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NAMING THE COOK ISLANDS: ARTICULATION THEORY AND 'AKAPAPA'ANGA

Emma Ngakuraevaru Powell
Victoria University of Wellington

The Cook Islands has existed as a formal polity for roughly one hundred years. There is no antecedent Māori name for this nation. Referencing the explorer Captain James Cook, it has been the nation's primary identifier since the late nineteenth century despite the nation comprising fifteen islands and various and distinct cultural genealogies prior to European arrival. In this article, I ask how might we effectively describe the formation of the Cook Islands' national identity and understand its name given its underlying genealogical and cultural diversity. In asking this question, I consider the utility of cultural studies' articulation theory for contextualizing the development of the Cook Islands name and the culture it denotes. I then discuss how the Cook Islands (Māori) concepts of 'akapapa'anga (genealogy making) and the Māori practice of naming extend articulation theory's proposition that culture is a series of articulated parts.

Introduction

Ko 'ai to'ou ingoa: What Is Your Name?

My name is Emma Emily Ngakuraevaru Powell. I am a child of two Cook Islands Māori (Māori) parents who were both of Māori parents too. I was born in New Zealand and raised by my adoptive English grandfather and my Māori grandmother. I have spent my life in New Zealand. Apart from my multicultural family, I have spent very little time amongst the Cook Islands community

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but have always felt deeply connected and proud of my cultural and ancestral connections. That distance from Māori people has meant I have had a limited fluency in the Māori language, cultural protocols, and (at least until my adult years) the history of my people. Reconciling my ignorance of essentialist cultural practices and the deep comfort and pride I feel toward my Māoriness has, in varying permutations, been a focus of my academic research about the Cook Islands nation and Māori people to date. The questions posed in this article are partly generated from that personal and academic experience.

They are also influenced by the ideologies of my discipline. As a Pacific studies doctoral student at Va'aomanū Pasifika, my research practice has been shaped by the theoretical underpinnings of the Pacific studies field at Victoria University and therefore the writings of the late associate professor Teresia Teaiwa and professor of Pacific Islands studies Terence Wesley-Smith (University of Hawai'i) (Teaiwa 2010; Wesley-Smith 1995, 2016). Teaiwa's tenets of interdisciplinarity, the need to engage with indigenous ways of knowing, and comparative practice have been grappled with by every student who has walked into our Pacific studies program since 2000. It is with her absence that our current cohort of postgraduate students feel keenly the need for her guidance and are questioning the intent and potential of her published contemplations, both implicit and explicit.

This article began as an exercise in applying theory within the broader spirit of the program's theoretical foundations. In the Pacific studies PASI401 course (Theories and Methods in Pacific Studies), students engage with theory and writings from across the Pacific, and in early weeks they learn about articulation theory. In our 2018 class, we focused on the theory's foundations in the British cultural studies school (Hall 1978, 1986) and followed part of its legacy to the History of Consciousness program at the University of California, Santa Cruz, through which Teaiwa and our 2018 course coordinator, April Henderson, had both obtained their doctorates. We learned that Teaiwa had used articulation theory extensively in her work, and for our course assessment, we were asked to write with the theory's conceptual language: "How would you describe and understand [your project or issue] as *a unity of disparate elements; an assemblage; a whole formed out of multiple parts; a fusing together in a particular place and time of things that have not always been and may not always remain fused*?"[1]

The theoretical contemplations in this article extend early writing done as part of this PASI401 assessment. My doctoral project explores genealogical practice—or 'akapapa'anga —in the Cook Islands context, so in this article, I had wanted to produce a more fulsome response to the exercise set for us in that course with a view to strengthening the theoretical framework of my thesis. I wanted to test my preliminary theorizations of 'akapapa'anga as a practical ontology for marginalizing colonial historical narratives of the Cook Islands. I

also wanted to test the extent to which ʻakapapaʻanga was able to foreground a Māori ontology. In that first draft, I had found that although articulation theory provided the means to deconstruct the cultural monolith of the Cook Islands, it had not been able to capture the layered multiplicity of relationality in the Māori worldview, the ways in which various cultural identities and elements could be called forth and peripheralized through Māori genealogical practices.

Below, I propose the potential of understanding culture not only as a complex coalition of distinct parts but also as a dynamic, expansive, and animated organic body. I discuss this through the highly conceptual language of articulation theory and ʻakapapaʻanga and make my own contributions to the theoretical discourse with the concept of the "organic" as an extension of James Clifford's cyborg and Teaiwa's articulated limb (described later in this article).

This discussion is shaped by a central question in Māori practices of relation and ʻakapapaʻanga: *Ko ʻai toʻou ingoa*, or what is your name? As I pondered Teaiwa's prescription for indigeneity and comparativity in Pacific studies during my time in the PASI401 course, I consistently returned to considering my positionality as a Māori person and its relevance, status, and meaning to my project from within and without (see Case, this issue). When thinking through this personal and intellectual dialogue, I often use the metaphorical site of my name as a testing ground for theorizing indigenous and nonindigenous theories in my research practice. In my extended consideration of articulation theory and its relevance to ʻakapapaʻanga as a cultural practice within my work, Cook Islands naming traditions seemed fitting ground on which to test my theoretical workings. I focus in particular on my own name—"Emma Emily Ngakuraevaru Powell"—and the nation that is named "the Cook Islands" as a way of illustrating the limitations of articulation theory in the Cook Islands context. I then discuss the potential of ʻakapapaʻanga as a way of extending its underlying principal: that culture is a sociocultural ensemble of cultural elements, engaged in an ongoing process of articulation and disarticulation.

What's in a Name? The Cook Islands and Cook Islands Māori People

Te au ingoa: Naming Traditions

For Māori of the Cook Islands, the tradition of naming is a sacred and important custom. It is not peculiar to the Māori of the Cook Islands, but, as in other cultures of the Pacific region and the world, its role in Cook Islands society remains one that is intimately connected to one's relations, relationships and state of belonging. In his text *A Book of Cook Islands Māori Names*, Māori scholar Jon Jonassen wrote,

> Names play a major role in the traditional life of the Māori people of the Cook Islands. It has a dynamic, ever-present symbolism that constantly reminds those who are living of responsibilities to their ancestors and descendants. It has emotional, physical and spiritual connotations. . . . Names create a link to ancestors, friends, family members, titles and land. It enhances events and relationships between the past, present and future. . . . Traditionally, names change over the life of a person to commemorate particular events. There is a birth name . . . a new marital name . . . and a death name. . . . In general, names are dreamed during sleep or are simply created to describe an event, a relationship or a favourite aspect of nature. Often various parts of the child's whole name extracts from the genealogy of both parents. Additional names can also be added to the existing names of persons. These usually occur when traditional titles are bestowed: by families on a particular person. (Jonassen 2003: 7–8)

My big, long, complex name is a unity of many ancestral links, not all constituted through blood ties. The name "Ngakuraevaru" is the most recognizably Māori. It is the name of my great-great-grandmother. My surname is an inheritance from the English grandfather who adopted my mother. My second name—Emily—was the name of my English grandfather's mother. As a conglomeration and commemoration of Māori and non-Māori genealogies, one might ask, Where does this name come from, and what does it represent? What are the ways that such a name might be read, and how am I to carry them all at the same time?

I am always struck by the simultaneously meaningful and obfuscating aesthetic of my name. Inside its Māori paradigm, one would see my name as a complex and multilayered network of familial, social, and cultural connections. Each one represents a series of individuals and experiences. They have then been hung on a daughter and granddaughter to be carried forward for another generation and potentially handed on to another future descendant. But, as names are hooked on to new entities and then move through different cultural contexts, each new meaning simultaneously supersedes and extends, within some contexts its meaning may be reduced, and in others its complexity is liberated.

The names "Cook Islands" and "Cook Islands Māori" are similarly complex. They are constituted from a specific ancestor—Captain James Cook—and the people and islands they have come to represent. The nation's name now suggests a homogeneous Māori culture and national identity, representative of all peoples with genealogical affiliations to one or more of its fifteen islands. It also belies the fact that the majority of the Cook Islands Māori global population

no longer live in the home islands. Māori academics Ani James, Jean Mitaera, and Apii Rongo-Raea propose that part of the name's power and meaning is produced from the binary generated by the nation's boundary:

> In the Cook Islands all things indigenous (both animate and inanimate) carry the name *Māori*. We call ourselves *Māori*, our language is *Māori* and our culture is *Māori*. In truth, *one is only a Cook Islander outside of the Cook Islands* [emphasis added]. (James, Mitaera, and Rongo-Raea 2012, 9)

As Cook had a salient influence on the drawing of that boundary, it seems appropriate that his name be used to contextualize the polity that it created. I suggest, then, that his name (and therefore Cook himself) is an important part of the contemporary cultural identity of Māori people, someone we might refer to as a key ancestor in our national genealogy. I am aware that claiming Cook as any kind of ancestor to Māori society has the potential for controversy given that his explorations of the Pacific are understood as the catalyst for the British colonial project and the dismantling and eventual disenfranchisement of indigenous people in many parts of the region. Nevertheless, he is the foreign explorer that the Cook Islands national identity and culture are named after. It is how we are known to those outside our boundaries, and many have accepted and invested meaning in the demonym as our national sovereignty has developed.

In my preliminary thinking for this article, I was reminded strongly of Teresia Teaiwa's sentiments in her article "The Ancestors We Get to Choose: White Influences I Won't Deny," where she explored the undeniable influence of non-Pacific thinkers in her intellectual genealogy and the intellectual genealogy of the Pacific region at large. In acknowledging those influences, Teaiwa wrote,

> It has been routinely acknowledged . . . that genealogy is central to the formation of Pacific subjectivities. In response to works by Pacific Islands scholars, there have also emerged some clear expressions of suspicion and anxiety around the potentially fascist or ethno-nationalist turns in the use of genealogical (often conflated with genetic) discourse. Such anxieties, however, often fail to account for one of the foundational characteristics of kinship in the Pacific—the capacity (and, indeed, in some cases the preference) for assimilating Otherness through a variety of means that have genealogical implications: adoption, feeding, the exchange of land, titles, gifts and names. (Teaiwa 2014: 43–44)

Teaiwa's words resonate strongly with my proposition that Cook's place in the cultural genealogy of Māori people is not only plausible but also undeniable. While his name may have been imposed on an arbitrary national boundary (something I explore later in this article), I am interested in how a Māori analytical lens might contextualize its longevity and its function for Māori people rather than the colonial cartographers. In 1994, a referendum was held in the Cook Islands asking whether Māori would consider changing the Cook Islands name to a Māori one and (among other things) if, in voting to change it, they would agree to the new name of "ʻAvaiki."[2] The majority voted to keep the Cook Islands name, and perhaps, in this way, Cook is indeed the ancestor Māori chose—or at least an ancestor they chose during a specific moment in 1994 (Crocombe and Crocombe 1995).[3] Shortly after I presented an early draft of this article at the annual meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) in February 2019, New Zealand and Cook Islands media reported that one of the paramount ariki of Rarotonga and the Cook Islands, Pa Marie Ariki, had restarted conversations with the government and the House of Ariki[4] seeking a Māori name for the nation. Much of this coverage cited the irrelevance of Captain James Cook to Māori people and culture and the need to put the issue to the people via a referendum (Paranihi 2019; Roy 2019). This seemed to give some of my theoretical contemplations yet more relevance.

The Cook Islands Name

In the Cook Islands context, the nation's name will always carry negative and positive connotations. Non-Māori and Māori recognize that the Cook Islands is clearly not an ancestral name of the Māori people because, as we know, it is an English name, and it references Captain James Cook. Within the postcolonial paradigm, we might understand the connotations of Cook, the name, and the person as associated with colonialism, and our reading of the name might be neatly colonial and broadly bad. But, as I go on to discuss in the following sections of this article, it is important that in understanding the relevance of Cook and the Cook Islands name, we pay careful attention to cultural formation within a particularly Māori paradigm. Thus, as referred to by numerous native Pacific academics, we must be conscious of what Samoan-Tuvaluan-papaʻa poet and scholar Selina Tusitala Marsh called a "genealogical aesthetic," constituted by the well-known Pacific adage of "facing the future with our backs" (Marsh 2004, 9). Within this context, a native Pacific and Cook Islands Māori view of temporality values not only understanding what came before (genealogies) but also the shifting meanings of those legacies, their recurrence and invocation, and their bearing on potential futures. Accordingly, understanding the connotations of the Cook Islands name begins with tracing its genealogy.

Various names were given to specific islands in the modern Cook Islands group by European explorers beginning in the late sixteenth century.[5] However, the Cook Islands name first appeared when hydrographer and cartographer Johann van Krusenstern sketched it onto a Russian naval map in 1835, honoring Captain Cook (Kloosterman 1976, 55). At this time, van Krusenstern's map only referenced the modern-day "southern group."[6] In 1888, the island group became a British protectorate, and in 1901, it became a New Zealand colony annexed under the "Cook Islands and other Islands Governments Act 1901." In New Zealand, the boundaries of the Cook Islands were gazetted as a proclamation from King George on June 13, 1901, and included the island of Niue. This was until the passage of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1957, though it is clear from the resident agent reports and the published histories of the Cook Islands that they were administered separately well before then. In the Cook Islands Act 1915, the boundaries' coordinates and land area for the nation were defined and included the following islands (from south to north): Mangaia, Rarotonga, Maʻuke, Atiu, Takutea, Mitiaro, Manuae Aitutaki, Suwarrow, Nassau, Pukapuka, Manihiki, Rakahanga, and Penrhyn. The Cook Islands then became a self-governing nation in 1965.

Prior to this, during what is referred to as the colonial period (1888–1965), the respective islands, with the exception of the allied groupings of Ngaputoru (the southern islands of Atiu, Maʻuke, and Mitiaro) and the two northern atolls of Manihiki and Rakahanga, were considered to be relatively detached, possessing distinct genealogical legacies. These diverse traditions then set the tone for intraregional and eventually intranational relations well into the colonial period. I argue, as do others (Nicholas 2016; Sobel-Read 2012; Tagata Pasifika 2013), that these divergent genealogies have structured allegiances and relational proximities in a way that has made the collective development of the "Cook Islands Māori" nation and culture complex and at times difficult. In short, the priorities of different island and familial communities have often contrasted both in the Cook Islands and within the Cooks Islands diaspora, creating tensions. In the Tagata Pasifika story cited above, various interviewees in the report gestured to the subtle tensions between island community groups, and many anecdotal accounts echo these sentiments in home-island and diasporic contexts (S. Nicholas, pers. comm.).

While the formal creation of the nation was executed through political arrangements with colonial powers, collective subscription to the nationalist agenda of the new Cook Islands nation was slow and strategic, achieved through a combination of powerful chiefly titles, strategic rhetoric, and marital unions (Gilson 1980). Makea Takau—referred to as a past Queen of Rarotonga and holder of one of the most powerful ariki titles on that island (Makea Nui)—held significant political, cultural, and social power at the turn of the

nineteenth century. Influenced by the encroaching colonial presence of France in the islands farther to the east (Tahiti and eventually the entirety of modern-day French Polynesia), Takau sought protectorate status from the British in 1888 as a preemptive measure against potential French invasion. Rarotonga, as the largest island of the group, had already established itself as the headquarters for colonial and missionary institutions in the nearby region, and Takau's decision-making power was bolstered by her marriage to the paramount ariki of Ngāputoru, Ngamaruariki Rongotini. The alliance of these four islands was a strategic and powerful political move at a time when colonial competition for power in the region had begun to increase. The remaining islands of the southern group eventually bowed under the insistence of missionary and colonial actors, and the addition of the northern atolls—Pāmati, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Tongareva, Pukapuka, Nassau, and Suwarrow—occurred as Britain and New Zealand began tidying the cartographic record of their territories (Gilson 1980; Scott 1991).

By the time New Zealand annexed the Cook Islands in 1901, the colonial geography of the group had become reasonably stable. However, despite this and the well-traveled routes of missionaries and twentieth-century colonial officials, the islands remained to some extent separate from one another with scant transport opportunities and little effort from colonial and Māori leaders to push a strong nationalist agenda beyond Rarotonga. Indeed, for much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the northern atolls had little to do with the administration in Rarotonga. It was not until independence that a concerted effort to build national identity got under way, driven by the first government of the Cook Islands and its premier, the late Sir Albert Henry.

In his 1999 book *Nation and Destination: Creating Cook Islands Identity*, anthropologist Jeffrey Sissons discussed how national unity and identity was built under the leadership of the first four Cook Islands governments, beginning with Henry's inaugural government in 1966 (Sissons 1999). Sissons observed that Henry and his government had initially focused on fostering unity amongst the islands. Sissons called this Henry's "first phase of ethnicisation," involving a political emphasis on funding and support for cultural institutions that would begin building a national brand for much-needed economic development and the collective enterprise required for the nation-building project. Those institutions included the Cook Islands Ministry of Cultural Development (Tauranga Vānanga) and the Cook Islands National Arts Theatre (CINAT). The former had broad oversight of cultural institutions like CINAT, the national archives, and fostering a national research culture. The latter was focused primarily on the performing arts culture that worked to define an internationally recognized Cook Islands tourist brand (Pigman 2012).

Henry's rationalization for the focus on building national and cultural unity was conveyed by his colleague Percy Henderson. Sissons quoted Henderson, who said,

> I was here in the colonial days when each individual island was an island. They had their Resident Agents and not very much contact [with Rarotonga]. I remember sitting with him [Albert Henry] right at the beginning when he became Prime Minister and he said "my first task is to make fifteen islands one country. . . at the moment we're fifteen different islands, we've got to make these the Cook Islands, unless we get everybody together we've got nothing." (Sissons 1999, 37)

Henderson and the legacy of Henry's governments from 1965 to 1978 suggest that right up to independence fifty-three years ago, the people of the Cook Islands nation were engaged in the process of articulating a new national identity or at least contending with multiple identities of which the Cook Islands national identity was but one.

The formulation and durability of this "ethnicization" process built a strong nationalist sentiment amongst an emergent, contemporary Cook Islands society. Kevin Sobel-Read (2012), a lawyer and anthropologist, discussed the formulation of national identity and sovereignty within the context of globalization in his doctoral thesis, using the Cook Islands as his primary case study. He argued that national identity in the Cook Islands had been generated from a mix of functional and formal political mechanisms and the emotional investment of Māori writ large. He described "emotional sovereignty" as "the cultural magic that makes sovereignty *collective*, that renders the whole larger than the sum of its individual parts, the fusion whereby human allegiance and affection form a sacred bond superior to Western forms of logic" (84), and gave examples of that "magic," including national sport and performing arts, as the glue constituting and holding national identity and culture together. Sobel-Read had quite accurately described Henry's ethnicization agenda.

Sobel-Read had not, however, accounted for the diverse cultural genealogies that had existed prior to independence or how those genealogies had been either amalgamated, developed, or discarded as part of Henry's pursuit of "togetherness" (Sissons 1999). While the first governments of the self-governing Cook Islands nation focused on building togetherness as a solid foundation on which nationalism could grow, the genealogical legacies—the island-specific legacies to which Māori belong—have continued to subtly influence and at times vex the rules of social engagement for Māori people. Cook Islands land tenure, as a brief example, is a cultural institution that Māori have not (as yet) shifted entirely to a Western economic and legal model of private property

rights. Under this system, all Māori, in principle, have rights to communal landownership and potential occupation and lease of specific land title, determined through one's genealogical ties to specific land or what is considered natal soil and the wider permission of family, tribe, and chiefly system. This land system, though problematic, is relatively rare for indigenous peoples with a legacy of colonization and is held to by Māori society because it is still widely considered an appalling and egregious notion to permanently separate a Māori person from the islands and lands of their ancestors (Sobel-Read 2012, 130). So, on the one hand, how do we understand a cultural and national whole while at the same time reconciling our genealogical traditions and the large majority of Māori who are no longer located on the islands of their ancestors? How might we recognize and account for these multilayered papa'anga (genealogy) in the name of our nation?

Articulation Theory

Articulation theory is a cultural studies theory that aims to account for "the ideas, principles, and beliefs that make up ideologies. It provides an insightful means by which to account for the ways in which discourse and discursive formations are able to bind people and their sense of identity together in concrete ways" (Jackson and Hogg 2010, 36). It is a critical turn away from Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1992) "invention of tradition." Rather than focusing on the binary of tradition versus modernity, articulation theory assumes a series of cultural developments comprised of multiple parts and joined together through complex political, social, and cultural processes. Stuart Hall, who was influential in developing articulation theory for the British cultural studies school, was interviewed in 1986 by Lawrence Grossberg, who asked him to describe the ideology underpinning articulation theory. Hall responded with the analogy of the articulated lorry. The lorry (or truck), made of two distinct parts—the cab and the trailer—was representative of cultural formation. He declared that rather than thinking of culture as a single, whole, and static body of ideas and norms, it would be better to consider culture as a highly flexible and dynamic assembly of different cultural elements. He detailed the inherent ability of these elements to be connected, disconnected, and reconnected under specific conditions, saying, "An articulation is thus the form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements . . . it is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances *can* a connection be forged or made?" (Grossberg 1986, 53). The articulated lorry (transposed by some American scholars as a metaphorical train with carriages [Teaiwa 2017, 5]) suggested that culture was not only an assembly but also a cultural whole with the perpetual potential to change or be disarticulated temporarily or permanently.

Other interlocutors of cultural studies, including James Clifford (2001, 2003), Clifford and George Marcus (1986), and Jennifer Slack (1996), and Pacific studies' uptake of cultural studies, including Teresia Teaiwa (2001, 2005, 2017), Vince Diaz and Kēhaulani Kauanui (2001), and Ty Tengan, Tēvita Kāʻili, and Rochelle Fonoti (2010), advanced the theory further, extending the metaphorical lorry/truck by developing more corporeal analogies. In the introduction to their collection of papers from the 2000 conference "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge," Diaz and Kauanui (2001) noted the potential of articulation theory to permit appreciation of "longer, deeper histories of indigenous articulations such as 'landedness' [and] diaspora and exile" (331) while also acknowledging that cultural studies (the field from which articulation theory had come) "had been remarkably distant, if not hostile, to indigeneity" (324). The previously mentioned authors and scholars suggest that in wielding articulation theory in Pacific contexts, indigenous (Pacific) modes are also necessary.

In a 2003 interview with Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, Clifford reflected on how his critical understanding of invented or reinvented cultures had become more fluid, referencing the ability of articulation theory to avoid an "all-or-nothing, zero-sum game" approach to understandings of cultural development and authenticity (Clifford 2003, 46). He contemplated the tension between the constructivist agenda inherent in articulation theory and the organic connotations of the word *culture*, arguing that while the word *culture* referenced the organic, theoretically it worked better as a mechanized, deliberately constructed body:

> When I think of a cultural body as an articulated body, it doesn't look like an organic body. It looks more like a monster, sometimes, or perhaps a cyborg . . . a coalition in which certain elements of a population have connected with other elements, but with the possibility—which is always there in articulation—of disarticulation. (Clifford 2003: 46–47)

Clifford's imagining of the cultural model advanced the serial mode of the articulated lorry proposed by Hall and others. Clifford's conceptualization also followed that culture was neither static nor predetermined, and, accordingly, he had declined to use the archetypal organic body of a human. He reasoned that to change—to articulate and disarticulate—the human body would be to equate cultural transformation with the death of the body/culture (Clifford 2003: 47–48).

Teresia Teaiwa took the idea of the articulated body further in her article "The Articulated Limb." She proposed that, at least for her case studies of the military-industrial complex (MIC) in the Guam and Fiji contexts, the metaphorical articulated limb of the human body offered

> a more appropriate illustration and analogy of articulation's engineering, the difficulty and trauma of disarticulation and the literal possibilities of rearticulation. For while the basic ball and socket of a hip or shoulder joint, the hinge of a knee . . . may share the fundamental mechanics of that joint between a lorry/truck and trailer . . . the ligaments, tendons, nerves and blood vessels that grow around an articulated limb make the possibility of disarticulation inevitably violent and traumatizing. (Teaiwa 2017, 66)

In contrast to Clifford, Teaiwa argued that rather than the death-inducing disarticulation of key body parts, the articulation of bodily limbs at the joint by way of complex muscle, tendon, and ligature represented a more accurate analogy for cohering some of the political, social, and cultural formations in particular temporal contexts. Like Clifford, she then invoked prostheses as a way of metaphorically representing the adaptive resilience of those wanting to detach themselves from the military complex. Teaiwa's usually deft poetics become confusing in her article, however. Followed through to an anticipated conclusion of liberation and resilience, the logics set out in her article render the articulated "limbs" of Fiji and Guam discarded and the MIC maintained as those cultural elements/limbs are eventually replaced with Teaiwa's much-discussed prostheses.

In spite of this, I take two useful points from Teaiwa's work. The first is the attention she brings to the complexity of cultural disarticulation. I am struck by the idea that "trauma" and "violence" are being generated from the act and are thus marking the genealogical aesthetic I cited from Marsh earlier in this article. The second and related point is the attention that Teaiwa brings to the relevance of organic metaphors in the Pacific context, something that both Clifford and Hall did not account for in Pacific modes of understanding growth—of very literal things, including people and *thus* culture.

As a national institution, the Cook Islands national identity has been an articulation project of epic proportions. With Clifford's and especially Teaiwa's discussions in mind, it is possible to read the national institution as a metaphorical cultural body. The antecedent genealogical legacies of each island community might then be considered the limbs protruding from that torso. This cultural body was born from 150 years of shifting political and strategic colonial contexts, providing new conditions for cultural articulation. Although missionization may not be linked directly with the nation-building project in contemporary discourse, its articulation to Cook Islands cultural identity in parallel with the major narratives of the nation's formation cannot be ignored. The political, religious, and diplomatic milieu would have included the growing presence of various colonial powers in the nearby region and the pursuits of

their respective interests as well as the church's growing power within Māori society. Over time, the national identity and culture of the Cook Islands has experienced the tightening of metaphorical ligature and muscle as nationalist initiatives have been driven by neoliberal, Christian, and globalization ideologies (Sobel-Read 2016). As part of the global community, the Cook Islands have collectively established formal political and public institutions on which to stand, negotiate, and strategize in the modern global context. The joints of the metaphorical cultural body have become strengthened through a mixture of policy levers and political machinery (public institutions driven by political objectives) and nationalist sentiment built through Sobel-Read's "emotional sovereignty."

Like Diaz and Kauanui's suspicion of cultural studies, I find myself perplexed by Clifford's dismissal of the organic as an appropriate analogy or principle for cultural growth. Teaiwa herself belabored the significance of human bodies in the Pacific context, highlighting the history of abuse, oppression, and colonial inscription on individual and collective, metaphorical, and literal Pacific bodies (Teaiwa 2017, 14). Even though both authors utilized the (human) bodily form to facilitate their theoretical discussions, I cannot help but think of the generative and expansive ways that Māori understand bodies outside of and in relation to the human body.

In Cook Islands scholarship, this oft-quoted passage from Puati Mata'iapo (a tribal leader from the island of Rarotonga) gestures to more expansive ways that bodies are conceived within Māori ontology:

> Taka'i koe ki te papa enua
> 'Akamou i te pito enua
> A'u i to'ou rangi
> As you step onto the surface of the land
> Fasten the umbilical chord
> Carve out your world[7]

This quote can be interpreted with reference to the Māori act of burying the placenta and pito (umbilical cord) of newborns into the earth, attaching them to the body of the land. This might be considered a "Māori" articulation of sorts, an act undertaken as a way of ensuring that newborns are situated, grounded, and put into kinship and relation with place. Clifford had highlighted the etymological roots of the word *culture* and its reference to the organic, and I find myself convinced that it is useful to retain concepts of the organic and the body (the organic body) when deploying articulation theory in the Cook Islands context, especially within a specifically Māori ontology—that being 'akapapa'anga.

ʻAkapapaʻanga

ʻAkapapaʻanga is a Māori cultural practice that is most commonly related to the custom of genealogical record. The root of the word is *papa*. It has multiple meanings, including to crouch, to lay down flat, or to hold or arrange something in position. It refers to the solidity of the earth, foundations, a layer, or a platform. Even in conceptualizing its form, *papa* connotes a much more dynamic relational logic than the seriality of the lorry/truck/train and a multilayered complexity that is absent from Teaiwa's articulated joint/limb. The noun *ʻakapapaʻanga*—the act of layering, positioning, and situating—implies that these various meanings must be actioned, that they are verbs or forms of cultural labor that occur within an ontological framework that understands relationality between not only people but also all things.

The word used by Māori to refer to a specific genealogy is *papaʻanga* (noun), and as with many other indigenous contexts, recounting genealogy is done for many purposes. Its most visible utility is illustrated in the ways that Māori understand their connection to land and, particularly, natal soil. In a legal sense, claims for succession to ancestral land are made by tracing blood connections to ancestors who have rights to land title(s) but, more important, by tracing connection to land *as* a relative. As Teaiwa proposes regarding Pacific epistemologies of descent and belonging more generally, translations of *papaʻanga* to *genealogy* should not be conflated exclusively with genetic discourse (Teaiwa 2014). For Māori, ʻakapapaʻanga refers to the relationality between individuals or cultural elements who are all part of an ever-growing whole or body—an organic, cultural whole—that includes the various layers of place and people: family, community, tribe, village, tapere, island, and now nation (James, Mitaera, and Rongo-Raea 2012, 9). The word and the practice imply that every person has some kind of relation to everyone and everything else through an array of relational proximities that are maintained through familial and social interaction or the act of ʻakapapaʻanga. Within this growing organic whole, Māori believe that there is a place for everyone and everything that is natural and correct, and that is determined by their various layers of papaʻanga.

In contrast to the deconstructed and fractionalized series or the human body made of complex and somewhat vulnerable joints, the conceptual organic body that I propose emphasizes a vast network of shifting and mobile relationships that is more temporally and spatially lithe than that of a serial train or a corporeal body. Instead, the organic body of ʻakapapaʻanga allows the act of situating, layering, and positioning to take place within temporal and spatial dimensions. Cultural connections transcend the corporeal body and understand it in deep relation with its multiple legacies and its expanding surroundings. The primary concern of ʻakapapaʻanga is how connections between elements are created and

sustained; the overall cultural aesthetic that is generated from the aggregated interconnectivity of cultural elements then becomes incidental. In other words, cultural alliances are formed because it is the prerogative of the organic body to grow, and to do so, it must develop through negotiated cultural tensions.

One of the key contrasts between 'akapapa'anga and articulation theory, then, is their divergent approaches to construction. While articulation theory makes it possible to understand cultural formation within a serial mode of (de)construction, 'akapapa'anga concerns itself explicitly with growth and the inevitable entanglements of relation and affect. Pacific scholars Tengan and others and Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal have explored this idea further (Tengan, Ka'ili, and Fonoti 2010; Royal 1998). The latter discussed genealogical practice as a research method in his paper "Te ao Mārama: A Research Paradigm," where he described whakapapa—the Aotearoa Māori practice of genealogy—as an "organic analytical method . . . concerned with growth rather than deconstruction" (3). Although this is not the same cultural context, there are strong equivalences between whakapapa and 'akapapa'anga as genealogical praxis. Royal discussed the difficulty of deconstruction when using whakapapa as a research method because organic growth, he argued, required antecedent phenomena in order to produce new "phenomena": two-parent phenomena, a meeting or relationship, creating something new. He emphasized how the genealogical method "urges us to consider relationships" and how, in understanding the creation of these parental elements, "slowly, the researcher is drawn 'out' to a wider field, rather than being drawn 'in' to a smaller one. Hence, the method might be considered to be organic rather than one of deconstruction" (3). In contrast to the implied ease of Hall's and Clifford's disarticulated carriages and cyborgs, Royal's underscoring of the organic within the paradigm of whakapapa highlights the importance of what is being produced from any change to culture, articulation or otherwise. The idea that all "phenomena" or cultural change come from some moment of negotiated tension between two "parent phenomena" suggests to me that even disarticulation within the context of genealogical practice is perceived as a progressive change, fixed into the genealogical aesthetic that signals the further organic growth of the papa'anga.

In the case of the Cook Islands name and the culture it represents, what might we learn about cultural articulation if we view it through the paradigm of 'akapapa'anga? By way of Clifford's and Teaiwa's critical positions on disarticulation, to what extent is potential cultural deconstruction apparent or relevant in the Cook Islands context when considering the disarticulation of our national name as a way of reforming the nation and its identity/culture? In the articulation of the Cook Islands name, did we then proclaim the death of our pre-nation cultural elements having been transformed into something new? And, if not, is it actually possible to deconstruct the cultural body into its constitutent cultural elements, or have they been superseded by something new?

Te ʻakapapa nei tātou: Naming Articulations

Whenever Māori meet for the first time, they ask each other's names: *Ko ʻai toʻou ingoa?* Asking one's name is an example of ʻakapapaʻanga in practice. It is the simultaneous act of tracing and making a new connection with someone else. My name—indeed, me, Emma, the person—is an organic body made of various literal as well as metaphoric cultural DNA, a genealogical aesthetic that is quite clearly discernible in my multicultural name. Of course, articulation theory and ʻakapapaʻanga are concerned primarily with how such aesthetics are created.

In Māori culture, to name someone is a very important cultural practice. The formulation of my name, as recounted earlier, followed some of the rationalizations that I quoted from Jonassen in the introduction of this article. My grandparents and mother discussed my legal names at length, and throughout my life I have been given many others. My aunties and mother all call me Emily. My whole family will call me Ems. My extended family on my mother's paternal side will sometimes call me Ngarua when I do or say something that they believe has come, through the papaʻanga, from my biological grandfather. My Māori name, Ngakuraevaru, is used in Māori contexts, especially in academic and professional settings, because it enables Māori people to identify me in an older and more distant part of our shared papaʻanga. I *am* Ngakuraevaru, my great-great-grandmother, traveling through time. In addition, there is always the potential for new articulations. If I ever have children, they will also be named from the papaʻanga. Should I ever marry another Māori person, I would receive a new name, as would they. As part of Atiuan naming traditions (the island to which my maternal papaʻanga belongs), ancestral names are gifted and exchanged during marriage so that wedded couples are acknowledged in the genealogies of each other's families, a joining of genealogical lines.

In the situations I have described, names are mobile markers that are not appended to a person as much as they are invoked. As usefully described by Henderson (2010) in her article "Gifted Flows: Making Space for a Brand New Beat,"

> People can also be gifted, at least in the sense that the shifting collections of memories and material effects webbed around the sign of the proper name can pass from one person to another.

The multiplicity of names represents the multiplicity of those who have held it before, and, depending on when, how, and who is invoking the name, those legacies and cultural identities are brought forward and animated through various cultural practises of relation we refer to as ʻakapapaʻanga. I have referred to some examples in this article: the planting of the pito, the onward sharing

of names, and so on. Naming traditions, as Jonassen described, "create a link to ancestors, friends, family members, titles and land" and, through such genealogical links, give shape to our conceptions of culture.

Whether or not we are able to recognize essentialist Māori cultural aesthetics in a name like Emma Powell or, indeed, the Cook Islands, the process by which my parents arrived at my many names is still fundamentally born from Māori epistemology. My grandmother married an Englishman after she had my mother (my biological grandfather was also a Māori person from the same island). Still, when I was born, my grandmother engaged in 'akapapa'anga. She began the labor of resituating our familial and social proximities, beginning with my name, bringing me and therefore us (my family and the children and relationships I have yet to form) closer to the genealogy of my English grandfather and acknowledging articulations and alliance forged through her marriage to him. Through the paradigm of 'akapapa'anga, the Māoriness of my name is determined not through a recognizable cultural aesthetic of indigenous Māori names but through the practice of 'akapapa'anga represented in the names my parents, family, and friends have deliberately chosen to call me.

Likewise, a Māori epistemology recognizes that in the making of culture, it is not the aesthetic of the tourist brand or the cultural symbols that hold the "cultural magic" and "emotional sovereignty" that Sobel-Read referred to. As Teaiwa suggests, the trauma that can sometimes occur from the violence of attempting to remove cultural norms can itself produce the sentiment or emotional sovereignty that marks our growing organic body of culture. While the Cook Islands name has become the primary cultural reference for Māori people, we cannot remove its articulation, meaning, and constitution from the colonial, Māori, and culturally and historically traumatic associations that it has.

When I began writing this article in early 2019, the public discourse surrounding the potential change of the nation's name was in a very different place. Early discussion with traditional and government leaders concluded shortly after Pā Marie Ariki's announcement that "they [would] support a Maori name to go beside the 'Cook Islands,' and leave the Cook Islands as it is" (Radio Cook Islands 2019). This dual name would follow New Zealand's example, where "Aotearoa New Zealand" and "Aotearoa," the Māori name for the entire New Zealand archipelago, had been used increasingly since the nineteenth century by organizations and citizens alike. In 2020, the House of Ariki confirmed that they would abandon their endorsement of the name change because of the time, money, and resources required for a referendum for which public interest and coherence had waned, and for now, the nation remains without a name in any Māori language other than the transliterated Kūki 'Āirani.

Despite the resurfacing of public discussion, contemplation, and reflection on the possible change of the Cook Islands name in 2019, its name remains,

associated with a singular and homogeneous culture that represents us all. Despite that, I argue understanding that formation through the paradigm of ʻakapapaʻanga, and its associated naming tradition suggests that Māori society is shaped by a capacity to hold multiple cultures and identities in sustained tension.

Conclusion

Both Clifford and Teaiwa acknowledged that the promise of articulation theory was its signaling toward the possibility of disarticulation. In other words, its utility came from its ability to separate one's culture from certain cultural regimes and rearticulate and develop the sociocultural ensemble differently and separately from what went before. When I began writing the first draft of this article, even though I felt resonance in descriptions of the articulated body of the cyborg and the prosthetic limb rather than the cultural train/truck, there were still elements of Clifford's and Teaiwa's metaphorical theorizations that did not fit neatly onto the Cook Islands context. If my Pacific studies training thus far has taught me anything, it is that such theoretical disappointments are exactly why theories are so useful. Such moments signal that there is something peculiar about the circumstance that deserves our attention.

In the closing paragraph of Teaiwa's "The Articulated Limb," she contemplated the various ways that the Pacific body had been marginalized, underscoring the reluctance of "dominant groups" (assumedly Western epistemes) to

> surrender its paradigms, for one of the most profound effects of a genuine reckoning with indigenous knowledge is having ones epistemological foundations challenged. This is certainly the case around issues of embodiment . . . indigenous concepts of the body—and therefore knowing through the body—are radically different from the strictly sensory and individualised experience that western scientific literature inscribes. (Teaiwa 2017: 14–15)

My early reading had also become snagged on Clifford's (2000) phrase, "The word culture is deeply tied up with organic notions of growth, life, death—*bodies that persist through time* [emphasis added]" (46). It was not until I began reviewing this article that I paid further attention to Clifford's passage and Teaiwa's concluding paragraph. I should be clear that their use of the humanistic form and the articulation of foreign elements felt limiting in my contemplations of articulated Cook Islands culture. However, their conceptualization of bodies as persistent and expansive provides a new, critical space where we might start a discussion of articulation via a different, genealogical register.

With ʻakapapaʻanga, it is possible to understand Cook Islands culture and the cultural significance of the nation's name on Māori terms. Articulation theory allows us to expunge the binary of the "traditional" and the "modern" and to understand culture as a series of historical and ongoing connections, but it cannot comfortably describe the ways that Māori continue to animate cultural and genealogical legacies. These intranational cultures and identities seem contradictory through a constructivist lens, particularly when articulation theory implies a supposed homogeneous Cook Islands culture, and people and I have attempted to describe a reality for Māori people that steps past this paradigm in order to frame this as a legitimate and much-practiced cultural reality for Māori people. While there are other theories that transcend the serial metaphor, like the network, arborescence, and rhizomatic growth, ʻakapapaʻanga's unique acknowledgment of spatial and temporal scale fits more comfortably in a Māori ontology that understands the human body in deep relation, not only with other people but also with other divine and physical cultural elements.

Within the paradigm of ʻakapapaʻanga, the Cook Islands name is not simply appended to the cultural body sequentially but is invoked as all Māori names are when they are bestowed. So, while the Cook Islands national identity might be considered the latest iteration of Māori culture, ʻakapapaʻanga compels us to acknowledge that its relevance—and the relevance of ancestors like Captain Cook—cannot be separated from the trajectories of our respective and distinct genealogical and cultural legacies. Cook—the name and the man—is a genealogical intersection, not a cumulative assembly. As is the nature of papaʻanga and organic bodies, the name is descendant and antecedent, having come from a man and a historical context, and simultaneously generative of a new cultural element that Māori and others continue to animate through the cultural practice of ʻakapapaʻanga. Unlike articulation theory, the promise of ʻakapapaʻanga does not lie in its ability to disarticulate. Instead, its strength lies in its assurance that it is possible to honor and hold genealogical and cultural legacies—as well as new cultural trajectories—simultaneously. Like my own, the "Cook Islands" is but one name in a much larger, ever-emergent national and cultural genealogy. And, like my own, its Māoriness should be considered with the expectations of a developing genealogical aesthetic in mind. Clifford, Teaiwa, Jonassen and even articulation theory itself assures us that it is possible for our cultural bodies to grow, to change, to take on multiple names that are animated in specific relational contexts. To acknowledge the relevance of Cook and his name in who we are is not to say that his name must necessarily persist or that his must be our singular and primary (re)birthed name. Our naming traditions deny that subjugating persistence. ʻAkapapaʻanga instead allows us to articulate *through* disarticulations, knowing that even the elements that we may wish to disarticulate are key parts of what make our cultures an ever-expanding organic body.

NOTES

1. In the PASI401 course, students are tasked with writing a series of short written assessments called KCQs (key concepts and questions) that measure the student's developing understandings of key concepts in the course. The question quoted here is from the third KCQ assigned to the 2018 PASI401 class.

2. "'Avaiki" is associated primarily with the ancestral homeland of the Polynesian people and is a cognate for equivalent terminology in other Polynesian languages and cultures (Savaiiki, Hawaiiki, etc.). In Cook Islands Māori, 'Avaiki also more broadly connotes the places from which we come forth into the world of light and has been interpreted in some Māori pe'e (traditional chants) as the mother's womb.

3. In January 2019, Pā Marie Ariki of Rarotonga proposed that an opportunity for another referendum about the Cook Islands nation be tabled with Cook Islands Māori people both inside and outside the home islands. As part of that, further context of the 1994 referendum has come to light in public discourse, with some commenting on the prominence of Rarotongan decision makers who fostered a reluctance in Cook Islands people to accept the change in 1994, especially those from the outer islands. I recognize that while "acceptance" of the Cook Islands name in 1994 might be one reading of the historical narrative, there is much missing from the public record, including the diverse opinions of Cook Islands Māori people at the time (Radio New Zealand 2019; Roy 2019).

4. The House of Ariki is an advisory body comprising Ariki, or high chiefs, from each inhabited island of the Cook Islands with some exceptions, including Manihiki/Rakahanga, Nassau/Pukapuka, and Palmerston. Further details are set out in 1966 House of Ariki legislation.

5. In 1959, the Spaniard Álvaro de Mendaña and his Portugese pilot, Queirós, sighted what was later identified as Pukapuka and its motu. They named it San Bernado, having sighted four atolls on St. Bernard's Day, and were the first European explorers to name one of the modern-day islands of the Cooks group. Others went on to sight and land on the rest of the group, and some gave European names. A comprehensive list of these names, the dates they were given, and the narratives describing how and why European travelers passed by or landed on them can be found in Brian Hooker's (1998) article "The European Discovery of the Cook Islands" and Kloosterman's (1976) *Discoverers of the Cook Islands and the Names They Gave*.

6. The southern group includes the capital and main island of Rarotonga; the islands of Mangaia, Aitu, Mitiaro, Ma'uke, and Aitutaki; and the uninhabited islands of Manuae and Takutea.

7. Puati Mata'iapo's passage has been quoted numerous times in various texts. The translation here is from Jon Jonassen, published in his book *Kama'atu*. Jonassen's citation is from a Tumu Korero Conference (a meeting of cultural experts) held in 1990 (Jonassen 2005).

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LOVE OF PLACE: TOWARD A CRITICAL PACIFIC STUDIES PEDAGOGY

Emalani Case
Victoria University of Wellington

Growing up in Hawai'i, I was raised with aloha 'āina. Loosely defined as "love of place," aloha 'āina is a way of being *in* and *with* the world. It is built on relationship and stewardship. In this article, I will use aloha 'āina to reflect on my role as a Pacific studies teacher and on what responsibilities educators may have to confront our common challenge and most dire threat: the destruction of the natural environment. I will articulate "love of place" to a critical Pacific studies pedagogy, one that addresses environmental issues, contributes to the well-being of the Pacific (people, land, and sea), and harnesses the power of Indigenous ways of knowing to do so. Reflecting on past teaching experiences and on previous articulations of Pacific studies, I will then argue that we must cultivate "love of place" to help students turn unfamiliar Pacific spaces into places of meaning.

In modern Kanaka Maoli[1] movements, whether those centered on the protection of sacred spaces or on the larger goal of independence, old Indigenous concepts are often rearticulated to fit contemporary circumstances. One such concept that both endures and continually evolves in these movements is "aloha." In its simplest explanation, aloha is "love." It is both the affection we show others and the act of doing so. However, for many of us raised in resistance movements, aloha is a way of being. Renowned kumu hula (hula teacher)

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Olana Ai perhaps said it best: "Aloha is the intelligence with which we meet life" (Meyer 2003, ii). A couple of years ago, in the midst of efforts to protect Mauna Kea, the tallest mountain in Hawai'i, and to halt the proposed construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope on its summit, aloha was used in new ways. It was not only articulated to other concepts, like "kapu" (taboo), but also given more expansive meanings. On the mountain, kia'i mauna (protectors) adopted a code of behavior called "kapu aloha," which is a commitment to act with aloha and to not engage in violence (against other people, the earth, or even material structures); it is to remain steadfast and staunch but to also keep peace. At the same time, off the mountain, the word aloha showed up on new pieces of resistance and identity merchandise. One particular hat that gained popularity had the words "Aloha will save the world" embroidered on its front. Our Hawaiian "intelligence" was being extended to everyone, everywhere.

I begin this article with these reflections on aloha because they provide insight into how old concepts are made (often strategically) to function in contemporary contexts. Of course, this is certainly nothing new. In fact, Epeli Hau'ofa (2008) argues that it's "what we [Pacific peoples] have been doing all along... constructing our pasts, our histories, [and I would add, our futures]" by deliberately selecting the narratives, concepts, and cultural beliefs that suit our agendas (61). This process of construction can also be called articulation, which James Clifford (2003) describes as "the political connecting and disconnecting, the hooking and unhooking of elements—the sense that any socio-cultural ensemble that presents itself to us as whole is actually a set of historical connections and disconnections" (45). Positing that cultures are not single, static entities but rather sets of ideas that can be attached, removed, and reconsidered to meet our specific needs, articulation theory is a useful tool for thinking about our cultural concepts and how they can be continually made anew. In fact, it provides space for understanding how and why meanings of words like aloha shift over time or how they can be attached to messages of encouragement while at other times grafted to ideas and products that can be damaging to the concept itself.

Aloha, for example, is arguably one of the most used and abused words in the Hawaiian vocabulary today. While it is highlighted, celebrated, and deeply embodied, in other words, it also has a complex history of misuse. In her exploration of aloha, Keiko Ohnuma (2008), for instance, critiques state constructions of aloha and discusses the many ways it has been used against Indigenous Hawaiians, particularly when aloha becomes a tourist attraction, an expectation, and therefore a means of rendering any and all types of resistance to the state and its many oppressions as being out of line with the "aloha spirit" (374). Aloha has also been co-opted and commercialized in other ways, showing up on everything from huge plastic tubs of soy sauce to advertisements for pest

control services, these instances only growing in frequency. Yet, even while issues of cultural misappropriation are rife in our society, aloha is still a deeply cultural concept. As Stephanie Nohelani Teves (2018) explains, "Aloha is something we Kānaka Maoli continue to believe deeply in, fiercely protecting and defending aloha above other Hawaiian concepts as the essence and personification of who we are" (1). Therefore, if disarticulated from the now-ubiquitous attempts of companies to brand their products with "aloha," I believe it can be given new empowering meaning and function not only in Hawai'i but everywhere. With this said, I am aware of the threat of further co-optation. Even if presented in ways that align with Hawaiian values and customs and in ways that bolster a respect for land and people effectively, there is the chance that more of our words and phrases—like kapu aloha mentioned earlier and aloha 'āina to be discussed—may be taken and used to our detriment. Aware of this risk, however, I hope that my proposals ahead, particularly in regard to aloha, will allow me to educate others on more appropriate ways to use it.

Aloha, as seen in the opening example, can be both a driving force for Hawaiian sovereignty specifically and, in other spaces, a timely reminder for the rest of the world as we confront concerns impacting all of humanity. One such concern that aloha speaks to is the rapid decline of our natural environments. The hat reading, "Aloha will save the world," offered ancient intelligence for modern disaster and devastation. Although it came out of a movement to protect one mountain, it spoke for all mountains, all lands, all rivers, and all oceans. Thus, the hat prompted me to think about all of the sources that feed us physically, spiritually, and psychologically and how an old concept can be used to protect them. Further, it motivated me to consider my roles and responsibilities as an educator and how I can harness the planet-saving potential of aloha in the classroom for the betterment of our environments.

In this article, I will therefore critically reflect on my role as a teacher of Pacific studies, on past articulations of Pacific studies itself, and, perhaps more important, on what I think can (or perhaps should) be incorporated into our pedagogies. More specifically, I will explore aloha as it relates to 'āina (land or place) and how aloha 'āina, or a general "love of place," can be a potentially powerful tool and motivator in the classroom. Understanding that Pacific studies is not ethnocentric or nationalistic, it is not my goal to propose that distinctly Hawaiian concepts be included in every Pacific studies curriculum. Rather, it is to demonstrate how we can use Indigenous concepts—and, more specifically, Indigenous ways of relating to place—and articulate them to pedagogy. With the state of our environments and the constant devastations they suffer, I will argue that a feature of Pacific studies should be our conscious and critical consideration of our region's environments and how we, as humans, sometimes protect them and at other times become complicit in their destruction. To do so,

I will explore the *what*, *why*, and *how* of my personal teaching approach: what "love of place" is, why I think it can be transformational, and how I attempt to cultivate it in the classroom by helping students turn faraway and unfamiliar spaces into places of meaning. It is my hope that this article will contribute to evolving conversations about our aims and agendas as educators and, further, that it will help us work toward a critical Pacific studies pedagogy, one that confronts the challenges posed to our shared environments, contributes to the wellbeing of the region, and harnesses the power of Indigenous ways of knowing, like aloha ʻāina, to do so.

Pacific Studies

In 2010, Teresia Teaiwa wrote, "Pacific Studies shall be interdisciplinary, account for indigenous ways of knowing, and involve comparative analysis" (116). I have read her statement many times over the years. I've even taught her words and used them to not only guide my work in the classroom but also explain to others what it is I do as a teacher of Pacific studies. However, if I'm being honest, I've always struggled with part of her suggested prescription. How exactly does one "account for indigenous ways of knowing"? What does that mean? Before delving into her suggestion, I will note that the topic of Indigeneity itself and how it functions (or not) in different Pacific Island contexts is worthy of an article on its own. In forthcoming work, I examine some of the specific colonial contexts, like the settler colonial Pacific, in which Indigeneity not only matters but has to matter (Case, forthcoming). I also consider those places where Indigeneity may not only be inappropriately applied to islands—like the independent Pacific—but may also come with negative connotations that some islanders do not wish to be associated with. In this article, however, I am more concerned with what it means to take concepts, perspectives, and values from different Pacific peoples into the classroom. The term "Indigenous" is therefore being used to refer to those Pacific peoples whose ancestry comes from the original inhabitants of the region.

My use of "Indigenous" is not intended to oversimplify it or to deny its many complicated meanings. It is, instead, used to align with existing literature about Pacific studies. In her suggested tenets, for example, Teaiwa called for an acknowledgment of "Indigenous ways of knowing," seeing value in knowledge from the region. She also made clear that any kind of Indigenizing agenda, or attempt to incorporate cultural perspectives, should lead to exchange, dialogue, and meaningful critique. Even while supporting her insistence that we "account" for Indigenous ways of knowing, however, I still wonder if that's enough. As an educator, I believe that our Pacific ontologies and epistemologies not only should provide content for our courses—and opportunities for

constructive consideration and critique—but should provide structure for them as well. They should not only be part of *what* we teach, in other words, but also drive *how* and *why* we do what we do in the classroom.

Although I have not been teaching Pacific studies for very long, I knew from the first course I taught that the ways of knowing I was raised with would undoubtedly influence who I would be as a teacher. As a Hawaiian, many of my interactions with the world have been facilitated by the lessons I learned from my people and from ʻāina. I live my life by the belief that there is no separation between people and land—not only that we are related but also that our fates are intertwined. Growing up, my parents modeled aloha ʻāina. They cared for the ʻāina, and they were staunch in their commitment to protect it, not only because land provides necessary resources for human survival but also because land has its own life and is important in and of itself. I grew up being taught how to interact with, how to treat, and how to truly love ʻāina. Although I did not learn the actual term "aloha ʻāina" until much later in my life, it is what has and what continues to guide everything I do. In her own teaching of Pacific studies, April Henderson observed that it is not only us, as teachers, who walk into the classroom carrying our own concepts and ways of looking at the world; our students do as well. When speaking about Samoan concepts like vā fealoaʻi, for example, or relational space, she finds that although some students are unfamiliar with the term, they "will immediately recognize how the concept manifests in their daily life as soon as it is explained" (Alefosio and Henderson 2018, 403). This was my experience with aloha ʻāina, both when I learned it as a term that spoke to my daily experiences and when I recognized that it would be part of every classroom I'd teach in.

When I first began teaching Pacific studies, I carried aloha ʻāina with me, not because I had already thought about its potential in the classroom but because it's part of me. In fact, in drawing attention to the possible limitations of articulation theory, I'd argue that I cannot be disarticulated from aloha ʻāina because it is what I am and what I do. Over the years, as I've taught Pacific studies in both Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa New Zealand, I have learned that aloha ʻāina is truly expansive. Aloha ʻāina, as Kamanamaikalani Beamer (2014) explains, is "holistic," as it "links social, cultural, and ecological justice" (13). In other words, it's not just about caring for the environment but also about critically examining our human interactions with it. Aloha ʻāina, therefore, has helped me to extend the same love I have for my place in Hawaiʻi to the rest of the Pacific. Although aloha ʻāina has its own specific connotations in Hawaiʻi,[2] I believe that a general "love of place" is something all people can develop, nurture, and act on and, further, that cultivating it in the classroom is crucial if we are going to be more conscious of our environmental concerns.

Twenty years ago, Zane Ma Rhea and Bob Teasdale (2000) asked what role university academics have to play in preparing our students for the future

and, more critically, in preparing them to cope with the most rapidly changing environment humankind has ever experienced (12–13). Reflecting on my own teaching, I often think about what I am preparing my students for and whether, as Teaiwa (2014) reflected on before me, we are giving them the tools to be the kind of intellectuals they want to be: competent in the status quo, agents of change, or both (52). While I know it is not my role to turn students into change makers, lobbyists, or activists, I often ask myself if we, as Pacific studies educators, have a responsibility to cultivate genuine care and concern for the natural world and, more pointedly, for our region's environments. In my attempts to be reflexive—and to follow Teaiwa's (2017) charge that we engage in reflective writing, constantly thinking about our teaching and innovations so that we can add to our understanding of what Pacific studies is and what it can be for our students and for ourselves—I believe that asking these types of questions is important, as it helps us challenge and/or push previous models of Pacific studies if and when necessary (271–72). Given the consistent decline of the environment and the current and growing climate change crisis, the question of what role academics have to play in preparing our students to cope with the state of the planet seems all the more urgent. In fact, I would argue that rather than waste any time asking whether we have a role, we should already be engaging in conversations of how we are going to fill it.

Our Pacific is littered with examples of environmental devastation, with our lands and waters being used and abused for everything from extensive mining to overdevelopment to military training and with some of our islands being the most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change even while being some of the smallest contributors to greenhouse gas emissions. Environmental destruction in our region provides evidence for the fact that Pacific Islands have long been used as "sacrifice zones," or places "that somehow don't count and therefore can be poisoned, drained, or otherwise destroyed, for the supposed greater good" (Klein 2014, 169). The controversial Thirty Meter Telescope mentioned in the opening of this article, for instance, is often framed as something that will benefit all of humanity. This, of course, is at the expense of the people who regard Mauna Kea as an ancestor and of the mountain itself. After World War II, the Marshall Islands were bombed 67 times by the United States as part of its nuclear testing program (Aguon 2008, 19). Again, this was claimed to be for the greater good. In regard to climate change, Tuvalu, has become a place where the most devastating effects can be observed, studied, recorded, and later used to not only prove the reality of climate change but also caution the rest of the world. This is the environmental and political context that many of us live and work in. Therefore, I believe that a critical Pacific studies pedagogy must be one that confronts these challenges. By cultivating a "love of place," we can shift our perspectives, bringing our environments to the forefront, and in the

process, hopefully, provide motivation for protective action. To do so, however, our pedagogy must be one that empowers students to believe that they have the ability—and perhaps even the responsibility—to act.

In his often-referenced article "Rethinking Pacific Islands Studies," Terence Wesley-Smith (1995) speaks about empowerment. He outlines three rationales for Pacific studies programs and discusses how an "empowerment rationale" could contribute to efforts aimed at decolonizing Pacific studies. Twenty years later, he writes that "few would challenge the central place of the empowerment rationale in Pacific studies" (Wesley-Smith 2016, 163). However, he also notes that what "empowerment" means is debatable and, I would add, will likely depend on who you're talking to and where they happen to be in the Pacific. For some, an agenda aimed at empowerment could be about embracing Konai Helu Thaman's (2003) encouragement that we work toward decolonizing Pacific studies by "reclaiming indigenous Oceanic perspectives, knowledge, and wisdom that have been devalued or suppressed because they were or are not considered important or worthwhile" (2). At the same time, it could also be about centering Pacific Islanders and our lived experiences. As David Gegeo (2001) suggests, perhaps "it's about us. It's about us Pacific Islanders ourselves and who we want to become. It's about our ontology, and what we want to create for our future generations" (182). For others, empowerment could be more practical in encouraging us to "understand the region in ways that will make people better off" (Firth 2003, 140). Regardless of the exact aim, as Teaiwa (2010) notes, we must be cautious of an empowerment rationale leading to "exclusion and domination" and must remain critical of all perspectives, even Indigenous ones (117).

My personal pedagogy, therefore, fits somewhere in the space between all of these ideas. It *is* aimed at empowering students by prioritizing our concerns and reclaiming and centralizing our Indigenous ways of knowing. At the same time, it is not about excluding those who are not of Pacific Island heritage and/or privileging one culture, one language, or one way of knowing over another. My choice to use aloha ʻāina as a pedagogical tool in the classroom comes from my belief that "love of place" is universal and is something that can be encouraged through acknowledging (and choosing to act on) the unique ways in which Pacific Islanders relate to place. Further, I believe it can be a motivator for another kind of empowerment: one that inspires action (whether through creative expression, direct activism, storytelling, or any other medium that centralizes our environmental concerns). As Glenn Albrecht (2006) explains, clearly acknowledging the causes of environmental distress allows us to confront them in our own ways, which in itself is an empowering experience (36). This can be a challenge in the classroom, however. As transient spaces, we often do not have the time to "engage students in the actual work" (Aikau, Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, and Silva 2016, 159). In other words, we cannot engage them in the work of

protecting ʻāina. What we can do, however, is help them develop a deeper love for the Pacific so that they can act on that love if/when they choose to do so, perhaps doing as the hat prophesized: saving the "world" (even the smallest pieces of it) with aloha.

Aloha ʻĀina

While the term aloha ʻāina comes from my ancestors, I believe its meaning and its intention can speak to all people. At its core, it is about having aloha, or love, for your place. This love requires constant work, dedication, and loyalty. Although ʻāina is often used to refer to land specifically, it is better understood as "that which feeds" and is therefore encompassing of all of our sources of sustenance (Blaisdell 2005, 10). I grew up living aloha ʻāina, viewing the land and the ocean as ancestors, not just in theory but in practice. As Katrina-Ann Kapā Oliveira (2014) discusses, Kānaka Maoli have complex cosmogonic genealogies that link us to the natural world and that remind us of our place in it (1). Understanding our genealogical relationships with the environment, I therefore talk with, pray to, and love ʻāina deeply. To "love," however, is not just to show affection. It is to carry the responsibility to protect ʻāina and to persevere in our dedication to do so, even when it's difficult and even when our places are threatened (as they often are). Importantly, however, aloha ʻāina is not just an action; it is also a way of being. It is both a noun and a verb. According to Taiaiake Alfred (2016), this is something seen in many Indigenous languages where the names and titles people are given are actually responsibilities that imply doing (98). Aloha ʻāina is a means of being situated *in relation*—genealogical and otherwise—to ʻāina and is a title that requires work. We can show our aloha for ʻāina, in other words, but we truly become aloha ʻāina, or loyal stewards of place, and live up to that name when we act on our love for it: tending to it, caring for it, and treating it as family. The kiaʻi mauna who were referenced earlier, for example, stand to protect Mauna Kea because aloha ʻāina is both what they are and what they do.

Although aloha ʻāina is an old concept, it can be rearticulated to contemporary contexts and can also be linked together with theories and perspectives from other places and peoples that both reinforce and expand its meanings. In Hawaiʻi, aloha ʻāina is about what we call "ea," or life, breath, and sovereignty. While ea operates in specific ways in the context of Hawaiian independence movements, here it can relate to the life, breath, and sovereignty of ʻāina itself. Aloha ʻāina, in other words, is about safeguarding the earth's right to continually grow, reproduce, and regenerate, acknowledging that ʻāina cannot and should not be relegated to the singular role of "natural resource" for human use. This kind of stewardship is not unique to Hawaiʻi. All around the world, people are

making efforts to protect the rights of the earth. In 2012, Bolivia passed the Law of Mother Earth, essentially establishing rights for nature, including the right to maintain life (Villavicencio Calzadilla and Kotze 2018); closer to home, in 2013, the double-hulled voyaging canoe *Hōkūle'a* embarked on the Mālama Honua worldwide voyage with the goal of inspiring all of "Island Earth" to remember our role as stewards tasked with the responsibility to care for it and protect the planet for future generations (Polynesian Voyaging Society n.d.); in 2014, Te Urewera in Aotearoa was declared a legal entity, followed by the Whanaganui River in 2017 (Sanders 2018); and today there is a growing movement asking the United Nations to adopt a Declaration of Rights of Mother Earth with a similar aim to acknowledge that nature has inherent rights (RoME 2019). These movements are ultimately about changing the way we currently interact with 'āina.

While movements like these can and have been viewed with skepticism, I believe that they are critical in challenging "the predominant western frame of thought [that] non-human animals and ecosystems have always been treated as things, property intended for human use and exploitation" (Boyd 2017, 220). Although government-led conservation efforts—like the establishment of national parks, as explored by Tracey Banivanua-Mar (2010)—are sometimes criticized for being driven more by government interests than actual care for the environment, I believe that legal frameworks that recognize the life and agency of the earth are crucial because they wake us up and encourage us to see our surroundings in new ways. Additionally, they provide space for Indigenous peoples to foreground our ways of relating to place, revitalizing "long-suppressed Indigenous cosmologies that offer a different, and many would say far healthier, vision of humanity's relationship with the rest of the natural world" (Boyd 2017, 220).

As Naomi Klein (2014) explores, one of the most potent and empowering ways of relating to place "is surely strongest in Indigenous communities" (342). She believes that these communities live with a fierce and ferocious love of place, or a deep connection to 'āina, and that this is what is needed to protect our environments. With that said, my intention here is not to lock all Indigenous peoples—as ambiguous as that term may be—to an "eco-Indigenous" identity or to reduce Indigeneity to a now-archetypal (and perhaps stereotypical) "closeness to nature" (Sissons 2005, 17). Rather, my aim here is to argue that many Indigenous peoples, including many Pacific Islanders, have what Klein (2014) believes we need for the earth. In our many vast storehouses of Indigenous wisdom, there are lessons on how to interact with and treat 'āina and, perhaps most important, lessons to help us understand *why* this is essential.

To borrow terms from Klein (2014), aloha 'āina, for example, is about embracing a "regenerative" mind-set and abolishing an "extractivist" one. "Extractivism,"

she states, "is a nonreciprocal, dominance-based relationship with the earth, one purely of taking. It is the opposite of stewardship, which involves taking but also taking care that regeneration and future life continue" (169). In its recognition of "that which feeds," aloha ʻāina inspires constant reflection on how a place sustains us and, more critically, how sustenance can come only when we tend to ʻāina, allowing it to grow, produce, and create. Only taking, in other words, will lead to destruction. Using Indigenous ways of knowing in our classrooms and centralizing them, we can frame Pacific landscapes, seascapes, and skyscapes differently, replacing the assumption that they are mere "resources" and re-presenting them as having life and agency on their own. At the same time, we can use these concepts to also frame our responsibilities in the classroom: our students are not at universities to simply extract knowledge, and we are not just there to give it. Education itself is reciprocal and should be like the places we value: regenerative, life giving, reinforcing, and inspiring.

Cultivating "Love of Place"

What Is "Love of Place"?

Driving a regenerative mind-set is "love of place." In 1972, geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1990) coined the word "topophilia" to refer to "the affective bond between people and place or setting" (4). More loosely defined, it is a love of place and "encompasses how we feel about and participate in the communities that are part of the places where we live and [create or] recreate" (Krasny and Tidball 2015, 34). While topophilia may not be an innate human quality, ecologists believe that biophilia, or an inherent love of life, is. Biophilia is the want to preserve life; it is our evolutionary want to survive and to do what we must to ensure our survival. As Marianne Krasny and Keith Tidball (2015) explain, biophilia may seem surprising when "all around us we see, hear, and even smell and taste the opposite" (28). Destruction is everywhere. We do not have to search long to find examples of lands destroyed, waters polluted, sites desecrated, animals endangered, and essential human resources contaminated in our region and in the world. Amidst all of this, however, they argue that humans still seek life and, in doing so, must become aware of the environments they live in and how they contribute to or threaten their quality of life. Having awareness of the way a place "feeds" you—contributing to your well-being physically, culturally, spiritually, or psychologically—is what then leads to topophilia. Thus, we all have the capacity to love and appreciate place, even if we are not aware of it. My ancestors called this aloha ʻāina, and they acted on it and taught us how to do the same.

Although it may not be called by the same name in other parts of the Pacific, I believe that many Pacific Islanders share—or at least have contained in their stories or histories—a sense of topophilia that comes either from having direct familial relationships with place or from their acknowledgment of the earth as a unique life, deserving of care and protection. Contemporarily, many Pacific poets have drawn on these connections and sentiments in their work, providing evidence of topophilia in the region. Tongan poet Konai Helu Thaman (2003), for example, gives the earth and its creatures agency: "these islands the sky / the surrounding sea / the trees the birds / and all that are free / the misty rain / the surging river / pools by the blowholes / a hidden flower / have their own thinking" (14–15). Everything in nature, in other words, has unique thought and is therefore deserving of respect. In her collection of poetry, Marshallese poet Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner (2017) recounts a genealogy of earth, ancestor, and people. She writes about Liwātuonmour, an ancestress of the Marshallese, who took the form of a stone that a missionary later threw into the ocean: "And she herself turned. And welcomed the earth. That churned and birthed her" (8). The earth, therefore, is life giving and the ancestor of everything. In her book of translated poems, Kanak poet Déwé Gorodé (2004) not only refers to the land as mother but in one poem also gives her character: "she loved this land this earth / nurturing belly / gentle milk breast mother / this earth this land" (22). Given the enormity of the Pacific and the great diversity of our languages and cultures, I will not assume that these ways of looking at, regarding, and treating place are exactly alike or interchangeable. What I will suggest is that they speak to a general "love of place," one that comes from Indigenous ways of knowing and relating to ʻāina.

Why Should "Love of Place" Be Cultivated?

Cultivating "love of place" is essential if we going to empower students to confront the environmental challenges facing the Pacific and contribute to the well-being of the region. Doing so, however, is not easy. When I began teaching Pacific studies at the University of Hawaiʻi–West Oʻahu in 2017, for instance, I had Kanaka Maoli students who identified as Hawaiian but who did not consider themselves Pacific Islanders. They were rooted in ʻāina but detached from the region. The vast majority of my students in Hawaiʻi, however, were the descendants of sugar plantation laborers who migrated to the islands in the mid- to late 1800s from the Philippines, China, Japan, Portugal, Korea, and Puerto Rico. Thus, their attachments to place were complicated: they did not conceive of themselves as being from the ʻāina of Hawaiʻi, but they also had little connection to the places of their ancestors. When I taught Pacific studies at Victoria University of Wellington in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2015 and

2016—the university I have since returned to—many of my students were of Pacific Island descent, the largest portion being Samoan, then Cook Islands Māori and Tongan, with a few Fijian, Niuean, Tokelauan, and Tuvaluan students. They were a mix of New Zealand–born students and students coming to the country on scholarship. Thus, even though many identified as "Pacific peoples" in New Zealand, their attachments to place were equally complex and varied. I also had non-Pacific students who were trying to grapple with their positionality. Given the diversity of each classroom, therefore, it can be difficult to nurture a love for the region, especially for those students who feel they have no place in it. Following Teaiwa's (2017) advice, therefore, I always start the term with where my students and I happen to be in the Pacific. Then, slowly, I attempt to bring as many of "those twenty thousand islands, and so much more, to us" (267). I do this with the hope that students will come to embrace the range and fluidity of their identities or, as Vilsoni Hereniko (1999) explains, will come to know that their understanding of self is always influenced by place and therefore always in "continual reconstruction" (419).

Starting with where my students and I are means drawing on prior experiences of aloha ʻāina, topophilia, or "love of place," in order to cultivate that kind of affection for the place we are in, even if it is new to us. Doing so requires giving students the chance to consider how a place "feeds" them. While teaching in Hawaiʻi, for example, I recognized that many of my students felt disconnected—geographically, politically, and conceptually—from what they considered the Pacific to be. Therefore, we started with where we were: the university, in Kapolei, in the district of ʻEwa, on the island of Oʻahu. In one class exercise, I'd have students go outside to observe and comment on their learning environment. I would ask them to consider the area, not just the immediate university campus but also the wider district, and think about how it "fed" them, or about how ʻāina somehow contributed to who they were, regardless of where they came from. In doing so, they would have to practice being attentive: listening, feeling, and becoming increasingly aware of their surroundings. Finally, I would have them reflect on whether they considered the university to be a Pacific place of learning and what that even meant (or could mean).

This exercise established some common ground among the students, giving all of them one shared place to observe and reflect on. This is not to imply that I could or even desired to "Indigenize" students, providing them with the chance to claim or stake belonging to place. To do so would be to contribute to the ongoing dispossession of Kānaka Maoli from ʻāina, something that Kali Fermantez (2012) argues all Hawaiians have experienced in some way (98). Rather, it was to make them critically aware of where they were and what it meant to be there, whether they were Indigenous to that place or not. The responses I got from this assignment were both enlightening and concerning.

Many of the students had never sat long enough to consider their campus critically, to question what was there before, how the land was used, or even why it looked the way it did. Many critiqued the fact that despite being advertised as an "Indigenous place of learning," there was nothing besides the garden and hale (an open, thatched and lashed house) that made it appear "Indigenous," perhaps providing evidence for Alfred's (2016) assertion that "universities are intolerant and resistant to any meaningful 'indigenizing'" (88). Others remarked on having no engagement with the wider community and admitted to knowing very little about the area. Some expressed frustration about the ongoing and controversial Honolulu Rail Transit Project, costing billions of dollars, potentially disrupting significant cultural and archaeological sites, and becoming an eyesore for the people. We therefore spent time thinking about Kapolei, where the university was situated, the wider district of ʻEwa, and the histories that brought each of us there. Starting with where we were helped my students to see that we all had a connection to place, that we could all consider it critically, and, further, that if we were honest about our relationships to place (whether those relationships were deep, emerging, or severely ruptured), we could also experience the power of ʻāina to heal (Fermantez 2012, 99).

The class exercise opened space for discussions about displacement, inequality, settler colonialism, and the legacies of agricultural practices that stripped the land of nutrients. All of this could be seen and felt in their surroundings. Recognizing this made them more aware of how ʻāina had to be altered and how people's attachments to place had to be disrupted to make their work on that campus possible. While it was not—and certainly is not—my goal to make students feel bad about being *in* particular places, having a critical awareness of them often makes students reflect on their own experiences of aloha ʻāina, thinking about how they respond to change, destruction, or displacement in their own places. In the process, some grow to have more compassion for places they may not have cared about previously, while others also begin to nurture an appreciation for them. Using this exercise and building on it, I would then spend time slowly turning our attention to the larger Pacific. Whether my students felt connected to the Pacific or not, they could not deny the fact that they were *in* it, that their lives were somehow being shaped by it, and that they, in turn, could also be part of shaping its future.

This awareness of place, as Kathleen Dean Moore (2016) writes, is what leads people to wonder about them, to be curious about them, and to want to get to know them better. This wonder, she further argues, "can lead to love, and love can lead to protective action" (79). While I do not expect my students to become activists or environmentalists or to carry the weight of the Pacific on their shoulders, I do believe that we can at least help them to become more aware of place so that they can develop a deeper love for the Pacific and act on

that love should they choose to do so. Echoing the statement embroidered on the hat I spoke of earlier, Klein (2014) believes that this kind of love is necessary if we are going to save the planet from destruction. Therefore, in the context of Pacific studies, I believe it is part of my responsibility to the region not only to use "love of place" in the classroom but also to encourage it in my students. To do this, I believe it is imperative that we give our students opportunities to engage with place, or to truly consider the many ways that 'āina feeds them and, further, how the destruction of 'āina will ultimately impact their lives.

How Can "Love of Place" Be Cultivated?

Love of place can be cultivated when faraway, unfamiliar, or seemingly insignificant spaces become places of meaning. Although many of us often use "space" and "place" interchangeably, Tuan (1977) makes an important distinction between the two: "'Space' is more abstract than 'place.' What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (6). What he means is that space becomes place when it has meaning to the person considering it. Understanding this is key for cultivating a "love of place." If our students are going to care about the Pacific—which, as a concept, can be quite abstract for some of them—we have to ensure that our classrooms provide opportunities for them to give Pacific spaces meaning. This, of course, is not a simple process. As teachers, we can teach *in*, *about*, and even *for* the Pacific, but, as Teaiwa once said, "Without the benefit of direct personal experience across and between islands . . . Pacific Studies can set students up to pass academically without experiencing any transformative learning about themselves and/or the Pacific" (Teaiwa and Moeka'a 2018, 198). Avoiding this trap is difficult when we cannot physically take our student to places in the region so that they can, as they do in my university exercise, feel, observe, and critically consider the space they're in. Therefore, I seek to give 'āina meaning in other ways, ways that ultimately come from how Indigenous Pacific peoples relate to place.

To encourage meaning making in my classrooms, I frame the land, the ocean, and all of its creatures as being active and as having agency. In this framing, for example, the ocean, as Michelle Huang (2017) describes, "resists its role as passive repository" for all of our needs (and for all of our waste) (102). Instead, it becomes the Oceania that Wendt (1976) speaks of in his work, mysterious and always changing: "whenever we think we have captured her she has already assumed new guises—the love affair is endless" (71). While teaching in Hawai'i, I had my students look at examples that could attest to the mana (power) of the ocean and its creatures. In our discussions of voyaging and migration, for example, we talked about Vicente Diaz's (2011) explanation of "the big fish" and

of the seafaring practices of Carolinian voyagers who relied on chants to find their way:

> It is the song of the specific seaway between the Central Carolines and the Marianas. Among other things it names the sea creatures, land, and watermarks between the two regions. Among other things, the chant says to look out for *ikelap*—the big fish—which, when sighted, would indicate that you were east of Guam, the southernmost island of the archipelago. (22)

We also looked at more contemporary examples of ocean voyaging in the work of Ben Finney (1999), who writes about oceanic spaces like Te Avamoʻa in Raiʻātea, Tahiti, as being sacred passageways where access to the shore could be allowed or denied, sometimes by the ocean itself. Finally, in later weeks, we considered new plastic "migrators" of the sea and studied the power of the ocean to heave and hurl things back at us in its never-ending "recursive-but-active motion" (Huang 2017, 102). In these three examples, the sea becomes a place where things happen and where sea life is framed as having knowledge and abilities; it becomes a place of change and action, a place with its own agency.

Looking at the ocean in this way often helps students to challenge their prior assumptions of the Pacific. What some may have thought was empty space around scattered islands becomes an active place of meaning, which gives more weight to Hauʻofa's (1994) often-referenced "sea of islands." This is particularly important in Hawaiʻi, where many of my students were educated in a system that privileges continental perspectives and consequently frames islands as being fixed and enclosed and the islanders on them as being limited and parochial (Roberts and Stephens 2017, 13). In my classes, I seek to do as Brian Russell Roberts and Michelle Ann Stephens (2017) encourage and "decontinentalize" my approach, making the islands and the ocean connecting them the main points of focus (13). This turns our attention to spaces previously "dismissed for their smallness" and re-presents them as always-evolving, ever-changing places that are open and connected to the world (35). In the process, our sea of islands is reconfigured and acknowledged for what Roberts and Stephens (2017) term its ultimate "unknowability," thus humbling all of us who seek to study and understand her and feeding the endless "love affair" Wendt spoke of decades ago (23).

Aloha

Reflecting on my teaching experiences so far, I cannot say that my approaches are always successful or that all students leave with fires in their bellies to

protect our lands, waters, oceans, and skies. What I can say is that, if anything, they do walk away knowing that the Pacific is a deeply meaningful place. At the least, this makes some of them a bit more understanding and compassionate. For others, however, it leads them to consider protective action, whether through writing, sharing, teaching, creating, or protesting. Ultimately, my approach is about building on prior experiences of "love of place" and using it to encourage empathy. Without empathy, we will be numbed to the destruction and devastation around us, especially if and when we believe it does not impact us directly. As a teacher, I refuse to allow distance or assumed disconnection from the wider region to be an excuse for not acting for the betterment of the Pacific: land, ocean, and people. Rather, I insist on grounding my teaching in aloha, or a deep sense of understanding, compassion, and love that feeds our will to act. Love, despite all of its misgivings, "may be [one of] the most revolutionary ideas available to us" (Kelley 2002, 11). Therefore, I harness it. I do not hide my love for the region; instead, I use it to fuel everything I bring to the classroom and everything I hope for my students.

Whether they respond to the aloha they themselves feel for the Pacific or the aloha they recognize in the stories of Pacific Islanders, my hope is that my students leave Pacific studies knowing that no matter how naïve, overly optimistic, or perhaps even cliché it may sound, love can be a powerful motivator and agent of change. Aloha, in other words, perhaps will save the world. I hope that this knowing empowers them, letting them know that "love of place" is always theirs to develop, to nurture, and to grow. As Klein (2014) and Moore (2016) argue, this kind of love is what leads to action for environmental justice, and given the state of our world, we need that kind of action. We need people who are able to take their sense of aloha ʻāina, topophilia, "love of place," or whatever they call it and extend it to the region, seeing all places as active, life giving, nurturing, and deserving of respect. While we may not be able to engage our students in the actual work of making the Pacific better, perhaps a critical Pacific studies pedagogy is one that empowers them with love so that they can do so on their own.

NOTES

1. Kanaka Maoli will be used to refer to people of Hawaiian ancestry and will be used interchangeably with "Hawaiian" throughout. Note that Kānaka Maoli, the pluralized version of Kanaka Maoli, will also be used where appropriate.

2. As a noun, aloha ʻāina can be used to refer to a Hawaiian patriot or nationalist. It has been at the foundation of Hawaiian resistance movements against imperialism for more than 100 years.

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"TAIWAN'S ALLY TUVALU TO SOON BECOME A WATER WORLD": LANGUAGE, PLACE, AND TAIWAN'S POPULAR DISCOURSE ON TUVALU

Jess Marinaccio
Independent Researcher

Carol Farbotko has argued that the "islands of Tuvalu, largely absent from Eurocentric imaginings of the Pacific region, have become meaningful spaces in cosmopolitan discourses only as they disappear" (Farbotko 2010, Wishful Sinking: Disappearing Islands, Climate Refugees and Cosmopolitan Experimentation; *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51 (1): 47–60). Similarly, although Tuvalu is more present in Taiwan because it is one of Taiwan's few diplomatic allies, Tuvalu has also become more significant in Taiwanese discourse with increased coverage of climate change. However, whereas in the West, Tuvalu and climate change are mainly linked to (often self-serving) environmentalist narratives, in Taiwan, Tuvalu and climate change are tied instead to anxiety concerning Taiwan's contested sovereignty. In this article, I outline how Taiwan's diplomatic ethnocentrism and its media's fixation on climate change have filtered into popular discourse that connects Tuvalu to Taiwan's sovereignty concerns. I also consider how examining Taiwan's popular discourse on Tuvalu further engages themes of language/translation and love of place critical to the field of Pacific Studies.

Introduction

In September 1979, Tuvalu, a Pacific Island nation north of Fiji, and Taiwan (or the Republic of China, ROC), an archipelago off the southeast coast of mainland China, formally established diplomatic relations (*United Daily News* [UDN] 1979). Tuvalu is geographically composed of nine islands/atolls.

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However, two of these islands are recognized as representing the same community, and, thus, Tuvaluan citizens commonly refer to Tuvalu as having eight islands. Because each island maintains a distinct identity, Tuvaluans express affiliation with their island and/or the nation as a whole depending on their global positioning and the communities with which they interact. For its part, Taiwan is composed of at least twenty-two islands or archipelagoes and is described as a multicultural society with four officially recognized groups. Three of these groups are ethnically Han Chinese, and one represents the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, who belong to the same broad Austronesian language group as Tuvalu. However, it is important to note that Taiwan's indigenous populations now include at least sixteen distinct peoples. That these groups are reduced to one ethnic category (whether this category be termed "indigenous Malayo-Polynesian" or "Austronesian"; see Government Portal of the Republic of China [Taiwan] 2020) while Han populations are subdivided indicates, to some extent, the ethnocentrism that populates Taiwan's views on Tuvalu. This is discussed later in the paper (Blundell 2011; Damm 2012).

Although seemingly a simple case of diplomatic recognition in the Pacific, Tuvalu and Taiwan have invested their relationship with multilayered discursive meanings. In a recent article, I addressed Tuvalu's discourse on Taiwan (Marinaccio 2019), but it is important to note that Tuvalu has continued to strongly support Taiwan to date, especially with the election of pro-Taiwan Foreign Minister Simon Kofe (Y. Lee 2019; Strong 2019). Here, I examine Taiwan's[1] discourse on Tuvalu and its connections to themes in the Pacific Studies field.

Since the late 1940s, Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) have both claimed to represent the legitimate government of China and have competed for international recognition as such. In the 1970s, however, it became increasingly apparent that Taiwan was losing out in this competition for recognition, and now only fifteen nations formally accept Taiwan as the government of China.[2] Although most nations have unofficial relations with Taiwan, and the country and its people very much participate in global society, Taiwan is typically considered an ambiguous diplomatic entity, not a sovereign China. Even large portions of the Taiwanese population see Taiwan as having a distinct social, cultural, and political identity from China rather than as the seat of the Chinese government. Yet, regardless of whether Taiwan is viewed as representing China, as part of the PRC, or as an entirely separate entity, its independence and sovereignty are contested, and it is not recognized in international organizations such as the UN.

Tuvalu is currently one of four Pacific nations (i.e., Tuvalu, Nauru, the Marshall Islands, and Palau) that maintain diplomatic relations with Taiwan instead of the PRC. This is usually the extent to which Tuvalu is discussed in

international relations scholarship on Taiwan (Hu 2015; Wesley-Smith and Porter 2010). However, given disturbing trends in Taiwan's popular discourse on Tuvalu that are tied to both Taiwan's contested sovereignty *and* Tuvalu's official recognition of Taiwan, there is a pressing need to explain how Taiwan portrays Tuvalu at the official and popular levels. This need is also directly linked to two threads in Pacific Studies: the crucial status of language in developing comprehensive understandings of the Pacific region and the importance of cultivating a "love of place" in Pacific Studies pedagogy that allows critical awareness of Pacific locales (Case 2019). Having lived in Taiwan for the past decade and worked with Pacific communities there, I feel obligated to outline these issues. This is not to convince readers that Taiwan's discourse on Tuvalu is disturbing but to argue that this discourse *can* be changed and that it has developed unchecked partially through ignorance of Sinophone Pacific places in Anglophone Pacific Studies.

Climate Change, Translation, and "Love of Place"

Farbotko (2010, 48) has argued that the "islands of Tuvalu, largely absent from Eurocentric imaginings of the Pacific region, have become meaningful spaces in cosmopolitan discourses only as they disappear." Similarly, although Tuvalu is more present in Taiwan because it is a diplomatic ally, it has also gained significance in Taiwanese discourse only with increased coverage of climate change. However, whereas in the West, Tuvalu and climate change are linked to (often self-serving) environmentalist narratives, in Taiwan, Tuvalu and climate change are tied instead to anxiety concerning Taiwan's contested sovereignty. That is, recent opinion pieces, short stories, and films in Taiwan forward narratives where Tuvalu and Taiwan are united as one country not only to overcome environmental threats to Tuvalu's territorial sovereignty but also (and more importantly for Taiwan) to ensure Taiwan's de jure sovereignty or legal independence. In this article, I outline why Taiwan has reduced one of its few diplomatic allies to a mere signifier of sovereignty concerns. I illustrate Taiwan's negative/ethnocentric attitudes toward its diplomatic allies; Taiwanese media fixation on Tuvalu and climate change; and the expression of these themes, as well as anxiety about Taiwanese sovereignty, in popular Taiwanese imaginings of Tuvalu.

This article does not deal with discourse from a place typically included in the Pacific region—although I would argue that Taiwan is a settler colony as much a part of the Pacific as New Caledonia, Guam, French Polynesia, or Rapa Nui. However, it does deal with how a "non-Pacific" (and non-Western) location talks about Pacific places, specifically Tuvalu. It also relies heavily on acts of translation to make Taiwan's Mandarin-language discourse on Tuvalu legible to broader audiences. Thus, this paper highlights the importance of language

to research in the Pacific (see Gegeo 1998; Panapa 2014; Powell 2019). Here, acts of translation are key to empowerment rationales in Pacific Studies (see T. Teaiwa 2010) because they reveal underlying assumptions about the region held in locations rarely addressed in the Pacific Studies field. As described below, Taiwan's popular discourse on Tuvalu is jarring. This is partially because it is "unusual" (or, perhaps, unexpected) but also because Pacific Studies as conducted in Anglophone nations like New Zealand consistently fails to account for non-Anglophone colonial languages, including French, Spanish, German, and Mandarin. Thus, the importance of language to Pacific Studies comes not only from the necessity of accounting for languages indigenous to the Pacific but also from the need to better understand *all* non-Anglophone communities that participate in regional affairs.

Furthermore, this article engages the pedagogy of "love of place" advanced by Pacific Studies scholar Dr. Emalani Case (2019) to consider how Taiwan's inability to cultivate a "critical awareness" of Tuvalu, or a love of Tuvalu as place, has reduced its ability for compassion toward and/or appreciation of Tuvalu. The "love of place" advanced by Case (2019, 4) mainly focuses on eco-activism and "the betterment of [Pacific] environments." However, it also allows "students [to] turn far-away and unfamiliar spaces into places of meaning," which I believe entails not only bettering Pacific environments but also cultivating empathy for people who live in Pacific places and the lives they lead. This empathy then, in turn, demonstrates why protecting Pacific environments is so critical (see Hennessy and K. Teaiwa n.d.; Jolly 2018). In the Taiwan example, Tuvalu is seen as a location that can be easily sacrificed if this sacrifice will remedy Taiwan's international predicament. This indicates that, when no critical awareness/love of place for Tuvalu is cultivated, Tuvalu only ever exists as a blank signifier that reflects the identity and concerns of those speaking of it (see Farbotko 2010; Klein 2014; Peiser 2005). Even if Tuvalu as blank signifier becomes a rallying cry for action against climate change (which it *does not* in the Taiwan case), this still undermines "the actual work of making the Pacific better" (Case 2019, 22). This is because, if Pacific environments are never made familiar or meaningful, the danger remains that destruction will still be enacted in these places even if climate change is remedied.

Bearing in mind themes of climate change, translation, and love of place, in what follows, I outline how I understand the development of Taiwan's popular discourse on Tuvalu, climate change, and sovereignty and what this discourse entails. In the conclusion, I reflect back on emerging opportunities in Taiwan through which love or understanding of place can be developed for Tuvalu. I also reconsider the importance of language and translation in this particular case study and Pacific Studies more generally.

Taiwanese Conceptions of Diplomacy: (Dis)Loyalty, Quality, and Austronesia

Although Taiwan possesses a diverse cultural history that undoubtedly influences diplomatic conceptions, the context that has most distinctly affected Taiwanese understandings of diplomacy is not culture but, rather, Taiwan's diplomatic competition with the PRC. Below, I examine how the PRC's growing international influence, and the pressure this has exerted on Taiwan's diplomacy, has led Taiwanese diplomats and citizens to understand diplomatic allies as disloyal, low quality, and needing "improvement." This fuels negative/ethnocentric views of diplomatic partners. I also briefly explore Taiwan's "Austronesian diplomacy," a discourse unique to Taiwan's Pacific allies that has sometimes compounded negative/ethnocentric attitudes.

The PRC and Taiwan's Disloyal Allies

As noted in the Introduction, a diplomatic phenomenon unique to Taiwan is that, in the 1970s, many of Taiwan's diplomatic allies, which had recognized the ROC after it reunified mainland China in 1928, began severing ties with the ROC (which had by then retreated to Taiwan) in favor of the PRC. At present, Taiwan has fifteen diplomatic allies. Thus, over the past fifty years, numerous allies have ended official relationships with Taiwan, while only a limited number have retained formal ties.

Given this, in discussions with Taiwan's ambassador to Tuvalu, a contradiction emerged. The ambassador explained his view that Taiwanese and Tuvaluan cultures were similar because of the kindness and hospitality common to both nations. The ambassador saw these similarities as beneficial to developing close diplomatic ties (4/25a Interview). However, the ambassador also explained that similar values could not guarantee lasting diplomatic relationships, referring to national interest as most directly determining diplomatic decision-making. Here, he also conspicuously referred to the PRC and its influence on Taiwan:

> [Similar values] are a very important part. . . . [Tuvaluans] think that being with Taiwan feels a bit better. This is a very important part, but it's not an absolute. You know, because, actually, diplomacy also has these vital interests, because diplomacy is still . . . national interest. . . . Now, at present, the two sides are cooperating very well. Right. In the present situation, that's how it is. . . . Taiwan has a unique situation, which is the PRC, the PRC over there, the massive PRC. And then recently it has become stronger and stronger. Right. So, when

> cross-strait relations are not so cordial, are not so good, you would feel that the pressure is . . . greater (4/25a Interview [Mandarin])

The explicit contrast the ambassador draws between the importance of shared cultural values and national interest in determining diplomatic relationships and the implicit connection he indicates between national interest and the rise of the PRC suggest conflict in Taiwanese views of diplomacy. That is, given the enhanced strength, and especially the increased wealth, of the PRC, although cultural values may draw certain countries to Taiwan, from the perspective of national interest, the PRC will always prove more attractive to Taiwan's allies, motivating them to switch allegiance.

Given this socio-political context, Taiwan's government and citizens see a lasting diplomatic alliance as meaning loyalty and true friendship because it requires allies to stay with Taiwan regardless of benefits offered by the PRC (Yan 2018; Zheng 2018). Yet, again, because of pressure from the PRC and the frequency with which allies sever relations with Taiwan, Taiwanese officials and citizens assume that allies can never be real friends because they can be lost to the PRC at any time. In this vein, a 2016 *Taipei Times* editorial commented:

> Recent weeks have seen intensifying efforts from China to poach Taiwan's remaining allies. Beijing's economic clout and international prestige make it an irresistible attraction. . . . China offers huge amounts of financial assistance that Taiwan can never match. (J. Lee 2016)

Although Taiwan still sees diplomatic alliances as relationships that have to be maintained (11/8 Interview; Hu 2015, 8), because it is not recognized as sovereign, Taiwan's conception of diplomacy is relatively unique: the discontinuity rather than the continuity of alliances is taken as a given. Socio-political conceptions of foreign relations, then, center on negative views of an inconstant official diplomacy where diplomatic allies are inevitably disloyal.

Ideas of allies as disloyal are also linked to a second phenomenon where Taiwan's allies are described as of low socio-economic quality both because they can potentially be bought by the PRC and because the PRC has not yet chosen to purchase their allegiance. As a Taiwanese medical volunteer noted,

> China will always take our friends, right? Now, similarly, for [Tuvalu], it seems, in the past, there were some rumors . . . Now, we can't take the initiative here. It all depends on whether China wants to spend money or not. If they want to spend, I think Tuvalu would be taken very quickly. . . . [It's] just that, to China, Tuvalu has no value, no value whatsoever, none, not worthy (4/14 Interview [Mandarin])

Aid, Humanitarianism, and Taiwan's Low-Quality Allies

Because of the frequency with which Taiwan's allies sever relations, a common conception in Taiwanese society is that if allies stay with Taiwan, they do so only because of money or aid (Cao 2017). As the final quote in the previous subsection demonstrates, citizens even argue that Taiwan's remaining allies are simply those unworthy of the PRC's attention, demonstrating that allied nations are viewed as underprivileged countries that do not provide even symbolic benefit to Taiwan.

Consequently, in interviews, Taiwanese citizens consistently commented on the perceived low quality of allies:

> A lot of people say that our allies can be described using three words: black, poor, small. To a certain extent, to a certain extent, that reflects the reality (11/10a Interview [Mandarin])

> [There] are people who say, "Why don't your allies have [a contemporary concept/contemporary ideas]?" I think I also really want to ask why they don't have these [ideas], why the people in our allied countries don't really have that type of civilization, that type, that type of thing emerging. (11/22 Interview [Mandarin])

Taiwanese diplomats and citizens not only see allies as inevitably disloyal, but citizens also emphasize the low quality of allies. Given this, citizens have even criticized government aid to allies because, if allies are destined to leave Taiwan and only of insignificant international status, giving aid wastes resources (Cao 2017; Zheng 2018).

However, despite these considerations, the Taiwan government still seeks to maintain official diplomatic relationships to retain some level of international recognition, especially at the UN. Accordingly, the government has restructured discourse on providing aid to allies to placate negative domestic views. In this restructuring, the government highlights how assisting allies represents humanitarian diplomacy that enhances Taiwan's international reputation. Therefore, in 2007, then Vice President Annette Lu "proposed replacing checkbook diplomacy with 'development diplomacy' and using Taiwan's experience [to] boost its allies' economic development" (*Taipei Times* 2007). Yet, in emphasizing Taiwan's superior development status and ability to "improve" allies, this more "positive" framing of Taiwan's allied relations never questions the assumption that allies are of low quality. For instance, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs official described government programs in diplomatic allies as follows:

> I saw, on Facebook, that one of the students [who worked with us] said he thought—he was proud of Taiwan. . . . He felt that Taiwan wasn't just engaged in dollar diplomacy like everybody said. We are really engaged in . . . international projects [to] improve the welfare of people in allied countries. (11/8 Interview [Mandarin])

This discourse is reminiscent of the development ideology Australia promotes for the Pacific (Fry 1997), as well as New Zealand's emphasis on remedying "the plight of its less fortunate neighbours in the Pacific" rather than envisioning a "neighbourhood of equals" (T. Teaiwa 2012, 246). This discourse also creates another layer in Taiwan's socio-political conceptions of diplomacy. Namely, the loyalty of allies is not only uncertain but the benefit of even having allies must also be constantly justified, and, regardless of how diplomatic relationships are portrayed, allies are assumed to be of low quality and requiring "improvement."

Marginalization of Pacific Allies through Taiwan's Austronesian Diplomacy

Finally, compared with its other alliances, Taiwan has established a special context for relationship-building with its Pacific allies: Austronesian diplomacy. In this context, because the languages of Taiwan's indigenous peoples and Pacific peoples belong to the Austronesian language group, linguistic similarities are used to strengthen diplomatic ties (Blundell 2011; Guo 2017). This is similar to how the New Zealand government sometimes strategically asserts Pacific and/or indigenous identities to bolster its Pacific diplomacy (Goldsmith 2017; T. Teaiwa 2012). Yet, the term "Austronesian" is multiply understood from the perspectives of both Taiwan and Pacific allies, leading to contested views of how effective Austronesian diplomacy is in cementing relations.

More importantly for this article, however, instead of cultivating Taiwanese affinity for Pacific allies, Austronesian diplomacy has sometimes compounded negative/ethnocentric diplomatic ideas, especially among Taiwan's Han majority. This is because indigenous populations in Taiwan are still highly marginalized (Munsterhjelm 2014: 1–30) and comparisons between indigenous and Pacific peoples under the umbrella term Austronesian enables a similar marginalization of Pacific allies. For example, when discussing Tuvalu, a Taiwanese volunteer made the following statement:

> Now, about the people, . . . [they] lead lazier lives. For example, you don't see many people fishing. . . . If you said—a hypothetical, if *Taiwanese people* lived here, they would definitely always, always be fishing, but you don't see the people here fishing. Instead, they sell

> their exclusive economic zone to other people.... So, maybe that's just the nature of the *Austronesian people* (4/14 Interview [Mandarin]; emphasis added)

Here, the interviewee separates the industrious Taiwanese from the lazy Austronesians, indicating marginalization of Taiwan's indigenous peoples through the suggestion that they are not Taiwanese (for parallels to New Zealand, see T. Teaiwa 2012, 254). The quote also demonstrates how the term Austronesian is used to simultaneously discount and stereotype indigenous *and* Pacific peoples.

Furthermore, the international application of Austronesian diplomacy has led to extreme backlash from conservative portions of Taiwan's Han population. For example, during current President Tsai Ing-wen's 2017 visit to the Marshall Islands, Tuvalu, and former ally Solomon Islands, official references to the trip as a 尋親之旅 (search for relatives) (Cui 2017), generated intense debate about Tsai's perceived attempt to de-Sinicize Taiwan. An editorial from the time captures major concerns posited in this debate:

> What relatives are we searching for? Why do we have to search for relatives?... [Whether] from the perspective of race, blood, language, culture, or other aspects, Taiwan's majority [population] moved from mainland China to Taiwan and has been Han Chinese for generations. . . . If, to achieve the political goal of shaping a "new Taiwan ethnicity" and the "historical perspective of an independent Taiwan," only... Austronesian culture is presented, how can we look the twenty-three million people of Taiwan in the face? ... That [Tsai Ing-wen] has ... traveled far across the ocean to find a disproportionate and distant relative is not only illusory ..., but, even more, it sends the wrong signal. (*China Times* 2017)

More inflammatory reactions to Tsai's trip included that by a Taiwanese actor-singer who proclaimed that Tsai, who is a quarter indigenous, "is perhaps an aborigine of the South Seas and wants to go [there] to search for relatives, but this has nothing to do with us! We are Chinese!" (*Liberty Times* 2017).

Consequently, rather than overcoming negative conceptions of allies, in some cases, Austronesian diplomacy amplifies negative feelings. Here, in addition to ideas of disloyalty and low quality applied to all of Taiwan's diplomatic partners, ambivalent views of Taiwan's indigenous populations are linked to Pacific allies. Moreover, when portions of Taiwan's Han population see Austronesian diplomacy as reconfiguring Taiwanese culture and ethnicity, indigenous peoples and Pacific allies are further ostracized. Given the above discussion, in the next section, I consider how negative/ethnocentric diplomatic rhetoric is reflected in media and popular discourse on Tuvalu.

Taiwan's Media and Popular Discourse on Tuvalu: Climate Change, Ethnocentrism, and Taiwanese Sovereignty

Popular coverage on Tuvalu in Taiwan is widely varied. Especially in Taiwanese news outlets, Tuvalu has been linked to a number of shifting themes, with Taiwan's attempts to join the UN and climate change most consistently tied to Tuvalu. Here, I focus on media and popular fixation with Tuvalu and climate change not only because it is a common theme in newspapers spanning Taiwan's political spectrum but also because interviews conducted for a larger research project revealed climate change as a major factor shaping how Taiwan knows Tuvalu. Importantly, though, this knowledge does not cultivate the "love of place" advocated by Case (2019)—it furthers rather than impedes ethnocentrism and environmental destruction.[3]

Below, I first explore how climate change dominates reporting on Tuvalu in Taiwanese media and how this coverage dovetails with negative/ethnocentric diplomatic attitudes discussed above. Subsequently, I outline how diplomatic ethnocentrism, media fixation on climate change, and anxiety regarding Taiwanese sovereignty have filtered into popular imaginings of Tuvalu. This occurs through popular narratives where Tuvalu's sovereignty, soon to be lost to climate change, is transferred to Taiwan. Finally, I discuss two works on Tuvalu and climate change that attempted to expand popular understandings of Tuvalu but were unable to achieve this goal because of Taiwan's socio-political contexts.

Representations of Tuvalu in Taiwan's Media

Articles in three major newspapers spanning Taiwan's political spectrum, 聯合報 (*United Daily News*; UDN), 中國時報 (*China Times*), and 自由時報 (*Liberty Times*),[4] show that climate change is a dominant theme in reporting.[5] For example, UDN's earliest coverage on climate change and Tuvalu's potential disappearance appeared in a 1991 article entitled "Global village: Island crisis, Facing terror of being swallowed by the sea." The article begins by stating that "The South Pacific Island nation of Tuvalu . . . became independent twelve years ago but might disappear . . . forever a hundred years from now." It goes on to describe Tuvalu's low elevation above sea level, small population, and lack of economic resources, which have, the article relates, motivated immigration to Australia or New Zealand (*United Evening News* 1991). Although *China Times* began covering Tuvalu and climate change much later than UDN, it printed a remarkably similar series of articles beginning in 2000 and 2001. One of these articles, "Tuvalu to be submerged," explains that a U.S. policy society has announced that Tuvaluans will begin leaving their country in the next year in the hope of migrating to New Zealand (*China Times Express* 2001b).[6]

This early coverage on Tuvalu potentially disappearing because of climate change is characteristic of subsequent articles on the topic frequently published in UDN, *China Times*, and *Liberty Times*. Reporting not only continually reminds readers that, since the 1990s, Tuvalu has always been about to disappear but has also become tied to what reporters see as Tuvalu's negative qualities: small size, small population, and low development level (see 11/10a Interview). For example, in an article on then Taiwan President Chen Shui-Bian's visit to Tuvalu, former ally Kiribati, and the Marshall Islands in 2005, *China Times* described the poor telecommunications situation in the three countries. The newspaper noted that "[this situation] is especially bad for Tuvalu, which only has 10,000 people and is on the verge of being submerged into the sea" (S.-L. Lin 2005). Writing on the same presidential visit, UDN explained not only that Tuvalu would disappear in several decades due to climate change but also that, compared with the relative "civilization" of the Marshall Islands, the most remarkable characteristic of Tuvalu was that it had "no wars and no malaria" (H.-Z. Li 2005). Furthermore, in a 2009 article on Tuvalu donating 1 percent of its GDP to help Taiwan recover from Typhoon Morakot, UDN rapidly undermined Tuvalu's generosity:

> Tuvalu has a population of only approximately 12,000 and its landmass is only twenty-six square kilometers. Tuvalu's coastline is subject to severe erosion and the greenhouse effect has caused the sea level to rise without stop. . . . International media predicts that in the next several years, Tuvalu will be unfit for human habitation (G. Wang 2009).

If Tuvalu has made an impression in Taiwanese media, it is because of climate change, and relevant reporting on Tuvalu often betrays ethnocentric views of the country as small, poor, and vulnerable. These views reflect themes in Taiwanese diplomacy where allies are seen as low quality and needing "improvement."

Popular Imaginings of Tuvalu in Taiwan

Because Tuvalu's imminent disappearance is so frequently reported in Taiwan, Tuvalu and climate change have also become a vehicle for citizen reflections on international/domestic problems plaguing their country. One of the most intriguing and troubling ways in which this issue has surfaced in popular discourse is in musings on the possibility of combining Tuvalu and Taiwan into a single country to solve Tuvalu's climate-change problem and Taiwan's sovereignty dilemma.

For example, in 2007, a hospital administrator, Lai Youzhe, published an opinion piece in *Liberty Times*. Lai explained that the Taiwan government was

not paying enough attention to the fact that one of its allies, Tuvalu, had almost disappeared due to climate change. Lai suggested that, if the Tuvaluan population moved to Taiwan and the two nations merged, this problem could be easily solved. Furthermore, through the formation of the new country of 台灣吐瓦魯 (Taiwan-Tuvalu), Taiwan could gain independence from the PRC *and* access to Tuvalu's membership in the UN, the Commonwealth, and other international organizations (Lai 2007). Interestingly, Lai's letter was published the day after *Liberty Times* and UDN ran articles respectively titled "Taiwan's ally Tuvalu to soon become a water world" and "Global warming, Tuvalu soon to be submerged"; many of the details in the *Liberty Times* article are repeated in Lai's piece (*Liberty Times* 2007; UDN 2007). Lai's letter indicates how reporting on Tuvalu shapes public opinion and has made Tuvalu a convenient medium for contemplating Taiwan's contested sovereignty (for a recent example, see J. Lin 2016).

This phenomenon is also apparent in recent Taiwanese literary production. For example, in a 2017 untitled short story, award-winning author Huang Chong-Kai seems to build on Lai Youzhe's proposal outlined above. Huang's story imagines a future in which Tuvalu has already disappeared and citizens have evacuated to settlement areas on Taiwan's eastern coast. The story centers on the reunification of an estranged Taiwanese family after the protagonist's father marries a Tuvaluan widow named Anna and adopts her three daughters. However, it also sketches debates in Taiwan over whether and how to merge Taiwan and Tuvalu so as to engineer Taiwan's independence from the PRC.

As Huang himself has explained, in the story, Tuvalu is merely a conduit for the true focus of the work: dissatisfaction with Taiwan's current international situation (C.-K. Huang, personal communication, 20 December 2019). Thus, in a thirteen-page story where Taiwan's socio-political issues are depicted with clarity and frequency, Huang (2017: 32, 39) reduces Tuvalu and its people to the following descriptions:

> [The] Tuvaluans seemed like they didn't care [about losing their country], as if it didn't matter if they couldn't return to their homes.
>
> The Tuvaluans mainly lived as they always had: groups congregated together chatting, holding ukuleles, and happily singing songs. The gist of the lyrics was that, before, they had always sung about Taiwan being very, very far away, but now Taiwan was right before [their] eyes.
>
> [Anna's] eldest daughter said she liked her life in Taiwan better; it was more convenient, and she could ride the train. . . . The youngest

> daughter said that the beach in Taitung was very different from the fine, white sand in Tuvalu.
>
> As the story unfolds, descriptions of Tuvaluan characters also focus more on their assimilation into Taiwanese society than on reflections on Tuvalu. As the Mandarin and Hokkien[7] language skills and food preparation abilities of the Tuvaluan characters rapidly improve, the narrator remarks that "I almost couldn't tell they were foreigners" and "it was as if Tuvalu had never existed" (C.-K. Huang 2017: 39, 42).

Consequently, Huang's engagement with Tuvalu reflects a common trend in Taiwanese media and society: contentment with understandings of Tuvalu that begin and end with climate change and that concentrate more on Taiwan than Tuvalu. This trend again indicates links to Taiwan's negative/ethnocentric socio-political conceptions of diplomacy because the suggestion that Tuvaluans would be better served if relocated to Taiwan is an extreme example of Taiwan's discourse on "improving" allies. The intertwining of Tuvalu with Taiwanese sovereignty issues via climate change also shows how Taiwan's fraught national status affects its imaginings of allies.

Promoting Understandings of Tuvalu through Climate Change

I conclude this section by considering two well-known Mandarin/Hokkien-language works on Tuvalu and climate change that have aimed to overturn portrayals of Tuvalu as a climate-change victim or a vehicle for remedying sovereignty concerns. However, I also describe how these works have been undermined in their aims either because they ultimately foreground Taiwan instead of Tuvalu or because the messages they promote have been co-opted by Taiwanese media/politics. This indicates the strength of the discursive trends outlined in the previous subsections.

沈沒(ㄕㄣˇ ㄇㄟˊ)之島 (*Taivalu*[8]), a documentary produced in Taiwan in 2010, was awarded First Prize at the Taipei Film Festival in 2011. After the destruction wrought on southern Taiwan in 2009 by Typhoon Morakot prompted Tuvalu to donate 1 percent of its GDP to Taiwan for disaster relief, the film's director Huang Hsin-Yao traveled to Tuvalu to collect evidence of climate change. However, in the film, Huang chides himself for his foolish attempts to find conclusive evidence of sea level rise and strives to feature what he sees as more pressing issues (e.g., trash disposal problems[9]), thereby broadening understandings of Tuvalu. Yet, as the film's English title *Taivalu* indicates, the focus of the documentary is not actually Tuvalu, and it instead uses Tuvalu to reflect on Taiwan's own environmental protection problems.[10] In a scene toward the end

of the film somewhat reminiscent of Huang Chong-Kai's 2017 short story, the director even notes that, given its technological talents, Taiwan can undoubtedly develop an artificial island for Tuvaluans to live on; when Taiwan inevitably sinks as well, the people of Tuvalu and Taiwan can live there together (H.-Y. Huang 2011: 1:10:21–1:10:34).

The second work considered here is the Yamamoto (2008) illustrated book 日漸沉沒的樂園吐瓦魯, 你最重要的東西是甚麼？地球暖化篇 (*Tuvalu, the island nation sinking because of global warming—The most important thing for you*). Based on its title, the work seems an extension of typical Taiwanese discourse on Tuvalu's disappearance. However, it is more complex than it first appears. The book, which was authored by Toshiharu Yamamoto, then president of the nonprofit organization Earth the Spaceship, consists mainly of pictures drawn by Tuvaluan children after they were asked what was most important to them. While these pictures do center on climate change, they also reflect the importance to children of Tuvalu's beaches, sunsets, people-to-people relationships, schools, water availability, and trash disposal issues.

Yet, the fate of this work in Taiwan is particularly interesting: from 2009 through 2011, then first lady Christine Chow Mei-Ching gave readings of the book throughout Taiwan. In media coverage of these readings, the book becomes a prop secondary to reporting on Chow's charitable visits to remote and indigenous schools and her own comparisons between Tuvalu and Taiwan (Pan 2011). Furthermore, in reporting, the book is briefly summarized as discussing "the helplessness of Tuvalu, a small country in the Pacific, in the face of climate change" (You 2010) and is sometimes barely mentioned at all (Hua 2011).[11] Clearly, despite the book's content, its integration into the Taiwanese press through the first lady's fame transformed it and Tuvalu into mere signifiers of climate change, tools more important for forwarding political agendas than anything else.

To summarize, in Taiwan's popular discourse, Tuvalu is consistently mediated through discussions of climate change; this mediation involves linking Tuvalu to ethnocentric and often negative descriptors, as well as reflections on Taiwanese sovereignty. These phenomena are indicative of themes in Taiwan's socio-political conceptions of diplomacy and highlight distinctive articulations in popular Taiwanese rhetoric on Tuvalu. They also clearly demonstrate how Taiwan's inability to cultivate a "critical awareness" of Tuvalu, or a love of Tuvalu as place (Case 2019), has reduced its ability for compassion toward and/or appreciation of its Pacific ally.

Conclusion

Farbotko (2010: 47–48) has argued that, in the West, discourse on Tuvalu "[inscribes the country] as a location where developed world anxieties about global climate change are articulated" and where "the urgency of climate

change" will be finally proven when Tuvalu disappears. In this article, I demonstrated how, in Taiwan, discourse on Tuvalu and climate change instead links to diplomatic ethnocentrism and anxieties about Taiwan's contested sovereignty. Given the simultaneous existence of these divergent discursive articulations, it is clear that both are constructed and based on differing concerns in the West and Taiwan.

However, comparatively analyzing these constructions also indicates that the strongest discursive link in both is that between Tuvalu and climate change. That is, in the West and in Taiwan, before being tied to other discourses, Tuvalu is always first linked to climate change, which creates a situation where other issues in Tuvaluan society and culture are seen as less pressing and, by extension, less important. In both instances, it is clear that a "critical awareness" of Tuvalu as place has not been broadly cultivated. For Taiwan, this is reflected in the fact that Taiwan often uses Tuvalu's struggle against climate change to achieve nationalistic goals, which hinders the environmental action Case (2019) seeks when she advocates for love of place. It is also reflected in the fact that Taiwan reduces Tuvalu to a signifier rather than an embodied location, which renders empathy for the Tuvaluan people all but impossible. Regardless of whether this use of Tuvalu might serve a "greater good" (for Taiwan), it runs directly counter to environmental and empathetic action that would "[make] the *Pacific* better" (Case 2019, 22; emphasis added). Thus, in this case, Taiwan's use of Tuvalu undermines moves toward empowerment in Pacific Studies, and remedying this issue is critical to the field.

Resolution, perhaps, comes when people are actually "[provided] opportunities . . . to give Pacific spaces meaning" (Case 2019, 19) and understand Tuvalu not *as* climate change but as a lived/living place *affected by* climate change. In 2017 and 2018, I was able to conduct numerous interviews with Taiwanese youth who had traveled to Tuvalu as part of Taiwan's cultural diplomacy in its Pacific allies. These young people often did not have the opportunity to stay in Tuvalu over a long period and did not return from Tuvalu completely free of ideas developed based on Taiwanese discourse. However, many were struck by their highly positive experiences in Tuvalu and the extent to which climate change, while certainly having a major influence on the country, was not the only factor in Tuvaluan life and society (10/6a, 10/20b, 11/9, 11/19a, 2/27, and 3/8 Interviews). Consequently, although not unproblematic, in this instance, Taiwanese youth were able to give spaces meaning and, in developing something approximating love of place, valued Tuvalu as having its own agency while also appreciating why its struggle against climate change was so very critical. Notably, this example is similar to the experiences of Australian National University students who participate in the university's Pacific Islands Field School. When these students are taught in Fiji, Solomon Islands, Samoa,

or Hawai'i, they reimagine "the place of Australia in Oceania" and undergo an "affective learning journey" that challenges visions of the Pacific "as conflict-ridden, vulnerable, resource-lacking and a general threat to regional stability" (Hennessy and K. Teaiwa n.d.). They are also able to recognize "gross material appropriation of . . . lands and resources" in Pacific locales (Jolly 2018, 357), which may motivate action, especially environmental action, based on critical awareness of place.

Finally, I would like to reiterate the significance of language and acts of translation to the discussion conducted in this article and Pacific Studies in general. For over twenty years, scholars have pointed to the absolutely critical place of indigenous languages in the development of Pacific Studies or research on the Pacific region (Case 2019; Gegeo 1998; Panapa 2014; Powell 2019). Despite this, Taiwan's discourse on Tuvalu has thus far escaped attention in Anglophone Pacific Studies because nonindigenous and non-English languages prevalent in the Pacific are largely ignored. English-language framings of the region have long been the target of Anglophone Pacific Studies (Fry 1997), but the Pacific is influenced by framings effected in numerous languages. If these ideas are not made legible through translation and are not better understood, our capacity to develop a holistic conceptualization of these framings will be reduced and our ability to speak back to them weakened. Just as lacking a critical awareness of place hampers our capacity to value the Pacific, lacking language, or cognizance of multiple languages (indigenous and nonindigenous), negatively impacts our ability to comprehensively understand the Pacific and how it is multiply imagined and construed.

NOTES

1. I do not specifically include indigenous voices from Taiwan in this article (although it is important to note that being an indigenous person does not preclude someone from espousing the discourse I outline). However, for a larger research project, I did conduct various interviews with indigenous peoples from Taiwan who had participated in cultural exchange in the Pacific. This exchange is extremely active, especially during events like Festival of Pacific Arts. Based on interviews, it is clear that indigenous Taiwanese highlight close ties with indigenous peoples from Pacific settler colonies (and vice versa) while not as directly emphasizing links with Taiwan's Pacific allies (9/30, 11/9, 11/16, 11/24, and 12/19b Interviews). This dovetails with major trends in Taiwan's diplomatic discourse on the Pacific (Marinaccio n.d.).

2. As of September 2019, Taiwan's diplomatic allies are Belize, Eswatini, Guatemala, Haiti, the Holy See, Honduras, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Nicaragua, Palau, Paraguay, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Tuvalu.

3. See 10/13, 10/14, 10/20b, 11/9, 11/19a, 3/8, and 8/30a Interviews; Wu (2012, 108), back cover. It is important to emphasize that Tuvalu is *not* widely known in Taiwan. Consequently, the relationship between climate change and Tuvalu is not recognized by all Taiwanese citizens but is known to those familiar with Tuvalu.

4. UDN and *China Times* are seen as supportive of the Nationalist Party (KMT) and *Liberty Times* the Democratic Progressive Party.

5. All three newspapers have keyword-searchable databases with digitized articles available for UDN from 1951 to present, *China Times* from 1950 to present, and *Liberty Times* from 2003 to present. For 2009 to 2016, when reporting on Tuvalu and climate change was most prevalent, 49 percent of *China Times* articles, 48 percent of UDN articles (including articles from the affiliated *Economic Daily News*), and 24 percent of *Liberty Times* articles on Tuvalu were about climate change.

6. See *China Times* (2000); *China Times Express* (2001a); T. Liu (2001).

7. Hokkien is a Southern Min Chinese dialect prevalent in Taiwan.

8. "Taivalu" is a portmanteau of "Taiwan" and "Tuvalu" (or "Tai" + "valu").

9. The Tuvalu government has since addressed trash disposal issues and they are now less of an urgent concern.

10. See M. Li (2011); X. Liu (2011).

11. See also Z. Lin (2009); Y. Wang (2010).

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A RESPONSE TO MARINACCIO'S "LANGUAGE, PLACE, AND TAIWAN'S POPULAR DISCOURSE ON TUVALU"

Niuone Eliuta
Independent Researcher

Introduction

The Tuvaluan word for friendship is *taugasoa*, a term around which Tuvalu's relationship with Taiwan, one of Tuvalu's most long-term, trusted, and well-recognized diplomatic allies, has been framed. One of the most important practices in Tuvaluan culture is caring for *fakaalofa* (people who live in Tuvalu but who are not from Tuvalu or do not own land there).[1] The principle of fakaalofa is a means of developing lifelong taugasoa relationships, and it is now reflected in how Tuvaluans care for the government and people of Taiwan. Tuvaluans have always seen Taiwanese diplomats or volunteers who live in Tuvalu as fakaalofa because they are landless foreigners. Owing to the extreme concern accorded to these Taiwanese citizens because of their fakaalofa status, Tuvalu's appreciation of the relationship between the two nations has grown stronger over the years, and Taiwan is considered a true taugasoa for Tuvalu. Moreover, fakaalofa and taugasoa are deeply rooted in Tuvaluan culture and ways of life; they are also associated with other terms related to Tuvaluan culture and Tuvalu's Christian faith such as *alofa* (love) and *faimeatonu* (honesty). Over the years, these terms have also come to encompass and promote the Tuvalu-Taiwan taugasoa.

As is widely known, Tuvalu is highly vulnerable and exposed to the impacts of climate change and sea-level rise because of its geographic location and size. Furthermore, these climatic threats are rendered more severe due to Tuvalu's

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socio-economic status. As a true taugasoa, Taiwan has assisted Tuvalu with these issues through financial support and the provision of other resources so that Tuvaluans can better adapt to their environmental and socio-economic circumstances.

Marinaccio (this issue) discusses some problematic aspects of Taiwanese discourse, especially the disturbing manner in which some Taiwanese people portray Tuvalu and its predicament with regard to climate change and sea-level rise (Marinaccio 2019). Although this information is readily available, it is written in Mandarin/Hokkien, which makes it impossible for many Tuvaluans to understand. From a Tuvaluan viewpoint, the information revealed in Marinaccio's piece is like a new discovery because of language barriers separating Tuvalu and Taiwan. In Tuvalu, as is the case in many Pacific Islands, only native and English languages are widely spoken and only an extremely limited number of Tuvaluans understand Mandarin.

My response outlines my views on the Tuvalu-Taiwan relationship before and after reading Taiwan's Mandarin-language discourse as described by Marinaccio. It is worth noting that, although the response represents my personal perspectives, I believe that many Tuvaluans would share the same reaction I had if they could access or understand the information Marinaccio presents. As an ally, Taiwan must urgently address this issue to reduce potential future complications in the Tuvalu-Taiwan relationship. However, I also feel that Tuvalu must enhance its own national policies to safeguard and prevent similar discourses from developing in other countries.

This response is divided into four main sections. The section "A Brief Overview of Tuvalu-Taiwan Diplomatic Ties" briefly discusses the diplomatic relationship between Tuvalu and Taiwan, capturing major highlights in this relationship over the years. The section "Perspectives on Taiwanese Discourse on Tuvalu and Climate Change" outlines Taiwanese discourse on Tuvalu, mainly focusing on my personal reactions to this discourse. It also provides evidence that shows why this discourse conflicts with unique aspects of Tuvaluan ways of life, demonstrating why I claim to be able to represent the reaction most Tuvaluans would have to Taiwanese discourse. The conclusion provides suggestions on how to avoid the development of similar discourses in the future.

A Brief Overview of Tuvalu-Taiwan Diplomatic Ties

The Tuvalu-Taiwan diplomatic friendship, or taugasoa, dates back to 1979, shortly after Tuvalu gained independence in 1978 (*United Daily News* 1979). This makes Taiwan one of Tuvalu's most long-term allies. In 1998, Taiwan established its diplomatic mission in Tuvalu's capital Funafuti (Embassy of the Republic of China [Taiwan] in Tuvalu Website 2019), while Tuvalu opened

its mission in Taipei in 2013 (*Radio New Zealand* 2013). Additionally, Taiwan has been pivotal to Tuvalu's development since Tuvalu became independent. The alliance between the two countries is so strong because many Tuvaluans consider Taiwan a true friend or taugasoa. Over the years, Taiwan's aid programs in Tuvalu have been immeasurable and have touched every corner of the nation. Taiwan also makes annual grants to the government of Tuvalu's budget, and the contributions Taiwan made during Tuvalu's preparations for the 2019 Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) meeting were exceptional (Ministry of Finance, Government of Tuvalu 2019). This was not the first instance in which Taiwan supported Tuvalu during difficult times either; Taiwan also donated US$61,000 to assist Tuvalu after it was devastated by Tropical Cyclone Pam in 2015 (*Taiwan News* 2015). Similarly, despite its financial instability, Tuvalu donated US$210,000 to assist Taiwan in its recovery effort after Typhoon Morakot in 2009 (*Taiwan News* 2013). This act of kindness is a reflection of the friendship shared between the two countries; it directly corresponds to the Tuvaluan way of life and the true meaning of taugasoa.

Perspectives on Taiwanese Discourse on Tuvalu and Climate Change

The boundless support Tuvalu provides to Taiwan is widely recognized by many Tuvaluans. Consequently, Tuvaluans tend to think of the Taiwanese government and people as friendly and honest because of the credibility Taiwan has shown over the years. Previously, I had always praised Taiwan for its generosity to Tuvalu. However, Marinaccio's piece (this issue) presents Taiwanese discourse on Tuvalu that would never have crossed my mind and that may change how Tuvaluans think of their relationship with Taiwan. As Marinaccio explains, this negative discourse is motivated by socio-political pressures, including Taiwan's lack of sovereignty because of its contentious relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC) and its current quest to become a full member of the United Nations (UN). I felt betrayed by the perceptions of Tuvalu by Taiwan, which has been influenced by pressure from the PRC and the UN, presented by Marinaccio, and I feel confident that any Tuvaluan would have the same reaction.

Furthermore, it was painful to read the information in Marinaccio's article because the ideas she translates were originally published in Mandarin, which is not a readily accessible language for most Tuvaluans. The negative discourse is completely at odds with the Tuvaluan custom of taugasoa, which carries with it a mixture of love, honesty, and loyalty. This concept is deeply embedded in all Tuvaluan families as part of our culture and Christian values. Below, I provide my personal opinions first on the language barrier between Tuvalu and Taiwan, which has largely obscured Taiwanese discourse on Tuvalu from the Tuvaluan

population (Marinaccio 2019). Second, I outline my views on the concept of merging Tuvalu and Taiwan as suggested by Huang (2017) and Lai (2007) and described in Marinaccio's article. Finally, I explain how Taiwanese discourse contradicts Tuvaluan ways of life.

Given Tuvalu's small size, diplomats and other representatives from Taiwan who have lived in the country are fully aware that no one in Tuvalu speaks Mandarin fluently and that only a few students who have previously studied in Taiwan have some understanding of the Mandarin language. From a Tuvaluan perspective, using Mandarin to criticize the socio-economic status of Tuvalu and its association with climate change is undiplomatic and concerning. It is shocking that Taiwan uses phrases like "black, poor and small" to describe Tuvalu and Taiwan's other allies (Marinnacio, this issue). To me, reading this discourse was highly confusing because Taiwan has done many good deeds for Tuvalu over the years. Yet, at the same time, Taiwanese people have been criticizing Tuvalu in a language that is not easily accessible to Tuvaluans. The tone and content of this discourse may be unintentional because the general Taiwanese population lacks information about Tuvalu, but the Taiwanese government is fully aware of how the general population reacts and responds to allies as discussed by Marinaccio (this issue). This shows how Taiwan's government has failed to counter negative discourse. It would be unacceptable to any Tuvaluan to learn that Taiwan's media only recognizes Tuvalu as a country associated with climate change and a nation that will soon be unfit for human habitation (Wang 2009). If Taiwan fails to address this discourse, it might even become a national issue for Tuvalu, which would potentially put pressure on the Tuvalu government and Tuvaluan politicians to reduce or eliminate Taiwan's presence in the country, especially if Taiwan believes that its allies are low quality and need improvement compared with PRC allies.

As captured by Marinaccio, Lai (2007) has suggested that Taiwan can easily solve its sovereignty issues vis-à-vis the PRC and gain membership in the UN by merging with Tuvalu. This suggestion shows that Taiwanese people hold Tuvalu in low regard, seeing it as defined by climate change, low socio-economic status, and a need for assistance. Tuvaluans are very proud of how far we have come since independence; therefore, Taiwanese views contradict the interests of all Tuvaluans and the pioneer leaders who fought for Tuvalu's freedom. I would rather live and adapt to climate change than merge with a country that is not only far away from Tuvalu but that also possesses a different culture, which may jeopardize unique Tuvaluan ways of life. An important question that all Tuvaluans must ask is "if Taiwan's current socio-political and international status improved vis-à-vis the PRC, would its ardent support of Tuvalu change as well?" I feel that Taiwan is using its allies to an excessive extent to advance its international position and decrease pressure from the PRC.

In the introduction, I briefly mentioned that Taiwan's negative discourse on Tuvalu and climate change is alarming because it violates Tuvaluan ways of life, primarily the taugasoa and fakaalofa concepts. Taugasoa is a customary cultural concept that every Tuvaluan embraces and nurtures with dignity; it involves giving and sharing between families and neighbors. This customary practice developed from the *fale-pili* concept, which was adopted to overcome the limited land space available in Tuvalu. Fale-pili simply means that, in Tuvalu, houses are built very close to each other, and, hence, the sharing of goods between households is common (Falefou 2017). For example, families share their food with neighbors, and, when they give, they give wholeheartedly. Similarly, in the outer islands, a family with a male member will typically share their *kaleve* (toddy) or *ika* (fish) with their neighbors who do not have a male in the family. Falefou (2017) has termed this process *kaiga seai ne tagata* (families without a male). This way of life is deeply embedded in all Tuvaluans and is a core cultural value that strengthens trust and true friendships, or taugasoa, between families and neighbors. Moreover, the taugasoa and fale-pili concepts grow stronger when there is a fakaalofa on an island. Under the fale-pili concept, when a fakaalofa lives on an island, the people of the island, especially those living near the landless person, will exert extra effort to provide for that person because it is the island's responsibility to look after her/him.

Therefore, the information translated and presented in Marinaccio's article certainly undermines Taiwan's presence in Tuvalu as a fakaalofa, as well as its general status as a taugasoa, regardless of the good deeds Taiwan has accomplished for Tuvalu over the years. The discourse Marinaccio describes flies in the face of a number of Tuvalu's most valued customs.

Conclusion

It is saddening to learn that the friendship between Tuvalu and Taiwan has lasted for forty years but Tuvalu is only known to Taiwan as a country that will disappear in the coming decades because of climate change. Understandably, the ongoing sovereignty pressures Taiwan faces from the PRC drive these political discourses, but the fact that they are not accessible to Tuvaluans is problematic. These discourses made me feel exploited, and I am sure any Tuvaluan would feel the same. Taiwanese discussions on Tuvalu seem to run counter to valued Tuvaluan ideas of taugasoa, fakaalofa, and fale-pili. This is an indication of a failure on the part of the Taiwanese government to prevent these negative discussions from developing. Particularly, it represents a failure by Taiwan to promote allies as not only affected by climate change but also as liveable and safe places. This failure could potentially be overcome by showing Taiwanese people the beautiful beaches and blue lagoons of Tuvalu as portrayed by Tuvaluan children in Yamamoto's (2008) illustrated book (see Marinaccio, this issue) rather than simply showing images of

Tuvalu as affected by climate change. These initiatives would not only highlight Tuvalu as a liveable place but would also promote tourism.

I fully agree with Marinaccio's conclusion about Taiwan's inability to foster "critical awareness" of Tuvalu or appreciate Tuvalu as an inhabited environment (see Case 2019, 18). I believe developing more robust awareness policies will strengthen and harmonize not only Tuvalu-Taiwan diplomatic ties but also their different cultural settings. Additionally, given the language gap between Tuvalu and Taiwan, Tuvalu must recognize the importance of learning the Mandarin language, an initiative which could be used to monitor the kind of discourse Taiwan espouses. Moreover, Tuvaluan policies on foreign media, especially non–English-language media, must be strengthened, and media must be scrutinized to identify reporting that denigrates or misrepresents Tuvalu.

Because the Taiwanese discourse presented in Marinaccio's article controverts Tuvaluan ways of life and cultural concepts, particularly the idea of taugasoa, the Taiwanese government must urgently address this issue before it becomes a national matter in Tuvalu. It is quite upsetting that the Tuvalu government has recognized Taiwan's sovereignty and its many forms of assistance over the years, while Taiwan sees Tuvalu's sovereignty as a political avenue to gain independence and access to the UN. Tuvalu will forever participate in climate change negotiations, but it will never bring detriment to its sovereignty for any reason.

NOTES

1. For example, if a woman from the Tuvaluan island of Nanumaga marries a man from the island Nukufetau and they live on Nukufetau, the woman would be called a fakaalofa, and the people of Nukufetau would be responsible for looking after her. A fakaalofa has special privileges in any community as local people show her/him more respect than they do to others.

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REDEFINING GENDERED SPACES: THE CASE OF THE INDOFIJIAN FEMALE QAWWAL

Vicky V. Shandil
Victoria University of Wellington

Qawwali, an IndoFijian musical performance, links directly to first generation Indian indentured laborers brought to Fiji by British colonizers between 1874 and 1916. The form of qawwali considered in this paper is performed as a challenge between two vocalists both assisted by musical ensembles, respectively. Firstly, this paper describes IndoFijian qawwali and its connections to South Asia and then pays attention to IndoFijian identity because the female qawwal's ethnic identity precedes her performance-based identity. Through Qawwali female performers created a new public identity, that of a female qawwal. This transpired through the inclusion of females on a stage traditionally exclusive to male performers. In the process, a highly gendered space was deconstructed and reconstructed to include the female voice. The article concludes that qawwali performances, particularly those that feature an intersex singing competition are sites of gender rebellion and performativity through which at least one nonnormative gender identity is articulated.

Introduction

> Subversive behaviour exhibits the capacity to point both towards and away from received convention, at once legitimatising the cultural order as naturally given and destabilising it as artificially contrived. (Brightman 1999: 273)

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Within IndoFijian society, there is a pressing preoccupation with portraying an image of connectedness and stability. This concern is driven by the pressures of being a settler population acutely aware of their differences from both a distant India and the indigenous *iTaukei*[1] population of their Fijian home. This concern manifests in attempts to control all aspects of daily life in order to present a sentiment of coherence. The effort to maintain the status quo is significantly vigorous in propagating and policing adherence to gender ideals. In an earlier research undertaking, I studied the role of folk performances in producing culturally gendered beings from biologically sexed ones. That project clarified that IndoFijian folksongs performed for wedding ceremonies are meant to create, reiterate, and reinforce conventional femininity and gender hierarchy (Shandil 2016). Considerable emphasis through discourses of religion, culture, and tradition is placed on gendered ideologies in discursive forms like cultural performances. Gender norms are not only expected but also emphasized by policing and disciplining (sometimes even violently) otherness. IndoFijian females have historically been the predominant recipients of these gender-conditioning processes within this community, in which they were either ordered to or discouraged from embodying some specific gender traits. The following excerpt from the dissertation of a pioneering IndoFijian feminist, Shireen Lateef, outlines IndoFijian patriarchy's notion of normative femininity:

> Ideally, women should be quiet, demure, unobtrusive, and obedient. They should dress modestly and generally attempt to be physically and socially inconspicuous. Interaction with unrelated males should be avoided and spatial movements outside the home should be minimized. Women must not talk too much or too loudly or be argumentative, especially in the presence of males or older females. A disobedient, argumentative, talkative female who mixes freely with males and is seen alone in public too often has the potential to dishonor the family. Women are perceived as sexually vulnerable and sexually impulsive and thus in need of protection and control since they are the repositories of family honor. (Lateef 1990: 45)

Lateef's commentary on IndoFijian gender relations, particularly in relation to the role, responsibilities, and normative identity of IndoFijian females, provides an overview and insight into the limitations emphasized on IndoFijian females. In attempting to conserve this image, women have been policed and their behavior has been controlled to ensure compliance. Key to this process has been the spatial restrictions women have had to endure under the guise that women needed to be protected and veiled from those areas of society in which they would be particularly vulnerable to the male gaze. A discussion that

I undertake elsewhere (Shandil 2014, 2016, 2017) is that even when females were engaged in cultural performances, such events were limited to the domestic realms or audiences were mostly women. This article discusses *qawwali,* an IndoFijian cultural performance that has historically been dominated by male performers and audiences; however, in the last three decades, female representation has been noted not only as audiences but also as performers.

Qawwali as a performance genre has roots in Southeast Asia and is one of the creative imports of indentured laborers who were brought to work on sugarcane farms in Fiji from the mid-1870s until the indenture system officially ceased in 1916. From the outset, qawwali was used as a vehicle for teaching human values, imparting religious teachings, and even iterating political narrative, even though this was mostly witnessed in the South Asian context. To enable qawwali to remain an interesting pedagogical vehicle, poetry and music were combined to attain and retain wider and more sustained audiences. From performances in places of worship within Southeast Asia, qawwali performances moved into other social settings. In Fiji, qawwali performances have always been organized in homesteads as a form of entertainment for people celebrating social events like weddings or in community halls where the purpose of the performance was fundraising to finance social and humanitarian projects. While qawwali can be performed by an individual imparting religious knowledge to an audience, in Fiji the vast majority of performances feature two sets of musical ensembles, each led by a central singer and supported by backup singers and musicians. The performances prior to the late 1970s were characterized exclusively with content that was either religious or focused on moral values. Competing singers would attempt to poke holes in the ideologies and interpretations of religious texts embodied within the songs and poetry of their opponents. From the mid-1970s onward, this musical form underwent many changes, most of which have been related to the styles of performing and the themes that feature in the performances. Competitions that were once focused on the religious knowledge of singers rapidly became more reliant on their debating prowess, in which the ability to insult and defeat the opponent took prominence over making valid arguments and tactful interjections. The nuanced aim opened the pathway for vulgarity to be included in the performances of qawwali. The vulgarity-ridden competitive singing style is how many IndoFijians of today identify qawwali, with little to no knowledge of its initial characteristics. These changes have had the effect of mollifying the rigidity with which participation in qawwali has been controlled, and this has had the positive outcome of the inclusion of female audiences and even a few female performers. This article argues that the performances by female qawwali performers have been performative acts that have compelled a rethinking of IndoFijian femininity, more specifically the feminine traits and attributes that Lateef had witnessed among this community.

To be present on the qawwali stage, the female must enter a previously restricted (gendered) space. To have a chance of being a proficient performer, a female will need to argue with her onstage opponent and state her opinions loudly and forcefully, which are all against the normative expectation that an IndoFijian female must be "quiet, demure, unobtrusive, and obedient" (Lateef 1990: 45).

This paper also pays some attention to IndoFijian ethnic identity, because it is foundational to the performance of the qawwali genre in the sense that the forms of qawwali performed in Fiji and in IndoFijian communities in Australia and New Zealand are unique to the region. First, the language of performance, that is, Fiji Hindi or Fiji *Baat* (talk/language), is spoken only among IndoFijians in Fiji and those who belong to this diaspora internationally, including in Canada and the United States. Second, the themes and content of qawwali songs are context based; hence, performers constantly reference their local settings, and this demarcates IndoFijian qawwali from Southeast Asian forms. IndoFijian qawwali as a performance genre illustrates the practical manifestation of articulation theory, because there have been countless hookings and unhookings over time that have eventuated in the current form of this genre. Emma Powell speaks to such constructions in her paper in this issue (2020), in which she argues that cultures are not necessarily solitary, limited artefacts but rather accumulations of ideas that can be grouped together, separated, and reconceptualized in ways that are meaningful and useful to the people they belong to. IndoFijian identity is an assemblage that comprises an imported cultural foundation that was shaped and reshaped by the experiences of indenture, colonization, and having to exist and develop within a multicultural, postcolonial context. Clearly then, any artforms and practices of this group will be characterized by adoptions and departures from cultures that have influenced IndoFijians. This paper pays specific attention to how qawwali performances have had an impact on redefining IndoFijian femininity, because the connections and disconnections that have occurred over time have resulted in the alteration of IndoFijian gender expectations, which has always been one of the significant pillars of this community.

Methodology

This paper results from an extensive literature review of texts on gender, feminism, and folklore. It is part of a larger research project in which a feminist lens, guided by an interdisciplinary approach within Pacific Studies, is used to analyze two forms of IndoFijian cultural performances that include portrayals of unconventional gender identities. Emalani Case (2020) argues in her paper on this issue that "Pacific Studies should be our conscious and critical consideration of our region's environments and how we, as humans, sometimes protect them and at other times become complicit in their destruction." In a sense,

Case's argument encourages the development of awareness among scholars and academics within the Pacific Studies realm. This awareness may not necessarily be limited to environmental concerns but rather expanded to all issues pertaining to Pacific people and Pacific societies. This paper results from such critical awareness and questioning of cultural concepts and practices that at one level unite people under a common cultural identity and on another level create the circumstances for the oppression of certain subgroups. This paper also argues that cultural practices and performances can become the means of challenging social norms and thereby inspire change for the betterment of everyone. Qawwali clearly is a cultural practice that has been rearticulated within modern contexts to remain suitable within a context in which it must remain relevant to a young, formally educated audience that has access to various entertainment avenues. The onus for developing and including new material and content into performances is largely on performers. This is why one of the main sources of information in the completion of this project has been performers of qawwali and its enthusiasts, who were interviewed to gain insight into their experiences onstage and offstage. These respondents live in different parts of Fiji and New Zealand. Some performances were also recorded and analyzed for their subversive elements, and these served as concrete illustrations of gender subversions. The contribution of performers is key to understanding their motivations and struggles in sustaining a liminal gender identity in contexts that operate under systems founded on a rigid gender binary.

Being IndoFijian

IndoFijians constitute the largest concentration of people of South Asian descent in the Pacific. Their culture and traditions are undoubtedly founded on Hindu Indian principles but have been and still are practiced within and alongside other Pacific communities, in which generations of adopting and shedding has birthed what is called the IndoFijian ethnic and cultural identity. Hence, the identity of the IndoFijian is rooted in liminality—and contention when viewed from the perspective of any claim to indigeneity. For example, even as IndoFijian identity originates from Fiji and has developed within the Pacific context, to class it as indigenous would push against definitional indices and limitations offered by several historians and anthropologists.

The injection of Indian indentured workers into Fiji by British colonizers as a solution to labor shortages between 1879 to 1916 began a transition that would reconfigure not only the identity of a group of people but also that of a nation and a region. The Fiji that Indians arrived to was an infant British colony, experiencing its share of teething problems in negotiating with existing Fijian political structures and hierarchies, into which these laborers became an

additional and significant influencing factor. In the years after Fiji's independence, Becker (1995: 15) notes "the enhanced awareness of Fijian ethnicity and of both Indian and Western infringement on indigenous lifeways occasioned a popular movement, supported by the chiefly leaders to return to indigenous customs." The coups of 1987 and 2000 were explicitly blamed on the increasing success of IndoFijian political involvement and its threat to indigenous rights. Rabuka (2012: 9), the 1987 coup leader and afterward Fiji's prime minister, claims that "the tension in the relationship between indigenous Fijians and our Indian population had been building up in the 1970's and 1980's . . . and was fanned by the racial nature of party political confrontation in parliament."

Racially charged tenuous political conditions and contentions became apparent postindependence, and the Fijian coups acted as highlighters that emphasized ethnic differences. The media and international attention paid to postindependence political upheavals may also have shadowed the underlying power politics that plagued Fiji preannexation.

Fiji's cession to Britain in 1874 was completed amid immense intraracial political volatility and power struggle involving violent suppressions of certain provinces and alliances by Cakobau and other chiefs loyal to him. The declaration of Cakobau as Fiji's king was further evidence of "a regional system" comprising "Fiji's eastern islands together with eastern and southern Viti Levu" that existed even "before the Europeans arrived" (Norton 2012: 20). Historical accounts by Norton (2012) and Howard (1991) attribute significant blame for Fiji's recurring political issues, even in the independent and modern nation, on unequal power sharing that always tipped in favor of powerful individuals from eastern Fiji, which deprived other regions of much power or control. This resulted in the emergence of short-lived yet strong insurgencies, such as the cult movement called *Wai Ni Tuka* (The Water of Immortal Youth) that existed around the 1860s and 1870s, and antigovernment figures like Apolosi Nawai, who from the 1920s to the late 1930s remained a thorn in the side of administrations backed by colonial authorities. These rebellions received harsh treatments in the form of arrests, imprisonment, and banishment. Since admitting to this preexisting intraracial power struggle was undesirable for Fijian leaders, IndoFijians as a group proved to be a readily available, easily justifiable, and conveniently placed scapegoat. Brij Lal (2009: 72) observes that even in the 2006 coup, in which all major players were indigenous, the blame landed with IndoFijians as soon as the formerly deposed IndoFijian prime minister from the 1999 elections, Mahendra Chaudhry, joined the postcoup interim administration. IndoFijians cannot be clearly and completely disconnected from any responsibility for Fiji's political problems, but with that in mind, they should also not be purported to be the sole cause for all these issues. However, as has been stated earlier in this paper, indenture

had sown certain seeds that have and will continue to produce both expected and unexpected results.

The indenture period, in a critical sense, had been an initiation ritual, one filled with pain, anguish, and toil that would later see the birth of new identities. Even for those indentured laborers who would later return to India, their experiences in this Pacific British colony would remain a powerful memory. The narrations of *girmit* (indenture) by various writers of that era clarify that from the onset of their journeys, Indians had to deal with the presence of others on ships they boarded. While the laborers were sourced from India, they were from different villages, regions, and states, as well as from diverse social backgrounds, most prominently determined by the caste system. The unavoidable interactions within space-restricted ships over several months had the effect of severing old ties and creating new ones. Gillion (1973: 122) explains, "In India social status, marriage, eating arrangements, and occupations were determined by caste, but these distinctions were all but obliterated in the depots, ships, and plantations. A new pattern of association, work, and marriage was imposed by the indenture system." Depots, ships and plantations symbolize points where "connecting and disconnecting, the hooking and unhooking of elements" (Slack 1996: 45) occurred, thereby articulating a new and contextually specific identity: the IndoFijian. If a few months of exchanges can erode the historically instituted ideology of caste, then surely one can expect more substantial shedding and adoption of identity characteristics through years of communication with other dominant ethnicities on these Fijian islands. My central argument for this article is derived from this assimilation of values and ideologies, and qawwali as a cultural artform and practice in many ways illustrates this. When old Southeast Asian forms of qawwali are compared with the form that exists and is performed among IndoFijians today, the differences between the two become apparent, and these serve as testaments to the process through which the current form has been articulated.

The IndoFijians this research specifically studies, which are the female performers of qawwali, are considered liminal due to their subversive practices and performances that ultimately cause their othering. I argue that through their performance, they articulate a public presence and a social image that compels their entry into discourses. Following Sharma's (2006: 30) rationale for understanding cultural performances as "sites of community dialogue," which are useful "for fostering social change," I present female qawwal as liminal others at the forefront of gender negotiations. As Sharma (2006: 72–73) notes, in some Indian performance forms, qawwali establishes opportunities to "modify or sabotage the dominant oppressive rhetoric" in society, because these performances are "less rigid compared to a literal text" and the improvised nature of these genres provides "more space for its participants to derive multiple

expressions and interpretations." This discursive involvement has two potential social effects. First, these female qawwali performers challenge the historical practice of ignorance, whether intentional or otherwise, whereby religious and cultural authorities neither publicly acknowledge nor explicitly condemn them. Second, these female performers create circumstances for their social claims to be discussed, debated, and negotiated. Their constant existence in various social spaces requires clarification or justification. Their bodies carry meaning, their presence asks questions, their corporeality destabilizes hegemony, and their performance redefines reality. The bodies of these performers speak and ask questions, not just through the words of their songs but also through their presence and actions. These generate the conditions for reassessment and reevaluation of tradition, culture, and social expectations. Nonetheless, Clery (2014: 212) warns "performances can provide 'safe' spaces for reflection and dialogue; however, *speaking out* is always a complex, risky, and political act, despite the cloaks of metaphor and playfulness that may help to enable expression" (emphasis added). As this paper discusses, the performers as social beings have struggled to justify their existence to a society always contemplating and enacting measures of discouraging subversive acts and demeaning subverts. In interactions with performers in interview scenarios, a sense of separation and difference is embodied within their discussions about how society sees and interprets them. As much and as often as these subversive performers try to integrate with society, they constantly encounter situations that remind them of their difference.

IndoFijian Patriarchy

Kandiyoti (1988: 274) argues that "of all the concepts generated by contemporary feminist theory, patriarchy is probably the most overused, and in some respects, the most under-theorized" or at least in need of more contextualization. Many societies, even beyond the geographical boundaries of Fiji, still exist today that are heavily administered by patriarchal notions and are relatively unaffected by global appraisal in the status and awareness of women. This entails the continuous suppression of women by denying their legal and economic rights, as well as regulating their sexuality, which in many instances is the most powerful tool used against them. Lacking theoretical and critical insights into such societies, coupled with those aspects of modern ones that are still patriarchally structured (such as religion) and immune to feminist views, patriarchy remains a term whose mechanisms are still not exhaustively explored. A complete theoretical framework can only be fashioned once its workings in all societies have been analyzed. This is due to the plasticity of patriarchy; that is, while its androcentric principles are consistent, the way in which it controls societies varies. Religion, economic factors, and basic biological differences

are some mediums and justifications used to enforce patriarchal ideologies on women, with complete submission the only expected response. "Patriarchy as a concept has history of usage among social scientists who used it to refer to a system of government in which men ruled societies through their position as heads of households" (Walby 1990: 19).

The patriarchal system is so finely intertwined in IndoFijian societal structures that its existence is hardly even noticed. What things are done and how they are done in most patriarchal societies are dictated by a society's patriarchal principles, which are seldom questioned or deliberately mentioned. This ideology has been absorbed, internalized, and naturalized by individuals to the extent that it now appears to be the way things are supposed to be. Mostly the mask of culture or tradition veils its true image, allowing its largely undisturbed continuation.

The application of Judith Butler's (1993, 2004, 2007) theory of performativity could help unveil the hidden agenda of patriarchy. Butler, whose work involves "analysing the performative production of sexed identity," focuses on the influencing cultural factors that help shape an individual's gender in such a manner that "sex and gender come to be conceived as natural extensions of a biological body" (Jagger 2008: 53). Butler's theory proposes that the entire process of gender formation has nothing to do with innate or biological conditions. She offers that gender "is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being" (Butler 2007: 43–44). Her well-known illustration based on drag opens up the view of how gender performance can also be outside of social norms, and these actions in turn transform the norms, forming in a sense a new edition or an updated version of the one in which those actions were performed. In that sense, the body as the biological component of any subject also has a vital function in the absorption and display of identity traits. The body could be deemed the stage on which the performance of gender is staged for the wider social audience, because gender formation cannot occur in a vacuum: it requires society's play and a body to be played. The performance reflects the internal perception of self as it has been stenciled out by external forces. Based on Butler's theoretical portrayal of gendered subjectivity, which is constituted through performative acts, this paper first argues that gender is performative and is not linearly dependent on biological features of agents. While a sex-gender system exists in the wider social context, the analysis in this paper is based on the point of view that gender is acted out through repetitive acts and in many instances assumes a "natural" disposition, whereby certain gender forms become accepted as originals to be emulated. Gender, therefore, is a social construct, and if it is done through social interactions, it can be undone or alternatively done within the same sites. Gender discourses play a significant

role in the formation of gender, because the agent is submerged in the discursive sphere that reflects social expectations. The individuals absorb all notions of gender from here, as Laura Shepherd (2008: 20) propounds that "discourses are recognisable as systems of meaning production rather than simply statements or language, systems that fix meaning, however temporarily, and enable us to make sense of the world." Folksongs as cultural heritages are also poetic representations of social discourses covering almost all aspects of society, such as notions of gender, relationship, and religion; thus, they become vital threads of the larger discursive net. As I have argued elsewhere (Shandil 2014), folk performances have historically been heavily invested in supporting gendered ideologies, through which they actively pursued the promotion of patriarchal authority, and traditional gender norms to maintain status quo. Nonetheless, gender subversion is and has always been a possibility due to the performative nature of gender. This is also evident in folksong performances by women who deliberately act outside of their gender norms. Butler argues that gender is not a constant identity, a starting point, or the core of a multilayered structure. Neither is it a finished mold that demands everything poured into it assume a delimited form. For Butler, gender is an identity that takes shape through patterned repetitions of acts. Over time, the patterns become categorized to represent specific gender types. This implies the potential for multiplicities of gender. Butler insists on the body's plastic nature. Nonetheless, its flexibility is delimited by previous bodies. Butler's aim is to remodel these constructs to liberate bodies from appearing as presexed and predestined for certain gendered roles and identities. Portraying sex as fundamental to bodies leads to the "production of duality of bodies that sustains reproductive heterosexuality as compulsory order" (Jagger 2008: 7). Butler asserts that "one is not simply a body, but, in some very key sense one does one's body" (Butler 2004: 902). She goes on to clarify that when one does one's body, one does it differently from those of "one's contemporaries and from one's embodied predecessors and successors as well" (Butler 2004: 902). The body does not exist as a bounded entity but has the capability to absorb and become a range of possibilities presented to it by its surroundings. Therefore, there is no valid justification in curtailing this fluidity by erecting it securely on a polarized gender schema.

Therefore, the application of Butler's theory of performativity to analyze gender patterns in a social group that recognizes only two extremes of gender makes for interesting research. The explosive nature of gender mandates that the gendering process must be heavily regulated in order to maintain conformity to the binary. IndoFijian patriarchal society instituted various mechanisms to control gender formation, and one of these was to create and sustain a discursive environment that supports this polemic structure. The use of folksongs was part of this strategy to discursively standardize and manage gender.

As Bauman and Briggs (1990: 61) note, "Oral narratives, whether song, poetry, story, or autobiographical narrative, are always situated communicative practices that may serve to reproduce a social order." Social events became significant stages for the performance and display of sanctioned gender scripts. The assumption of gender as a cultural construct makes patriarchy a vital phenomenon for study. This is due to the fundamental role it plays in forming the cultural mold within which gender construction occurs. Most, if not all, societies of the world have functioned at one point under patriarchal systems. This depicts the significance of comprehending patriarchy, because most of what we experience in culture or gender has been affected at some point by patriarchal values. Steven Goldberg (2008: 16) concludes from his study of past, present, primitive, preindustrial, and modern societies that "all of the 1500–5000 societies on which we have any evidence have associated hierarchical dominance with men." This fact can be used by propatriarchy advocates to justify its existence and continuation. They may argue that because patriarchy has existed for so long alongside only a negligible number of matriarchal societies, it has assumed "ubiquitous" (Humm 1992: 61) power in structuring, organizing, and developing diverse communities and societies; hence, its presence is necessary. However, feminists point out the oppressive aspects of this system, demanding transformations or preferably absolute elimination. Perhaps attention should be given to the methods applied to keep patriarchy intact and its subservient members passive, obedient, and complicit.

Gill Jagger explains that "the matrix of any idea is reality" (Jagger 2008: 53), implying that most societies carry on the lifestyles they are given by preceding generations, without really inquiring into why such traditions exist and hence reducing the possibility of cultural transformation inspired by critical thought and analysis. The IndoFijian community that has existed in Fiji for more than a hundred years has been patriarchal as long as anyone can remember. Lateef emphasizes that "the Indian family in Fiji is ideally patrilocal, patrilineal and patriarchal. The essential characteristics of which are absolute male dominance and female subordination, males as the economic providers with females and children as the economic dependents" (Lateef 1988: 358). Lerner asserts that "images, metaphors, myths all find expression in forms which are prefigured through past experiences" (1986: 10) and cultural practices often underscore the validity of this argument. For example, IndoFijian folklore has always been supportive of patriarchal notions like the dominance of husband over wife, the role of males in leadership positions, and the creation of gendered roles that almost always delimited female participation to tasks that were hardly given social recognition. Performers of a vast majority of such folklore practices were also males, as seen in the specific context of qawwali.

Folklore and Feminism

The study of folklore as a concept "was introduced by William Thoms to describe all studies focusing on anything old; old buildings, old legal documents, old artefacts, old tales, old songs, old customs" (Oring 1986: 6). The term depicted the materials that had been passed down through generations after being produced and reproduced over time in cultural and traditional contexts. William Thoms, in his essay *What Is Folklore?*, writes that "although folklore is probably as old as mankind, the term 'folklore' is of comparatively recent origin" (Thoms 1965: 4). His comments indicate the initiation of folklore studies that established a demarcated space for the analysis of aesthetic, abstract, and tangible materials. The materials that were previously left out of academia as a result of their origins in stereotypically rural, illiterate, and unstructured societies became the focus of studies in numerous communities. It was immediately proved that the thoughts and attitudes surrounding folk literature had been misguided, because this field proved to be rich, with its own structure, content, and values.

In a definition of folklore offered by MacEdward Leach, a more detailed view is presented that encompasses diverse folk art forms while considering folklore's intimate function of defining a people. Leach (1996: 261) suggests that

> Folklore is the generic term to designate the customs, beliefs, traditions, tales, magical practices, proverbs, songs etc.; in short the accumulated knowledge of a homogenous unsophisticated people, tied together not only by common physical bonds, but also by emotional ones which colour their every expression, giving it unity and individual distinction. All aspects of folklore, probably originally the product of individuals, are taken by the folk and put through a process of re-action, which through constant variation and repetition become a group product.

Some common aspects in these definitions have to do with tradition, repetition or performance, and people. Thoms (1965: 11) offers that "the primary materials of folklore must be certain categories of creative ideas which have become traditional among the people of any society and which may be recognized as their common property." The criterion set here acknowledges the imaginative art and creation by individual communities in their various forms. Leach's definition also presents a common misconception of folklore as being the creative art of the unsophisticated. Dundes (1969: 472) elaborates that in some contexts, people and their folklore are highly esteemed and in others, "the folk were wrongly identified with the illiterate in a literate society and thus the

folk as a concept was identified exclusively with the vulgar and the uneducated." This is one of the reasons there has been a decline in the level of engagement among younger-generation IndoFijians in performances that resonate with the old or traditional styles in which nonelectronic musical instruments such as double-barreled drums, harmonium, and tambourines are at the center of performances. IndoFijian functions, typically celebratory ones, increasingly feature a combination of traditional and modern forms of musical performances, with the latter given more prominence at birthday parties or weddings.

IndoFijian folksongs have been around for more than 130 years.[2] These songs were based on folksongs sung in India and brought to Fiji by immigrant Indians, most of whom arrived under girmit. What differentiated these songs from the India-based songs were the content and contexts of singing. The performers translated their personal experiences on ships, on cane farms, and in line living and the difficulties they faced into songs. These made their songs hybrids of the ones they had been singing in India, and today these songs are deemed solely IndoFijian folksongs. These songs have survived through all these years, which indicates the importance they have held for the performers. Through years of battling with new modes of entertainment, such as television, movies, and recorded songs, live folksong performances have declined but have not been eliminated. Folklore continues to thrive in modern, literate, and academic-oriented societies today as a result of the vital social functions it fulfills. According to Lal (2009), there were instances during the girmit era when laborers would gather to sing a few songs on the days they were not expected to work. These practices continued even after the end of indenture until today, when these performances have come to represent IndoFijian folklore. The length of survival validates the notion, as Oring (1965: 290) identifies in other contexts, that "beneath a great deal of humour lies a deeper meaning," in the sense that folklore had more to offer than enjoyment. Bascom (1986: 33) mentions that "folklore is used in some societies to apply social pressure on those who would deviate from the accepted norm." His comment holds true for IndoFijian folksongs, because in many circumstances, folklore works simultaneously to patronize and discourage unacceptable attitudes and actions. This remains a vital role of folklore, which Oring (1965: 294) feels is "often overlooked," but its function of "maintaining conformity to the accepted patterns of behaviour" continues. In one of the few studies on IndoFijian folklore, Donald Brenneis and Ram Padarath (1979) focus on challenge songs, which were once a common feature of IndoFijian rural settlements. The challenge songs were sung by two groups against each other, and these groups constituted individuals from different religious backgrounds, mainly Muslims, *Sanatanis,* or *Samajis.*[3] Brenneis and Padarath (1979: 57) describe these songs as "witty" and "complex pieces," and "the subject matter of the songs often illuminates moral and social

issues which are important to the villagers." The study by Brenneis and Padarath outlined the use of folk performances as a means of instructing the audience on acceptable social expectations and at times musically debating issues and ideas that concerned them.

Folklore does not operate in a vacuum and is heavily reliant on social contexts. Abrahams (1978: 163) goes as far as to claim that folklore is often a "means by which membership in a community is established, maintained, and celebrated." Gender, ethnicity, nationality, geographic placement, and the economic position of social groups are depicted in the performances of folklore. For example, the IndoFijian community is an ethnic group, with a history that entails the indenture system and colonial administration and with traces of cultural practices belonging to one of the oldest civilizations in the world: India. Oring (1986: 32) maintains that "members of an ethnic group share and identify with historically derived cultural tradition or style, which may be composed of both explicit behavioural features as well as implicit ideas, values and attitudes." The situation becomes more fascinating when women performers are brought into the equation. The study of women-centered folklore provides a distinct view because of the substantially different experiences of women in a culture that is patriarchal and androgenic, compounded by their colonized status. Hence, comprehending the context of performers of folklore is essential to the conception of folklore.

The mechanisms of performances as related by some researchers of folklore overlap in many regards with Butler's theory of performativity. Sawin (2002) stresses that the emotions and personalities of performers emerge as powerful determinants in forming the overall image of folklore. Just as Butler (2004: 904) maintains that "the body becomes its gender through a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time," Sawin (2002: 45) maintains that

> Performance is a multi-layered phenomenon. We must constantly be aware both of the actual human beings who act and observe and of the relative subject positions posited by the culture and genre. Further, we must recognize that these discursive positions in a sense *create* the participants (as performers/spectators), while the participants (as performer/audience) reciprocally *create* these positions as effective social realities by embodying and reinstating them.

Recurring performances of certain styles, themes, and rituals through folklore leads to their naturalization in societies. This naturalization leads these communities to claim ownership over these styles. To ensure its survival, folklore has to be performed as a form of reiteration. Kapchan (2013: 479) believes that the potential in folklore to sustain tradition creation through repetitions

is the cause for the shift in methodology by ethnographers studying folklore. These researchers move from studying "static texts" that had been "severed from their ground of enunciation" to studying performances of folklore as its scope lies beyond what inscribed materials capture. Schechner (1988: 265) classifies performing "as a public dreaming" where revelations are made in two distinct ways. First, those things are revealed that may have been blocked for such a long time that they have turned into fantasies and have been kept from materializing by the same powers that blocked them initially. Second, views and opinions are expressed that would in normative circumstances "have had a hard time getting expressed at all" (Schechner 1988: 265). Thus, analyzing performances of folksongs is a means of peering into the societies they originate in. Bauman and Briggs (1990: 73) assert that "performance puts the act of speaking on display; objectifies it, lifts it to a degree from its interactional setting and opens it to scrutiny by an audience." One aspect of folklore that requires some specific attention is the involvement of female performers.

Reverend Thiselton-Dyer's publication of *Folk-Lore of Women* in 1906 is considered to be one of the first to call attention to the presence of women in folklore. Now folklorists study folklore produced and performed by women and the unique reflections women-oriented folklore present. Jordan and De Caro (1986: 518) note that women's folklore "has revealed a fresh vantage point from which to look at the world." They credit this positional change for the more comprehensive insight into the mechanisms of women's world. Understanding women's version of events also allows a reevaluation of men's world and how it functions and creates structured societies, mainly in restrictive patriarchal contexts. The interrelationship and interdependence between these two worlds is revealed, together with the biases, oppressive principles, and underlying gender stereotypes. These stereotypes not only exist in men's imagination but also as influencing factors that affect realities in everyday life. However, more intriguing is the complicity on the part of women who encourage, abide by, and discursively enforce these forms as a result of their upbringing, which has engrained existing gender norms in them. IndoFijian communities that uncompromisingly affirm a patriarchal structure and permit exclusively heterosexually bounded relationships are in principle antagonistic toward feminist ideologies (see also Narayan 1997).

With the establishment of feminine perspectives and themes in folklore, it is only fair to perform deeper research to establish the workings of folklore and how these fair under a feminist gaze. Sawin (2002: 41) suggests a "gender-sensitive theory of performance" to evaluate folklore performances to reveal undisclosed gendered ideologies. She reveals several reasons behind male hesitance to grant women uncontrolled access to public performances. First, they fear that women performers could persuasively portray nonnormative and socially

unapproved images of females in performances. Furthermore, women could snatch positions of prestige in a conventionally male-dominated performance space. In the IndoFijian setting, women perform within the social boundaries monitored and enforced by patriarchal powers. With situations such as this, according to Nichole Kousaleos (1999: 19), "feminist folklorists have looked to women's experience and their expressions in all its various forms to examine the reality of women's lives in various cultures and contexts." An interesting discussion can also be done on IndoFijian female folk performers, such as female qawwal, because they are engaged in a performance within a performance whereby the singers perform the songs while performing their gender. The conflation of these performances merits elaboration.

What Is Qawwali?

Inayatullah and Boxwell (2003: 220) define qawwali as "a fusion of the emotional power of Indian music with the emotional content of Sufi mystical poetry." It is a performance genre that combines poetry, song, and music; has roots in South Asia, specifically India and Pakistan; and was brought to Fiji during indenture. Traditionally, in Fiji, qawwali was considered *deni mazhab* (spirituality in religion). This meant that qawwali performance was considered service to religion, which mandated guidelines, restrictions, set expectations, and aims. "The word qawwali itself is derived from the Arabic word *qaulah,* meaning to speak or give opinion" (Inayatullah and Boxwell 2003: 221), but for IndoFijians the term has attained a nuanced meaning. In addition to referring to a musical genre, the performance event is called qawwali. Therefore, it is correct to say *Ham kawali sunta hai* (I am listening to qawwali) and *Ham kawali jata hai* (I am going to a qawwali). Khan,[4] a qawwali promoter and enthusiast, explains that his paternal grandfather was instrumental in initiating qawwali in Fiji by using his knowledge and experiences with qawwali from India (Khan 2017). Brenneis (1983: 63) notes that while the qawwali in Fiji is "not markedly different from those found in India and indeed often seen to have originated there, the performances of the texts have been radically transformed along lines both constant with and contributing to the more general transformation of Indian life in Fiji." The "texts" that Brenneis refers to are religious writings and holy books that qawwali performers in the indenture and immediate postindenture Fiji exclusively referenced in preparing the content of their songs and poetry. Over time, other texts such as Hindi films have become source material for performers.

Amir Khusrau is credited with the inception of qawwali as a musical genre. As a court poet, he devised a creative strategy of combining music with religious content for its dissemination to new subjects that were added to the Khalji dynasty in India. This practice, called *zikr* (remembrance), became a way of

bringing god into discourses and discussions "to help people to understand Allah, the Prophet, *pirs* (saints) and their greatness" (Bhattacharjee and Alam 2012: 212). Specific subgenres of qawwali existed to accomplish this purpose; for example, *hamd* were songs about Allah, *nath* were songs about the Prophet Mohammad, and *qatat* were songs for pirs. The first two on this list are still performed in Fiji, albeit in modernized versions. Performers and fans use the same or similar names for the various segments of the performance. Qureshi clarifies "*sufi* poetry, the source of qawwali texts, constitutes a principal vehicle for expressing and communicating mystical thought and experience" (1986: 83). Qawwali, therefore, was traditionally from its inception performed in *sama* or *mehfil-e-sama* (assembly to listen). In this case, people gathered to listen to musical performances based on Sufi traditions, where qawwal were tasked with articulating Allah's worship through the combination of poetry with music. In India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, these performances were held in *dargah* (shrines) that were graves of saints and spiritual leaders. The dargah could also be any site associated with saints when they were alive. The practice was at first marked on specific days of the week when a male lead qawwal would gather a few other singers to comprise a chorus and perform renditions of "philosophical verses in several languages . . . embellished with clapping and some musical instruments" (Bhattacharjee and Alam 2012: 211).

Even though almost all religions have in their devotional repertoire, some form of musical component, what is most fascinating about qawwali has been its ability to survive in various forms that clearly resonate the original genre, especially within communities geographically removed from South Asia (Newell 2007: xvii). In Fiji and New Zealand, for instance, qawwali maintains an undeniable presence within the conglomeration of multiple Pacific cultures. As Newell (2007: xvii) and other researchers have identified, qawwali is a blending of "musical sounds" with "song texts" that has traditionally been "constructed and performed with the explicit intention of guiding the listener into subjective states of religious experience" or, in other words, to enhance worship of god as a medium of connecting the natural world of listeners with a spiritual dimension. To attain this "spiritual nourishment, men—and, rarely, women" (Qureshi 1986: 1) attended these performances. While Qureshi does not clarify why women were given access to these venues on rare occasions, it would not be incorrect to speculate that these could be for catering purposes or when these women came from powerful families whose male relatives could have wielded the power to momentarily bend social norms. In Fiji, performance events, even today, can have exclusively male attendance, especially when the event features Islamic qawwali and even when these are part of social occasions like weddings. The separation of genders in such spaces means that women are unable to witness these performances, because these are always located in the male space. In

addition to being highly gendered, qawwali performances in Fiji, as with most other folk and cultural practices, were didactic in nature and purpose. Brenneis explains "whether religious or secular . . . mental improvement and clarity, not intoxication" (1983: 71), was the acknowledged purpose of cultural performances, because they were seen as a means of "bringing change" and "causing social transformation" (1983: 70). Qawwali's multifarious applicability is evidenced in its use for religion, ritual, popular culture, and creative art (Sakata 1994: 91). As this paper argues, women have also used the medium of qawwali to make a mark in a male-dominated genre and hence make qawwali a space for cultural transformation, in addition to its other social uses.

Religion and Society

The overwhelming attachment of people to music inspired the absorption of performances into all important social and cultural events, such as weddings, festivals, and even funeral rites, as witnessed quite significantly in IndoFijian communities. In the specific case of qawwali, it represented an important source of meaningful entertainment as performers and audiences spent several hours engaged in performances, mainly in the pre-1980s era, when qawwali had minimal competition from other forms of entertainment and was still considered a religious performance. As Dhiren Prasad narrates:

> Qawwali was meant to promote the Islamic faith but then, Hindus were also present in the audience, so they decided, let us sing some Hindu songs too. Like there was this qawwal known as Habib Painter and he was a very old qawwal. He was from India. He would sing songs and then tell a parable of how the song relates to a story. The people who sat in those performances were people who were spiritual, and they would sit and discuss spiritual things. When people sit through the form of performances we have today you cannot expect them to be discussing spiritual things. Those were what we could call "high standard" but today the "high standards" refer to how well someone can insult the other person through their performances. Now even the dholakia (dhol (drum) player) compete with each other, trying to outplay the opposing team's dholakiya. (D. Prasad, pers. comm.)

The high and low standards that Dhiren Prasad brings up refer to the opinion people have and have had of qawwali performances. He implies that the audiences of the old form of qawwali were people who wanted to hear philosophical and religious deliberations through a poetic medium, and this he classifies as high standard. He witnessed high-standard performances as a child

in the 1970s and performed such styles in the 1980s and 1990s, by which time he also saw the emergence and development of low-standard forms in which the focus had shifted from content to style. This meant that performances were appreciated for how well performers insulted and demeaned their opponents. One of the key reasons performers have had to resort to less spiritual forms of performance has been the need to keep audiences entertained and engaged with qawwali performances, especially with increasing competition from modern forms of musical performances. In addition, with passing time, new performers have appeared who are not privy to the roots of qawwali. They take their cue from existing modern-style qawwal and begin performing on the qawwali stage solely based on their singing and musical abilities, without going through rigorous study of religious texts like their traditional counterparts. Such practices have opened the doors for the inclusion of vulgar content in the performance of qawwali, because qawwal with better abilities at insulting opponents drew larger crowds and could charge higher fees. While the use of vulgarity and insults in qawwali was one of its less pleasant transformations, the inclusion of performers from a more diverse background was one of its greatest features. Qawwali was a cultural practice that originated among the followers of Islam, and this was the case in Fiji until many Hindus became involved in its performance. Initially, this meant that Hindus sang about Islamic history and philosophies. Because a significant number of qawwal were emerging from Hindu backgrounds, it was only a matter of time before the Islamic genre was adopted into a Hindu subgenre called *bhajan* qawwali. In Fiji, similar to what Rashid (2017: 273) found in other communities, "qawwali performance became a space for the manifestation of multiple cultural contacts, Indic and Islamicate" that helped define new cultural identities like that of IndoFijians. Even today, despite the transformations to the genre, "qawwali performance remains a shared cultural space, which continues to adapt and grow. It is not meant to efface religious difference, but to recognise that contestations of identification occur on multiple levels" (Rashid 2017: 273). As a derivative of Islamic qawwali, bhajan qawwali follows a similar structure to the Islamic version but is based on content from Hindu religious texts like the Ramayana. Even today, the IndoFijian qawwali genre is predominantly performed by Hindu singers and musicians. While qawwali was encountering all these transformations, along the way female qawwal entered the qawwali stage and became one of the most significant changes. This paper identifies the contribution of three female qawwal, all of whom came from Hindu backgrounds. Of the three female qawwal considered in this research, only Manju had performed both Islamic and bhajan qawwali. Shalini performed bhajans as a separate genre and competed in bhajan competitions, but these were not performed in qawwali format. Sushil Krishna, who was the first female qawwal, emerged on the qawwali stage in the

late 1980s and performed the modern style in which she focused on engaging in exchanging insults with her male opponents on stage. Another discovery of field consultants was that although current competitions mostly feature two qawwal, in many instances historically, several qawwal gathered at one setting and performed competitively following the same *muqabala* (competition) strategies against each other simultaneously. None of the female qawwal were involved in such performances.

Media

Miller (2008: 298) notes that the qawwali that developed in Fiji had no direct connection with the mystical Sufi (Muslim) tradition associated with the thirteenth-century poet-musician Amir Khusrau, because there were few members of this order among the *girmitiyas* (indentured laborers). He goes on to point out that Hindi films[5] were perhaps a greater influence on styles that were used in Fiji. However, as Khan (2017) explains, the generation prior to his own had carried the idea from India and initiated the performances in Fiji. Khan's father was an authority on the traditional qawwali style seen mostly in Western Fiji, and his ensuing generations actively promote qawwali and support qawwal (performers). Furthermore, while Bollywood movies were available in Fiji, they were not accessible in all regions, because cinemas were mostly located in urban areas and televisions became available in Fiji considerably later.

One of the main factors that has influenced change in the Indian version of qawwali has been the use of qawwali in the Indian film industry, or Bollywood. With the overwhelming nature of Bollywood's impact on Indian way of life, the adoption of traditional performance forms into commercialized activities is not always a question of if but when. There is criticism of filmy[6] (featuring in films) qawwali, which is accused of being "a packaged cultural commodity" that has "little or no spiritual quotient," and that those who consume such materials substantiate a lack of religious and spiritual affinity (Bhattacharjee and Alam 2012: 222). Bhattacharjee and Alam note that this criticism was aggravated when qawwal began performing in "pubs, discotheques and lounges to entertain the people," which was unacceptable to conservatives, because such venues were associated with "ungodly activities" (2012: 222). In Fiji, however, those who have previously been critical of the new qawwali form have softened their condemnation, citing the crucial role these nuanced performances have played in preventing qawwali from dying out. This illustrates a sort of role reversal of religion and culture with music. Historically, people had an attachment to religion and culture, so music became the medium through which people engaged with matters of spirit and identity. Today, music has a global appeal and a heavy following, and there is an effort to harness music's popularity to disseminate religious and cultural values.

Responses to Changes

Shalini[7] is currently the only active IndoFijian female qawwal in the Pacific region, and her heavy borrowing from movies and performance of modern or filmy qawwali is a typical representation of the changes affecting this genre. She is an example of those qawwal who have embraced modern themes and styles quite overtly. By doing so, she has altered the nature of the genre by positioning herself, a woman, as a dominant player in that field. Furthermore, she has brought changes to qawwali's focus and content by singing on modern topics. These qualify as performative acts on Shalini's part, because through her performances, she has revolutionized the expectations of qawwali.

Qawwali's appeal now reaches across a wider social section, but distortion of older, more religious-based qawwali has been the price paid in materializing this change. On a positive note, however, the loosening of restrictions and formation of new subgenres have been significant in creating the space for the emergence of female qawwal. The changes to qawwali are not completely surprising, because its genesis was already one that echoed subversion of existing reality rather than conformity. Qureshi expounds that the "sufi ideology is a response to orthodox Islam" (1986: 79), which is founded on philosophies of monotheism and an unquestionable distinction between god as Creator and humankind as Created. However, sufi doctrines emphasize an intricate and intimate bond between Creator and Created, symbolized through love. This "mystical love is at the centre of sufi ideologies" (Qureshi 1986: 79) and is reflected in qawwali performances. The segment in qawwali, called *ashiqana* (erotic) exclusively features the themes of love, intimacy, and romance. Fiji's modern qawwali form predominantly reflects a concept of love that is not spiritual but is reflective of heterosexual intimacy. The Sufi rendition of kinship between god and men had already set a trajectory of subversion by depicting intimacy in god–men relations, which then set the platform for fledgling of nonconformist practices. The inclusion and participation of females in qawwali is yet another transformation that results from the nonconforming approach of Sufi ideology.

Changes have not necessarily been detrimental to qawwali's image and purpose; for instance, among IndoFijians, qawwali performances are no longer associated with one community or religious group. As Rashid (2017: 271) shows, in the context of qawwali in America, "the performance of qawwali is a multireligious site, where boundaries are contested and refashioned." The arguments presented in this paper have depicted that the boundaries that are challenged are not only cultural and religious but also gender related, as clearly witnessed in the identity of female qawwal, an identity that did not

exist a few decades ago. This discussion follows the subversive practices of a few individuals who through their subversion have changed the image of an important cultural performance, if not an entire community's identity. This resonates with social intercessions introduced by Sufis, who as "mystics opposed the vulgar display of wealth and power in public life by the *ulema* (ruling class) or their willingness to serve 'ungodly' rulers" (Bhattacharjee and Alam 2012: 211). Bhattacharjee and Alam note "many began to lead a retired ascetic life, having nothing to do with the state . . . emphasizing upon free thought and liberal ideas, turned to meditation, to achieve religious satisfaction" (2012: 211). In attempting to resist what they considered flaws in society's organization, Sufis also chose musical performances as the medium to circulate counterhegemonic thought to motivate and inspire change. As Dolan (2005: 91) argues, "People do performance, in both performative and material ways; publicly practicing performance makes it a tool of both expression and intervention, of communication and fantasy, of reality and hope."

Musical performances like qawwali are ideal mediums for generating change through resistance, because they are "participatory, easily transmitted," and accessible; in particular, qawwali "has a strong symbolic language that is easy to adapt to different situations" (Rashid 2017: 280). Rashid's assertion is substantiated by the versatility witnessed in qawwali performances and the changes to the genre. For example, in breaking from norm, females have emerged as qawwal, even though only one remains actively engaged in qawwali performances among IndoFijian communities. This has subversive implications on multiple levels, because these women challenge not only the one-gender monopoly of qawwali but also the hegemony of social spaces.

The Female Qawwal

The late Sushil symbolized a notable exception among IndoFijian cultural performances by becoming the first female qawwal in the late 1980s. In permeating gender boundaries of cultural performances, she founded the IndoFijian female qawwal identity. Manju and Shalini began performing wedding folksongs in the 2000s and later segued into performing qawwali. Shalini remains active on the qawwali stage, while Manju decided to delimit her performances to wedding songs after her qawwali mentor passed away in 2011. Sushil created a niche for herself on the qawwali stage by displaying boldness in engaging with her onstage male opponents. Since she performed where IndoFijian feminine expectations required her to be quiet, respectful, and demure, her subversion of these expectations made her ideal for the qawwali stage. Insults were popular, and when these were exchanged between

performers of the opposite sex, the appeal was greater for the audience. The following analysis based on one of the only recorded qawwali performances by Sushil illustrates a typical male versus female qawwali competition. It must be mentioned at the onset that while the male qawwal's insults are typical of most male performers in such contexts, Sushil is the exception in this case, because she is equally vocal and insulting—unlike Manju or Shalini, who were far more reserved in insulting their opponents. As Khan (2017), an IndoFijian qawwali expert, relates:

> There was a well-known singer, Sushil Krishna who performed in those days. Khalid Hussein Qawwal was her mentor. Unfortunately, there are not many recordings of her performances because during her time we had tapes for recording. This was an expensive affair as you needed tapes, batteries and a radio with recording feature. I know that she sang competition songs with several qawwal.

Khan mentions having heard Sushil perform in qawwali competitions, but earlier in her performance life when she did not use vulgarities. Khan's interview also explained the lack of recordings from that time. Sushil became infamous later in her life for performing subversive content. Rajendra Prasad[8] narrates Sushil's life briefly:

> I have heard recordings of Sushil's performances although I never personally attended her performance. I know she challenged Nura Qawwal and Yasin Qawwal. I do remember overhearing my female relations criticising the fact that Sushil sang vulgarities in the presence of men. This is because people do perform vulgarity in qawwali. The unfortunate thing was that more women were unappreciative of her performances than men. This was simply because they had ideas about what a perfect woman was supposed to be and going outside that role was unacceptable. So, they doubted the femininity of a woman in such a position. (Prasad 2017)

While Rajendra Prasad's comments narrate the general opinion women had of Sushil, it is understood that women used secondhand information from men to form these viewpoints, because females traditionally did not attend muqabala events. This is evidence of female complicity in oppressive gender structures and the unquestioned influence of ideological frameworks.

Because only an audio-recorded version of this qawwali was available, this analysis focuses on lyrics. Nonetheless, lyrics provide evidence of Sushil's transgression of codes of femininity. Using invectives contravenes conventional

qawwali style, but both qawwal maintain consistency in the structure of their performances. Each takes ten to fifteen minutes for rebuttals and arguments. Every segment of performance is composed of *shayari*, a short narration (which could precede songs or be included midsong), and song. The qawwal lays a stirring foundation with a shayari, preparing audiences for the rest of the segment. For example, the excerpt below marks Sushil's response to Vijendra's opening performance. Initially she acknowledges her absence from the stage for a few years, which had caused her songbook to be metaphorically covered in dust: *dhool se lipti kitab* (dust covered book). She confesses that competing with a renowned opponent is an immense task yet challenges Vijendra, stating that she will put his reputation to the test:

Aem veri veri hepi todae ae hait iu.	I am very happy today, I hate you.
Sori nahi bolo sori sori will not help iu,	I will not say sorry because sorry will not help you,
Iu ar veri veri noti toh ae hait iu.	You are very naughty, so I hate you.

Use of English in songs is apparent from the outset. Both qawwal do this but Sushil more so. This event already features a female qawwal; therefore, English lyrics mark yet another shift from convention. Some interpret this change as a necessary innovation to appeal to younger audiences, while others see it as distortion of tradition. The introduction between shayari and song outlines the argument's focus to audiences. For example, Sushil claims that Vijendra asked her to apologize to him without stating any reason for apologizing. After identifying this, Sushil sings a song repeatedly disagreeing to offer apology. This essentially depicts public female rebellion against patriarchal authority and mandatory female submission. She then accuses him of being *noti* (naughty), which later builds up into more insults. She also gives her first justification for singing in this style, stating "*abh toh lakta hai ki mai iski latest ka jawab latest*[9] *se de rahi hun aur qawwali me sher bol bol ke deti hun*" (it is evident now that I am responding to his latest with my own latest and with shayari). In the next shayari she calls Vijendra a dog, saying "*Arre kutr ke tarif ko badlna hi paḍega*" (alter this dog's reputation). The performance scenario does not negate this comment's potential emotional effect on Vijendra, a male in a patriarchal society and the beneficiary of social codes put in place restricting females from exactly this sort of behavior. Sushil continues her insults, targeting and undermining Vijendra's performance capabilities. She intensifies her rebuttals with constant references to her strength and Vijendra's destruction resulting from her commitment to defeat him. In the following lines, she narrates awareness of her stylistic variations:

Lekin aaj mei kissi aur tarike se gaati hun.	Today, however, I am singing in a different style.
Shayad aap log ko aaj ke mugable ki zada mazza aaye kiyunki mei uske latest ka latest se latest me jawab deti hun.	I feel that you will find more enjoyment in today's performance because I respond to his latest with my own latest.
Shaitan ki raha me jab yeh chalat hai toh mujhe bhi chalna hi paḍega . . .	Since you have started this walk on the devil's path, I will surely follow you . . .

Sushil is principally targeting Vijendra, not his singing style or songs' content. This magnifies Sushil's subversiveness, because unlike Shalini, who uses a nonconfrontational strategy, Sushil emulates those qawwal who, in breaking from tradition, personalize rebuttals rather than argue on content. From the standpoint of a hegemonic IndoFijian masculinity, Vijendra should find Sushil's attitude unacceptable and ideally mount counterarguments. Sushil's personal attacks have left both his performance skills and male supremacy vulnerable, and she even suggests physical violence against him: "*Laat ghusa khana hai jabdha yun fadhwana hai toh*" (if you want to be punched and kicked and your jaw dislocated).

Sushil uses the logic of "a taste of your own medicine" by constantly clarifying that she is following a style initiated by qawwal like Vijendra. She claims to be following the "devil's path" only to pursue him and declares that Vijendra is only a calf in comparison to her, indicating that he is naïve as a qawwal:

Humne dekhe hai tumhare jaise bahut bacheḍhe.	I have seen many calves like you.

In response to Sushil, Vijendra's arguments seem relatively weak. His performance comprises of several repeated statements. He mainly argues that Sushil is *machiwa nahi* (immature) and *besaram* (shameless). He cautions that further insults will compel him to react in ways that would make Sushil flee. Sushil has done enough to aggravate Vijendra and cause him to reciprocate her insults. His repeated cautioning and lackluster response indicate one of two things: either he chooses to take the higher road instead of singing vulgar songs or realizing that he cannot match Sushil's subversion, he creates the illusion that although he can insult her, he decides not to do so. His lines, for instance, identify Sushil as immature and shameless, implying that he is mature enough to choose appropriate content:

Dosto yeh bilkul machiwa nahi,	Friends she is not mature at all,
Yeh jitna purana hoti hai utna hi besaram hoti hai.	The older she gets the more shameless she becomes.

Sushil's subversion is heightened by her aggressive approach. She already transgresses gender expectations by being present on this male stage; in addition, she verbalizes expletives and makes public references to forbidden themes. In the extract below, Sushil sings about sexual intercourse, not from a passive feminine perspective but from one in which she penetrates. The words *bhoku* (poke or penetrate) and *lagḍhu* (rub) place her in the position of doer rather than receiver, as heteronormativity requires:

Jisko me kas ke bhoku woh ghabḍha ke mujhse bole,	Whoever I poke with force, calls out to me in shock,
Dhire Sushil Dhire Dhire Sushil Dhire.	Slowly Sushil, slowly Sushil, slowly.
Jada na humkho kahe dena,	Do not say a lot against me,
Warna aaj raat ke tum bolio Sushil pirae Sushil pirae.	Otherwise tonight you will shout out, it hurts Sushil, it hurts.
Jisko mai kaske laghḍhu chilla ke ghabḍha ke bole,	Whoever I rub with force shouts out and says,
Dhire Sushil Dhire Dhire Sushil Dhire.	Slowly Sushil, slowly Sushil, slowly.

Sushil states "*Teer choḍhne se pahile mai nishana laga leti hun*" (I target precisely before I let the arrow go) as clarification that her vulgarity is targeted to frustrate Vijendra. She reaches further subversive extremities in referring to Vijendra's wife in rebuttals. Refraining from comments on opponents' female relations is an unwritten, yet implicitly emphasized, qawwali code. When needed, this rule is included in qawwal's contracts, and in some programs, comperes explicitly instruct performers against insulting female relatives. In mentioning Vijendra's wife, Sushil first breaches this code. Second, she breaks from the expectation of showing empathy for a fellow female. Sushil disregards this expectation and tells Vijendra, "*Jao apne ghar me jao apne biwi ke sath me chuḍhiya todho aur kalaiya moḍho*" (go to your home and then break your wife's bangles and twist her wrists) in response to his attacks. This is a reference to sexual intercourse that Vijendra insinuated he would do to Sushil. Her choice here parallels her with many male qawwal who, to display a masculine rebellious nature, often deliberately break performance codes. Sushil does not shun from embodying rebellion even when it requires picking on other females with

whom she is expected to empathize. Sushil concludes her sexualized offensive by again threatening physical violence "*Inko jaḍhoo se marungi inko laat bhi marungi*" (I will beat him with a broom and kick him around). Choosing the broom as her weapon is symbolic, because brooms are commonly associated with female domesticized roles.

Vijendra's next round follows a similar trajectory in labeling Sushil naïve: "*Tum toh ek nadaan chokri kiyun humse takrati*" (You are just a naïve girl why would you pick a fight with me). This, in his opinion, is sufficient cause for Sushil to cease performing: "*Khaer tumhari isse me hai ki lelo ghar ke raaste*" (It would be better for you to start following the path homeward).

Sushil's rebuttal proves interesting in its demonstration of activism against gender biases. IndoFijian cultural performances have always been gendered, and the few genres dominated by women performers were often relegated "to the domestic realm and men's performance activities to the public realm" (Goundar 2015a: 233). Goundar's research on Ramayana recitals identifies some issues of gender within IndoFijian cultural performances in which even within regularly organized cultural events, devotees voice "concerns over female performance in the public realm, centred on the impropriety of a woman subjecting herself to the male gaze particularly if she is married and particularly in a mixed-sex performance context" (Goundar 2015a: 233). With this already registering as problematic in religious genres, Sushil's qawwal identity is potentially more transgressive due to qawwali's focus on both religion and entertainment, with increasingly more emphasis on the latter. Vijendra labeling Sushil a *nadaan chokri* (naïve girl) hints at this gendered segregation, which he qualifies by repeatedly telling her to resume domestic responsibilities. Khan (2017) says of such arguments:

> Comments mostly ask women to return to the kitchen and make *roti*. I have noticed, that when a man and woman compete, the man always reminds the woman that she does not belong to that stage. This is most common with our IndoFijian community, because we believe a woman's place is the house, doing kitchen work or washing clothes. The man qawwal will always pick on such things and keep reminding the lady that she should not be on-stage, and her performances should cease. When it is man versus man, they handle each other's insults differently.

Upon realizing Vijendra's hint, Sushil recites a lengthy shayari, focusing on women's strengths and their social, cultural, and emotional contributions to human life. Sushil substantiates her claim "*Agar gustaki hui toh talwaar bhi hai*

nari" (if offended a woman can also be a sword) later by directly swearing at Vijendra.

Masculine expectations compel Vijendra to raise insult levels in asserting his dominance. The audience's shouts indicate appreciation for Sushil's effort and serve as additional impetus for an experienced qawwal to fight for his reputation. However, Vijendra does not introduce new strategies or argument trajectories but instead continues to boast about his qawwali prowess with little evidence. Ultimately, Vijendra's performance is entertaining as far as song and music syncing is concerned but fails in content for being a series of unqualified claims, as shown here:

Sare badan me ekar charbi[10] *chadhi hai,*	Her entire body is filled with fat,
Taan ki jamna mere samne khadhi hai,	She is standing wide chested before me,
Yeh kya dauḍe gi latest ke rais me.	How will she run in this race for latest songs?
Muh ke fulaye mere agge khadhi hai,	She stands here with an angry face,
Koi na raonak hai ekar agli fais me.	There is no glamour in her ugly face.

Sushil, however, introduces more interesting rebuttal techniques. First, she performs on the tune of Vijendra's previous song and identifies this in the song's introduction. It is clearly meant to disprove Vijendra's earlier assertion that "*Ki tum mere saat chal nahi sakti*" (you cannot move at the same pace as me). Second, taking a cue from other male qawwal who often suggested females return to domestic duties, Sushil states "*Koi jadoo aaj nahi chali Vijenwa laut ke jao apan ganna ke khet me*" (None of your tricks will work today Vijendra, just return to your cane farm), hence telling Vijendra to return to his primary occupation. Field consultants explained that qawwal are mostly part-time performers. Some qawwal sustain themselves financially as full-time performers by charging substantial hiring fees and performing several folk genres for constant income supply. Sushil's act of turning the tables here substantiates her confidence and thorough knowledge of rebuttal tools.

Vijendra's final response remains as ineffective as his earlier rebuttals and attacks. He orders Sushil to "*Jaldi koshish karo abh mahefil se bhaag jane ki*" (Try and run out of this gathering as quickly as you can), claiming that she is irrational and just "*chilati hai gawaro ki tarha*" (shouts mindlessly like an uncultured imp). The same assertions would be more relevant if they came from Sushil, because she has surely outperformed Vijendra. Another weak argument from

Vijendra is his claim "*Tameej nahi hai tumko kuch bhi geet ganne ki*" (you do not comprehend protocols of performing these songs). It is hypocritical because Vijendra, in many instances during that event, resorted to shouting rudely to intimidate Sushil, although he knows such acts are outside traditional qawwali's etiquette. As a male qawwal, he probably feels immune to the repercussions of committing such violations, based on his sense of entitlement to that stage, a space Sushil must fight for. Vijendra delves into some sexual reference depicting himself as a rooster and Sushil a hen when using the idiom "*apna churkhi na fudhwale*" (until her comb is ruptured), a colloquial phrase for sexual intercourse.

Sushil's concluding remarks suggest her realization of being the better qawwal in that muqabala. Such information is mostly gathered by a qawwal's team, who move into and dialogue with audiences. More often one's success is assessed by accounting for claps, shouts, cheers, and monetary gifts received in response to songs' tunes, rhyme and ingenuity of shayari, and the performer's singing ability, musical skills, audience interaction, and ability to frustrate opponents. Sushil outdoes Vijendra in all aspects except music and singing skills, where they were equally effective. Sushil begins with a rude remark reflecting Vijendra's defeat:

Kitne qawwalo se tu bach gaya hai Vijenwa lekin aaj Krishna nikali acha se tumar leedh.[11]	You had escaped from so many qawwal but today Krishna has beaten the shit out of you.

The female performer appears more liberated and upfront with insults than her male opponent. Vijendra continuously tells Sushil to concede defeat on account of his experience but fails to match up with her level of engagement, which incorporates insults and invectives. This reminded me of Manju's comments in relation to her participation in a qawwali muqabala against a male named Bobby. That performance was prematurely stopped when Bobby used vulgarities despite the organizing committee forbidding their inclusion, because the crowd composition included women and children. Bobby resorted to insults because it was the style his fan base preferred. Moreover, male qawwal recognize this as an easy strategy for frustrating female opponents given that they were hesitant to follow suit. In their respective interviews, both Shalini and Manju revealed making requests with organizing committees to institute limits to vulgarity in programs they participated in and they were both involved in performances that ended abruptly when limits were crossed and these qawwal or their supporters intervened and ended the program. Manju related to me her comment to Bobby after such an incident. She narrates, "it's okay that you are singing vulgarities but let me caution you, if a woman opens her mouth and

starts to sing vulgarity, then women definitely know more vulgarity than men" (Manju 2017). She continues, "I explained this to him, nicely. If I begin to sing vulgarity then you will not be able to take it because you cannot match the criticisms a woman can pile on you" (Manju 2017).

Manju's comment is clearly validated in Sushil's performance. Sushil's use of vulgarity, insinuations, and crudity are significantly subversive. She confesses that these are deliberate acts when she sings that she will "beat and sweep" Vijendra and asks "*Kaise marega yeh humko?*" (How will he hit me?), because "*Mahefil dega tanna isko*" (The audience will criticize him for that). This happens toward the end, when Sushil realizes that Vijendra has not engaged much vulgarity, which could be because she has outshone him. Sushil's interpretation may be accurate, because Vijendra was restrictive in his comments and he labeled Sushil besaram for her comments. He is apparently referencing social codes of speech and behavior that prevent public use of certain vocabulary, particularly in mixed-gender situations. This can also be attributed to his unpreparedness for this level of contest from Sushil.

This recording is from the part of Sushil's life when she had gained the confidence to use vulgarities against opponents, just as several male qawwal were doing. This is reflected in her explanation that she would be singing "*kissi aur tarike se*" (in a different way) and then qualifies this comment, saying, "*mei uske latest ka latest se latest me jawab deti hun*" (I will respond to his latest with my very own latest). As noted earlier, "latest" in qawwali contexts now typically refers to vulgar songs or those with double meanings of sexual nature. Sushil's comment announces her decision to perform such songs, motivated by performances of her male contemporaries. Finally, she states:

Aur inhone kya kiya, kuch galti baat kahi hai veshi wagera.	And this one has committed a great mistake by calling me a whore.
Toh mai itna kahena chahati hun. Ki joh aurat ko gali deta hai woh Maa bahen ka izzat kab rakta hoga.	So, I want to say just this. Whoever swears at any woman, he certainly does not safeguard the honour of his own mother and sister.
Dusri taraf yeh dekhi jati hai ki inki tarha, joh lavz yeh bol diya toh inki taraha ...	Also, I want to bring your attention to his words, so, in the same manner ...
Aaplog gussana nahi kiyunki jawab deti hun ...	You (audience) please do not be annoyed by this because I am just responding to what he has said ...

Inhone kaha veshi toh mai kaheti hun ...	He called me a whore then I say ...
Agar mai woh hun toh tum ek bahdhwa ho.	If I am that, then you are a pimp.

There are a few subversive moments here. First, Sushil claims that Vijendra is unable to safeguard his own mother and sister's honor. Her appeal to the concept of *izzat* (honor) and claims of Vijendra's failure to fulfill his protective obligation essentially question his manhood. Hegemonic male gender identity compels authoritative displays, including protective behavior toward female relations. Second, Sushil publicly swears at a male who infringes on socially expected femininity. A traditional IndoFijian concept of femininity forbids even loud public speaking, let alone use of expletives. Despite the context, Sushil realizes that social conventions are not easily overlooked, mainly when one lives in the same society offstage. Chattier (2008: 73) explains that despite femininity being "a patriarchal fiction which women are socialised to embrace as their own social reality, as their own gender identity regardless of what their lived experiences reveal," it still "compels a particular kind of appearance and adopting a particular set of behaviour traits that is considered desirable." This explains Sushil's offer of justification even before using the expletive. She maintains that her action is a reaction to Vijendra's pronouncements and clarifies that as a performer, she is obligated to respond.

Nonetheless, what becomes apparent in this scenario is the undercurrent of social codes and the omnipresence of social values. Sushil's justification shows that even performances are social events that despite their need to create a spectacular event, continue to rely on social structures and ideologies to construct meaning. In the moment Sushil verbalizes certain words and performs certain movements, all these are analyzed in real time against a backdrop of set norms and codes. It is essentially this backdrop that qualifies a performance's success or failure. It is in the application of social conventions that performers form their performance material, and audiences use these conventions to analyze what they witness. To exist, to have an identity, is to be relatable to these concepts and conventions, because based on these, identities are articulated. Sushil therefore explains her actions, because her use of certain words in certain contexts can potentially force her outside the matrix of accepted norms. Without such justifications, she risks being found liminal, because although she claims to be a woman, she speaks as a man and on a stage where men have traditionally been the sole occupants. Ultimately, despite explanations, some audience members would still categorize her as a failed embodiment of IndoFijian femininity. This point is illustrated by Vijendra's comment on Sushil's shamelessness. If one were to conceive the stage of performance as something constructed outside

society's network of beliefs, ideologies, values, and principles, in which a performer is at liberty to say and do whatever is deemed necessary to producing a successful performance, then Vijendra's accusation of shamelessness against Sushil is neither appropriate nor relevant; Vijendra would not be able to call her shameless, because there would be no moral or social standard against which to assess her actions.

However, as analysis of the songs suggest, the stage does not offer any such relief from society. Prasad (D. Prasad, pers. Comm.) says about Sushil's offstage image that "those people who have a real appreciation for traditional music understand the effort of these women. Other people would still raise their eyebrows against such a lady and ask '*kaisan besaram aurat hai?*' (what sort of shameless woman is this?)." Thus, a male qawwal's use of vulgarity is interpreted as the norm, whereas a female qawwal assumes that she has an obligation to justify any divergences. Regardless of what eventual symbolism is attached to her presence and performance on the qawwali stage, Sushil redefines perceptions of gender through her embodiment of traits that problematize ideals of femininity. Not surprisingly, two other female performers entered the field of qawwali some years later. Neither Manju nor Shalini ventured into the levels of subversion of Sushil, but they still entered a male-dominated stage and publicly competed against men. Their conservative approach can be attributed to both these women being wedding folksingers who could not allow their reputation to be soiled, because that would mean they would not be hired to perform at weddings, where they mostly had to sing instructions of ideal womanhood and femininity to brides.

Sushil, Manju, and Shalini are still the only three female qawwal to come out of Fiji, and none of them came from an Islamic background, even though qawwali has its origins in Islam. When asked as to why more female qawwal did not emerge despite there being several women folksingers, a field consultant, who preferred to remain unidentified, stated:

> Yes, surely the culture affects this. The culture is a major problem, it places many restrictions. In Islam, with our religion women performers will not be able to perform because other men will start to criticise this decision. Additionally, people's perception of that lady will be changed even though she is not involved in anything wrong. They would question that if she is performing then when will she have time for cooking and child rearing.

Based on this comment's contextualized truthfulness, women performers risk blighting their reputations because of difficulties in escaping men's voyeuristic gaze. Regardless of their level and nature of participation "they are sexualised because men look at them as desired or despised objects" (Lorber

1994: 93). Another factor that affects the development of female qawwal is that performance venues often separate men and women and qawwali is always performed on the male side. The female would have to sit among an all-male audience, and if there is a muqabala or competitive style of performance, she would inevitably be pressured because of unfamiliarity with that space. In these cases, support is essential, as Khan (2017) explains:

> When I am present for these competitions and I notice that one of the qawwal is getting suppressed too much then because of the knowledge that I have, I sometimes go and whisper into their ears what they could sing about. I have helped Shalini like this. When the lady is surrounded by all males then you can understand the pressure she may face being looked at that way.

Apart from spatial and image-related issues, females must take a longer, more burdensome route to becoming qawwal. Males have an advantage in terms of exposure to qawwali, because they can attend programs from an early age. This enables them to experience the qawwali atmosphere, learn audience preferences, and familiarize themselves with various performance techniques and segments of the genre. Men can also turn apprentice to other qawwal easily. A young and single woman would not be permitted into the companionship of an unrelated man for fears that such actions will cause her to lose her honor. After marriage, a woman would be expected to handle domestic work and motherhood, which would leave her time constrained for training.

All IndoFijian female qawwal started performing later in their lives and were only able to do so because of support from husbands (and husbands' families), who out of an appreciation for the talent of their spouses ignored social conventions to enable these women to enter the qawwali stage. Such support is needed for several reasons. First, a lot of time must be dedicated in preparing for qawwali programs, especially when one is a new qawwal. For example, for a whole-night program, twenty-five to thirty songs need to be prepared. For a short four-hour program, they would need at least twelve. These, together with shayari (poem), must be composed and practiced. A qawwal would also need to have sufficient knowledge of texts and scriptures so that she can create impromptu songs and shayari to rebut her opponent or opponents. For Hindu performers, this would require studying Islamic texts and seeking assistance from scholars to comprehend them. Therefore, many new qawwal opt to become understudies to experienced qawwal. This would again prove difficult for a female, because she would have to negotiate numerous social codes to become an apprentice of a male qawwal. Her husband would need to be extremely supportive, because he would be expected to accompany her to

both training sessions and performances. In addition, he would have to deal with criticisms about his willingness to expose his wife to the male gaze and with the notion of being less renowned than his wife. Even after scaling these hurdles, the female qawwal must endure the sexist and misogynist views of male opponents onstage. Analysis of contemporary qawwali content reveals an overwhelming reliance on sexual content, and male qawwal do not hesitate to use this against female opponents. This becomes tricky for female qawwal like Shalini, who must decide whether to respond reciprocally or abstain from such discourses in order to retain a positive offstage reputation. Whether she chooses to use vulgarity or not, her presence on the qawwali stage already places her in a subversive position. The presence of her female body in an otherwise male space begins a new narrative that recreates realities and inspires a renegotiation of identities for all involved in such interactions (Goundar 2015b: 1). In that sense, qawwali as a musical discourse proves that "a range of semantic possibilities (are) inherent in a musical structure" and that performances can have impacts beyond the physical and imagined performance space (Qureshi 1986: 233).

Conclusion

Qawwali music's voyage from traditional folk musical performance to an entertainment form has been key to the creation of a space for the inclusion of females, not only as audience members but also as performers. This has led to redefinition of the genre, because now female opinions, desires, and stories are narrated by female voices, whereas in the past, male performers had a monopoly on the depiction of both male and female emotions and perspectives. The intersex challenge style of performance has also led to the unveiling and public admission of misogynist, patriarchal, and female stereotypes through the arguments presented by male qawwal when competing against female opponents. After analysis of several performances, I found the tendency in male qawwal to enforce feminine ideologies of their female opponents, such as ordering them to remain veiled from the public, telling them to prioritize domestic duties over stage performance, and in many cases attacking them with sexual innuendos with the hope that females would give up the performance to avoid being publicly shamed. At least one female performer used similar levels of vulgarity in her performances, which had the effect of shutting down her opponents simply because they were unprepared or did not expect such rebuttal from a woman. Female presence has also redefined the qawwali stage such that it is no longer dominated by male performers. In that sense, the presence of the female qawwal has been performative, in that it has created an alternative reality through rebellion against and subversion of the heteronormative status quo.

NOTES

1. In this paper, non-English terms are italicized only at the first instance of their use.

2. Detailed analyses of IndoFijian folk music can be found in Manuel (2009), Brenneis (1991), and Miller (2008).

3. Sanatanis and Samajis were Hindus but of different sects, and they had many variations in their styles of worship. For detailed distinctions, see Kelly (1991) and Somerville (1986).

4. Khan, a resident of Auckland, lived most of his adult life in Ba, Fiji, where his family were well known for its involvement in promoting qawwali. It is difficult to discuss qawwali in Fiji without at least the name of one of his family members being mentioned.

5. For more on Hindi films, see Manuel (2000).

6. These were songs performed in qawwali style, that is, with poetry and music, but were shortened for inclusion in full-feature movies that were usually between two-and-a-half and three hours in length.

7. Shalini is the only one left, since Sushil Krishna has passed away and Manju no longer performs qawwali.

8. Rajendra Prasad is an academic at the University of the South Pacific who has spent several years promoting and researching IndoFijian language and culture.

9. The word "latest" is used in the context of qawwali to refer to the modern performance style that is typified by insults and vulgarity.

10. The word "fat" is used metaphorically here. He is not saying that she is fat but is using an IndoFijian idiom for someone being a deliberate nuisance.

11. Horse excrement.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Emma Ngakuraevaru Powell, Victoria University of Wellington. Email: emma.powell@vuw.ac.nz.

Emalani Case, Victoria University of Wellington. Email: Emalani.Case@vuw.ac.nz.

Jess Marinaccio, Independent Researcher. Email: jess.marinaccio@gmail.com.

Niuone Eliuta, Independent Researcher. Email: nukufetau@hotmail.com.

Vicky V. Shandil, Victoria University of Wellington. Email: mvshandil@gmail.com.

The Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY HAWAI'I