regardless of cultural, national, and regional differences. Aunty Sana was like a thread that wove together the intellectual, institutional, historical, and home island dimensions together with the diasporic context of the event. Two things were very striking about this gathering.

Firstly, most participants were of mixed heritage and/or trilingual and Aunty Sana regularly referenced this by speaking about what she called "the next generation" of Pacific Islander Australians. These participants were not just

FIGURE 6. **Screenshot from the Contemporary Pacific Arts Festival Website.**

Afakasi, mixed heritage or "kai loma" as we say in Fiji, that is of mixed Pacific and European heritage, but rather embodied intra-Pacific and intra-Australian, or cross-Tasman encounters and exchanges. There was Samoan–Persian visual artist and *Oceania Now* journal editor Léiuli Esraghi, Fijian-Maori visual artist Margaret Aull, Samoan–Chinese–New Zealand artist Angela Tiatia, Welsh-I-Kiribati producer and author Marita Davies, Indo-Fijian-Tuvaluan animator and multimedia innovator George Siosi Samuels, and a special youth performance from three young female storytellers/poets who shared their experiences and interpretations of the festival theme: "Oceania Now." These were Ileini Kabalan of Tongan and Lebanese descent, Niuean-Samoan Nala Taukilo and Clara Sione of Samoan and Fijian heritage. There were also dance and acrobatic performances from Hawaiians Noelani Le Nevez, founder and director of professional dance group Nuholani, and Lilikoi Kaos, a circus, burlesque performer and comedian from Circus Oz, daughter of a single Hawaiian circus performing mum who traveled the world. The three days ended with a stirring live performance from Radical Son, an artist of indigenous Australian Kamilaroi and Tongan descent.

The second important thing about this gathering, and I am sure it was because I am used to a less dynamic institutional or university-based context of learning and knowledge exchange, was that the volunteer organizers had genuinely pulled off a stunning gathering that truly showcased diverse Pacific forms of knowledge production with clear political, social, and economic framings and concerns. Participants, both organizers and presenters alike, moved seamlessly between song, poetry, standup comedy, political, philosophical, legal, economic, and cultural description and analysis.

In a recent ANU symposium celebrating the culmination of Margaret Jolly's Laureate project in Canberra, a doctoral scholar, Areti Metuamate, talked about how Tongans "are Tongan" and "are Tonga" wherever they are, and wherever they are born. They carry their island within them. In that symposium, I argued that a Pacific Studies environment, as has been the case at ANU for decades, focused solely on researching the islands, which does not engage or note the Suva or Lautoka in Sydney, the Port Morseby or Port Vila in Brisbane, the Apia or Tarawa in Melbourne, or doesn't consider these movements and sites as relevant to Pacific Studies, are missing out on what Oceania is in the twenty-first century. And what Oceania is in the twenty-first century, what Oceania is now, may not be so different from what it was 3,000 years ago as we have already noted in Matthew Spriggs' work with respect to Lapita cultures.

As a migration destination, Melbourne is not San Diego, Utah, Auckland, Sydney, or Brisbane where there are clear and fast growing Pacific suburbs and hubs, often most visible in terms of the primary and high school demographics and establishment of Pacific churches and community centers. There are many

small, emergent Pacific communities in Melbourne who have to learn to talk to and get along with each other in order to come together to create any Pacific space at all among the strong Greek, Lebanese, Vietnamese, and other communities who have worked hard at carving out their own voices and visibility on the Melbourne landscape. Thus, within the space of three years, the CPAF and its largely female Pacific Islander team of organizers and participants has grown from a tentative one-day event, to a full blown, three-day extravaganza, including a Fiafia bar and dance space, and strongly supported by the Footscray mayor, council, and community center, Victoria University, the University of Melbourne, and other corporate and community partners such as the Copyright Agency Cultural Fund.

The symposium was a major highlight of the gathering, and I want to end this section with a description of the climate change panel that was a standout for me among a really inspiring lineup of talks and performances. The panel started with Angela Tiatia's amazing visual interpretation of the effects of global warming, king tides and salination of the freshwater lens in the atolls of Tuvalu. Tiatia showed beautifully framed underwater footage of saltwater bubbling up into the only source of freshwater on Tuvaluan atolls while fish darted toward and past the camera. She also showed images of life continuing as usual, the ringing of a bell for church against a sound of crashing waves.

We then moved to journalist Nic Maclellan's sharing of stories of what he called "ordinary people doing extraordinary things" in the context of research, activism, and education on climate change. These included chief entomologist Hugo Bugoro from the Solomon Islands, community organizer and poet Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner from the Marshall Islands, and geography teacher Tangaroa Arobati from Kiribati, all of whom work in a multiscalar fashion to educate students, the public, their countries, and the world more broadly on the effects of climate change.

We then heard from the energetic Marita Davies on writing and illustrating a children's book called *Teaote's Wall* (2015). This was based on Davies' mother's long process of building a wall back in Kiribati to protect their home from the rising tide. Davies is from Gippsland, the heart of Victorian farming country and remarked regularly about how few people in her region knew anything about the Pacific and how most had never heard of Kiribati. During the Q and A I reminded everyone about how Victoria was awash with land from Kiribati, specifically from Banaba, making its way through the ecosystem after a century of Australian phosphate mining and superphosphate topdressing (Teaiwa 2015). It was ironic that an I-Kiribati woman emerges from that landscape to highlight another issue where Kiribati land is being threatened by the effects of regional and global forces and specifically, human consumption habits.

Davies posted a picture on Facebook, which I was able to gain her permission to use in consultation with the teacher whose students feature in Figure 7. We agreed to blur the children's faces, but essentially Davie's self-published book has gone global and primary school students at St. André in Saumur, Loire Valley, in the west of France read *Teaote's Wall* with teacher Marie Lenoir. In response, they made their own Kiribati costumes including T-shirts with the Kiribati flag.

Finally, there was George Siosi Samuels, another young, energetic, and talented cultural animator of Indo-Fijian, Samoan, and Tuvaluan descent who, although having never been to his maternal island, was reviving ancient Tuvaluan oral traditions through his digital work. His presentation was striking in that, unlike other scholarship and policy work that focuses on the material, environmental, or geological consequences of climate change, he was concerned with the potential historical, cultural, and social losses and was driven by the need to translate and popularize Tuvaluan knowledge and histories.

His animation project *Tales from Nanumea* was inspired by a series of recurring dreams in which ancestral voices urged him to tell Nanumea stories. Samuel's work for me is a remix of an ancient Pacific practice of paying attention to such dreams, and acting upon them producing something in response,

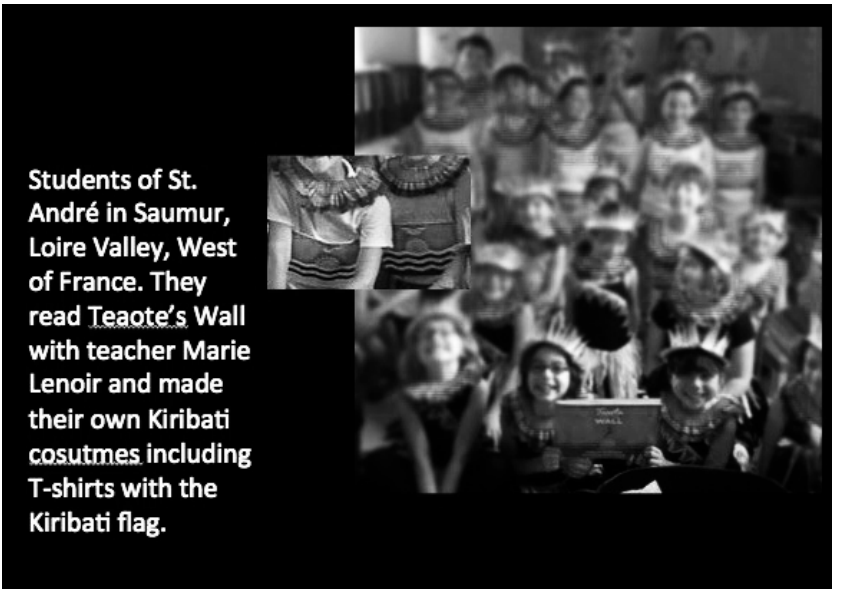

FIGURE 7. **Screenshot of French Students Holding Marita Davies Book (Used with permission).**

and this is happening in Melbourne to a young man who has never been to Tuvalu. His animation, done in a familiar graphic illustration style, speaks of ancient relations between Tonga and Tuvalu.

George Samuel's engagement with Tuvalu's deep ancestral ties with its Tongan neighbors dovetails with Tonga's contemporary diaspora, and my broader reflections on climate change, via the extraordinary work of Sydney based Tongan artist Latai Taumoepeau. i-Land X-isle was commissioned in 2012 by the Museum of Contemporary Art and Performance Space, Sydney and remounted for the "Towards the Morning Sun" Exhibition at Campbelltown Arts Centre. In an outdoor setting, Latai is bound to two tonnes of ice with white rope and a white metal frame. She hung there during four one-hour performances: an hour on and an hour off over eight hours for two days with the ice, like the polar caps, melting and dripping on her (see Fig. 8).

In Taumoepeau's words, her work:

> . . . tries to prioritise a holistic indigenous Pacific perspective of human induced climate change using time based performance, spectacle and risk as a device to portray the vulnerability of Pacific communities facing the real human injustice around the dependency on developing

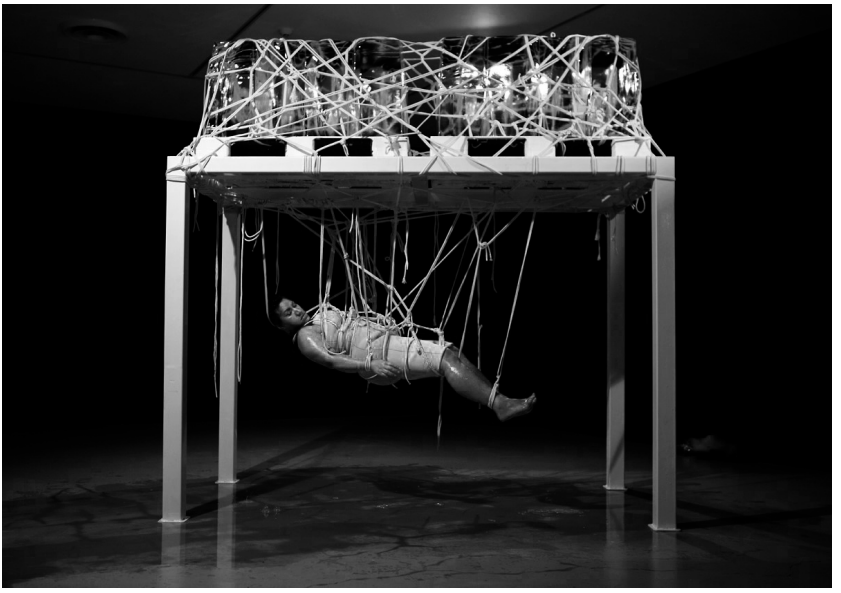

FIGURE 8. **i-Land X-isle. (Photo courtesy of Latai Taumoepeau, copyright belongs to the artist.)**

> countries, displacement, relocation, dispossession. I use cultural metaphors and concepts of land, belonging and collectivism by using my own body to construct evocative images and experiences that make ordinary citizens in developed countries consider their complacency around climate change and make better political choices. I also make these works as a legacy for future generations that may question what we did in our time . . . (2015, pers. comm.).

Reflection: Seeing with Many Eyes

Like Clifford and his students, Hauʻofa had a massive impact on my own academic journey, particularly my research on phosphate mining on my ancestral island of Banaba, which began in 1997. One of the first published pieces from that research was called "Our Sea of Phosphate." I took Hauʻofa's reframing of "islands in a far sea" as a "sea of islands" and its broader implications of the deceptive quality of scale and tried to apply it to an actual, specific island in material ways. Although many of us do research on land, few have delved further into thinking about land in a multisited, multiscalar way. In Hauʻofa's writing, he moves seamlessly between multiple spiritual and cultural realms, between ancestors and contemporary traveling islanders, between mountains and oceans, and between the arts and the world of policy and politics. This inspired me to think about the kinds of optics and scales we use to explore and understand Pacific phenomena.

I did much of my research in the National Archives of Australia exploring the British Phosphate Commissioners records that documented the industrial enterprise. These ranged from both text and photographs of rocks, nails, buoys, skips and hoppers, storage, loading, and transport to sport, recreation, and native labor and services. The diverse collection of writing and images had a very "cinematic" effect on my research that also encouraged me to see the whole Pacific region in a new way (see Marcus 1990). Banaba was described by photojournalist Thomas McMahon as "Let's-all-be-thankful island: a little rock in the Pacific that multiples the world's food," and this helped me understand Hauʻofa's point about how size and scale are deceptive and how a reframing of the significance of small islands and islanders in national, regional, and global contexts and discourse is absolutely necessary to coming up with more creative and better solutions for many of the material and ethical challenges we face today (Teaiwa 2005, 2014, 2015).

Hauʻofa made a charge of belittlement against Western policies and approaches, and for me, Banaba proved that "small" was indeed very, very big. If a two-and-a-half square mile rock protruding out of the central Pacific Ocean

can be so important to the British Empire, and to Australian and New Zealand agricultural stakeholders, it was also hard to accept the dominant idea that small islands are irrelevant or marginal to global processes and issues, or merely victims of them. It's especially unconvincing when one begins to understand what an island is in the geological sense, and with Banaba, I took my optics, chemically, down to the phosphate molecule itself. Reading the science was important here but only because it helped me understand land in a way that was much closer to the way my ancestors did. Land, like language, contains layers of spiritual, biological, chemical, and geological significance and agency. Facing the chemical formula for the transformation of Banaban land—*te aba*—into superphosphate fertilizer gave me new tools for reframing the broader island region in a multiscalar, multidimensional way—to see things with new or many eyes.

I teach this approach in my Pacific Studies class, encouraging students to consider the range of multiple, even if competing, perspectives and approaches that one could take to understanding our region. This, for me, is transdisciplinary Pacific Studies, which makes space for diverse views simultaneously and considers knowledge and impacts of knowledge beyond the academy. This is not unlike the idea profoundly captured by Hawaiian artist Carl Pao in his series *ki'i kupuna*. In his piece, *ki'i kupuna Makawalu*, the ancestral figure sees with eight eyes. It is this kind of multiscopic sensibility that I encourage in my Pacific Studies students and attempt to apply in my own work.

I am personally and pedagogically committed to a transdisciplinary field of Pacific area studies, rather than to the disciplinary ways in which Pacific topics and content could be approached in the separate fields of anthropology, linguistics, political science, archaeology, history, and so forth. I teach Pacific Studies students to think about the whole region and to think between islands as they zoom in and out of specific local issues to those that link and resonate with people across island borders and boundaries. The local, national, regional, and global are fluidly present and relevant, and students are encouraged to think in a multi- or transscalar fashion as they navigate their way through topics such as gender relations, popular culture, and environmental displacement.

I think we are at the point where we should be able to talk about and map the range of regional scholarly, political, technical, and cultural architectures, alongside the work most of us do on one corner, country, or subregion of Oceania. What I mean by this is we need to be able to think, research, and teach Oceania in a multiscalar fashion. This is not a static scalarity but a fluid one in which various levels or frames—such as local, national, regional, and global, or micro and macro—are imagined and accounted for together.

This is nothing revolutionary, and I am aware there are countless theories on multiplicity and complexity with which we could attempt to shape and fit phenomena in Oceania, but I am speaking of something, methodologically,

more simple, and free of the rules and debates that come with Euro-American genealogies of thought. I am speaking of comprehending Oceania in its totality and diversity together. Of thinking of Suva or Melbourne when you think of Moresby, of pieces of rock when you think of land, of dance when you think of politics, and of a saltwater bubble percolating up through a freshwater lens when you think of climate change. Thus, I am also thinking of the poetic with the practical, the passion with the policy and freedom of thought and idea with discourses and programs of regulation and governance.

Certainly many regional technical organizations are operating in a multiscalar fashion from the Parties to the Nauru Agreement, to the Pacific Community and Pacific Islands Forum to the Pacific Islands Applied Geoscience Commission and Pacific Tourism Organization. However, in the same way that anthropologies of global, development, and policy organizations and processes are emerging, so too, do we need critical, culturally informed lenses to be applied to the ever increasing number of IGO, NGO, and other organizations and collaborations in Oceania.

The Wansolwara and Youngsolwara movements, the Pacific Conference of Churches, the Oceania Interrupted collective, 350 Pacific and the Pacific Climate Warriors, the organizers of Oceania Rising, the Contemporary Pacific Festival of Arts, and countless other Pan-Pacific and Oceanic collectives are rising up. Ideas about the "Pacific Way," the "sea of islands," and the coming together of Melanesians, Micronesians, and Polynesians, in spite of attempts to insulate and divide regions, classes, and cultures, persist and are growing. The urgency and concern in this era of climate change, and the digital communications platforms that allow us to instantly share events and ideas, has amplified this process.

Writing for one of the many Pacific Islands blogs that has appeared in recent years, Qolouvaki (2015) shares how she learned a Fijian proverb: *a kena laya sa vakaoqo, sa drau na kena votu*. This translates as: "its buds—the calyx of the breadfruit—are like these, its fruit will be hundreds." She refers to the thousands of years of cultural resilience in Oceania, and the seeds of Pan-Pacific regionalism, creative expression, and resistance that have been planted during and after colonial rule:

> From seed beginnings, great things will come. And so the art, the stories, the movements . . . were seeded by our ancestors; they are bearing fruit (Qolouvaki 2015).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is based on my keynote lecture for the European Society of Oceanists 2015 conference, Brussels, Belgium. In the opening of my talk, which I delivered while pregnant with my second child, I talked about how my elder sister,

Teresia, had similarly delivered an ESfO keynote while pregnant several years earlier. Sadly, she has now passed away after a very short battle with cancer. I would like to dedicate this essay to her memory and her incredible service to scholarship, teaching, and activism, in and beyond Oceania.

I would also like to thank the organizers, especially Toon van Meijl, for inviting me to participate and for the opportunity to develop my talk into this essay, which took many months because of the arrival of my child. I also thank Fe'iloakitau Kaho Tevi for sharing his invaluable insights and observations from the region across the decades. My discussions with him very much informed this paper, as did those with fellow Pacific Islanders on the "Rethinking and Renewing Oceania" Facebook page. Thank you as well to students in PASI 2001, from whom I learn so much, and to Latai Taumoepeau for her inspiring words and permission to use images of her performance art. And finally, thank you to my daughters, Tearia and Kiera, and especially my husband, Nicholas Mortimer.

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OCEAN IN US: SECURITY OF LIFE IN THE WORLD'S LARGEST OCEAN

Joeli Veitayaki
University of the South Pacific

> The sea is our pathway to each other and to everyone else, the sea is our endless saga, the sea is our most powerful metaphor, the ocean is in us. (Hau'ofa 2008, 58)

> Climate change has arrived. It is the greatest threat to the livelihoods, security and well-being of the peoples of the Pacific and one of the greatest challenges for the entire world. (Majuro Declaration 2013, Article 1)

Pacific Island Countries (PICs) jointly hold ownership and access rights, as well as management responsibilities, for more than 30 million square kilometers of the Pacific Ocean, enormously increasing their sovereign territories and making them consider reclassification as Large Ocean Island States. While the wealth and resource potential associated with these extended maritime areas are likely to boost economic development opportunities in this region, the burden on the custodians is stressful, because Pacific Small Island Developing States (SIDSs) are obligated to determine their national boundaries, exert effective control over their territories, guarantee the sustainable use of the resources within their maritime zones, allow safe and free navigation, and be mindful of the interests of other states, including those that are landlocked

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and geographically disadvantaged. In addition, the Pacific SIDSs must commit to undertake marine scientific research, new and appropriate resource use and management, sustainable marine transport, affordable aquaculture, postharvest processing, and renewable-energy assessment that heighten the requirements for more trained human capacity and resources they do not have. These commitments place huge financial and logistical pressure on small and weak economies in the Pacific Islands that need to demonstrate effective control for their own, as well as global security.

Paradoxically, Pacific people are observant, adaptive, and resilient—traits that have been perfected by millennia of close association and intimacy with their ocean and island homes. These traits have allowed these people to live in their minute, ever-changing, and challenging small island environments for thousands of years. However, contemporary transformations such as ever-increasing population, global warming and associated sea level rise, environmental degradation, alteration and loss of natural habitats, loss of territory, globalization, and rampant consumerism in modernizing communities are posing imminent threats of a scale greater than anything Pacific Islanders have ever faced. Pacific societies therefore need to weave a sustainable future for their people using Pacific Islands' solutions that will ensure they live secure and dignified lives in their small islands.

Pacific SIDSs seek to maximize their return from the use of their marine resources; they have not fully benefited from these because of their inadequate technical and management capacity, as well as limited financial and physical resources. These potentially compromising features of life in the Pacific Ocean complicate resource management in this unique water-based region, ancient home to navigators, islanders, villagers, and fishers, a place where small is beautiful but where unprecedented levels of change threaten the existence of communities and the security of life across the world's largest ocean.

Coastal states in the Pacific Islands are trying to exert effective control over their maritime region. They recognize the significance of their resources and are committed to their obligations to their people and to the international community. They have strengthened regional cooperation and collaboration, have pooled their resources, and present strong and united negotiating groups that assist these sovereign nations with technical advice, funding, development assistance, environment management arrangements, education, and training on pertinent issues requested and determined by the member countries. However, there are inconsistent and divisive issues shaped by national interests, the sharing of benefits and not learning from the useful lessons in the experiences of others, which means that the same mistakes are repeated. These issues threaten regional cooperation and make PICs dependent on their nonstate institutions, some of which are increasingly assuming state responsibilities. This is a concern, because Pacific

SIDSs must not be dependent on regional bodies that "claim to serve our interests but in the process of doing so perpetuate our belittlement" (Ratuva 1993, 92).

Pacific Islands must formulate Pacific solutions to the problems associated with the conquest of the sea, which is predicted to worsen with the effects of climate change and sea level rise. Visionary Pacific Islanders, leaders, and communities are needed to devise suitable adaptive approaches that will allow the people to continue to live in the world's largest ocean. Hau'ofa (2008, 57) has prompted us to open our own mind to "much that is profound in our histories, to much of what we are and what we have in common." This is a call for Pacific Islanders to organize themselves, sustainably use their ocean and its varied resources, and formulate appropriate Pacific solutions to the challenges that threaten their existence in their small islands. This paper therefore will discuss the relationships Pacific Islanders have with one another and the ocean, those Hau'ofa (1993, 14) argued are the most "suitable people on earth to be the custodians of the ocean," and reflect on the geopolitics, ocean governance, fisheries management, coastal vulnerabilities, and new developments that will shape the security of life in the world's largest ocean.

Social Relations and Cultural Context

Pacific Islanders have lived in their small island environment for generations and have formulated adaptive arrangements to survive in their ever-changing and challenging homes. Nevertheless, Pacific Islanders must "make new sounds, new rhythms, new choreographies, and new songs and verses about how wonderful and terrible the sea is, and how we cannot live without it" (Hau'ofa 2008, 57). They must adopt some of their time-tested knowledge and practices to address the changes that they have to live with in their greatly altered social and cultural context.

At the time of European contact, indigenous Pacific Island communities were already well developed and organized to live in their islands in the world's biggest ocean. They were trading across the Pacific Ocean and had developed sophisticated navigational skills and practices that allowed them to travel freely and access resources over wider territorial areas (Kabutaulaka 1993). The people were reliant on their subsistence systems, through which most of their food was cultivated or foraged from the surrounding forests and the marine surroundings (Golson 1972, 17). Shifting cultivation, which was appropriate for the environment while allowing sustainable living in these small islands, provided an ample variety of food crops that supplemented the food from the sea, where the multitude of traps, nets, spears, poison, and ingenious fishing methods in the region demonstrated the Pacific Islanders' intimate understanding of their environment and prey (Veitayaki 1990: 50–5).

The people's customary marine tenure or the formal or informal ownership of sea space by a social unit (Calamia 2003) is a common and effective resource management arrangement across the Pacific. In Fiji, sizes and locations of customary fishing grounds and the quantities of resources there, as formalized by the determination of boundaries between the 1890s and 1996, were not related to the size of the population that depend on them (Muehlig-Hofmann et al. 2005) but on how important the social unit was in the past. This practice confirmed the close association between society and marine resources and emphasized the responsibility on the owners to uphold their health and integrity. This close association is the basis of community-based marine resource management undertaken across the Pacific Islands (Veitayaki et al. 2015).

Sailing is an integral part of daily life that allows social interaction, movement, trade, and fishing across the Pacific Islands region. In previous times, sea passages were not feared barriers but exploited highways, the basis of connectivity and the maintenance of kinship and exchange networks. With their acquired knowledge of seafaring, navigation, ship design, and construction, Pacific people made the ocean an integral part of their small island home (Hau'ofa 1993, 7). The well-built and excellently designed indigenous Fijian canoes, for instance, were described as more superior than those of other islanders in the Pacific (Williams 1982: 76). Routledge (1985: 17–18) concurred and proposed that indigenous Fijian "great war canoes of historical times were the constructive triumph of the age. The largest *drua,* plank-built and with an outrigger hull, were up to eighty feet in length and had a mast almost as high as the vessel was long. In addition to their crew, the canoes were capable of cramming over two hundred warriors on the deck between the hulls."

Like other Pacific Islanders, indigenous Fijians forged extended and intricate social networks founded on strong social ties that ensured that the people's knowledge, responsibilities, and roles were perpetuated. The people knew when the importance of males, females, chiefs, extensive kinship ties, age, seniority, industry, loyalty, humility, perseverance, division of labor, and reciprocity influence people's behavior (Ravuvu 2005; Kikau 1981) and how they could be used to meet a need. This is why a good understanding of the people's social relations and culture is critical to understanding the way people conduct themselves (Toren and Pauwels 2015).

Indigenous Fijians are related to one another because of where they are from and who they know. The social connections of *mataqali* (a respectful relation between people from the Kubuna Confederacy), *tovata* (a respectful relation between people from the Tovata Confederacy), *tauvu* (jovial but close relation between people who have common ancestral gods), *naita* (jovial but close relation between people from Kubuna and Burebasaga), *takolavo* (close relations between particular districts within Viti Levu), and *dreu* (jovial but close relation

between the people from Tovata Confederacy and those from some parts of Viti Levu) provide the safety nets that guarantee that people assist and look out for one another because they are related (Veitayaki et al. 2015; Fache and Pauwels 2016). The ties also provide assurance that those who have assisted their relations will always have such assistance reciprocated when they need it.

Extended family relationships are reinforced by their bird, fish, and plant totems. These kinship ties are recited during social presentations to publicize and strengthen the linkages that are cemented by intermarriages, regular visits, and sharing. People practiced complex exchange arrangements, which ensured that the resources were efficiently used and that people looked after one another in times of need. Hoarding was neither practical nor necessary, because people's basic requirements were supplied through their kin-based networks (Narayan 1984, 13).

Pacific Islanders observe a system of adoption that reinforced family ties and allowed families to assist one another, as well as share and maintain their knowledge, relations, roles, and skills. Among indigenous Fijians, a "man's sister's son (and to a different extent her daughter) had a particular claim on his counsel, loyalty, assistance and even property" (Ravuvu 2005, 2). This arrangement allowed a woman to register her children under her own family group so that they could contribute to her social group, a process that used to require the elders and the young to work together so that training, education, and transmission of knowledge and skills could take place.

Customary practices such as the offerings of *sevusevu* (formal appearance), *matanigasau* (communal atonement), and *bulubulu* (atonement) among indigenous Fijians emphasize the maintenance of cordial relations in and among social groups. *Sevusevu* is an introductory and welcoming protocol where the visitors present *yaqona,* "kava" *(Piper methysticum),* on their arrival to inform their hosts about their visit and purpose. The hosts will reciprocate with their own offering granting the visitors' request and assuring them of their support, which may include the permission to fish in their waters. *Matanigasau* and *bulubulu* involve the presentation of *yaqona* or *tabua* (whale tooth) to seek forgiveness and atonement for any serious breach of protocol, norms, and custom. A person caught illegally fishing in an area will seek forgiveness and pardon from the village or district chief by offering *yaqona* or *tabua,* depending on the severity of the deed and the desire for pardon (Veitayaki et al. 2015).

Among the turtle fishers of Qoma Island, Fiji, villagers still observe customary practices that ensure that the fishers do not behave in ways that will offend their ancestral spirits, whom they believe will punish them if they are not happy with their conduct (Veitayaki 1990, 1995). The fishers believe that they go fishing with their ancestral spirits, who must never be upset by the fishers' inappropriate conduct. Punishment for wrongdoing is normally associated with the

failure to make a catch, which is enough to ensure compliance from all fishers even if there are no enforcement officers around. The failure to make a catch is also a sign that not all is well within the group and that atonement and reconciliation are necessary.

Likewise, *kana veicurumaki* (sharing food across normal societal divisions) and *kerekere* (borrowing) are acts of sharing within society to ensure that people help one another to allow them to live comfortably through times of need (Veitayaki et al. 2015). *Kana veicurumaki* is the sharing of subsistence resources and entitlements, such as customary fishing grounds and food rights, with people from other places and groups who normally do not have these rights. The practice is commonly observed among groups that live next to one another across known boundaries or those that cannot share the same food according to custom. This practice allows people access to food when prevailing conditions are abnormal.

Kerekere is when people borrow from their relations (Capell 1991, 95). The system allows the fulfillment of a need and ensures that the people share among themselves, thus preventing the personal accumulation of wealth (Nayacakalou 1978, 40), which is frowned upon as selfish and individualistic. People use land, *tabua,* mats, other artifacts, and food to obtain and return favor rendered to them (Nayacakalou 1978, 102). This social kinship system allows people to meet their needs and live through challenging times, because indigenous people's incentive to work is based on the principle of reciprocity, rather than monetary reward. In such situations, the compulsion to work is related to the knowledge that a person will one day require the assistance of others (Nayacakalou 1978, 119).

Among indigenous Fijians, there is keen competition among the groups using the exchange system and reciprocity to show their social standing. People try to surpass one another to ensure that their group is not embarrassed because they were ill prepared for the exchange. As a result, people plan and prepare well for their ceremonies while those with authority over these events are respected and obeyed because they have greater knowledge and experience of the local context (Nayacakalou 1978, 15).

This functional and secure social system was shaken and in many instances abandoned after the arrival of Europeans and the commercial intercourses that have continued since. The commencement of the bêche-de-mer and sandalwood trade along the northeast coast of Vanua Levu (Williams 1982, 93) in Fiji, for instance, resulted in the use of new and efficient equipment that put pressure on coastal environment and fisheries resources. This process continues to this day and has made people vulnerable as their home and food sources have become part of the world system, with which they are unfamiliar and where they always will be disadvantaged.

Geopolitics

The Pacific Islands are naturally beautiful but have been fought over repeatedly by great powers and, since World War II, poisoned with more nuclear bombs and nuclear radiation by the United States, France, and Britain than anywhere else on Earth (Nuttall and Veitayaki 2015). It has seen bitter wars of conquest and civil insurrection, minute by global standards but with the heaviest per capita casualties witnessed in Bougainville, Fiji, and the Solomon Islands. It faces the humiliation of being the first region on Earth where the carelessness of humans as a species will allow whole countries to sink because of anthropocentrically generated climate change, little of which has been of the Pacific Islanders' making (Nuttall and Veitayaki 2015). Pacific Islanders are considering their options to stay, adapt, mitigate, relocate, or migrate, while the world is still debating the eventualities of climate change and sea level rise.

As territories of the great powers, Pacific Islands were globally important "for the security of Western interests in Asia. We were pampered by those whose real interests lay elsewhere, and those who conducted dangerous experiments on our islands" (Hau'ofa 2000, 33). Many colonies graduated from that era as newly independent countries in the Pacific Islands region of "naked, neocolonial dependency," while the former "suitors are now creating a new set of relationships along the rim of our ocean that excludes us totally" (Hau'ofa 2000, 33).

The scars from the unjust union are illustrated by the displaced and resettled communities around the region; altered environments, some of which can no longer be used to support local sustenance; and dispossessed indigenous people who own the resources but are too poor to benefit from them. Colonization resulted in the introduction of Pacific Islanders into work areas outside of their own countries. This scheme to increase productivity of people who have never known regimented work resulted in the I Kiribati and Tuvaluan settlers in Nauru, I Kiribati settlers in the Solomon Islands, and Ni Vanuatu, Tuvaluans, I Kiribati, and Solomon Islanders in villages in Fiji.

Radioactive materials in Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia and Johnston and Kwajelin Islands in the Marshall Islands pose grave danger to the country and to the region, while the victims still seek recognition and treatment and fight injustice. In addition, nuclear-powered ships and vessels carrying radioactive materials still ply the ocean, international businesses are still looking for islands on which to dispose toxic industrial wastes, and fishing entities continue with illegal, unrecorded, and unregulated activities, which deprive the rightful owners of the resources in the Pacific Islands their rightful return (Nuttall and Veitayaki 2015).

The Pacific Islands region is now home to 14 young democracies and, until 2014, a military government, an ancient monarchy, states and territories of

superpowers, dependencies, and states in "close association" with superpowers (Nuttall and Veitayaki 2015). Pacific SIDSs are among the most vulnerable, and it is difficult to see how they can achieve sustainable development under the present conditions. Although the 1982 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Law of the Sea enormously increased the Pacific SIDSs' maritime areas and offered them new wealth and potential resources, it gave them the burden of fulfilling their obligations under the convention. Pacific SIDSs are obligated to sustainably manage the resources of their exclusive economic zone (EEZ), even though they do not have the capacity or the resources to exert effective control over their maritime areas, some of whose boundaries remain undetermined. Pacific SIDSs must meet their international obligations as sovereign governments committed to playing their role as world citizens.

Over the years, Pacific SIDSs have established regional organizations to assist them with advice, development activities, education, and training on pertinent issues determined by the member countries. Regional institutions such as the Pacific Islands Forum, Pacific Community, Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), and the University of the South Pacific (USP) have specific mandates to assist the PICs in meeting their obligations in accordance with the agreements, treaties, and conventions they have signed and ratified. Although these regional organization have done well in some areas, there are concerns that better working arrangements are needed (Hughes 2005). In addition, the regional organizations have not forged a common regional identity to help PICs work together for the "advancement of our collective interests and the protection of the ocean for the general good," which Hau'ofa (2000, 33) reasoned, could benefit the wider community and help us to become more open minded, idealistic, altruistic, and generous, and less self-absorbed and corrupt, in the conduct of our public affairs than we are today. This has not been fulfilled, because this level of governance of ocean resources is different from what Pacific Islanders are used to and prepared for.

Ocean Governance

Pacific Islanders live in villages, which are the basis of their social and political organization. Originally small, the main size regulators in villages were the minimum viable defense force or the maximum number of people that local food supplies can cater for (Frazer 1973: 78–79). This balance was disrupted by the enlargement of village sizes over the years because of modernization and urbanization. Despite the increase in size, village composition has remained the same with each village consisting of one or more closely related clans or *yavusa*. The clans consist of *mataqali,* which are allocated ritual and

ceremonial responsibilities and have use and ownership rights over environmental resources such as land and customary fishing areas for their sustenance (Routledge 1985). The *mataqali* consist of a number of extended families, or *tokatoka,* which, in turn, are made up of individual households.

The village and the social units above it operate because the different groups consisting of *mataqali* and *tokatoka,* as well as *yavusa* and *vanua,* perform their particular responsibilities (Seruvakula 2000: 2–29). From the different *mataqali*, *tokatoka, yavusa,* and *vanua* come the chiefs, heralds *(mata ni vanua),* warriors and planters *(bati),* fishers *(gonedau),* priests *(bete),* and carpenters *(mataisau)*. People know who they are, the group they belong to and their predetermined roles and responsibilities. The *gonedau,* for example, are from known family groups and villages that are responsible for the fish and marine resources required for customary ceremonies (Farrell 1972, 38).

The intensive cultivation of cash crops was a new feature associated with the developing economic and political order. Traditional tenure systems and resource management strategies that prevailed throughout the region in the past were eroded with the increased impact of colonization and modernization. Although traditional roles and resource use systems within the communities are still well defined, leadership structures, protocol, power, respect, and beliefs are quickly changing, and the usefulness and relevance of hereditary leaders are increasingly questioned by people (Vunisea 2002).

Pacific Islanders had developed resilience derived from their access to communal land, strong cultural identity, and systems of community governance. Such resilience was supported through kinship ties, sharing of communal resources, and cultural obligations of reciprocity (Coates 2009, 30; Bayliss-Smith et al. 1988; Veitayaki et al. 2011). This coping strategy and survival mechanism is eroding quickly as a result of the social and economic transformation, such as the movement of a greater number of people into urban areas, where they are detached from their social groups.

The pursuit of rural development in recent time has quickened the loss and alteration of natural habitats, overexploitation of natural resources, introduction of pests, invasive species and diseases, and pollution of coastal zones because of inadequate waste treatment, questionable and illegal activities, and ineffective resource management strategies and practices. The destruction and loss of coral reefs, seagrass beds, mangrove forests, and wetlands and widespread pollution of coastlines are all illustrative of the problems that are part of the Pacific Islands' drive toward the economic development introduced so enthusiastically by governments and development agencies. Environmental destruction was an acceptable trade-off for the development that the people needed. In Fiji, the reclamation of the mangrove forest in Raviravi, Ba, in the 1960s to provide aquaculture and agricultural land is a lasting reminder of what will happen when

drastic changes are not properly thought out—the objectives are not achieved, but the natural habitats are permanently lost. With all the new developments and societal needs, the situation is expected to worsen in the years ahead.

The use of marine resources and environment in PICs is among the most intensive in the world, but little is known of the impacts on marine life. The Pacific Ocean is one of nature's greatest carbon sinks (UNESCAP 2010, 9) and affects the climate, ocean currents, and complex ecosystems it hosts. The changing conditions are expected to reduce ocean productivity in the future and will result in biodiversity loss. It is critical, therefore, that this engine room of Earth's climate and the mainstay of Pacific Island economies must be cared for to continue to provide ecological and economic services for Pacific Islanders and humanity as a whole in the future.

The customary marine resource management that has served Pacific Islanders for centuries is widely recognized as an alternative to existing arrangements, in which the people are mere spectators to state-driven resource management activities that have not worked well. Moreover, there is increasing alteration and pollution of coastal habitats and extensive damage to the fishing areas, caused by the heavy and destructive fishing methods used and the regular fishing associated with the higher population and its insatiable demand for food and income. Furthermore, local people who own, use, and depend on these resources are not involved in the management except to implement the prescribed measures outlined in the national legislation and regulations they normally do not know let alone comprehend. The situation is a problem waiting to happen and needs to be addressed in a timely manner.

In 2014, the SIDS Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) Pathway was adopted at the UN General Assembly (2014) and added to the long list of UN agreements and plans for sustainable development. Few tangible results have been achieved since the first SIDS meeting in Barbados, which raises questions about the ability of Pacific Islanders and others to achieve sustainable development. The SAMOA Pathway, like the other UN-endorsed plans agreed to over the last 44 years, provides the goals that national governments need to localize and work with their partners to achieve (Ambassador Ali'ioaiga Feturi Elisaia, Samoa, in SPREP, 2014). This is a concern given the little action Pacific Islanders have taken to address pressing issues such as climate change, worsening poverty, depleting resources, and environmental degradation that are expected to affect their lives in catastrophic ways.

Fisheries Management

Fisheries provide the main sources of protein for Pacific Islanders, who have fish per capita consumption rates that range between 16.9 kg in Papua New Guinea

(PNG) to 181.6 kg in Kiribati (Gillett 2011, 83). This dependence on fisheries is far above the global average of 16.5 kg per person per year (Gillett 2011), showing the importance of fisheries resources to the sustenance of local communities, the pressure on the stocks, and the need for effective management.

Coastal fisheries are poorly understood, which makes their contribution to the livelihood of people and the economies invisible and the dire need for their management trivial. This is a concern given the higher population, improved technologies and capabilities, and variety of coastal developments undertaken. Coastal fisheries are crucial for national food security and must be effectively managed to ensure optimum use and healthy and vibrant stocks (Kailola 1995; Pita 1996). The situation is grim, as fish species such as coral trout, grouper, bumphead parrot fish, hump-head wrasse, mullet, turtles, and sharks that used to be sold in the markets are expected to collapse in the near future unless effective management is undertaken at once to address sustainability issues.

Sea cucumber is an important but poorly managed coastal resource whose use has not been effectively controlled and thus has been characterized by the boom-and-bust cycle[1] that has been a feature of the fishery since its introduction in the 1800s. Although the productivity of the stock is reduced by half every time the stock collapses (Carleton et al. 2013), the fishery continues to lure local households to catch more sea cucumber to support their aspirations for consumer goods. This is a concern, because the ever-growing demand and higher prices fuel increased bêche-de-mer harvest and make management difficult to implement. Only a more strategic and coordinated management approach will save this convenient source of income for coastal communities from collapse.

The same sorry situation is faced offshore, where the importance of tuna resources is raising serious concern about sustainability. In 2013, more than 2.6 million tons of tuna were caught in the western and central Pacific Ocean (WCPO), which constituted 82 percent of the Pacific tuna catch and 58 percent of the global tuna supply. Skipjack tuna catch dominated, with approximately 69 percent of the total tuna catch in the WCPO, where the total value of the tuna catch was estimated at US$6.2 billion in 2013 (Williams and Terawasi 2014). The license fees paid to the regional governments constituted 11 to 63 percent of the national revenue for Kiribati, Tuvalu, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Nauru, the Marshall Islands, and Palau (Veitayaki and Ledua 2016).

Purse seining, the main fishing method, accounts for 72 percent of the catch weight and more than 200 other bycatch species caught in fish aggregating devices (FADs) or in free-swimming schools. While tuna fishing and processing provide employment for thousands of people in PNG, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, and American Samoa (Gillett 2008), two of the four main species, yellowfin and bigeye, are already overfished. Thus, the maintenance of healthy and sustainable offshore fisheries resources is critical not only to Pacific Islanders and

their economies but to the habitats and resources that provide the food and livelihoods for consumers all over the world as well.

In most Pacific SIDSs, the development aspirations revolve around the attainment of maximum return from the tuna fisheries to fund improvements to the well-being of the people. Many of these countries are dissatisfied with foreign vessels fishing in their waters under access agreements. Underreporting and illegal activities by the Distant Water Fishing Nations (DWFNs) are causing lost revenue for the countries (Maxwell and Owen 1994; Tarte 1998) because the DWFNs are paying low access fees, which undermine the capacity of the Pacific SIDSs to manage and conserve their tuna resources (World Bank 1996).

Pacific SIDSs have formulated innovative regional management arrangements and institutions to protect their tuna resources. They have established the Pacific Islands FFA, to advise them on tuna management and development issues and successfully negotiated their Regional Fisheries Management Organisation, and the Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC), to collaborate with their DWFN partners in the sustainable use of the region's tuna resources. The FFA has facilitated numerous regional tuna management agreements and actions, such as those formulated under the Implementing Agreements of the Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA), a subgroup of the FFA; the Palau Arrangement; and the FSM Arrangements to increase domestic landing and processing and in turn increase the benefits to regional economies (Aqorau and Bergin 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Lodge 1998; Ram-Bidesi 2003). In the same manner, the Pacific SIDSs have implemented some of the WCPFC's Conservation and Management Measures (CMMs) to protect the tuna and associated stocks in the high seas.

Some of the CMMs that the WCPFC has instituted include the ban on the use of large-scale driftnets on the high seas, a five-month ban on the use of floating objects (such as FADs) set in PNA's EEZs, and a 25 percent reduction in fishing mortality of bigeye and yellowfin tuna stocks to reduce overfishing for the two species. The permanent closure of the high-seas pockets has also been agreed, together with full catch retention and elimination of discards in the EEZs of PNA countries.

Despite all these management measures, tuna stocks in the WCPO are declining while the numbers of fishing boats are increasing. Overfishing is worsened by pollution, climate change, habitat destruction, weak governance, and lack of fisheries management knowledge exacerbating the fishing pressure on the EEZs of the WCPO nations. Illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing remains a major problem because of the lack of capacity of coastal states to enforce compliance. Moreover, exemptions, noncompliance, and noncompatibility of national, subregional, and regional objectives weaken regional management arrangements and compromise the equitable sharing of benefits from

the use of their fisheries resources. These factors threaten the sustainable management and development of coastal and tuna resources in the Pacific Islands, which is critical given the worsening risks to their health and sustainability and those dependent on them.

Given the development aspirations among Pacific Island states, it is probable that some of them are turning a blind eye to the sustainability of their resources. Hau'ofa's (2008, 48) suggestion that Pacific SIDSs acting in "union for larger purposes and for the benefit of the wider community could help us to become more open-minded, idealistic, and generous and less self-absorbed and corrupt, in the conduct of our public affairs than we are today" has not happened. Instead, his warning is occurring as our countries and people scramble to carve a future in "an age when our societies are preoccupied with the pursuit of material wealth, when the rampant market economy brings out unquenchable greed and amorality in us" (Hau'ofa 2008, 48). Resource developments are pursued without proper consideration of the fish stocks, fishers are increasing in numbers and sophistication, resource management is reactionary rather than premeditated, management measures are not effectively adhered to, and some coastal states negotiate exemptions from the CMMs and pay lip service to sustainable fisheries development.

In a thought-provoking Greenpeace study in 2013, the proposal was for Pacific SIDSs to abandon the contemporary tuna fisheries development strategy in which they are bystanders who receive only licensing fees amounting to less than 10 percent of the value of the tuna fished from their waters. According to Greenpeace, the reliance on DWFNs, which presently control all activities from fishing to marketing of the commodities, will continue unless Pacific SIDSs revert to more appropriate smaller-scale and more labor-intensive methods that will be affordable and accessible to their people, who can target higher prices in the more lucrative sashimi markets rather than low prices at the canneries that are supporting the decimation of their tuna resources for minute financial return to the countries (Greenpeace 2013). Questions are also raised about the wisdom of depleting tuna resources being sold cheaply to fish processors overseas, who then export the processed product to PICs at much higher prices. In countries where employment of local people is a major challenge, Pacific SIDSs are using mechanized fishing they do not own and are selling their fish at prices that are a fraction of what they can receive at the sashimi markets. In addition, their brand of tuna caught through environment- and dolphin-friendly methods will attract the support of environmentally conscious people everywhere.

New resource use options should be carefully planned and implemented as Pacific Islanders strive to better control the use of their tuna resources, employ more of their citizens, sustainably use their resources, and attain maximum return from their fisheries. PICs are formulating innovative approaches such as the Vessel Day Scheme and the closure of the high-seas pockets to optimize their

benefits from the use of their tuna resources (Ram-Bidesi 2011). The lead taken by the PNA in implementing the Vessel Day Scheme has increased the income to the member countries 16 times since the change was implemented in 2010. This good start should be built on to change the way this business is conducted.

According to Dr Transform Aqorau, chief executive of the PNA and architect of its Vessel Day Scheme, PNA's success was based on its ability to create the scarcity that was necessary to add value to its commodity. He warned that finding a solution for overexploited resources such as bêche-de-mer will not be easy but must start with the education and empowerment of people on the changes that need to be undertaken (Presentation by Dr Aqorau at the Bêche-de-mer and Coastal Fisheries Summit in Nadi Fiji, 7 August 2014). He further advised that the effectiveness of regional management arrangements will be compromised if individual states pursue different objectives based on their own interest, because the success of regional tuna resource management arrangements depends on the resemblance of objectives of member states and the compatibility of regional and national policies and strategies. This is what Hau'ofa (2000) wanted the PICs to achieve through better regional integration.

Coastal Adaptation and Vulnerabilities

People in Pacific SIDSs have effective traditional resource management practices, but these alone are insufficient to the people who are living with depleting resources, altered environments, and increasing demands that threaten their food security. In addition, most countries have weak economies—with Kiribati, the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu still classified as least developed countries. It is difficult to expect these countries and communities to fund resource management activities given all they have to provide for their people and the limited resources available to them.

Land in PICs constitutes only 2 percent of the total area and less than 0.4 percent if PNG, the biggest country, is excluded. Four of the Pacific states have land area of less than 30 square kilometers each, while 15 are either made up wholly of atolls or largely of atolls and coral islands. There are at least 11 square kilometers of ocean for every coastal Pacific Islander (Anderson et al. 2003, 2), which makes the Pacific Islands one of the most remote and far-flung regions in the world (AusAID 2008, 1). For many of these countries, the sea is the biggest resource base—as well as the main threat, given eventualities such as climate change and sea level rise and the high populations that are now part of their lives.

Pacific SIDSs have diseconomies of scale in production and the exchange of goods and services, remoteness from export markets, and vulnerability to natural disasters and climate change. There is high economic and cultural dependence on the natural environment and primary commodities, with a high proportion

of national incomes coming from aid from metropolitan countries and development partners, as well as remittances from Pacific Islanders working abroad.

The increasing concentration of populations in urban areas is placing intensive pressure on all marine resources in surrounding areas. The situation is so vulnerable that the marine resource requirements for cities such as Suva depend on fisheries resources from other parts of the country. In South Tarawa, Kiribati, with 54.1 percent of Kiribati's total population of 108,800 people in 2013 and an estimated annual growth rate of 5.2 percent, the population is expected to double in 13 years. It is inconceivable to imagine how South Tarawa's economy and environment will cope with the additional people (Haberkorn 2004). The same situation is faced in Majuro (the Marshall Islands), Funafuti (Tuvalu), Pago Pago (American Samoa), Guam, and Nauru, where population densities rival those of cities in Southeast Asia.

Future projections in the Pacific SIDSs are bleak, because natural resources are affected negatively by increasing human activities (UNESCAP 2010, 10). In addition, climate change has devastating and economically crippling impacts. Although Pacific Islanders have unique resilience associated with access to communal land, strong cultural identity, and systems of community governance supported through close kinship ties, sharing of communal resources, and cultural obligations of reciprocity (Coates 2009, 30; Bayliss-Smith et al. 1988; Veitayaki et al. 2011), the immensity and immediacy of the effects of climate change will make adaptation insufficient in many of the countries (Barnett 2002).

Pacific Islands are among the most vulnerable regions in the world to natural hazards such as cyclones, earthquakes, floods, drought, and tsunami, which often result in catastrophic changes. The sediment loads through Rewa River floods were estimated at an average of 107 tons per year (Hasan 1986). For instance, it is estimated that the soil loss in the Rewa River catchment was about 34–36 tons per hectare per year (Morrison 1981; Nunn 1990; Hasan 1986). Consequently, since 1983, the Fiji Government was spending about US$6 million annually on dredging to alleviate the problem of flooding in the Rewa and other rivers (Togamana 1995). This expense can be reduced if proper land-use practices are used.

Between 1950 and 2004, extreme natural disasters accounted for 65 percent of the total economic impact of disasters on the Pacific Islands' economies. Over the past 50 years, 10 of the 15 most extreme events occurred in the last 15 years (UNESCAP 2010, 10). Between 2015 and 2016, two category 5 cyclones caused widespread destruction in Vanuatu, Kiribati, Tuvalu, and Fiji. Climate variations and extremes disrupt food production, water supply, and economic development. "Events during the last decade have demonstrated that vulnerabilities remain high and efforts to build resilience have been insufficient" (UNESCAP 2010, 10), so PICs are continuously rebuilding and recovering from disasters, spending millions of dollars otherwise earmarked for development activities.

To make matters worse, the coping strategies and survival mechanisms Pacific Islanders used to employ are quickly eroding as a result of the social and economic transformation taking place. The slow recovery in Vanuatu and Fiji after the devastation of category 5 cyclones in 2015 and 2016, respectively, is a good illustration of the current situation. In Fiji, people in devastated areas are still living in tents a year after the disaster, when the customary *bure* (thatched house) would be more comfortable and secure. In addition, poverty is worsening, with more than 80 percent of the region's population living in the four poorest countries of Kiribati, PNG, the Solomon Islands, and Timor Leste. Data on poverty are limited but alarming. Three national surveys in Fiji show that poverty rose from 11.4 percent in 1977 to 34.4 percent in 2002. Moreover, exposure to consumerism and international information technology is resulting in the replacement of traditional diets with canned and processed foods, traditional materials with throwaway goods, and traditional values with populist global cultures. Formerly independent Pacific Islanders have become an insignificant part of the globalized world.

The scale and irreversibility of the effects of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, combined with the inability of local measures to mitigate the problem, make climate change a threat above all others. The minute contribution of GHGs by PICs, estimated by the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (now the SPREP) to be 0.03 percent of global totals (Hay 2002), makes mitigation taken by PICs symbolic, no matter how successful. Unfortunately, Oceania's concerns and accomplishments are almost unheard on the global stage, drowned out by larger states, superpowers, and alliances whose consumption-based development and security interests easily outweigh PICs' voice. The failure of the international community to agree on emissions reduction targets in Copenhagen, Mexico, Rio, Warsaw, and Bonn reinforces the futility of Pacific SIDSs expecting a credible response from developed countries. Ironically, Pacific Islanders, along with indigenous communities at the poles, will be the first and the worst affected victims (Barcham, Scheyvens, and Overton 2009; Merson 2010).

Much of the global concern about climate change impacts on Oceania is focused on the plight of atoll dwellers, a view that is often expanded as representative of the whole region. While atolls and low islands are living in a climate change–ravaged environment, the experience is shared in all low areas in islands. In addition, Barnett and Campbell (2010, 155) argue that "representation of the Pacific Islands as extremely vulnerable may have created the illusion that adaptation is pointless, and denies the resilience, agency, capacity, and potential that Pacific Island communities have" to adapt.

The Pacific is one of the world's most imported fuel-dependent regions, with 95 percent dependency (99 percent if PNG and Fiji are excluded). Imported fossil fuels account for 8–37 percent of total imports, raising critical issues of fuel

price and security of supply (Woodruff 2007). In 2011, fuel imports cost PICs more than US$1.3 billion, which represents a major drain on their economies, has a crippling effect on national budgets and revenues, and affects all key productive sectors in the region (UNESCAP 2010). The largest consumer of fossil fuel, sea transport is entirely dependent on imported fossil fuels, which make the PICs vulnerable in physical, economic, and social terms that affect the security of life not only in these countries but also in the wider global community.

New Developments

Pacific SIDSs are actively determining their own development pathway to allow them to live in their countries with the challenges they face. Some areas in which future development activities have been made to address the issues that affect the security of life in the Pacific Islands include national policy development, better use and nonuse of resources, disaster risk reduction, climate change adaptation, use of renewable energy, and partnerships.

Pacific Island leaders' endorsement of the Pacific Islands Regional Ocean Policy (PIROP) and its presentation at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 illustrated the regional effort to safeguard a "healthy ocean that sustains the livelihood and aspirations of Pacific Island communities" (Barnes and Mandel 2017) and provide a principled approach to responsible ocean governance in the region. Unfortunately, only Vanuatu has formulated a national ocean policy. The other countries should do the same so as to provide a framework to guide the countries' relationships with the ocean in years to come.

Under the Pacific Oceanscape, which was to refocus the region's attention on PIROP and emphasize, among other things, integrated resource management and contribution to the SIDSs' commitment to declare more marine conservation areas patterned along the Phoenix Islands Protected Area (PIPA), once the world's largest marine protected area, an increasing number of Pacific Islands have declared large marine protected areas. PIPA was possible through the partnership of the Government of Kiribati, the New England Aquarium, and Conservation International. The subsequent declaration of even larger ocean management areas in the Cook Islands, Niue, and New Caledonia and the appointment of an ocean commissioner at the Pacific Islands Forum demonstrate the commitment in the region to better manage an ocean that is important to Pacific Islanders and the world. The debate on the benefits and costs of declaring large management areas has been lively, demonstrating the high stakes that must be taken into consideration in making these resource management decisions.

At the 2012 Pacific Forum, Cook Islands Prime Minister Henry Puna prompted other PIC leaders to rethink their shared identity within the Pacific, saying, "it is time that we break the mould that defines us too narrowly and limits us in any

way." Puna called for a recasting of regional identity to one of Large Ocean Island States: "Our large ocean island states should demonstrate—now more than ever—renewed commitment to define our future in our own terms. Our intimate and connected relationship is built from a deep spiritual bond and translated across an expanse of ocean in unique and traditional ways" (Komai 2012).

Pacific Islands have incorporated their input into the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of SIDSs through the SAMOA Pathway, a blueprint for national and regional development that takes into account the economic, social, and ecological aspects that are the pillars of sustainability. While the SAMOA Pathway has reinforced the SIDS commitment to sustainable development, it is a reminder of the lack of progress and action in a process that started 30 years ago. The SAMOA Pathway wave, created in Apia in 2014, is expected to drive more PICs to formulate Pacific-based solutions to Pacific Island issues.

The launch of Fiji's Green Growth Framework is exciting, because a PIC has finally decided to articulate the pursuit of economic development that simultaneously emphasizes social and environmental well-being (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014: 4–5). The framework outlines the process to ensure that development is sustainable and that Fiji's environment is maintained. It offers a space in which government, nongovernment, private sector, and faith-based organizations; the media; urban and rural communities; and individuals can all be engaged in sustainable development activities (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014: 4–5). "The Green Growth Framework is the first of its kind for Fiji" (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014: 4–5) and is the impetus to take the country into the uncertain future. The establishment of the Pacific Islands Development Forum as the region's newest institution is indicative of wide regional support for the Green Growth Framework that Fiji is embarking on. The implementation of the framework is eagerly anticipated.

Palau is providing international leadership in its attempt to have vibrant and healthy coral reefs as the centerpiece of sustainable development that supports strong and robust economies. Working under the Micronesia Challenge (2012) with the Northern Mariana Islands, FSM, Guam, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Palau is committed to protecting 30 percent of its coral reefs and 20 percent of its forest resources by 2020. These countries are contributing to the global coral reef conservation targets and have heightened marine resource management, solicited much needed funds to support local initiatives, and advocated the importance of taking appropriate action at all levels of governance. Palau has also declared a shark sanctuary, because it reasoned that live sharks are worth a lot more to its marine-based tourism industry than the price of the fins to its fishers. In a keynote address to a UN meeting titled "Healthy

Oceans and Seas" in February 2014, Palau President Tommy Remengesau Jr. announced his country's plan to outlaw commercial fishing in its waters once current fishing contracts in the country expire (Molland 2014).

The Marshall Islands are creating a global wave by announcing a plan to reduce gas emissions from ships in its register, the world's third largest. This bold move will require the collaboration and support of other flag states, but it shows that small Pacific Islands are taking leadership roles in addressing global issues that affect the lives of ordinary people. The Marshall Islands are working closely with a USP/International Union for Conservation of Nature research team on sustainable transport. They have held two international *talanoa* (storytelling) sessions in Suva and are working with partners and experts from around the world who can assist in securing appropriate Pacific solutions for this global problem. For example, the group has realized that in the Pacific Islands region, reducing the dependency on imported fuel is more practical and of higher priority than reducing emissions caused by burning that fuel. The available options are thus to increase the efficiency of current uses, reduce fuel consumption (which would come at a high social and development cost), or introduce or increase the use of alternatives (Nuttall et al. 2014). In many cases, there is an unanticipated correlation between use of alternatives and emissions reduction.

Lack of adequate policy and financing are major constraints to developing more appropriate sea transport for PICs (Prasad et al. 2013; Nuttall et al. 2014). Sadly, shipping projects are generally considered only as mitigation measures. Renewable shipping does not meet the criteria for many mitigation funds, because it would not be displacing fuel used for electricity generation (Nuttall et al. 2014), the current priority set by donors. This needs to be addressed. Investment in research and development, as is undertaken now at the USP to prove the commercial viability of renewable-energy vessels, must be a priority.

At the 6th Pacific Platform for Disaster Risk Management workshop in Suva, in 2014, with the theme "The Way Forward: Climate Change and Disaster Resilient Development for the Pacific," stakeholders agreed to a communication protocol to use during disasters (Naleba 2014). Sharing national information and experiences will enhance disaster and climate change resilience and sustainable development among PICs. As can be seen from the examples shared previously, people in the Pacific Islands are acting at all levels to climate-proof their islands and activities. President Anote Tong of Kiribati leads the way in calling for all to take a moral responsibility in the fight against climate change to ensure the well-being of all (USP Beat 2012, 7). In his keynote address at the 2015 European Society for Oceanists conference in Brussels, the head of state of Samoa, His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi, reminded the audience to care better for the world we call home.

In Vunidogoloa village in Cakaudrove Province, Fiji, the villagers worked with government to relocate their village away from the encroaching shoreline (Silaitoga 2014), while other parts of Pacific community-based resource management initiatives are under way to rehabilitate coastal habitats and use adaptive arrangements to live with climate change. Pacific Islanders are vulnerable but are not giving up and are doing all that they can to adapt to prevailing conditions. Local communities and their partners are taking up the challenge to look after their environment resources, which they know are important and need to be sustainably used for their sake, as well as that of future generations.

Conclusion

The security of PICs depends heavily on how well the issues examined previously are addressed. Living in the world's largest ocean offers inherent challenges, as well as opportunities that can only be realized if smart, innovative, and painful decisions are made. This will require good PICs leaders to commit to working together to implement the plans of actions they have agreed to and to continue to look for local solutions to their issues. The regional governments must take the lead while securing the support of and contributions from development agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector. This is not the time to rely on others to determine what is best for us.

The collaborative work adopted in the Pacific is logical for small national governments that do not have the capacity to have their own people attend to required jobs. While the PICs are helping one another, national governments must commit their resources to address national issues. Environment departments within some of these countries need the resources to conduct their activities independently and diligently. As more demands and higher expectations are required of environmental resources, these government agencies need to be strengthened with adequate resources and clearer mandates.

The challenge for Pacific SIDSs is to ensure that the regional effort supported by the international community is taken through to local communities who are the owners and guardians of environmental resources. Development projects should be stringently assessed and evaluated, while funding should be provided only for those who have helped themselves. This will require good, transparent, accountable, and just governance. Some PICs are using sustainable development to replace their economic development goals. These countries aim to use effective resource management practices to unleash the development opportunities that will then benefit the people, the environment, and the economy. This vision has been adopted after decades of pursuing economic development that has delivered worsening poverty, degraded environmental resources, and stunted economic growth.

The time to change is here, and PICs must continue to articulate the sustainable development plans of action that have existed since 1992. Customary and community-centered conservation and contemporary, science-based, and government-led but inclusive resource management arrangements should be used to implement the plans. Sustainable development is the best and only available option for PICs as they sail into the uncharted future ahead. This is the way to forge a secure future in the Pacific SIDSs in the world's largest ocean.

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2. The characteristic feature of bêche-de-mer fishing is that it starts, thrives, and then collapses because of overfishing. This characteristic remains to this day.

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THE SHARING OF CULTURAL HERITAGE BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE PACIFIC: THE KANAK[1] EXPERIENCE

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For more than twenty-five years, New Caledonia has experienced different projects aiming to reconnect the Kanaks, the indigenous population of the archipelago, with their material culture from which they have been separated during a century. Mainly held abroad and particularly in museums in Europe, this part of their tangible culture has successfully found its way back to New Caledonia through different ways: temporary exhibitions, long-term loans, and publications. The Inventory of the Kanak Dispersed Heritage (IPKD) totalizing 5,000 significant cultural objects held in eighty museums throughout the world is the last project, which has been released in July 2015 in Noumea. This presentation will examine the conditions, expectations, and results of these experiences in a nation-building context and discuss its implications for reshaping relations between Europe and the Pacific.

When I received the invitiation to deliver a keynote speech at the ESfO conference, I felt very honored, but at the same time, I realized that I might have reached a certain age for receiving such an invitation. It is undoubtedly a signal for me to look back at my already thirty years of personal and professional commitment to "culture." A journey that started in Noumea in 1985, when I was appointed Director of the Museum of New Caledonia, and went on with the Tjibaou Cultural Centre project at the Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture in 1994 and since 2011, here, in Europe at the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris. Back and forth from the Pacific to Europe, my personal life would illustrate by itself the theme of the conference.

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I would rather take the opportunity to lead you through my own journey on the pathway of my memory retracing the conditions, expectations, and results of these three decades of cultural development in New Caledonia. Although New Caledonia may be a specific case in Oceania and certainly does not reflect the situation of most of the other islands nations, it will provide some information and inspiration.

Key Facts about New Caledonia Today

Let's start the journey by giving some facts to help and frame the geographical and the historical context. New Caledonia is an archipelago of 18,000 km^2 in Melanesia. The population is 268,767 inhabitants (2014 census), living mainly on the main island; 40 percent are Kanak, the indigenous population. Cultural diversity among the population with different origins—French, former French colonies, or overseas territories, other Pacific islands, etc.—results in a tiny microcosm. The dominant culture is the French.

On a political level, New Caledonia today is part of the French Republic with a special transitional status until 2018. It has one central government and three Provincial Governments with important local political competencies. New Caledonia is largely experiencing self-government: for instance, public taxes are voted and used locally. The population bears one nationality, the French nationality, but three citizenships. Probably a world record! We have the New Caledonian citizenship, which allows priority access to local employment, then the French citizenship, which allows us to participate in the election of the President of the Republic. It also allows New Caledonia to be represented at the French National Assembly by three elected MPs: one senator to the upper house of the French National Parliament and two MPs to the lower house. Last but not least, the New Caledonians are also citizens of the European Union, and they elect one MP to the European Parliament. New Caledonia is one the thirty-one Overseas Countries and Territories (OCT) associated with the European Union.

Key Dates in New Caledonia History

To briefly help frame the historical context of our situation, let me also give you some chronological references. Archaeologists found the first pieces of evidence of human activity in the archipelago around 1300 BC. They called this period the "Lapita" culture, after the Kanak name of a site on the northern coast of the main island. In 1774, Captain James Cook, recalling his earlier navigations along Scotland coasts, put the main island on the map, calling it "New Caledonia." Since then, New Caledonia's shores have been visited by many ships seeking water, whales, pearls, sandalwood, or indentured servitude.

In 1842, the first Christian missionaries arrived and settled after many unsuccessful attempts. French Emperor Napoleon III decided to take possession of the archipelago in 1853, with the idea to send convicts to these faraway shores. The first convicts arrived in 1864 and the colonization started. Four years later, as the need for land in the new colony grew larger, the government decided to create "native reservations," a unique case in France's colonial history; hence special regulations were applied to the indigenous population. The land grab developed quickly and triggered the major uprising of 1878, led by chief Ataï. The subsequent repression had a significant impact on the Kanak's demography, whereas indigenous lands were seized and opened to free colonization, fueled by misleading publicity in France. The Kanak demography dramatically collapsed around the turn of the century, but in a movement of despair, following the enrolment of Kanaks for the First World War, a major uprising, led by chief Noël, spread on the main island. The repression was harsh. The end of the Second World War opened a new era and in 1946; the ban of circulation outside the reservation without permission was withdrawn; French citizenship was extended to the Kanak and political rights gradually applied.

The Kanak Struggle for Cultural and Political Recognition: A Short Overview of Kanak Cultural Renewal 1975–2015

Jean-Marie Tjibaou (1936–89) was the charismatic leader of that period. Educated to become a Catholic priest, he quit priesthood in the late 1970s and became an activist in the field of social and cultural development. In 1975, Jean-Marie Tjibaou organized the festival called "Melanesia 2000" with the support of other Kanaks but also with New Caledonians of French origin. The festival's motto was: "Settle the tribe into the city." It was the first indigenous gathering on a national scale in the capital city of Noumea. The "White Noumea" had to feel the indigenous presence. The festival advocated cultural revival and cultural recognition, but the scenic play that was staged also involved clear criticisms of colonialism.

"Téâ Kanaké" was the name of the central figure of the scenic play created for the festival. Seeking a hero's name for the entire indigenous population of New Caledonia, which would unify the twenty-eight languages, each of them having its own term, Jean-Marie Tjibaou probably attracted by the homonymy, used the name of a mythical hero from the *Paicî-cèmuhî* cultural area, who happened to be one of the ancestors of his wife's family. He asked permission from the elders of the clan and was given the right to use the hero's name for the scenic play. The name, graphically merged with the old colonial word spelled "Canaques" with "C," was used pejoratively until that time to designate the indigenous Melanesian population. Nowadays, Téâ Kanake, the name of the

private ancestor of a clan, tends to be used symbolically as a common ancestor for all Kanaks.

The "Melanesia 2000" festival was a real shock on both sides: the Kanaks and the other New Caledonians came to realize the importance of Kanak culture and the force it represented. In the idea of the organizers, the festival was a first step, which would be followed by a second one, a part called "Caledonia 2000," which would have brought together Kanaks and the other inhabitants of the archipelago under a common cultural vision. However, the second part of the festival never happened because a political confrontation threw New Caledonia into violence and military operations of repression.

The years between 1984 and 1988, during which the archipelago was on the verge of civil war, was euphemistically called "The Events." In 1984, there were casualties on both sides. Ten men from Jean-Marie Tjibaou's village were killed in an ambush at Hienghène. Among the deceased were two of his own brothers. The tension culminated in 1988 with the hostage taking of the constabularies of Ouvea Island, where two men were killed, and with the intervention of the storm troops of the French army, which caused the death of nineteen Kanak from Ouvea. These events coincided with the second round of the presidential elections in France, and their violent resolution owes much to this context. In May 1988, a new government was formed in Paris and the new Prime Minister, Michel Rocard, initiated negotiations to restore peace.

On 26 June 1988, the "Matignon Agreements" were signed in Paris between Jean-Marie Tjibaou, the Kanak leader, Jacques Lafleur, the European leader and the French government. These political agreements put an end to the emerging civil war and opened a ten year period providing a new balance into three main domains: political, economic and cultural. A referendum on self-determination was planned for 1998. Administrative boundaries were redrawn, resulting in the formation of three "Provinces" with significant autonomy. The redistribution of the nickel mines, the major economic resource of New Caledonia, between the Southern Province and its pro-France majority, and the Northern Province and its pro-independence majority, rebalanced the previous political and economic situation. The creation of the Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture was the cultural component of this rebalanced organization of the archipelago.

The "Matignon Agreements" were signed in Paris with a very small number of representatives, who had to convince their followers, back home, to endorse the agreements. The task was not an easy task on both sides, but the agreements were ratified by referendum on 6 November 1988. New Caledonia was at peace again, and with a new vision to share: build a common destiny with all its cultural components.

However, on 4 May 1989, a new tragic event threatened the peace process: Jean-Marie Tjibaou and Yéiwéné Yéiwéné were assassinated on the island of Ouvea

during a ceremony for the nineteen Kanak who had been killed a year before by the French Military Forces on the same island. His murderer, a Kanak activist, who was against the peace process ratified by the Kanak leader, was killed. Yet these assassinations failed to throw back New Caledonia in a new cycle of violence.

The Birth of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre

The Tjibaou Cultural Centre was not part of the Matignon Agreements, as one can frequently hear or read, on Wikipedia for instance. What was planned, at this stage, was the construction of a building for the newly created Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture. Still, it was not a cultural center yet. The decision to build the Tjibaou Centre was an attempt to overcome the loss of a great elder by turning his vision and words into a cultural action.

Less than a year after the death of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, the Prime Minister of France, in full consent with pro-French and Kanak political leaders, submitted to President François Mitterrand the proposal to build a Cultural Centre that would bear the name of Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Centre.

The project was accepted and integrated into the major building program called: "Les Grands Travaux du Président" ("The Major Works of the President of the Republic"). Among the buildings erected during this program are: Le Grand Louvre, Paris (by Leoh Ming Pei), La Grande Arche de La Défense, Paris (by Johann Otto von Spreckelsen, Paul Andreu, and Peter Rice), La Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (by Dominique Perrault), etc. The Tjibaou Cultural Centre building was the only one to be built outside metropolitan France. The Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture was then designated to implement the project. In 1990, an international architectural contest was organized, and Renzo Piano's project was chosen among ten others from the short-list.

At the same time, the definition of the cultural project started. A quotation from Jean-Marie Tjibaou inspired us: "Our identity lies ahead of us." This sentence is taken from an interview published in 1985 (Tjibaou 1985), which reflected his vision:

> The return to tradition is a myth. . . . No people has ever experienced it. For me, the search for identity, the model, is in front of you and never behind you. . . . And I would say that our current struggle is to put as many of the components of our past and our culture into the human and social model that we want to build for the future. . . . Our identity lies ahead of us.

The forthcoming cultural center should not look back to the past. The past should be known and acknowledged, but the cultural vision for the Kanaks

should be anchored into the present and driven toward the future, opened to all the other cultural sensitivities represented in New Caledonia.

This open vision of the indigenous culture and its possible merging with the nonindigenous ones of New Caledonia echoed the abort festival "Caledonia 2000." The center must become a forum for experimentation in developing a New Caledonian identity, based on Kanak culture as the cultural benchmark but open to the other human and cultural components of the country. The center's vocation is also to be a new space for expression, situated at the meeting point between politics, religion, and custom.

An ongoing process of consultations with Kanak representatives and the Kanak population (twenty-eight languages, eight customary areas grouping 335 tribes) took place throughout the eight years of construction of the building. It was the first time that one place would gather all our different identities and would talk for all of us. At the same time, frequent discussions and negotiations took place between the architect and the Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture. I took it as a normal procedure, but I realize now that this strong connection between a famous architect and the future users is, in fact, rather uncommon. It was attributable to Renzo Piano's vision of his work as an architect: a building achievement based on mutual understanding and human exchanges. Brilliantly using Kanak cultural references, without copying them, the design of the building and its inclusion into a natural landscape, produce, a subtle blend between New Caledonia and Europe

The choice of the building site was an issue at the beginning. Although some preferred the Northern Province, Noumea finally received approval from all suffrages, because it was a strong statement to inscribe the Kanak identity into the capital city. The city of Noumea donated the ground for the construction of the center. The choice echoed, in a way the motto of the previous decade: "Settle the tribe into the city." Moreover, the chosen building site was the very place where the 1975 festival "Melanesia 2000" had taken place more than two decades earlier.

The construction started in 1994 and was completed in 1998. At the same time, we planned the "Kanak path" in the gardens, a cultural vision of Kanak culture using the plants, in conjunction with the architect, and developed the museography of the inner public spaces. In 1995, we launched the first season of prefiguration, which started the cultural program of the future cultural center. These three cultural seasons from 1995 until the opening in 1998, gave us the opportunity to experiment with the cultural programs that we were developing for the center, to educate our future public, and to test the cultural and technical knowledge of the newly formed staff. It was also a great opportunity to promote the center by touring in different villages and islands in the archipelago as well as abroad, in the Pacific region.

On 5 May 1998, a new political agreement was signed in Noumea, extending the previous agreement for a new decade, and the referendum for self-determination was postponed to 2018. Noumea Agreement, as it is called, reinforced the cultural aspects. In its introduction, the agreement says: "The past was the time of the colonization. The present is the time of the sharing, by the rebalancing. The future has to be the time of the identity, in a common destiny." The cultural program of the cultural center, which opened to the public on May 6, 1998, the first day after the signing of the official act, was based on the same lines. It was a convergence of visions and a fortunate coincidence of timing.

The Missions of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre

Since its opening seventeen years ago, the Tjibaou Cultural Centre has developed its artistic mission by organizing contemporary visual arts exhibitions and offering theater, music, and dance performances from local artists as well as international productions, favoring the emergence of Pacific based artists. The Contemporary Kanak and Oceanian Art Collection (FACKO) was founded in 1994 and counts 1,200 items today, documenting the development of visual arts in the Pacific since the 1970s.

The second mission of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre is to preserve research and promote the unique intangible Kanak heritage. Because the Museum of New Caledonia has one of the best collections of Kanak material heritage in the world, the Tjibaou center focuses its efforts on recording and the preservation of dances, music, and oral traditions and know-how. The collection of oral traditions and know-how is partly a subjective process, reflecting age, family relations, and the social status of both the collector and the resource person. The quality of the results relates closely to the quality of the relationship between both. Thus, it requires a proper protocol acknowledging Kanak social control of traditional knowledge. At the first encounter, the collector informs the resource person of the purpose and the future use of the data he is about to give, which is the procedure of obtaining prior informed consent.[2] Oral tradition might be sensitive; thus, it needs protection. Prior to his work, the collector then explains how the collected data will be stored and accessible according to the decision of the elder.[3] Then the work starts, and by the end, the resource person decides which protection he wishes to apply.

Oral traditions and know-how may be expressed by an individual, but they belong to the community. Thus, the process of collecting also needs to be inclusive. The priorities and themes are decided with the customary councils for each area, and the collectors are chosen in conjunction with them, according to their social status and in relation to the chosen theme of collecting. A team of Kanak researchers of the Tjibaou center organizes and assists technically the

collectors with the recordings, the transcription in the local language, and storing the results in the media library of the Tjibaou center.[4]

Publications, media programs, including radio program in four main languages, make it possible to distribute and broadcast the activities of the center to remote villages. The multimedia diffuse the productions; therefore, today the Tjibaou center constitutes one of the major resource centers on Kanak culture.

The development of the Tjibaou Center was not easy. Suspicions locally and internationally had to be overcome. This is how I got in touch with the late Epeli Hauʻofa, the famous Pacific Island writer, and founder of the Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture based at the USP in Suva. Some months after the opening, I read a critical interview with Epeli on the Tjibaou center. I wrote him a message, asking how it was possible to criticize the center without visiting it, and I sent him an invitation. He came and was impressed by the design of the building, which he realized was unique. He visited the exhibitions and attended a performance and realized what a useful tool the Tjibaou center was, not only for New Caledonia, but also for the entire Pacific. From that visit onward, we began exchanges of artists between both cultural centers. The dancer and choreographer Allan Alo[5] was among the very first artists from the Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture in Suva to benefit from the "artist residency program" of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in Noumea.

The connection with the tangible heritage of the past is not always easy in our culture. The day-to-day objects, of course, cause no problem, but the three-dimensional objects, used for instance in rituals, still have a great impact on the population who is familiar with their previous role, which can be very confusing. Christianization has created a movement of fear or at least, of disinterest, that has since been overcome by some of us, but for many, these pieces in museums are still connected to a "demonic past" or, at least, they are to be feared. The reconnection with these objects takes time, and one of the main roles of the museum in New Caledonia is to facilitate this relationship with the tangible past.

From Cultural Dispossession to Cultural Reputation: Museum Objects as "Cultural Ambassadors"

For decades, Kanak's tangible heritage has been destroyed, desecrated, taken away, or sold. Many objects are today in museums around the world, but thanks to the establishment of a museum in the early years of the colony, in 1863, New Caledonia does have one of the most important collections of Kanak art in the world.

During the 1980s, Jean-Marie Tjibaou has questioned the French government asking for a survey of the pieces held in museum collections in France.

Roger Boulay, Curator at the National Museum of African and Oceanian Art in Paris, carried out the first survey in France, which made possible the first international exhibition on Kanak art and culture. Entitled "De jade et de nacre: Patrimoine culturel Kanak," the exhibition was opened at the Museum of New Caledonia in Noumea in 1990 and then in Paris at the National Museum of African and Oceanian Art.

The exhibition was the occasion of a première; the spelling "Kanak" was used, instead of the former colonial spelling "Canaque," throughout the catalog of the exhibition that was printed in France (Boulay 1990). The foreword, signed by Jack Lang, the French Minister of Culture, officially promoted the change. Yet, the question of Kanak with a "K" or a "C" was so sensitive in Noumea that we were asked by local authorities to destroy all the invitation cards on which Kanak was still printed with a "K," and to reprint a new card at the last minute with "Canaque" in the old-fashioned way. This side story is very instructive of the changes that have occurred in New Caledonia over the past twenty-five years. The use of "K" for Kanak is now dominant, and the Kanak flag is one of the two official flags of New Caledonia along with the French one.

Noumea as a venue for the exhibition "De jade et de nacre" was a première, with more than 120 pieces, sometimes gone for two centuries, coming back to their country of origin! The emotion was great, but they had to go back to their museums at the end of the exhibition. I was directing the museum in New Caledonia during this period, and long before the opening of the exhibition, we conducted discussions with elders at the museum about these Kanak objects scattered in museums all around the world. What should we do? Should we ask for their return? The answer was "no." These objects went away a long time ago, and in most cases, it is impossible to know to which clan they once belonged. Some may also have been given or were sold. The waves of history had driven them far from their original shores. They are now serving as "ambassadors" of the Kanak in the world, and it will be good to see them back in New Caledonia from time to time, before they return to serve their purpose again.

The idea of the "Objects Ambassadors" also found a realization at the Tjibaou center with the program called "Bwenando," meaning the traditional gathering. Instead of men of flesh and blood, the "Objects Ambassadors" will reunite with their country of origin. One of the rooms was specifically dedicated to the program, and special environmentally controlled display cases were designed according to international museum standards. For fifteen years, regular visits by cultural "ambassadors" from museums abroad (e.g., France, Switzerland, Australia) came to the Tjibaou center for a period of three years. The objects were selected because of their cultural or historical significance and as a supplement to the permanent collections of Noumea's museum. Through the Bwenando Program, links were established with colleagues in museums,

mainly in Europe, through negotiating loans and researching the history of each object as well as its collectors.[6]

Reconnecting with Our Tangible Heritage: The Inventory of Kanak Dispersed Heritage

As mentioned earlier, the idea of a general survey of Kanak heritage pieces started in the 1980s as a pioneer work. "We need to know where they are and what it is said about them"—it is in these terms that Jean-Marie Tjibaou expressed to Roger Boulay his mission in the 1980s. It was then mentioned in the Matignon Agreements in 1988 but without permanent sufficient financial support. Later, the program was enshrined in Noumea Agreement in 1998. At long last, it was implemented in 2011 and funded entirely by the government of New Caledonia.

The program started in Paris in July 2011 and coincided with my appointment to the Quai Branly Museum that authorized my involvement in the program. Two people were in charge of the scientific aspects, Roger Boulay and myself, one for the database aspect, Etienne Bertrand, whereas Ms. Renée Binosi from the Maison de la Nouvelle-Calédonie à Paris became responsible for the logistics and the financial aspects.[7] The ambition of the project was a comprehensive identification of museums and collections and the systematic inventory of all relevant artifacts (description, photos, and history).

The program was completed in July 2015: ninety-seven museums were visited among the 190 identified in the world. The database contains 5,002 significant cultural objects from eighty museums, 16,500 related documents, 35,000 photos, and 919 biographies of collectors from the end of the eighteenth century until the 1960s. The general survey showed that 17,000 Kanak objects are scattered across 190 museums in the world (157 museums in Europe, including 113 museums in France) and sometimes held for more than two centuries. Fifty-eight percent of the dispersed Kanak heritage is located in six main museums. One third of the collections are weapons. A new cultural map has been revealed, identifying the "Kanak Ambassadors" in the world.

One of the main results of the program was a comprehensive vision of the Kanak material culture evolution and its transformation during the last 200 years of collecting. The variability of types during the time and their diversity led to a much more dynamic vision as before. The second result of the study involved a reframing of Kanak collections into global history. By tracing the history of Kanak ethnographic collections in museums and reconstructing the biographies of their donors, it became easier to follow the transformation of Kanak material culture but also the evolution of European visions. It was a rediscovery of a complex but rich past.

Every year, collaborators from New Caledonia were invited to join the project of making an inventory of objects in European museums. Museum professionals, researchers from the Tjibaou center or cultural experts from the provinces joined the group on our European tour. For some of them, it was their first trip to Europe. They were trained into inventory techniques, but they also met museum professionals, which was a very valuable encounter on both sides.

In conjunction with the inventory operations in Europe, the Department of Heritage and Research at the Tjibaou Cultural Centre focused its investigation on the categories of objects revealed by the inventory, questioning the elders in different regions about the techniques, the material, associated know-how, vocabulary and cultural significances. Each year the Paris team met the local experts working with the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in New Caledonia. The questioning about objects that had not been manufactured for decades or centuries triggered new interest and led to the rediscovery of forgotten techniques. During one of our meeting in Hienghène, we were surprised to meet an elder who came with a throwing-spear woven device, recently made by him using a technique thought to have disappeared a century ago. The technique was the same as the one recorded in museum collections and old descriptions. The only difference was the material used: it was woven with plastic fibers taken from a rice bag. The elder told us that he did not have time to fetch and prepare properly the vegetal material and found this new material very interesting!

The database is now located in Noumea at the Museum of New Caledonia and serves as a resource for museum professionals as well as for local weavers, carvers, and artists to find inspiration for their future creations. The last result was data sharing: a copy of each photo taken and new identifications made by the inventory team were given back to the museums that welcomed us. It was a sharing of knowledge on the collections between professionals in Europe and Oceania. It created mutual understanding and helped to identify and foster long-term loans for the museum in New Caledonia.[8]

Future Cooperation for the Sharing of a Common Heritage

Created in the Pacific and preserved in other parts of the planet, the Pacific Island cultural heritage, as well as the heritage of others, is part of the human heritage. Their presence here and there helps to share a common vision of human culture, away from ethnocentric visions.

The digitization of collections provides accessibility to objects, photos, videos, films, and archives held in Europe and elsewhere. Archives, museums, and resource centers have started to do it for the major benefit of everyone, including resource communities. 100 percent of the 310,000 objects from the Quai Branly Museum, for instance, are available online, along with photos and

archives associated with each object. The interconnection between museums and archives in Europe and in the Pacific should help to develop the professional skills and expertise among Pacific museums and cultural institutions on new technology in relation to cultural heritage.

Museum objects may be interpreted in many ways because they not only bear their original meanings from the culture in which they originated but also from the history of the societies that decided to collect and preserve them. Their long presence in museums has displaced and shifted them from their unique original signification to wider and entangled significations. They tell the stories of human history and development. The dialogues between museums in Europe and museums in source countries develops through exhibition projects for instance. The return, even temporarily, of cultural items to their countries of origin, enriches both sides and widens our vision of humanity. Controversial issues, for example the colonization period, should be addressed by combining both visions from Oceania and Europe.

Linking Oceanic and European Researches

The exhibition "Kanak: L'art est une parole,"[9] held in Paris in October 2013 and in Noumea in March 2014, offers an example of an attempt to reinterpret museum, collections from both sides. The exhibition was structured into two discourses facing each other: the "Faces" and their "Reflection." The faces represent Kanak history and culture as seen by the Kanak; the reflection represents the same themes as seen by the Europeans. The faces use five Kanak concepts: *Nô* (the "Verb" and word), *Mwârö ma Mwâciri* (the ceremonial house and its realm), *Mwa ma Mëu* (yam and taro, the two main crops), *Bèmu ma Rhee* (the ancestors and the spirits), and *Kamö ma Vibéé* (the person and its links). These five sections, using five phrases extracted from traditional speeches represent the Kanak as how they see their human condition, using their own categories. Because cultural objects are produced and developed according to a singular cultural vision and language of the society that produces them, they can only be understood properly in an exhibition if they are properly reconnected to their original mental world, a network of interwoven significations, concepts, sounds and poetry. Thus, the objects were displayed in the exhibition according to their relationships to each theme, although certain types of objects would appear in different sections because of their polysemy in Kanak culture. The text in this section used the "we" instead of "they," creating a closer relationship with the visitor.

In parallel, and on the opposite wall, the second narrative, Reflections, was developed in four sections in counterpoint with the previous one. They described the Kanak as they were seen by Europeans from the late eighteenth century through the twentieth century. These four sections showed Kanak

objects collected at different periods but also many original documents from the very first oil painting made in situ in 1774, to the popular newspapers and comics of the twentieth century. These four sections were chronologically organized and provided an historical timeline to the visitors. The exhibition was mostly using heritage pieces and documents, but also included contemporary Kanak art items, scattered through the different sections.

A catalog of 339 pages was published and sold out before the end of the exhibition (Boulay and Kasarhérou 2013). Unfortunately, the exhibition was not shown in any English-speaking country and the catalog has not been translated.

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In this article, I have shared with you my personal perception of that part of the dream Jean-Marie Tjibaou had for his culture and his country. Among many others, I have tried to help making the vision partially real in my field of expertise.

Culture should not be "the cherry on the cake" as I heard sometimes. Culture is at the basis of human development. This is what makes us strong enough to face life as a group or as an individual. Although the political history has never been peaceful in New Caledonia, this conviction was sufficiently shared to fulfill the cultural program developed by our predecessors in the late 1970s.

From the "Melanesia 2000" festival to the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, from the "Objects Ambassadors" to the Inventory of Kanak Dispersed Heritage, we have continually moved back and forth between New Caledonia and Europe. All that we achieved was done "our way," but we were not alone as we worked together.

New Caledonia will have to face a new crucial step in the years to come. Our "Kanak Way" or "Melanesian Way" or "Pacific Way", whatever you would like to call it depending on which level of perception you are referring to, let us say "our way," has guided us in the past with confidence, sometimes through very difficult times. I hope that it will help us again to keep on plaiting the mat made of more and more strands that have reached our shores from here and there. And my hope is that the mat will still be strong and big enough for all the children of our country, so they may sit on it, talk, sing all together and enjoy life, sharing the same vision of a common destiny.

NOTES

1. The word "Kanak" derives from a Polynesian term "Kanaka," which means "human being." It was largely used during the nineteenth century to designate the indigenous people of Oceania. In French, it was gradually restricted to designate the Melanesians and, finally, the New

Caledonians. Spelled with a great variety, such as "Kanakcs," "Kanaque," or "Canaque," the word was finally fixed in French around the mid-nineteenth century as "Canaques."

2. "Informed consent" is originally a medical notion in which a patient is informed of treatment issues.

3. Five levels are distinguished on a scale of 0–4, with 0 denoting nonavailable (before seventy years after the death of the resource person); 1 denoting consultation restricted to the designated persons by the resource person; 2 denoting consultation with authorization from the chief council; 3 denoting free access but copy with authorisation; 4 denoting free access and copy. Most of the documents produced and preserved from the beginning of the project ten years ago are in categories 3 and 4.

4. For more details on the collection of Kanak oral heritage in New Caledonia, see E. Kasarhérou (2005b), Le collectage de la mémoire orale kanak: Expériences et enjeux, *Mwà Véé: Revue Culturelle Kanak* 50 (October–December), 2005: 4–12; or E. Kasarhérou (2007), Le collectage de la mémoire orale kanak: expériences et enjeux, *Erreffe: La Ricerca Folklorica—Contributi allo Studio delle Classi Popolari* 55: 27–37.

5. The choreographer Allan Alo appeared in "Moana—The Rising of the Sea," the performance presented during the ESfO conference in Brussels in 2015. The performance was written by Vilsoni Hereniko, directed by Peter Rockford Espiritu, and performed by the Oceania Dance Theatre and Pasifika Voices.

6. For more details on the "Objects Ambassadors" see Kasarhérou (2005a; 2014, 207–217; 2015).

7. The official representation of New Caledonia in France.

8. For more details on the inventory of Kanak Dispersed Heritage program, see: Kasarhérou (2013).

9. Curated by Roger Boulay and Emmanuel Kasarhérou, the exhibition, totalling 320 objects and documents in 2,000 m^2, was held in Paris at the Musée du quai Branly from 14 October 2013 to 26 January 2014. It then went to Nouméa where it was on display in the Tjibaou Cultural Centre from 22 March to 28 June 2014, showing 160 objects and documents in 600 m^2.

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ANTHROPOLOGY BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE PACIFIC: VALUES AND THE PROSPECTS FOR A RELATIONSHIP BEYOND RELATIVISM

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I AM GREATLY HONORED by the opportunity to deliver the Sir Raymond Firth Memorial Lecture this afternoon.[1] Greatly honored and, if I am to be honest, a little daunted. Daunted first of all by the towering legacy of Sir Raymond Firth himself, a man who maintained a commitment to the study of the Pacific Islands over the entire course of his very long life and one of only a handful of people who can truly be said to have helped lay the foundations for the still relatively young discipline of anthropology. But daunted also by the work of those in attendance here, so many of whom I am sure have forgotten more about life in the Pacific Islands than I will ever be able to claim to know. And of course when it comes to that other key term of the conference title, Europe, I have even more firmly to proclaim comparative ignorance—having hardly ever lived in Europe, and only recently moved to a nearby island, many of whose inhabitants as we all know have their own suspicions about those whom Epeli Hau'ofa (2008, 32), to whom we will return shortly, calls "continental men." So it is not hard to see why, when faced with addressing you in memory of Sir Raymond Firth at a conference entitled "Europe and the Pacific," my deep excitement could not help but be accompanied by a profound sense of my own limitations.

The title I have given this lecture is designed to remove any hint of subtlety about the strategy I have developed for finding a way forward without having to try to disguise these limitations. For the discipline of anthropology is something I have by now lived with for almost two-thirds of my life. I can claim it as one of my homes in a way I cannot quite claim Europe or the Pacific Islands. It

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is for this reason that today I want to talk about the nature of anthropology and the way it sometimes interposes itself between Pacific peoples and people living in other parts of the world. To be sure, the nature of anthropology and the way it insinuates itself in relations between peoples is a worthwhile topic for Oceania to an extent it might not be for other regions of the world. As Geoff White (2008, x) has recently pointed out, during the colonial period at least, anthropology was "the field of Western scholarship most entangled with Pacific societies," and in very many academic settings this remains true today. The import of this fact cuts both ways—anthropology has, for better and for worse, played an outsized role in representing the lives of Pacific Islanders in many places beyond the region, and, at the same time, work carried out in the Pacific Islands has played an outsized role in shaping anthropology itself. On the former point, one can only wonder at what general "European" images of the Pacific, often distorted enough even with anthropology's input, would be like if anthropology had had no part at all in helping to establish them. And on the latter one, it is hard to imagine what anthropology would be like without the work of Firth himself, Malinowski, Mead, Bateson, Sahlins, Godelier, Wagner, Strathern, and many others whose most influential writings have derived from their studies of the lives of Pacific Islanders. So without wishing to make any kind of ridiculous claim that anthropology is the most important thing that connects people in the Pacific Islands with those living elsewhere, I do, for reasons of my own competency, want to focus on how anthropology has made such connections in the past and how it might do so in some new ways in the future.

My move to look at anthropology as a mediating term in a relationship between people from different places, as something that makes connections, rather than as, say, a simple engine of knowledge production or conceptual innovation, is not an arbitrary choice. For one of my key themes is going to turn on some observations about the importance of relationship-making and connecting more generally for Pacific Islanders. The observations I make in this regard will not themselves be in any way new. At the heart of Hau'ofa's (2008) transformative essay "Our Sea of Islands" is an emphasis on the longstanding importance of connectedness for most Pacific Islanders. Hau'ofa's main point in that piece, after all, is that Pacific Islander commitments to forging relationships across all kinds of social and spatial divides render their worlds large and getting larger, rather than "belittled" and "small" as they appear in the accounts of so many "continentals"—anthropologists, policy makers, and nongovernmental organization workers alike. And this point about the importance of connectedness, if not the one about its role in enlarging worlds, is one anthropologists have not missed. So when Hau'ofa (2008, 36) calls "reciprocity . . . the core of all Oceanic cultures" we perhaps see not only his life experience, but also his anthropological training shining through—or at the very least, one imagines

almost all anthropologists of the region would be ready to stand behind him on this point. Thus my emphasis on the importance of connectedness in Oceanic cultures cannot count on its own as a novel contribution. But if we think of anthropology itself as a kind of relationship-making between the Oceanic region and other regions such as Europe, I think we may be able to raise new kinds of questions about how the Oceanic interest in connectedness itself might figure in this relationship. And it is when I finally turn to making this point, and in the journey I take to get there, that I hope I might be able to say something at least a little bit novel about the Pacific, maybe about Europe, and definitely about the way anthropology sits between them.

In getting the argument I want to make under way, let me return for a moment to Hauʻofa and also to Firth. Having mentioned Hauʻofa's training as an anthropologist, I would be remiss if I did not also acknowledge that his relationship to the discipline was often a highly critical one. In one of his most forceful interrogations of the weaknesses of the field—the 1975 essay entitled "Anthropology and Pacific Islanders"—he notes that one of the problems anthropologists have in understanding Oceanic peoples is that they "know little about their systems of morality, specifically their ideas of good and bad, and their philosophies" (Hauʻofa 2008, 6). Even at the time it was written, some anthropologists might have at least gently contested this point, arguing that one could mine many ethnographies for material on Oceanic moralities. Indeed, Firth himself might have taken this position. For he took the notion of "values" to be a key part of what he and other anthropologists should study. One important aspect of values in his view is that they are "something wanted and felt to be proper to be wanted"—we do not just desire the things we value, but we think it is good to desire them (Firth 1964, 212). For this reason, if we take values seriously, we get quickly to moralities—ideas, as Hauʻofa puts it, about what is good and what is bad. More than this, Firth also noted that the conative, desirable aspect of values means that they engage our emotions as well as our intellectual sense of right and wrong, and by doing so they drive not only thought but also action (ibid.). Oceanic notions of social connectedness are values precisely in this sense—identifications of things people want, and that they think and feel it is good to want, and that they feel it is good to want in ways that lead them to seek to realize in action the states of affairs that the value of relationship-making and connecting defines as desirable.

I think anthropologists have known that connections and relationships are important for many Pacific Islanders for a very long time, but they have not thought about this knowledge as knowledge about Oceanic values, rather than as simply descriptive points about what Oceanic lives and conceptual worlds in many places are like. And in this sense, Hauʻofa's criticism is on the mark. Anthropology would be a very different kind of mediator between the Pacific

and Europe, and between the Pacific and other places as well, if it claimed to be representing not just Pacific cultures or worldviews or social structures, but also Pacific values and the moral philosophies they articulate, and if it insisted that they be taken seriously as values and as moral philosophies. To explain what I mean by this is going to take me a bit deeply into the history of anthropology and into its current condition. But before I take up those topics, maybe it would make sense for me first to show you what I think an anthropology of connectedness as a value in Oceanic societies might look like, even before I try to explain why I think an anthropology focused on showing this kind of thing might be good to develop.

For several years in the 1990s I carried out fieldwork among the Urapmin of the Sandaun or West Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea (PNG). A community of roughly 400 speakers of one of the Mountain Ok languages, the Urapmin live half a day's hard walk from the nearest airstrip, which is at the District Office in Telefomin. For present purposes, in explaining where the Urapmin live, it is perhaps even more important to mention that their territory is about four days walk south over the central Mountain range of PNG to Tabubil, a town built in the 1970s at the cost of one billion US Dollars to service the huge Ok Tedi gold and copper mine, which sits on the land of the Urapmin's Wopkaimin trading partners. While Urapmin still live largely outside the market economy, and the community has produced no long-term migrants who send remittances home, most Urapmin adults have visited Tabubil. The town, with its paved roads, stores, hospital, and twenty-four hour electric power, informs their sense of what might be possible by way of change for a small mountain-dwelling community like their own.

During the period of my fieldwork, Urapmin hopes ran high for a mine like Ok Tedi on their land. Just a year before my own arrival, representatives of the multinational Kennecott Mining Corporation had begun to helicopter in to Urapmin every now and then to prospect for gold and copper. Their prospecting efforts involved collecting soil samples, often by digging fairly deep trenches and sometimes by cutting down trees. It is, or was in the 1990s, a requirement of Papua New Guinea law that mining companies that carry out mineral prospecting of this kind must renew their prospecting licenses every two years by holding a meeting with community members and gaining their assent to continued work on their land. After I had been living in Urapmin for about eight months and had met the Kennecott prospecting team myself on several occasions, the head prospector, an Australian man named Buddy, who was very well liked in the community, announced that soon he would be coming back with a Papua New Guinea mining warden from Port Moresby to hold a renewal meeting of this kind.

From the Urapmin side, it took little discussion among people to establish that everyone in the community wanted to see the license renewed. Hopes for

the construction of a mine were by this time very elevated, and people had no complaints about how the Kennecott representatives had managed their affairs to this point. But people also felt strongly that the meeting itself would be an important event. As the Urapmin understood matters, the mining warden would be the most significant government official ever to visit the community, and this meeting was their chance to establish the kind of relationship with him (the mining warden was always spoken of as a man) and with Kennecott that would keep them both focused on Urapmin with sufficient intensity that they would continue prospecting until enough gold was found to lead to the construction of a mine.

Discussions about the meeting began shortly after Kennecott left from the visit at which Buddy had announced the meeting, and they quickly led to plans to stage a major, carefully scripted performance for the visitors upon their arrival in the community. Preparations for the performance soon got underway. And as it happened, the several months during which these preparations preoccupied the community marked a distinctive moment in my own fieldwork in a way that bears closely on my core concerns today. For in making these preparations, the leaders of the Urapmin community actively worked to involve me in the planning, hoping that I could contribute by helping them design their performance so that it would succeed in communicating what they wanted it to communicate to those who would come for the meeting.

The thought that I might be of some help in this effort was based on people's conviction that those attending the meeting would, like me, be what in the Urap language they call *tabalaseps* or, as they often put it in the Papua New Guinea lingua franca Tok Pisin, *waitpela* men. The Urapmin divide the population of the world into black people, the group to whom they belong, and white people. This is not all about skin color, of course, and people pointed out to me that even if the mining warden were to be a Papua New Guinean, as I kept mentioning I thought he likely would be, he would still be a tabalasep. And in the terms in which my argument here unfolds, it is noteworthy that all Europeans would also be whites, regardless of skin color. So for the months when preparations for the license renewal performance preoccupied the community, I learned a lot about how the Urapmin planned to engage white people in the hopes of bringing them on board to the project of building a mine in Urapmin, and a little bit about the role they wanted me to play in this.

As the script of the meeting took shape, I learned about a set of dramatic skills I had not previously had a chance to discover the Urapmin possessed. Having converted to charismatic Christianity thirteen years before I arrived, Urapmin did not practice their traditional rituals anymore, and their Christian rituals, while powerful in their own way, unfold primarily as talk or lyric-heavy song, and are understood to be largely unscripted so as to be open to the Holy Spirit's

prompting. The planned performance, by contrast, was to be carefully designed ahead of time and thick with complex visual imagery of a kind that I knew (from discussions with Urapmin elders and from reading anthropological accounts of now abandoned traditional men's initiation rites among their neighbors) would have been a staple of Urapmin people's own ritual life in the past.

One of the key messages of the performance was to be the claim that "we Urapmin are bush people." By "bush" (*bus* [Tok Pisin], *sep* [Urap]) here, the Urapmin mean the rain forest that surrounds their homes in distinction to the villages (*ples* [Tok Pisin], *abiip* [Urap]) in which they live. Urapmin spend a lot of productive time in the bush gardening and hunting, but they pride themselves on being village people who live in houses clustered around plazas they keep scrupulously clean of grass and other bush-like growth. Since their colonization in the 1940s, however, the growth of the District Office in Tabubil, the news of the big coastal cities some men passed through when going to work on plantations elsewhere in Papua New Guinea in the 1960s, and finally the spectacular advent of the mining town of Tabubil have led the Urapmin to see themselves at least some of the time as what they call a "bush line"—far removed from the centers of sophisticated life that exist elsewhere. Part of what they hope a mine might do is return them to a firm sense that they are, even in the changed terms of their contemporary understanding, village people, who use the bush to gain their livelihood but do not have to understand themselves as wholly identified with it.

In order to deliver to the mining warden and their other guests the message that as things stand the Urapmin have come to be bush people, the performance was to begin as soon as the helicopter landed. The mining warden would immediately be carried on a litter to the area in which the meeting was to be held, an act the Urapmin referred to as "metaphorical" (*weng do* [Urap])—it meant that "this is the bush, not the town, and here people have to carry you on their shoulders, not in a car." This meaning was to be made explicit in a song the young men of the community would sing to the warden along the route over which he would be carried. The lyrics of the song explained "we are bush, we don't go around in cars or planes, develop us." As the young men sang the song, a man and a woman dressed in a traditional penis gourd and grass skirt, kinds of clothing made from local bush products that the Urapmin never wear any more, and that Kennecott workers would never have seen them wearing, would further convey the equation linking the Urapmin to the bush.

To ensure that the presumably English-speaking Warden understood what he was supposed to do on disembarking from the helicopter, I was charged with making a sign to direct him to sit on the litter. At first, during one of the early planning meetings for the performance, people agreed that the sign should read "Welcome to Urapmin" across the top, and then beneath that "Please sit on the litter." Almost

immediately, however, as people recalled the overall message the performance was to convey, this was amended to "Welcome to bush Urapmin." Five days later, in the midst of another heated planning session, the sign was changed once more—this time to "Welcome to big bush Urapmin." "Big bush" refers to the densest, most intractable parts of the high forest, beyond the range where people hunt and garden. With this emphatic addition, the Urapmin in their own terms gave the strongest possible emphasis to their claim that in the contemporary world they had been pushed much too far into the bush to live as they wanted to.

Once the mining warden and others arrived at the meeting place, the task of carrying out the next, largely verbal, part of the performance would fall to the Urapmin Councilor (*Kaunsil* [Tok Pisin]), a man named Rom elected to represent the Urapmin to the government of their district. Kaunsil Rom planned in his speech to spell out the central messages of all the parts of the performance that preceded it. With regard to the people wearing traditional dress who jumped out of the bushes, he planned to say

> We surprised you with our penis gourds and grass skirts. But this is still what we are. If you have a mother and a father tear off our grass skirts and penis gourds and replace them with trousers. We must become just like you.

He would expand on this point by saying to the visitors that if they really have power, they should "destroy" (*destroim* [Tok Pisin]) the Urapmin ground and move the Urapmin as a community to some other place, a decidedly not bush kind of place, one with roads, an airstrip, and sawn timber houses.

But Kaunsil Rom planned to do more than explain what the visitors had already seen. He also wanted to point out to them that the Urapmin had previously given the company something of great value, and that this morally obligated the company to search for minerals as assiduously as possible. Toward this end, a rhetoric of gift and counter-gift figured prominently in the latter part of his speech. The valuable thing the Urapmin had already given to Kennecott was their land. And this land was not merely useless big bush land that the Urapmin themselves could not work in productive ways. In the Kaunsil's words:

> When Kennecott came here this [area they were working in] was not the big bush—there were just villages [there]. They were taking samples from underneath houses—this was not the bush. These are good places for planting taro, sweet potato, pandanus, bananas. You told us [when you left] not to touch the flagging tape or other things [you had put in place] and since I am a good man I no longer worked in those areas. I gave ['left'] them to Kennecott.

The argument here is that the land from which Kennecott has been drawing samples is not wild, unproductive forest, but is rather ground that the Urapmin have transformed and put to productive use. These village and garden lands are, as the Kaunsil put it in one of the planning sessions for his speech, "the children of men"—the products of human labor. The Urapmin have given some of this valuable land to Kennecott. Whether or not the company feels sympathy for the Urapmin plight as bush people, by the reasoning of this second argument it is now the company's turn to reciprocate these Urapmin gifts with a mine.

You will have noticed that in this part of the councilor's speech the fact that Urapmin have created villages out of the bush in which to live and gardens out of the bush in which to grow crops suddenly replaces their inescapable identification with the bush. In a different essay, this shift from talking about being bush to talking about working the bush and giving away the products of that labor could open up to a discussion of Urapmin understanding of what we might call nature, and the way their relationship to and identification with it was changing at the time Kennecott came to renew their license, but here I want to go in another direction—one that will tell us something about Urapmin relationship-making and the value they place on it.

I can begin to explain what I have in mind here by noting that all of those elements of the performance designed to identify the Urapmin with the bush—carrying the warden on a litter, wearing traditional clothes, explaining that Kennecott has power to transform their land that the Urapmin do not have—would be easy to read as conveying what Hau'ofa (2008: 29, 38) would call a sense of belittlement—a sense that the Urapmin are too small, too technologically weak, and situated too far from the big village lives of the tabalaseps and those like them to change their own conditions and pull themselves out of the bush. They would need Kennecott's help to do all that. And to be honest, I worried that the performance would be read in this belittling way by the visitors who witnessed it. But that was not at all how the Urapmin understood their performance, and my occasional protestations that it might be misread in belittling ways struck them as impossibly wrong headed. What the Urapmin performance was doing as its authors and performers saw it was attempting to make a relationship with Kennecott and the PNG Government and to do so using traditional relationship-making tools the Urapmin had perfected long ago.

This point returns us to the shift in the performance from emphasizing the Urapmin status as a bush line to reminding Kennecott that they have been given valuable, humanly transformed village land on which to prospect. What this shift marks is a move from one widely recognized Urapmin way of speaking and acting in order to elicit relationships to another. The first way of acting and especially of speaking is one the Urapmin call "sorry talk" (*amamin weng* [Urap]). Talking sorry aims to solicit the sympathy (*filin* [Urap]) of the other for

the plight of the performer. The Urapmin consider it the height of boorishness to directly request things from anyone but one's closest relatives. Hence, they use sorry talk among themselves to avoid making direct requests for food and other items. In sorry talk, one hints about what one does not have in the hopes that one's interlocutor will provide it as a gift. In planning for the performance, the Urapmin continually returned to the idea that they were asserting "we are bush people" in speech and action as a kind of sorry talk designed to bring the mining warden and Kennecott into a relationship in which they would be sensitive to Urapmin needs and wants.

When Kaunsil Rom shifted to the language of gift and counter-gift, he left sorry talk behind and turned instead to what the Urapmin call "hard talk" or "strong talk" (*kun weng* [Urap], *hat tok* [Tok Pisin], *titil weng* [Urap]). This is a genre in which a speaker strenuously reminds a listener of his or her duties toward the speaker. Here the point is not that the Urapmin are a bush line hoping to elicit a relationship of sympathy, but rather that they have already given substantial gifts of village land to Kennecott and they expect a relationship to develop with the company on the basis of a reciprocal return.

Urapmin regularly use sorry and strong talk among themselves. They are core tools for making and maintaining relations in the community, and skillful interactors know when to use one or the other and how to mix them to best effect. By putting them to use in their performance, the Urapmin hoped to ensure that the license renewal meeting unfolded on their own terms and toward their own relational ends. Their relationship with Kennecott was not in Urapmin reckoning to rest on a commercial transaction, they were asserting, it was to rest on a social one, and one that carried important expectations of moral behavior and cooperative work toward the realization of what they hoped would be shared relational values. The force of this claim would be brought home to me very strongly when the preparations for the performance came to an end and the mining warden, Buddy, and the other visitors coming for the meeting finally arrived.

In the event, the time of the meeting was greatly delayed. The first attempt to hold it was thwarted by a tragic helicopter crash, and after that it was many months before it again found its way on to the calendars of Kennecott and the mining office. When the date finally came, the helicopter arrived late in the day. By then the fairly frequent late afternoon rains were threatening, and the visitors were determined to move the meeting along quickly so they could fly out before the weather made their exit impossible. Given the circumstances, they were not in the mood for the elaborate performance the Urapmin had planned. The mining warden refused to sit on the litter and rushed past the man and woman in traditional dress. For the most part, the whole event was reduced primarily to the presentation of a truncated version of the council's speech, though

one in which he still managed to say that "my mother and father gave birth to me wearing a grass skirt and a penis gourd, so if you have a father take our land and move us to a town somewhere else." The positive vote on renewal was then quickly taken, and the pilot began trying to get all the visitors back into the helicopter.

As part of the renewal process, prospecting companies have to pay compensation for the land they have disturbed and the trees they have had cut down during the previous lease. I happened to be standing next to Rom when Buddy, the leader of the Kennecott team, tried to pay him the compensation money the company owed. It was a lot of money by local standards, maybe more than had entered the community in one lump sum before. But Rom refused to take it. Having worked in his youth during the colonial era as what he called a "house boy" for the master of a tea plantation, and briefly as a manual laborer helping to build Tabubil town, he was wise to the ways of market exchange, and he knew that by those rules if I give you something and you give me back a cash equivalent for it that means our relationship is over. With this in mind, he told Buddy "just keep the money and come back and build us a mine." Buddy of course insisted he wanted to give Rom the money, but Rom remained adamant in refusing it. By this time, the helicopter pilot was very anxious to leave. A few minutes later, Buddy had to relent, leaving with the money still in his bag.

Rom and all the many Urapmin who worked on the performance had bet on making a relationship—refusing to participate in the kind of exchange that they thought would have allowed the prospector and his company to walk away free of the kinds of reciprocal obligations about which hard talk reminds people. Rom's refusal was a good thing in Urapmin terms, and I never heard a single complaint about him forgoing the payment. Of course, Buddy, despite what I know is his strong personal affection for the Urapmin people, lives in an economy in which making relationships is not the ultimate value. A month or so later his firm sold the prospect to a different company, and by the time I left Urapmin a year later this new company had not yet shown up to carry out any further prospecting. And perhaps it would not have owed the Urapmin this payment in any case. Still, the Urapmin got out of this encounter with their main value of relationship-making intact, and that may have been worth more in the long run than the payment would have been.

In the course of making another kind of anthropological argument than I am making here, I could have talked about the Urapmin interest in making and maintaining relationships in a number of different ways than I have. I could have, as I have elsewhere, laid out the ways Urapmin undertake major exchanges of unlike items as part of making marriages, or discussed how they exchange exactly equivalent items at funerals and to resolve disputes (Robbins 1999). I could have talked about the massive sharing and exchanging of foodstuffs and

other mundane items they undertake every day. And I could have, in a different idiom, talked about how the Urapmin think of relationships as part of the very make up of persons—as fundamental to how the world is, and as embedded in a complex system of indigenous concepts and cosmological precepts. But here I have chosen instead to focus on the way their interest in relationships shows up in their planning for and performance at a prospecting license renewal meeting for two reasons. First, because as I have said, this performance and the planning for it marked a time when the Urapmin were determined to communicate to whites how important relationships are to them, and when they wanted me as an anthropologist to take some role in this. And second, because what they hoped to communicate was that they took relationship-making to be a value—to be something important in itself and tied in with key moral ideas by which they often try to live their lives. They wanted their audience to understand and to feel that when others express needs, a good person, one who values relations, will try to meet those needs at least to some extent, and also to understand and feel that having received something in a relationship one must then give something back. Theirs was a performance of relationship-making and maintaining precisely as a value, and one which called on its audience to recognize this value as making a claim on themselves as well. In the next section, I turn to talking about anthropology, and I suggest some reasons that learning to communicate people's values in something like the way the Urapmin tried to communicate their value of relationship-making and connectedness to the assembled tabalaseps at this prospecting meeting might be important for the discipline now.

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Anthropology has been entangled with Pacific societies from very early in the discipline's history. It has also from very early on been entangled with notions of what, as the field developed, would come to be called cultural difference—the idea that people who lived differently than did those who populated the societies from which anthropologists mostly came nonetheless lived coherent and meaningful lives that made sense on their own terms and were possessed of their own integrity. The most famous of the early anthropological monographs focused on the Pacific Islands made this point with great force. One thinks here of Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* with its challenge to taken for granted western notions of exchange and economy, and Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* and *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, both of which aimed to upset taken for granted western notions of sexuality and gender. First in the United States, but later throughout the global academy, anthropological conceptions of cultural difference, the integrity of all cultures, and the possibility of presenting such differences to western audiences

in a critical spirit, with the goal of upending readers' settled pieties about their own ways of life, coalesced into what Clifford Geertz (2000, 44) has called the "ill-defined" notion of cultural relativism. Such relativism has been ill-defined in the sense that no anthropologist has ever quite made a systematic theoretical or philosophical program of it. But cultural relativism nonetheless became hugely influential, shaping the intellectual and the moral sensibilities of several generations of scholars, anthropologists, and others, who were led by it to be deeply interested in difference and its critical potential. Indeed, as Geertz went on to add, anthropologists quite generally came to rely upon relativism as the key tool they could wield to disturb "the general intellectual peace."

I have turned to this rather potted history of the role of difference and relativism in the making of anthropology both in the Pacific and as a discipline more generally because I think recent changes have threatened to render the anthropological interest in difference a thing of the past. At the very least, the sun seems definitely to have set on the heyday of cultural relativism. Geertz's remarks on relativism that I have been citing come from his well-known 1983 Distinguished Lecture to the American Anthropological Association entitled "Anti Anti-Relativism." His concern in the lecture was with countering some anti-relativist positions that were growing in popularity in the early 1980s. The essay itself, as was perhaps presaged by the fact that its title was in hindsight clearly too arch by at least half, was not one of Geertz's best. But uncharacteristically poor though his execution may have been, Geertz was on to something in his suspicion that by the time of his lecture, relativism was starting to need defending. Indeed, by the early 1990s I would suggest the doctrine had largely faded from the anthropological scene outside of undergraduate classrooms. A very informal survey of the anthropologists I have bumped into over the last few years makes the point, for it reveals that none can quite bring themselves to identify as full blown relativists, and this despite my confession to them, meant to encourage as much positive reflection as possible on their part, that I often think I might, or at least wish I could, still be one.

What happened to so decisively put relativism in the shade? Elsewhere, I have made the argument that the self-critical, reflexive period in anthropology, and in the social sciences and humanities more widely, that took up much of the 1980s and 1990s—the era of *Time and the Other* (Fabian 1983), *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986), and *Orientalism* (Said 1979), among many other works—served to make discussions of difference, cultural and otherwise, too politically tainted to seem worth risking (Robbins 2013a). In the wake of this development, I went on to suggest, anthropology enthusiastically adopted newly minted models of the universality of human experiences of suffering that suggested that even if people might differ culturally in some respects, they all suffer in similar ways when placed in broadly similar kinds of bad

circumstances. Soon, an anthropology no longer very comfortable with its commitment to cultural difference began to focus on people that suffered at least as often, if not more often, than it focused on those living integral lives in ways that were unfamiliar from the vantage point of the anthropologist's own. As anthropologists became committed to the project of witnessing to the existence of universal forms of suffering wherever they could uncover them, relativism was at best an irrelevance, and at worst it was a dangerous doctrine that could unduly complicate the clear humanitarian message accounts of suffering were designed to convey by suggesting that suffering might not be as easy to identify or understand cross-culturally as it has come to appear.

Since sketching out the historical account I have just summarized in an article published a few years ago, I have become convinced that in part anthropology's shift from studying difference to studying the suffering subject was not just a result of the field's reflexive moment. It was also caught up in a much wider transformation of the values by which many western countries organized their relations to the rest of the world. The historian Samuel Moyn (2010) has narrated this shift in his important revisionist history of Human Rights entitled *The Last Utopia*. Moyn's key claim is that the doctrine of human rights that is so influential at present was not a product of the enlightenment, the French Revolution, or even the postwar moment in 1948 that gave us the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights—a declaration it is worth remembering that the American Anthropological Association, at the height of its relativist self-confidence, famously opposed. Rather than being a product of any of these earlier moments, Moyn (2010: 87–88) argues, human rights as a value came to the fore only in the mid-1970s. And, crucially for the picture I am trying to paint here, what human rights replaced as a key western value for organizing international relations in the 1970s was the value of cultural self-determination that had dominated the previous period of anticolonial struggle and decolonization. On Moyn's (2010, 88) interpretation, "human rights entered global rhetoric in a kind of hydraulic relationship with self-determination: to the extent the one appeared, and progressed, the other declined, or even disappeared." An earlier anthropology of difference and relativism was strongly, if not always perfectly, aligned with the value of self-determination. Once the value of individual human rights had taken center stage, anthropology's turn to relying on universal models of suffering and its correlated adoption of the value of human rights seem almost a foregone conclusion.

Of course, if you asked most anthropologists if their abandonment of relativism and even in many cases of an interest in cultural difference followed simply from a change in values in the wider culture of which they are a part, they would likely answer in the negative. Dissenting from the suggestion that they were marching in step to dominant political trends in setting relativism

aside, most anthropologists would probably tell you that they dropped the doctrine because there were some compelling intellectual reasons for doing so (see Hollinger 2003). Foremost among these, they would explain, is that the very model of cultures as homogenous, bounded, and integral wholes upon which relativism rested had come to seem wrong headed—cultures are too internally contradictory and contested, and too fuzzy at the edges, to support arguments that they have a simple set of "own terms" on which they could be said to make sense. Moreover, given that cultures, whatever they might be, came to be understood to be internally diverse, it became simple to make the argument that they often disregard or even traduce the interests of at least some of their members, rendering any claim that they are morally coherent radically suspect. And finally, and in a slightly different register, how can any intellectuals responsibly hold to a doctrine that makes it impossible for them to confidently identify real evil in the world outside the borders of their own society and be prepared to respond to it? To the extent that relativism renders such identification and response difficult, it cannot help but be a morally crippling doctrine.

I find some of these intellectual reasons for abandoning relativism more compelling than others, just as I find some of them more blindly signed up than others to the individualist values that underwrite now dominant human rights discourses. But my purpose in outlining them here is not to interrogate them in any depth. Rather, I mention them because I think that there may be a way of recovering the anthropological commitment to difference and some of its critical force that manages to avoid many of the weaknesses that on these arguments are supposed to beset relativism. And if we can recover our commitment to difference without falling into what now appear to so many scholars to be dangerous relativist traps, I think this would be worth doing. It would be worth doing, I want to suggest, because in abandoning relativism and the commitment to difference that went with it, anthropology lost much of its critical vocation—and it certainly lost the central place it once briefly held as an innovative, vanguard discipline among the human sciences that could mediate in unique ways between regions such as the Pacific and Europe.

The simplest way to describe what I have in mind by way of recovering a critical commitment to difference for anthropology is to say that I want to set cultural relativism aside as the foundation of this commitment and replace it with a position that is known as value pluralism. As an intellectual doctrine, value pluralism is largely a philosophical affair these days. Its most well-known proponent is the intellectual historian and political philosopher Isaiah Berlin, though arguably it has its earliest modern roots in the work of the great sociologist Max Weber.[2] The core claims of value pluralism are easy enough to state, though their full import can be a bit hard to grasp at first glance. It can help to bring that import to the fore to start by noting that value pluralism opposes a position known as value

monism. Value monists argue that there are many different values in the world, but that when these values are properly understood, they can be arranged in an exhaustive hierarchy such that it is always possible to know which one of any pair of values is more important and which is less so. Value pluralists agree that there are a number of important values that exist in the world, but in contrast to monists they go on to suggest that rather than being arranged in a clear hierarchy, each of these major values is equally capable of supporting good ways of life, ones in which human beings can flourish. In addition, value pluralists also stress that some of these equally good values conflict with one another—they are, as Weber (1946: 147, 153) famously put it, "warring gods," equally powerful and equally jealous of human commitment. Because important values are equally good, when they do conflict it is impossible to choose rationally between them in the way value monists think you should—it is impossible, that is, to say that one has reasons other than one's own preference or tradition for committing to one equally good value over another. One must simply make what Berlin (1998, 239) liked to call a "tragic" choice that will allow you to realize the good represented by one value, but only at the expense of losing out on another good represented by the value that conflicts with the one you choose.

As is well known, Berlin was deeply entrenched in the liberal tradition, and many others who have articulated value pluralist positions have been as well. So the examples of equally good but conflicting values, the existence of which they often point to as evidence for their assertions, are familiar liberal ones. Taken as conflicting pairs, they range from such rather modest but important values as politeness and honesty to heavy hitters like justice and mercy, freedom and security, or liberty and equality. If you take a moment to think about how hard it is to square conflicting pairs of values like these with one another, but also how difficult it is to say with complete conviction which one is higher than the other, you can get a glimpse of the kinds of intuitions that ground the value pluralist position.

Having given this abbreviated account of value pluralism on the way to making some observation about what this position might mean for a renewed anthropological engagement with difference, let me pause to emphasize the ways in which value pluralism, though clearly a doctrine about differences, is not a kind of relativism. For value pluralists, it is a fact about the world that a number of values exist each of which can equally, though differently, support flourishing human lives. It is also true that societies differently rank and elaborate these values. This is one, albeit only one, reason that societies are meaningfully different from one another. But as long as societies are elaborating real values—ones that lead to genuine human flourishing—then we have no basis to suggest our own ways of life are superior to theirs, at least in terms of the values that shape them. It would be up to those who hold other values to consider ours and make the tragic choices that would arise for them by virtue of

them coming to know what it is like to live with our core values, just as one of our tasks should be to consider the values elaborated by others and make the choices, tragic though they may be, that knowledge of those values may raise for us. The real mistake would be to fail to learn about and consider the import of values one's own tradition has not elaborated—since then one would miss out on knowing about something real in the world that bears on the question of how human beings can lead good lives.

An anthropological approach to difference founded on value pluralism would take off from the ideas I have just laid out. It would endeavor not to present and justify the integrity of whole cultures, though it need not take a position on whether or not they actually exist. Instead, it would work to present the values of the people we study and offer accounts of how those values shape their lives with enough force and clarity that they can be felt as values by those who do not already hold fully elaborated versions of them. And this brings me back to the Urapmin performance at the prospecting license renewal meeting. What the Urapmin hoped to achieve by means of that performance was, I have argued, conveying to their visitors not just that they want a mine, but that they care deeply about relationships and want the mine to come to them along roads created by the kinds of relationships they want to form with moral persons who know when to feel sympathy and when to remember their obligations. One of the things anthropologists ought to be able to do is help communicate values across just the kinds of divides the Urapmin were trying to bridge by means of their performance. They had asked for my help with this in the case at hand, so their concerns entered my anthropological practice at their insistence, but I am suggesting that conveying the values of those we study to those living outside their societies ought to become a feature of anthropological practice more generally.

In order to be good at communicating what it is like to live by a wide range of important values, anthropologists might have to approach their work somewhat differently. They would need, for one thing, to focus more on studying values than they do at present. But more than this, they would for another thing have to develop skills in communicating them. And this may not be easy. To understand why, we can return briefly to Firth. Firth (1964, 221) noted that values "have a cognitive aspect, they may be conceptualized, have a shape in ideas" but, crucially, they "have also an emotional charge." To make those relatively unfamiliar with a given value, say that of relationship-making and maintaining, really understand what it is like, we will have to find ways to lead them to feel the emotional pull of that value, and not just to understand conceptually what it might be like to hold it. This is why I have here presented an account of an Urapmin performance—a performance designed to move an audience—and not a conceptually rich but emotionally flat analysis of all of the practical and intellectual contexts in which one can find evidence that the Urapmin care

about relationships and put relational values ahead of others. I have tried by this means to communicate that the Urapmin care first and foremost about what we might call, in language that is decidedly not theirs, the rights of relationships even more than they care about the rights of the individuals that are sometimes, as they see it, created by them.

I have been working a little bit lately on the question of how values are presented in ritual performance (Robbins 2015). But when beginning to think about this article, I was reminded about the Urapmin performance for the licensing meeting not by my research in that area but by my reading of a number of works focused on climate change in the Pacific Islands. In her article "A Sea of Warriors: Performing an Identity of Resilience and Empowerment in the Face of Climate Change," Candice Steiner (2015) documents a number of performances developed by people across the Pacific to communicate to wide audiences not only the facts of the effects of climate change in their region, but also what those effects mean for Pacific Islanders' ability to live their lives as they want to, as people who value being in close relationship with one another and with their ancestors. In talking to Steiner about one of these performances, the spectacular *Moana: Rising of the Sea*, my distinguished predecessor as Firth Lecturer Vilsoni Hereniko noted that as he sees it the arts will be crucial in transforming the world's approach to climate change because they engage "the area of feeling and emotion," they move "understanding the effects of sea level rise from the head to the heart" (Steiner 2015, 170). In one of his own recent writings on climate change, Hereniko (2014, 227) similarly talks about focusing on conveying "affective or emotional truth." I have been suggesting that this realm of emotions is crucial to the realm of values, and that if one wants to recover the critical force of difference anthropology once so powerfully put into play, one needs to attend to it, as have Hereniko and others working in the area of Pacific Islander art and performance, including in their own way the Urapmin. And if one is inclined to doubt the import of the emotional aspect of values, it is worth recalling that Firth (1964, 221) himself long ago pointed out that it is the "emotional element in values in particular which makes them promote and guide conduct." Without introducing people to the emotional force of values they have not yet considered, or not considered promoting to a high position in their own hierarchies of concern, we are unlikely to help push forward much by way of change.

Perhaps I can let things rest here, with the suggestion that we think about communicating values as something anthropology should do when it gets between people—be they Europeans and Pacific Islanders or any other two or more parties. We can justify this intellectually, I have argued, on the basis of a value pluralist position. And we can justify it practically by pointing to the fact that any real social change is going to have to involve value change if it is

to have any real world effects. As it happens, the time may be right in anthropology to recall us to our historical entanglement with difference. One of the most prominent contemporary intellectual movements in the field—the ontological turn—has explicitly revived the value of self-determination, making "the ontological self-determination of the collectives" that anthropologists study one of its main theoretical areas of interest as well as one of its most oft-repeated slogans (Viveiros de Castro 2014, 43). It has also strongly endorsed the study of difference, drawing heavily on earlier Melanesianist work as it does so. But by the lights of what I have been arguing here, the ontological turn's thoroughgoing focus on what Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2014, 48) calls "the creation of concepts" rather leaves out values and does not suggest they are something anthropologists should creatively convey. And certainly, to this point, the study of ontology has been far more interested in blowing minds than it has been in turning hearts. My point in saying this is not that the ontological turn is unimportant—it is laying out one crucial path toward recovering the force of difference in contemporary anthropology—but it is to suggest that it is not doing all the work along these lines that needs to be done.

Marcel Mauss, through his reading of Malinowski among others, was one of the first scholars to demonstrate how effectively anthropology at its best could powerfully communicate what people cared about across the Pacific Island–Europe divide. I might close with a quotation from him that I have used before, but that I think I have only in this article really laid the foundation for using the way I always hoped to. Mauss once wrote that "a civilization must be defined more by its deficiencies, it shortcomings, its refusal to borrow, than [by] what it has borrowed, the points it shares with others" (quoted in Fournier 2006: 269–70). I read Mauss as saying here that in the end societies may best be judged by the universally relevant values they refuse or are unable to see and will not learn about from those who have seen them clearly and elaborated them fully, rather than by the ones that they find it easy to recognize and to hold important and that they therefore most aggressively promote. In this vein, anthropologists might help Pacific Islanders in their own efforts to convey to others the importance of the value of relationships in their lives, and they might try to do so in ways that help those who put other values first to learn to feel the force of this one.[3]

NOTES

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years have gone into shaping the perspective I develop here, and his careful reading of the penultimate version was crucial to the final form of my argument. I dedicate this paper to him in gratitude to the many ways our relationship has helped to sustain my intellectual life and its engagement with Pacific Anthropology.

2. For a history of value pluralism, see Lassman (2011). For a very clear statement of the position in terms very close to those I adopt here, see Gray (1995). I have explored these ideas in anthropological terms more fully in Robbins (2013b).

3. This article has appeared in French as "L'anthropologie entre l'Europe et le Pacifique: valeurs et perspectives pour une relation au-delà du relativisme," *L'Homme*, April–June 2017, 222:2.

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