



European Society for Oceanists

**ESfO**  
**Conference Programme**

**The Power of the Pacific**  
**Values, Materials, Images**

**5-8 December 2012**  
**Bergen, Norway**



Cover design and programme layout by Eilin Holtan Torgersen  
Photo: The Oceania Dance Theatre, USP, by Edvard Hviding



**European Society for Oceanists 9th Conference**

**5-8 December 2012  
Bergen, Norway**

## **Many thanks!**

There are many people to whom we, the Organising Team, would like to express our gratitude for their dedicated work towards operating ESfO as an organisation and towards making the ESfO 2012 conference in Bergen a reality. We also would like here to recognise the generous funding provided by several external sources.

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From the Organising Team  
*Knut M. Rio, Edvard Hviding, Annelin Eriksen and Eilin H. Torgersen*

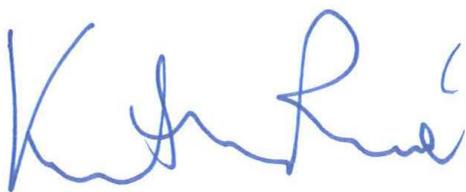
## Welcome to Bergen!

On behalf of the ESfO Board, the Bergen Pacific Studies Research Group and the University of Bergen, we are delighted to welcome all ESfO 2012 participants to Bergen. For us resident Pacific practitioners here, right across the North Sea from the location of the last ESfO conference, it is indeed a special honour to receive such a number of scholars of Oceania to an old port town whose history is one of maritime-oriented connections to the wider world. In recent years, many colleagues have travelled from as far as the Pacific itself to visit us here and discuss Oceania, as we have been building Bergen as a centre for Pacific scholarship. We are truly happy to welcome the ninth ESfO conference as a major event in the further building of Bergen-Pacific connections.

The conference theme – The Power of the Pacific: Values, Materials, Images – has already proved its potential for generating wide interest. We are very grateful for the great effort and contagious enthusiasm contributed by the organisers of the twenty-one sessions, by our plenary speakers, and by our panellists. Over the following days, the Power of the Pacific will reveal its uniqueness and diversity. Conference participants are ready to address such dimensions as the power of resources; the power of land; the power of the church; the power of social networks; the power of youth; the power of resistance; the power of the internet; the power of museums; the power of academia; the power of change; the power of climate; the power of language; and much more – ultimately, the power of Pacific peoples. This amounts to a demonstration not only of power as such, but also of wealth, creativity, human engagement, and alternative future orientations to contemporary global challenges of which it is important to give the wider world more than just a glimpse.

The questions to be raised and problems to be addressed when examining the multitude of alternatives that the Pacific continues to offer the wider world are far from simple. The conference programme provides a repertoire of inter-related events in which we will all join hands in the further discovery and dissemination of the global importance of Oceania. This conference also marks the opening of a new collective effort, funded by the European Union, to build research collaboration and institutional networks between Europe and the Pacific, and we are delighted to be able to draw all you Oceanists into this effort.

We know that over the next days you will meet at the fine old Grand Terminus Hotel with friends, old and new, and we hope you will also have time to see what the city of Bergen has to offer. It is an ancient observation that the forces that influence the Bergen weather cannot be trusted, but like the peoples of Oceania, we know that unpredictability brings out the creative spirits of humankind. Enjoy!



Knut M. Rio  
Chair, European Society for Oceanists  
Professor, University Museum of Bergen



Edvard Hviding  
Director, Bergen Pacific Studies  
Professor and Head of Department of Social  
Anthropology, University of Bergen

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# THE POWER OF THE PACIFIC

## VALUES, MATERIALS, IMAGES

In 2012 we celebrate the first twenty years of ESfO conferences. We do this by commemorating the enduring significance of Oceania in global trajectories of history, ideas, politics, economy and ecology. We have invited participants, speakers and panels to reflect on the unique position of the region with regard to its cultural and linguistic diversity, its ecological and geographical distinctness, and its particular position as a region full of experiments and experiences with diverse social formations and movements.

We encourage conference participants to consider the shifting values and imaginations in and of the social worlds of Oceanic peoples. Importantly, we also ask participants to consider the political, economic and moral alternatives that Oceania continues to represent in relation to the challenges faced by the contemporary world.

The conference aspires to expand understandings of the ways in which Oceania continues to deliver materials, in the widest sense, to the wider world: be it as resource materials of economic and ecological significance, political materials that convey alternatives and challenges to current models of social organization and of nation, statehood and democracy, artistic and visual materials that evoke the cultural vibrancy of the Pacific, or religious materials that engage Christian images in localized concerns. In short: significant materials for thought in the wider world.

From a pluralist agenda we wish this year's conference to bring to the forefront indigenous knowledges and aesthetics, and we encourage interdisciplinary dialogues between anthropology, linguistics, art history, media studies, archaeology, history, political science, biology and other fields. We also anticipate studies that take the pulse of unfolding contemporary phenomena such as religious and moral innovations, the structure of post- or neo-colonial relations, institutional processes of recognition or intervention, indigenous movements of political, economic or religious character, differently scaled ideas of nationalisms, effects of internet and mobile connectedness, emerging cosmopolitanism and class and performative strategies and tactics in global relations

By addressing the power of the Pacific as well as Pacific powers, we hope the responses to our call and the lessons from the conference will be plentiful, wide-ranging and challenging. We trust participants will be inspired to engage each other with open minds and to interact with the international community of Oceanists. We offer the 2012 conference in Bergen as an opportunity to engage in full with the complexity and creativity of the Pacific region, and with the region's influence on the world.

# Conference programme

## WEDNESDAY, 5 DECEMBER

12:00 - 17:00: Registration at Grand Terminus Hotel

12:15 - 14:00: ESfO board meeting

14:00 - 15:45: Welcome and opening of conference

Panel discussion, chaired by Edvard Hviding and Joeli Veitayaki: *Climate Change Challenges: Building institutional research frameworks for the future.*

16:00 - 17:00: Opening plenary lecture: Anne Salmond

17:30: Organized bus transfer from Grand Terminus to Haakon's Hall

18:00 - 19:00: Official reception at Haakon's Hall

## THURSDAY, 6 DECEMBER

09:00 - 10:00: Sir Raymond Firth Memorial Lecture: Vilsoni Hereniko

10:15 - 12:15: Parallel workshops

12:15 - 13:15: Lunch

13:15 - 16:30: Parallel workshops

17:00 - 19:00: Panel discussion chaired by Nick Bainton and Stuart Kirsch: *Research and resource extraction: the role of academics in relation to the corporate sector.*

20:00: Optional dinner in the hotel restaurant (booked when registering for the conference online)

21:30: Cultural event: Art event led by George Nuku and Nicholas Thomas

## FRIDAY, 7 DECEMBER

09:00 - 10:00: Plenary lecture: Nicholas Thomas

10:15 - 12:15: Parallel workshops

12:15 - 13:15: Lunch

13:15 - 16:30: Parallel workshops

17:00 - 19:00: Vilsoni Hereniko presents ethnographic films from the Pacific

20:00: Banquet dinner in Terminus Hall

## SATURDAY, 8 DECEMBER

09:15 - 12:00: Parallel workshops

12:00 - 13:00: Lunch

13:00 - 15:00: Parallel workshops

15:15 - 16:00: Closing plenary lecture: Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka

16:15 - 17:00: General assembly and closing of conference

# Plenary Events

## OPENING PLENARY PANEL

Wednesday 5, Terminus Hall, 14:30-15:45

### **Climate Change Challenges and European-Pacific Cooperation: Building Institutional Research Frameworks for the Future**

Chairs: **Edvard Hviding** (University of Bergen) and **Joeli Veitayaki** (University of the South Pacific).

Panel Participants: Laurent Dousset (AMU/CREDO), Tony Crook (University of St. Andrews), Nalau Bingeding (National Research Institute), Thomas Widlok (Radboud University Nijmegen) Mike Hulme (School of Environmental Sciences at the University of East Anglia), Peter Rudiak-Gould (McGill University), Nalau Bingeding (National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea), Margaret Jolly (ANU), Gosia Lachut (European Commission), and Christina Toren (University of St. Andrews)

Climate change reveals the power of the Pacific in ways that are obvious to social scientists: the region is prominent in international visions of rising-sea levels and an object of geopolitical attention, and the peoples are a primary source of expertise for understanding the changes to waters, forests, and climates, and for interpreting the consequences for them. This panel will discuss the potential and the challenge for social scientists to contribute to understanding climate change in the Pacific, and will explore paths for building long-term research cooperation and dialogue between European and Pacific scholars and policy makers. This panel will also introduce ECOPAS (European Consortium for Pacific Studies) – an initiative based on initial contacts between representatives of the European Commission and scholars of the Pacific at a conference in France and then at ESfO 2010. ECOPAS was formed by two Pacific institutions (University of the South Pacific and PNG's National Research Institute) and four European research centres (Bergen, Marseille, Nijmegen, St. Andrews), in response to the EC's support and coordination funding call "Climate Change Uncertainties. Policy Making for the Pacific Front", and will facilitate events and a means for bringing together a far wider circle of scholars and research projects.

## OPENING PLENARY LECTURE

Wednesday 5, Terminus Hall, 16.00 – 17.00

### **Tears of Rangi: Water, Power and People in New Zealand**

#### **Dame Anne Salmond**

Distinguished Professor of Maori Studies and Anthropology, University of Auckland,

In recent writings, the Brazilian anthropologist Viveiros de Castro has argued for the 'ontological self-determination' of indigenous communities – their right to inhabit their own, different worlds. Here, he is not speaking about 'world views' (as if despite our different visions, there is one world after all), or even about 'humanity' and 'the planet,' but the fact that different peoples may create different realities, and have the right to do so. In this paper, I want to reflect upon the power of the Pacific to foster ontological innovation. Covering a third of the earth's surface, with a scatter of islands that become smaller and more distant as one heads east, and colder as one heads south, this great ocean makes particular demands upon its inhabitants. In order to cross this vast, watery expanse, the ancestors of Polynesians had to invent blue-water sailing. In order to make their explosive migrations east to the coast of South America, north to Hawai'i and south to New Zealand, they had to innovate portable sets of plants and animals, dynamic cosmo-models and viral kinship systems, allowing them to settle in new and different places. At the same time, the European explorers who headed into Polynesia centuries later had to per-

fect the art of sailing for long periods over great distances, and technologies (including projectile weapons) that allowed them to survive vigorous challenges from island fighting sailors. The settlers who followed brought repertoires of domestic plants and animals, infectious diseases and cosmo-models that made it possible to inhabit places very different from their continental homelands. In New Zealand, the last significant land-mass on earth to be settled by human beings (in about 1200AD), these challenges were particularly acute. By the time the first Europeans arrived in these large, temperate islands (in 1642), the descendants of the first Polynesian settlers had developed art forms, cosmologies and agricultural and maritime technologies quite distinct from those in the tropical homelands. Since that time, there has been a process of reciprocal exchange between Maori and European (and other) settlers, sometimes peaceful, sometimes not. In this paper, I will consider the ontological transformations that have occurred, taking fresh water as my example. In New Zealand, Maori (and by implication, non-Maori) rights to fresh water is a topic of passionate, often confrontational debate at present, instigated by the imminent privatisation of local power companies. I will also raise the possibility that like biodiversity, cosmo-diversity is a force for adaptation and survival. The power of the Pacific may include the capacity to provoke new ways of thinking about relations between and within human communities, and with other life forms, and the planet.

## SIR RAYMOND FIRTH MEMORIAL LECTURE

Thursday 6, Terminus Hall, 09.00 – 10.00

### **Restoring the Human to the Native Object**

#### **Professor Vilsoni Hereniko**

Acting Chair of the Academy for Creative Media at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, and Adjunct Professor of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific.

One of Raymond Firth's contributions to Pacific research was his focus on "personal choice and flexibility in social life." He restores the human to the native in other words, and draws attention to the importance of the individual, as opposed to the group, in our search to better understand the Pacific and Pacific Islands histories, cultures, and societies. This lecture draws from lived experience, literature, film, and social media.

## PLENARY PANEL:

Thursday 6, Terminus Hall, 17.00 – 19.00

### **Research and resource extraction: The role of academics in relation to the corporate sector**

Chairs: **Nick Bainton** and **Stuart Kirsch**

Participants:

Nick Bainton, Glynn Cochrane, Edvard Hviding, Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, Stuart Kirsch, Marilyn Strathern, Nancy Sullivan, James F. Weiner

Relationships between corporations and the academy have proliferated in recent years. These new relations are celebrated for the synergies they promise. They are also seen as necessary in the context of the downsizing of the academy. However, these relationships have also raised concerns about the privatiza-

tion of research, the valorization of the market as the solution to social problems, and the promotion of the virtuous language of social responsibility and sustainability as an extension of corporate 'audit culture'. This plenary panel takes up these relationships by focusing on a key corporate-academic nexus in the Pacific, the role played by social scientists in relation to extractive industry. It is intended to continue discussions from the ESfO 2010 panel on anthropology inside and outside of the academy. The focus is on social scientists working as ethnographers, critics, consultants, and employees for mining, oil, and gas projects in Melanesia. The session calls on the participants to examine how they position themselves in relation to these projects and their benefits and negative impacts. The panel seeks to generate frank discussion from a range of views and positions. It is intended to acknowledge the complexity of these issues both in terms of efforts to facilitate development opportunities that are widely regarded as desirable and the risks entailed in collaborating with industries that have established track records of causing harm. Also important is the way these issues can drive a wedge between social scientists working in the region and thereby suppress discussion of the implications of these choices for both academic research and the people with whom we work. This plenary panel is therefore intended to provide a context for meaningful dialogue among scholars who might not regularly engage with each other so that they may address problems of mutual concern.

## PLENARY LECTURE

Friday 7, Terminus Hall, 09.00 - 10.00

### **Out of Place: History and Art in the Pacific**

#### **Professor Nicholas Thomas**

Director of Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge

This lecture explores the art and history of the Pacific through a series of formative moments, from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth. It is concerned with how we imagine cross-cultural encounters, how we interpret the art of this region, and what the legacies of these encounters are today. It argues that Oceania was not so much a theatre for a dynamic of the global and the local, one in which Islanders received or resisted the forces of colonialism and modernity. Rather the region possessed its own cosmopolitanism and it generated a range of art genres, at once the products of cross-cultural histories and lenses upon them.

## ETHNOGRAPHIC FILMS FROM THE PACIFIC

Friday 7, Welhaven, 17.00 - 19.00

#### **Host: Professor Vilsoni Hereniko**

Vilsoni Hereniko will present the two films *Vaka: The Birth of a Seer* and *Drua: The Wave of Fire*. These films are each based on one-hour stage performances held in 2012 at the University of the South Pacific that were translated into film. Like a double-hulled canoe, these two extravaganzas featuring original music, dance, and drama, tell stories informed by research gleaned from oral and written literature about voyaging in the 18th century. Both films are testimonies to the talents of Oceanians inspired by Epeli Hau'ofa's legacy: the Oceania Centre for Arts, Culture, and Pacific Studies at USP in Fiji.

## CLOSING PLENARY LECTURE

Saturday 8, Terminus Hall, 15.15 – 16.00

### **Oceania Rises on Islands of Globalization**

#### **Associate Professor Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka**

Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Oceania is on the rise. The economic, political, social and geostrategic developments in Oceania in the past decade are dynamic and set an “oceanic stage” for Pacific Islanders to stamp their mark in the global arena. Geopolitically, while Oceania may never become the center of global power, its geostrategic location could determine the shifts of power. Furthermore, Pacific Islanders are not always passively accepting economic agendas dictated by Euro-America and Asia. Rather, they participate in their economies in dynamic ways that shape the region and its interaction with the rest of the globe. This paper discusses Oceania’s place in the contemporary global arena, the vibrant role of Pacific Islanders at the local, regional and global arenas and the potential power of island nations and peoples. It examines Pacific Islanders’ participation in the economic, political, social and geostrategic developments of the 21st century and how these have facilitated the rise of Oceania and the globalization of the islands.

# Session programme

## THURSDAY 6: 10.15-16.30

1. Perils and Pleasures: Melanesian Youth Cultures, Moral Panics, and Imagined Futures (*LeFevre and Andersen*)
2. The cultural vibrancy of the Pacific as expressed by law (*Blondet and Riou*)
3. Theories of the State in Oceania (*Berg*)
4. Pacific Gambling as Indigenous Analytics (*Pickles*)
5. Our web of islands – (re)articulating Pacific values online (*Emde and Brandt*)
6. The Gendered Power of the Church in Melanesia (*Eriksen*)
7. (Ad)ressing the Native: Missionary material intervention, Islander appropriation and creativity (*McCall and Paini*)
8. Consultant Anthropology as an Art of Government (*Kirsch and Lattas*)

## FRIDAY 7: 10.15 – 16.30

9. Engendering Persons and Transforming Things: Christianities and Commodities in Oceania (*Hermkens, Jolly and Morgain*) NB! Friday and Saturday.
10. Appropriating Climate Change: Pacific Reception of a Scientific Prophecy (*Rudiak-Gould and Crook*)
11. The Power of the Pacific in European museums (*Thomas*)
12. What do we know about Rapanui? (*McCall and Andreassen*)
13. Who owns my place? (*Tabani*)
14. Resilience and resistance to the local-global dichotomy (*Dousset and Nayral*)
15. Religious sensations in Oceania (*Dureau*)
16. Pacific Time(s) (*Dalsgaard, Otto and Scott*)

## SATURDAY 8: 09.00-15.00

17. Great Things of Oceania: The Large Scale Nature of the Local (*Bolton, Hviding and Leach*)
18. Power and Periphery in the Pacific (*Straume, Fauske and Mountjoy*)
19. In the wake of the Southern Cross: Anglicanism in Melanesia (*Kolshus and Scott*)
20. Challenging Western Notions of Pacific migration (*Keck and Schieder*)
21. The Power of Oceanic Languages (*Völkel and Senft*)

## Session time table and room overview

Room (Capacity)	Thursday 6 <sup>th</sup> 10.15 - 16.30	Friday 7 <sup>th</sup> 10.15 – 16.30	Saturday 8 <sup>th</sup> 09.00 – 15.00
<b>Terminus Hall (150 )</b>	Perils and Pleasures: Melanesian Youth Cultures, Moral Panics, and Imagined Futures (LeFevre and Andersen)	Engendering Persons and Transforming Things: Christianities and Commodities in Oceania (Hermkens, Jolly and Morgain)	
<b>Welhaven (70)</b>	The cultural vibrancy of the Pacific as expressed by law (Blondet and Riou)	Appropriating Climate Change: Pacific Reception of a Scientific Prophecy (Rudiak-Gould and Crook)	Great Things of Oceania: The Large Scale Nature of the Local (Bolton, Hviding and Leach)
<b>Bull (70)</b>	Theories of the State in Oceania (Berg)	The Power of the Pacific in European museums (Thomas)	Power and Periphery in the Pacific (Straume, Fauske and Mountjoy)
<b>Amundsen (25)</b>	Pacific Gambling as Indigenous Analytics (Pickles)	Our web of islands – (re)articulating Pacific values online (Emde and Brandt)	What do we know about Rapanui? (McCall and Andreassen)
			Who owns my place? (Tabani)
			In the wake of the Southern Cross: Anglicanism in Melanesia (Kolshus and M. Scott)
<b>711 (30)</b>	The Gendered Power of the Church in Melanesia (Eriksen)	Resilience and resistance to the local-global dichotomy (Dousset and Nayral)	Challenging western notions of Pacific migration (Keck and Schieder)
<b>706 (25)</b>	(Ad)ressing the Native: Missionary material intervention, Islander appropriation and creativity (McCall and Paini)	Religious sensations in Oceania (Dureau)	The Power of Oceanic Languages (Völkel and Senft)
<b>Forskjønnelsen (50)</b>	Consultant Anthropology as an Art of Government (Kirsch and Lattas)	Pacific Time(s) (Dalsgaard, Otto and R. Scott)	

# Sessions

## SESSION 1: PERILS AND PLEASURES: PACIFIC YOUTH CULTURES, MORAL PANICS, AND IMAGINED FUTURES

Tate LeFevre (New York University) and Barbara Andersen (New York University)  
Terminus Hall, Thursday 6, 10:15 – 16:30

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 10:15-10:45 Lea Lani Kauvaka: Drunken Youth, Deportees, and Moral Panic in Tonga: Excavating the 'Natural Man' in Oceania
- 10:45-11:15 Daniela Kraemer: Making History : Emplacement in Urban Vanuatu
- 11:15-11:45 Lorraine Basse: Drugs and youth in PNG: A case study of the youth in settlements near Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea
- 11:45-12:15 Tate LeFevre: What does it mean to be a "city Kanak"? The political stakes of New Caledonia's "youth crisis"
- 12:15-13:15 LUNCH
- 13:15-13:45 Thomas Dick & Monika Stern: Post-colonial reflexivities of ni-vanuatu urban youth in the music industry
- 13:45-14:15 Sarah Hewat: Sex as Threat and Chastity as Hope in a West Papuan City
- 14:15-14:45 Barbara Andersen: "I'm Sick of Carrying Kastom Everywhere": Nursing Students' Experiences of the Intersections of Generation, Gender, and Class in Papua New Guinea
- 14:45-15:00 BREAK
- 15:00-16:00 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

In many parts of Pacific, the term "youth" has strong associations with delinquency, social decline, fears of state failure, cultural loss and moral peril. These negative evaluations of youth cultures can be seen in discourses of population growth or demographic shift, raskolism and delinquency, amoral consumption, alienation and individualization, and changing sexual and gendered practices. At the same time as they are seen as a locus of crisis and disintegration, "youth" are also seen as possessing extraordinary powers of social reproduction, regeneration, energy, and potential. These sometimes contradictory visions of youth are intimately bound up with imagined national, cultural, and spiritual futures. This session will examine Pacific discourses surrounding young people with the aim of exploring how "youth" as a category are incorporated into larger narratives and visions of the future. Youth cultures have been described as a site of engagement with novel social forms, generating hybrid identities, practices, and ontologies. We will attend to ways in which youth and generational shifts figure in both apocalyptic and utopian imaginaries. Our focus will be on the forms of temporal rupture through which youth are granted social significance. We welcome papers from scholars addressing these or similar topics:

- consumption, money, and work
- education, schooling, and apprenticeship
- Christianity and spiritual revival
- urbanization and migration
- formal and informal youth associations and gangs
- global cultural flows, media, and technologies

- discourses of population and demography
- alcohol and drug use; law, crime and the policing of youth
- sexuality, gender, and the body
- kinship and generational succession
- citizenship, sovereignty, and the State

ABSTRACTS:

**Lea Lani Kauvaka (University of the South Pacific)**

Title: Drunken Youth, Deportees, and Moral Panic in Tonga: Excavating the 'Natural Man' in Oceania

In this paper, I consider media accounts of the 2006 civil riots in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. Dwelling particularly on how journalists came to repeat the story that it was "drunken youth" and "deportees" from America who were responsible for the destruction which left numerous shops looted and burned and eight people dead, I frame the insertion of 'the deportees' into this media narrative with reference to United States immigration policy and within the larger context of late 20th century economic migration from Tonga. I go on to consider the ways in which parallel discourses regarding 'American deportees' emerge in other Pacific and Caribbean contexts within a similar time period. Pushing past the shallow representations inherent in journalistic writing, I travel beyond the moral panic about 'deportees' and delve into a deeper search to excavate a discursive genealogy of dangerous masculinities upon which journalistic representations – and, often, moral panics more generally - rely. This discursive genealogy includes the identities of the 16th century rogue 'picaro', the 19th century Indian 'thug', and the 20th century 'American gangster'. Through a variety of texts, both written and visual, I consider some of the ways in which these discursive identities are connected and speculate whether they might be understood as variations of 'the Natural Man', who, to borrow a phrase from Giorgio Agamban, is the "mythologeme" which underwrites the fabled 'social contract' between the state and society. I question whether this particular mythologeme of the 'Natural Man' has currency in Oceania beyond such journalistic renderings such as the 'deportee' moral panic, or whether this mythologeme, like other forms of contemporary political control and social regulation, is imported to justify the (ongoing) presence of state apparatuses designed to reinforce a particular (post)colonial juridical order. I close this paper with an invocation and appeal to Māui, legendary ancestor of the peoples of the sea, and also perhaps the most famous tapu-breaker in Oceania and I wonder how a genealogical return to myth might illuminate a pathway into the past-future of Polynesian youths at 'home' and in the diaspora.

**Patrick Vakaoti (Australian National University)**

Title: Young People as Citizens – developing a case for meaningful engagement in Fiji

In Fiji, the word 'citizenship' means little to majority of its citizens. At another level it is culturally influenced and applied in an arbitrary way to characterize the relationship between adults and young people. In this context adults determine and structure the experiences of young people whose turn as full 'citizens' will eventuate when they 'come of age'. The right to vote is often touted as an indicator of one's coming of age. Many young people have been denied this opportunity and the right to exercise their citizenship role since the last democratic elections in 2006. An election is promised for 2014, with the desire that this will create a new political order. Young people of voting age (18 years and above) make up about a quarter of Fiji's population and will contribute significantly to this outcome. In this paper I argue that citizenship extends beyond voting and that the failure to grant young people full citizenship rights undermines the case often made by leaders that young people are the country's future. Drawing from conversations with and activities of young people I examine the concept of youth citizenship as it is understood and applied in Fiji. I extend the discussion and suggest that Fiji amidst its fragmentations needs to develop a localized version of citizenship where its citizen's particularly young people recog-

nize and generate a sense of engagement with issues in their lived environments. An informed sense of citizenship will augur well for Fiji's future, where young people should exist as active as opposed to token citizens.

### **Thomas Dick (Southern Cross University) / Monika Stern (CREDO-CNRS)**

Title: Post-colonial reflexivities of ni-vanuatu urban youth in the music industry

The urban music of “developing” countries is a privileged form of expression for young people. Across international borders, musicians identify with each other as opposed to “non-musicians”, but at the same time assert themselves as privileged messengers of the young people of their community, their town and, in some cases, their country in general. Music is often subject to the paradox between admiration and disapproval: the talented musician as star or idol, appearing in the media, wearing “in” clothes, etc, as opposed to the unstable musician who is drugged, alcoholic, unfaithful, incapable, etc.

Today, the nascent music industry in Port Vila (Vanuatu) is a site of many conflicting forces, with the internationalisation of the urban Fest'Napuan festival and action around this event, the adoption of laws and international treaties for the protection of authors' rights, and the mutual infatuation of, on the one hand, the world music market with this distant and “exotic” music and, on the other hand, the local popularity of imported music such as reggae and other urban styles emanating from post-colonial contexts such as the Caribbean. Young musicians are facing the universal problems of the globalisation of music and culture. Locally, the number of groups is multiplying and a special type of behaviour that we might call “music attitude” is being adopted by a growing number of young people. In this article, we present the situation of young musicians in Port Vila, how they use music to express an identity, the resources available to them and ways in which global elements are blending with local ones.

### **Sarah Hewat (University of Melbourne)**

Title: Sex as Threat and Chastity as Hope in a West Papuan City

In Manowkari, a regional city in West Papua (Indonesia), the sexual behaviours of youth embody both a collective Papuan fear of moral and population decline and a hope for moral and economic regeneration. This paper considers how fear and hope, as dialectically related public emotions, are condensed through attitudes towards the perempuan nakal, literally ‘naughty girl’ but is semantically akin to the colloquial English word ‘slut’. In the context of contemporary transformations in Manokwari and distinct social stresses we will see that women who have sex before marriage are seen to pose a threat to themselves, their families and also the future of Papua. The flipside to this, we will see, is that young women are symbolically associated with hope for ethnic and moral renewal in visions of a ‘New Papua’.

### **Daniela Kraemer (London School of Economics)**

Title: Making History : Emplacement in Urban Vanuatu

In Freswota, a Port Vila (Vanuatu) urban community, the Kingston-4 squad of boys, are finding meaning in their urban landscape from their movements through the landscape, the adventures they have in it, and the narratives they then tell about it. For the Kingston-4 boys, emplacement is created through their shared experience of being in the places and moving through them. The Kingston- 4 boys use the idiom ‘making history’ (mekem histri) to describe a shared ‘walk-about’ (wokbaot) or occurrence that becomes a narrative retold and thus a history remembered. In this paper I explore urban young peoples’ engagement with ‘making history’ as a practice of emplacement. I argue that young-people

who are born and raised in town, and whose affiliation with original island places are diminished, are actively creating their history; yet it is not a history that is behind them, rather, it is a history that lies in front of them, rooting them in their future.

### **Tate LeFevre (New York University)**

Title: What does it mean to be a “city Kanak”? The political stakes of New Caledonia’s “youth crisis”

As the date of a referendum on independence from France approaches, handwringing over “Kanak youth delinquency” has reached new heights in New Caledonia. According to local media, communiqués issued by the loyalist-lead government and even the Kanak Customary Senate, Kanak youth are “in crisis” and have “lost their bearings.” In this discourse of moral panic, the growing population of Kanak de quartier, or “city Kanak,” is cited as a “ground zero” for social disintegration, anomie and criminality. In polemics on the “youth crisis,” the “city Kanak” is often paired with its foil, the supposedly less troubled, more stable, Kanak de la tribu, or “village Kanak.” In this paper I examine the commonly drawn distinction between “city Kanak” and “village Kanak” and consider why many Kanak youth do not consider either of these terms to be particularly socially relevant or meaningful. In exploring the alternative explanations for the “youth crisis” offered by young people themselves, I also argue that the discourse of Kanak “delinquency” may ultimately work to undermine indigenous sovereignty claims and disqualify Kanak as citizens of a future independent state.

### **Vanisha Mishra-Vakaoti (Australian National University)**

Title: Beyond an Educational Childhood in Fiji

Children in Fiji are discontinuing schooling in greater numbers and at younger ages than before. It is estimated that children who start school often discontinue before Class Five. Since the late nineteenth century, school and home have been seen as the most appropriate spaces for children to experience childhoods. This view is being challenged by the increasingly large number of children who discontinue schooling, live away from home, and work for an income. Children are now experiencing childhoods in spaces other than those traditionally allocated to them. This raises questions about the nature and existence of help, support and guidance offered to children who ‘do’ childhoods in places other than the school. This paper draws on my doctoral research based on four geographical areas in Fiji, talking to children and young people about their experiences in and out of the school environment. This paper presents the candid opinions that children and young people have shared about their experiences of schooling, discontinuing schooling, and the alternative pathways they chose to pursue. This discussion contributes to the small body of literature that exists in Fiji and generally across the Pacific on children and young people. It has practical implications for policy makers, service providers, and aid agencies who have continued to focus on empowering young populations through schooling and education in the Pacific, especially in Melanesian countries such as Fiji.

### **Barbara Andersen (New York University)**

Title: “I’m Sick of Carrying Kastom Everywhere”: Nursing Students’ Experiences of the Intersections of Generation, Gender, and Class in Papua New Guinea

This paper explores the notion of kastom as understood and critiqued by nursing students (most between the ages of 18-26) in the Papua New Guinea Highlands. “Respect for kastom” is an explicitly inculcated value in the PNG health sector, presented in nursing curricula as one of the competencies required for successful completion of the diploma program. Yet the nature of kastom as described by

health and development discourses— “knowledge, belief and practices” abstracted from social and historical context—allows it to be deployed in multiple ways and in the service of competing social and political interests. Nursing students and other health workers struggle with the imperative to “respect” the *kastom* of their clients while at the same time re-shaping what *kastom* means to serve their own generational, gendered, and class positions. “Youth”, in these students’ accounts, is a source of authority and social distinction because, rather than in spite of, its distance from *kastom* and “culture”. I argue that discussions of the relationship of youth to customary or traditional life in Melanesia need to be attentive to the mediating influence of medical and developmental discourses and the forms of class and gender relations they encode.

### **Henri Myrntinen (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies)**

Title: Ninjas, Gangsters and Folk Devils – Youth and Policing in the Context of a Timor-Leste Moral Panic

In early 2010, over a hundred elite police officers of the Public Order Battalion (Batalhão de Ordem Publica - BOP) of the Timor-Leste National Police Force were dispatched to the village of Zumalai in the south of the country. Their task: to hunt down ninjas, who were suspected of the gruesome disappearances and murders of a young boy and a teenage girl. It was not the first time that the shadowy ninjas had spread terror in Timor-Leste. While the ‘original’ ninjas had been members of death squads which had targeted pro-independence activists during the Indonesian occupation, the pedigree of the ninjas of the post-independence period remains as shadowy as the warriors themselves – are they disaffected ex-combatants, members of martial arts groups, sorcerers, Indonesian Special Forces sneaking across the border...? Few (if any) have ever seen a ninja and none have been caught, but some features of the ninjas are common knowledge: they possess powers of flight and invisibility, can turn into animals, employ black magic, are highly dangerous and are in some way connected to sinister political power struggles, the details of which however remain unclear. In the end, the BOP did not manage to track down any ninjas and the mysterious murder cases turned out to be gruesome, yet relatively quotidian cases of family violence. Nonetheless, the police forces’ mission was not in vain. While in Zumalai, they used their presence and power to re-establish public order by cracking down heavy-handedly on young men involved in local martial arts groups. Under the suspicion of collaborating with the ninjas, the ‘deviant’ hair styles of the young men were forcibly cut; they were publicly humiliated and, in numerous cases, severely beaten. The paper argues that the 2010 ninja-scare was only in part about trying to expunge the ghosts of conflicts past or about justifying the existence of the over-armed special police units. A further key function was to show that the state was finally ‘doing something’ about the issue of young men involved in gangs, martial arts and ritual arts groups. While in no way denying the degree to which these groups and their violence has disrupted Timor-Leste society, the paper argues that these young men, together with the invisible ninjas, have been cast as new folk devils in a moral panic arising out of the complex post-colonial, post-conflict transformation processes of a modernising, globalising Timor-Leste.

### **Lorraine Basse (Melanesian Institute)**

Title: Drugs and youth in PNG: A case study of the youth in settlements near Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea

Drug abuse has been described as a social epidemic in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Youths, particularly those living in settlements and the unemployed, often resort to using drugs, especially marijuana, as their main leisure activity. With marijuana readily available on the streets and selling at a low price, more and more youths are lured into the drug culture, and some may be marginalized within their communities as a consequence of their marijuana consumption. Based on documentary research collected from the Melanesian Institute’s library and newspaper archives, workshops run by the National Catho-

lic Family Life Apostolate around PNG, and from interviews and questionnaires given to the youths, it was found that large numbers of young Papua New Guineans are exposed to marijuana, particularly the disadvantaged ones. They describe taking drugs due to everyday social pressures including parental neglect, lack of employment opportunities and difficulties finishing school. The observations and questions were mainly about marijuana among youths in eight settlements in and around Goroka town.

### **Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop (Auckland University of Technology)**

Title: Pacific Youth and Cultural Security in New Zealand

Pacific peoples form almost 10% of New Zealand's total population today and over 40% are under 15 years of age. The diverse experiences of Pacific youth is seen in the fact that they comprise over 20 Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesia cultures and languages; many are NZ born, significant numbers are from second, third and fourth generation migrant families and increased multi-ethnicity is noted. Reports claim that Pacific youth feelings of identity are weakening (MPIA 2005) and, this is often seen to be related directly to low educational outcomes and increased antisocial behaviours by Pacific youth, including violence. This paper explores how Pacific youth are constructing their identity and negotiating social and cultural connectedness in NZ today. The Polynesian club in a male secondary school in NZ was the study site and the research included group interviews, a series of individual interviews with club members over an 18 month period and, participant observation. Gershon (2007) saw the Samoan Polynesian Clubs she observed in NZ in the 1990s as 'forums for expressing migrant nostalgia' and fostering deep longings for other kinds of nation. Ten years later, and by way of contrast, this Polynesian club was found to be a supplementary education site where Pacific youth were actively constructing their feelings of identity (ethnic specific and shared Pan Pacific) to the 'here and now' and building confidence to connect to other school and out of school activities, including educational participation.

## **SESSION 2: THE CULTURAL VIBRANCY OF THE PACIFIC AS EXPRESSED BY LAW**

Marieke Blondet (AgroParisTech Nancy) and Virginie Riou (EHESS)  
Welhaven, Thursday 6, 10.15-15.30

- 10.15-10.55 Virginie Riou : One country, multiple legal systems. From the Franco-British condominium of the New Hebrides to the Republic of Vanuatu: an old paradox
- 10.55-11.35 Sue Farran: The 'unnatural' legal framing of traditional knowledge and forms of cultural expression
- 11.35-12.15 Marieke Blondet: The plural legal system of American Samoa as a tool of recognition and sovereignty faced with the United States?
- 12. 15 DISCUSSION

### **SESSION ABSTRACT:**

Since the first contacts, Oceania has always been the place of both social and legal colonial experimentations. European colonisation of the Pacific Islands brought along original forms of institution such as the late triple condominium (German, American and British) in the Samoas or the shared Franco-British governance of the former New Hebrides (Vanuatu). This panel aspires to explore the innovative legal alternatives that have emerged in Oceania as a result of its colonial history and of many Pacific Islands accessing independence or strong autonomy. This process led to hybrid legal systems – often referred to as “legal pluralism” (Scaglione 1999) – resulting from a creative dialogue between, on the one hand, colonial and common laws and, on the other hand, Indigenous custom. This process has offered interesting alternatives to be considered by the wider world. The panel could explore, for instance, the new forms

of territorial appropriation or legal status of the persons that arose from this past and the encounter of endogenous and exogenous legal systems. We would also like to think about how Indigenous people of the Pacific had made the results of the European colonial projects their own in order to create innovative and hybrid contemporary legal systems. We are looking for contributions discussing some of the historical developments of the European colonies that have orientated the contemporary Pacific legal systems. We are also interested in papers that would describe today's Pacific legal systems in light of the colonial laws. Papers could address issues such as, but not exclusively, race, gender, human rights, land tenure, labour organization, the media, etc.

ABSTRACTS:

### **Virginie Riou (EHESS)**

Title: One country, multiple legal systems. From the Franco-British condominium of the New Hebrides to the Republic of Vanuatu: an old paradox

Proclaimed on the 30th July of 1980, the Republic of Vanuatu has two legal systems running in parallel: the official state system composed in theory by French Law and in practice British Law (an heritage from the odd "colonial situation" of the country) and the unofficial customary system; in the other words the so-called *Kastom* in Bislama which refers to practices, representations, expressions, knowledge etc. recognised and lived as part of their cultural heritage by Ni-Vanuatu. At the time of the independence despite its will to preserve its cultural heritage, the young State had disadvantaged the customary law and institutions for practical reasons. Subsequently, the State system takes a more prominent role than customary law which is paradoxically the most significant system in the daily life of Ni-Vanuatu. This paradox is not new. But it is, I argue, the product of an historical process which took place during the colonial period that is the Franco-British Naval Commission (1888) and later on the Franco-British condominium of the New Hebrides (1906): a "colonial situation" but not, in legal terms, a colony. Neither France, nor England had actual sovereignty over the archipelago. Therefore no one of the two Western powers had jurisdiction rights over the indigenous population of the group. On the one hand, this lack of jurisdiction preserved the continuity of customary law and institutions despite many changes through the impact of globalisation. On the other hand, it has created the present difficulties to combine the two legal systems. The aim of this contribution is thus to revisit the colonial history of Vanuatu by paying attention to processes which created the specific legal pluralism of this state.

### **Sue Farran (Northumbria University)**

Title: The 'unnatural' legal framing of traditional knowledge and forms of cultural expression

The consequences of social and economic development in Pacific Island States are far reaching and on a number of levels illustrate the head-on collision of endogamous and exogamous forces. This is particularly evident in the ways in which manifestations of cultural property and traditional knowledge are harnessed and regulated. Laws inspired by western liberal thinking and capitalist economies see intellectual effort as giving rise to property rights and their related remedies, which are premised on individualism, exclusion and the commodity value of knowledge and creativity and its physical manifestation. Traditional, indigenous perceptions are however different. While knowledge may be power it is not always exclusive, individual or commercial. Cultural property creates networks of exchange and reflects continuums between the past and the present, between people and generations, and people and places. Increasingly there is pressure internally and externally to exploit and use cultural property and traditional knowledge for development objectives. Linked to this is a real or perceived need to adopt or incorporate a range of legal measures. Many of these are reflections of the colonial past of Pacific islands and an illustration of the neo-colonial present. There are however some attempts to moderate this onslaught and to take steps to shape the regulatory framework in a way that bridges the traditional

and the modern. This paper considers the challenges facing Pacific island states seeking to articulate laws which meet the demands of modernity and satisfy the values of tradition. It looks in particular at the problems posed by unfamiliar legal concepts and the consequences of trying to bring traditional knowledge and cultural property within the framework of laws originating from very different cultural and normative backgrounds and concludes with a critical assessment of the contemporary legal picture.

### **Marieke Blondet (AgroParisTech Nancy)**

Title: The plural legal system of American Samoa as a tool of recognition and sovereignty faced with the United States?

The colonial history of American Samoa – an associated territory to the United States in the Pacific – led to the emergence of a plural legal system, placing side by side principles from the American Common Law and core elements of the Samoan custom such as the chieftainship system and the specificity of the traditional land tenure. Since the early stage of the US administration, the will of the Americans as much as of the Samoan leaders has always been to preserve these core elements of the fa’asamoa, which refers to both the Samoan culture and way of doing. Several laws were passed over times in order to do so and the American Samoa government several times refused to change the political status of the territory by adopting an Organic Act to protect the Samoan cultural particularities. Today, the law and the High Court of American Samoa both guarantee the continuation of the Samoan social system. In this paper, after having described the historical process of legal hybridization and pluralism, I will examine the possibility that the American Samoan leaders would make use of this plural legal system as a source and a way to reassert the strength of their cultural specificity and further of their sovereignty over their territory and internal affairs. We could see that as a sort of indirect Native demands for recognition faced with an always stronger Americanization and a US Congress tending to more and more intervene in the American Samoa political life. At the end the significant question of the political status of American Samoa before the United States would be address.

## **SESSION 3: THEORIES OF THE STATE IN OCEANIA**

Cato Berg (University of Bergen)  
Bull, Thursday 6th, 10.15 - 16.30

### **SESSION PROGRAMME:**

- 10.15 – 10.30 Welcome and introduction by Cato Berg
- 10.30 – 11.00 Matthew Allen and Sinclair Dinnen: Altered states in Melanesia
- 11.00 – 11.30 John Cox: The Royal Kingdom of Papala: what pseudo-states and scams can tell us about state and nation in Papua New Guinea
- 11.30 – 12.00 Jon Fraenkel: Political Economies of Pacific States
- 12.00 – 12.15 Discussion
- 12.15 – 13.15 LUNCH
- 13.15 – 13.45 Pål Hægland: You’re no good for me – music and dissent in Solomon Islands
- 13.45 – 14.15 Iati Iati: Creating a nation-state in the Pacific: the case of Samoa
- 14.15 – 14.30 BREAK
- 14.30 – 15.00 Thorgeir Kolshus: “We’re simply too independent”: Vanuatu statehood at its northern rim
- 15.00 – 15.30 Jaap Timmer: Looking like the State: Performances of a Religious Movement in Solomon Islands
- 15.30 – 16.00 Peter Lindenmann: New flags, shifting strength and safe havens. A renaissance of the Pacific as a geo- strategical arena?
- 16.00 – 16.30 DISCUSSION

## SESSION ABSTRACT:

This session seeks to assess contemporary theory of “the state” in Oceania. Given the past decades of events in this region, ranging from civil war in Solomon Islands, several coups d’etat in Fiji, social unrest in Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea, to constitutional reform in Tonga, and set against the backdrop of largely Australian based critical theory of weak states and failed states (cf. Dinnen 2001), we believe it crucial to assess what really is “the state” in this region. Does conventional theory fit across the vast ocean of seemingly similar and dissimilar political forms? Can Oceania provide novel examples against classical theory largely derived from the works of Max Weber? Is the foreseeable future of Oceania dominated by Islanders’ own attempts in critically engaging own institutions against those of NGO’s and GO’s “ideas of the state”? This is currently seen in arenas such as the Pacific Islands Forum and also in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) where Island nations more or less jointly challenge pressure from the UN, Commonwealth and particularly Australia in terms of political intervention and reform. The recent engagement of China and the renewed interest of US political interest in this region also points to the importance of extending the framework of comparison within and between island nations today. We especially invite comparisons throughout the whole region of Oceania and also the Pacific rim, to thoroughly engage in critical comparisons of contemporary state formations and state theory.

## ABSTRACTS:

### **Matthew Allen and Sinclair Dinnen (Australian National University)**

Title: Altered states in Melanesia

Paradigmatic explanations for the nature of the postcolonial state in Melanesia, and elsewhere, have tended to treat the ‘state’ as a unitary category that is opposed by or interacts with other categories such as ‘society’ and ‘culture’. Even those paradigms that emphasise interpenetration and hybridity reify dichotomies between the categories that are seen as interacting. We argue that these tendencies have been reinforced by an historiography of the state in Melanesia that has privileged the impact of the colonial experience; with ‘pre-colonial’, ‘colonial’ and ‘post-colonial’ providing the classic epochs of analysis. This has elided consideration of successive, at times subtle, projects of state alteration, each of which has left an indelible imprint upon both perceptions and realities of the contemporary state in Melanesia.

Focusing on Solomon Islands, we identify these epochal projects as direct rule, in-direct rule, institutional modernisation, developmentalism (including the rise of clientalism), structural adjustment and, most recently, interventionism (including neo-liberalism). Drawing upon recent fieldwork examining community-level dispute resolution processes and practices in several provinces, we argue that each accretion of institutional intervention can be discerned in Solomon Islanders’ perceptions and expectations of the contemporary state. This is particularly apparent in discourses surrounding the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), especially its policing component, and in local projects to enact community by-laws and constitutions to satisfy external notions of ‘legibility’. We suggest that the success of localised socio-political movements such as the Christian Fellowship Church (CFC) lies in their ability to navigate the tensions inherent in contradictory perceptions of what the state could or should be. The state is resisted at the same that it is selectively engaged; state services are supplemented with community-owned resources; some dimensions of the state are seen as legitimate and others as corrupt. We conclude by suggesting that movements such as the CFC could be productively viewed through a governance paradigm that has recently risen to prominence in the global north – network governance. However, our enthusiasm for this paradigm is tempered by our elucidation of the dangers and limitations of applying normative models that have evolved in the specific (linear) conditions of Western capitalism and state formation to contexts that are characterised by intense regulatory pluralism and divergent histories.

## **John Cox (University of Melbourne)**

Title: The Royal Kingdom of Papala: what pseudo-states and scams can tell us about state and nation in Papua New Guinea

In the late 1990s, the remarkable “fast money scheme” U-Vistract spread through Port Moresby, Bougainville and beyond. It offered its “investors” 100% returns on their money and for a while generated such a rush that it was able to pay those first in line or on the “inside track”. But as the scheme crashed, it reinvented itself as a Christian ministry stating that “only born again Christians will be paid”. As it lost the state patronage that had allowed it to grow so large, it began to critique the state, drawing on popular narratives of disillusionment and corruption. Forced to flee to Bougainville, the founder, Noah Musingku, sought an alliance with Francis Ona which took the form of crowning both as Kings of their separatist kingdoms. This story may seem to fulfil a familiar “cargo cult” or even “occult economy” narrative yet to dismiss U-Vistract as a peripheral phenomenon fails to capture how “mainstream” the scam was at its height. As anthropologists have demonstrated for pyramid scams in Eastern Europe, Ponzi schemes can come to represent the nation and many of the latent aspirations that animate ideas of state, society and market.

## **Jon Fraenkel (Victoria University of Wellington)**

Title: Political Economies of Pacific States

Discussion of ‘weak’, ‘fragile’ or ‘failed’ Pacific states regularly implies common awareness of one or several actually existent idealized strong, robust and successful state/s. Donor organizations, diplomats, and in-country reformists often propose remedies for alleged defects of Pacific states that draw on institutional models inspired by that ideal type state, almost invariably with little success. Less attention is devoted to analysing the actual emerging bases or forms of post-colonial Pacific states, or their novel linkages to the Pacific Rim periphery powers or resource-extractive companies. Post-colonial Pacific states have followed very different trajectories to those analysed in Europe (e.g. by Charles Tilly) or in Africa (e.g. by Jeffrey Herbst). Within the region, some micro-states in the eastern and northern Pacific have used external linkages to assemble strategic rent, aid or remittance-based states, as the only viable alternative to the so-called ‘subsistence state’. In western Melanesia, where the focus on international-led ‘state-building’ has been most acute, emergent enclave states have been deeply influenced by their restricted command over fiscal and monetary levers. New forms of political authority have been cultivated through a formal (as well as informal) personalization of state expenditures, leaving social welfare ministries and security services to serve mainly as providers of urban employment. This paper adopts and urges a political economy perspective as one, among several, useful vantage points from which to examine state formation in the Pacific Islands.

## **Pål Hægland (Oslo University College)**

Title: You’re no good for me – music and dissent in Solomon Islands

Ever since the first parliament of Solomon Islands came into power in 1975, politics has been a subject of controversy in this Melanesian nation. Many citizens distrust their leaders, and there has yet to be a single Prime Minister that has served his entire four-year term since 1975. Music is an important area in the lives of many Solomon Islanders, and its performers are not backing away from different social issues, like politics. Usually the songs are a critique of how the artists feel the politicians are handling their control over the country. Based on a fieldwork conducted in the fall of 2008 I will attempt to illustrate how the musicians of Honiara deal with contemporary social issues – like politics – through their arts. Although there has never been a strong tradition of political dissent in Solomons, the musicians

still manage to find ways of expressing themselves through recordings. Thematically the songs range from expressions of emotions, commentaries on issues facing modern day Solomon Islanders, as well as their takes on politics. I will therefore attempt to illustrate how these different topics join together to form a view on the modern state of Solomon Islands.

### **Iati Iati (University of Otago)**

Title: Creating a nation-state in the Pacific: the case of Samoa

It goes without saying that the nations and nation-states that constitute the Pacific islands region are colonial artifacts that are still being adapted by Pacific island societies. Introduced into the Pacific through Western imperialism and colonialism, the idea and practice of the nation and the nation-state have become mainstays of Pacific island politics. Traditional political units, such as the extended family, the village, clans and tribes have, in many ways, been superseded by the nation and the nation-state. At times, it is difficult to think of Pacific nation-states as anything but a natural part of the Pacific, despite the fact that they were introduced less than 150 years ago, and not formally adopted and adapted by Pacific island societies until about 50 years ago. This process continues today. This paper examines key factors that have contributed to the formation of one nationstate in the Pacific, Samoa. Samoa gained independence in 1962, and in doing so obtained nation-state status, the first to do so in the Pacific island region. Its history of nation-state formation, however, can be traced much further back, even to the precolonial period when Samoans and Westerners came into contact. Using a number of theoretical perspectives, including Edward Said's Orientalism and Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities, this paper critically examines a number of factors that have contributed to its formation. These include both subjective factors, such as ideas about Samoa and its relations to other Pacific island societies, and objective factors, such as the colonial processes that gave Samoa national boundaries and a national state framework. The key factors discussed in this paper are not exhaustive, but should provide important insights into the Samoa nation-state building process, and perhaps holds lessons about the same process in other parts of the Pacific.

### **Thorgeir Kolshus (University of Oslo)**

Title: "We're simply too independent": Vanuatu statehood at its northern rim

In the Banks Islands of the former British-French condominium of the New Hebrides, colonial interaction with Europeans occurred in two distinct phases and with two distinct representatives: latter-half 19century Anglican evangelisation and mid-20century French cash-cropping. The Anglican Melanesian Mission was staffed mainly by OxBridge gentlemen, while the representatives of French colonial commerce were by and large ill-tempered and under-educated New Caledonians of questionable descent. On the island of Mota, this difference, tabloidly summed up in the binary opposition English:French::gentry:hybrid, still gives direction to the interpretation of English and French policies and personalities. The different attitudes by the two colonial powers to the political processes leading to Vanuatu's independence in 1980 seemed to confirm these stereotypes. But the British eagerness to leave and the perceived failures of the Vanuatu state to make its presence felt made many Motese reconsider their impression of the French, who were willing to maintain the bonds of gift-giving also in the post-independence period. From the Mota configurations of these two national types emerge a more complex picture of colonial, postcolonial and neo-colonial experiences on an island at the periphery of a peripheral nation state.

## Jaap Timmer (Macquarie University Sydney)

Title: Looking like the State: Performances of a Religious Movement in Solomon Islands

This paper explores the possibility of understanding the character of the Melanesian state by examining the performances of a religious movement in Solomon Islands. The movement is called the Deep Sea Canoe. It is a Melanesian charismatic movement with a cosmopolitan and eclectic theology that combines elements of local tradition, evangelical Christianity, and Judaism. Reminiscent of Melanesian 'cargo cults' that built airfields for the magical planes that people believed were coming to deliver trade goods, the Deep Sea Canoe movement also uses emblems, narratives, and technologies of modern nation-states. The flag of Israel and the emblem of the State of Israel, the menorah, are widely displayed. At the same time, the movement embraces the idea of state governance and organises people in inclusive groups and committees, and emphasises democratic processes. In particular the proliferation of 'human rights', increasing judicialisation of local conflicts, and the growth of an everyday culture of legality are inspiring the movement to mimic the state. Moreover, the movement has established its own trade and banking system while the leader and prophet of the movement, Michael Maeliau, is saluted as the captain. In command of the movement, Maeliau is increasingly making the movement look like the state. The paper will examine the extent to which the experience of statemaking within the domain of this religious movement opens a window on the official state.

### SESSION 4: PACIFIC GAMBLING AS INDIGENOUS ANALYTICS

Anthony Pickles, University of St Andrews  
Amundsen, Thursday 6, 10.15 - 12.15

#### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 10.15-10.45 Mark Mosko (Australian National University). Cards on Kiriwina: Gambling and Ritual Agency in the Trobriands
- 10.45-11.15 Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi. A Loser's Game? Or social diagnostic, social good and agent provocateur?
- 11.15-11.45 Anthony Pickles (University of St Andrews): "Bom Bombed Kwin": How Two Card Games Model Contemporary Goroka
- 11.45-12.15 John Cox (University of Melbourne): Fast Money Schemes are Risky Business: Gamblers and Investors in a Papua New Guinean Ponzi Scheme
- 12.15-13.15 LUNCH
- 13.15-13.45 Geir Henning Presterudstuen, University of Western Sydney. Horseracing, gambling and the economy of bad money in contemporary Fiji

#### SESSION ABSTRACT:

For large parts of the Pacific gambling is an introduced phenomenon, one which has really caught on. It is acknowledged but largely ignored by a great majority of anthropologists of the region, early or late, frontier or otherwise. One could well imagine gambling becoming popular in societies new to it, especially coming on the back of money, wage-work and towns. Yet as gambling spread across the landscape, introduced card games particularly underwent countless local innovations in rules, procedures and etiquette. This tweaked acquisitive enterprise sat alongside efflorescing gift economies, providing a crucial point of conjunction between those who worked for money and those who did not. The place of gambling in a mixed gift and commodity economy is a provocative paradox that remains underdeveloped, but which potentially cuts to the heart of discipline-defining analyses of the gift society (Mauss 1922; Sahlins 1972; Strathern 1988). The classic response has been to assume gambling is either a

parasitic side effect of capitalism, or an egalitarian redistributive mechanism. Card games as capitalism was roundly critiqued by Melanesian anthropologists in the 1980's, to the point where its status as 'gambling' could almost be rejected. Today in an era of slot machines and mobile lotteries, National Gaming Control Boards and international gaming consortiums, and with gamblers (card players inclusive) widely derided as social pariahs; the appeal of gambling is no longer reducible to the social good. Today Pacific gambling represents a smorgasbord of increasingly complex indigenous analytic techniques which manipulate gifts and acquisitions across and within value regimes, cultural and ethical variations. This panel therefore welcomes papers focused on the relationship between gambling and other transactional forms: money, gift exchange, banking, law, Christianity etc.

#### ABSTRACTS:

#### **Mark Mosko (Australian National University)**

Title: Cards on Kiriwina: Gambling and Ritual Agency in the Trobriands

Among Trobriand men, as elsewhere in PNG, card gambling is recognized as having been adopted from Europeans (dimdins) in colonial times hand in hand with the people's growing familiarity with introduced money and commodity goods. As I have recently argued (Mosko 2012), most studies of gambling in PNG till now have concentrated on its secular aspects to the relative neglect of its ritual or magico-religious dimensions. In this paper, relying on processes intrinsic to the notion of Melanesian 'personal partibility', I describe the main varieties of card gambling practiced in the Trobriand Islands in relation to indigenous understandings of the composition and agentive capacities of persons, both living humans and ancestral baloma. Thus Trobriand gambling serves as an excellent example of the extent to which an exogenous Western practice has been effectively accommodated to preexisting cultural practices. Also, I focus on those elements of gambling behavior which have very likely facilitated its adoption by Trobrianders (and perhaps other Melanesians) as distinct from other Western practices towards which villagers have exhibited much greater resistance.

#### **Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi**

Title: A Loser's Game? Or social diagnostic, social good and agent provocateur?

Drawing upon thirty years' observations and reflections on Gende card-playing, I argue for a comprehensive appreciation of a multifaceted, creative and increasingly provocative cultural phenomenon referred to variously as kas, gambling, card-playing or as the Gende call it – depending on their mood and inclination - 'our good work', or 'the devil's work'. In early publications my focus was more on the socially productive aspects of card-playing and its role as a parallel exchange system providing a means for less wealthy players to increase their incomes and a platform for prospect-poor bachelors to publicly display their self-control and mastery in card games involving both skill and luck. In more recent years, the nexus between capitalism and egalitarian gift economy has become more fraught with danger as extreme inequality has come to Gende villages in the form of two large-scale mining projects and attendant gender, intergenerational, class and other social imbalances. While social gambling continues to be widespread, the more acquisitive and combative forms of ganging up (kampani) against the 'enemy' pilai birua disrupt the public peace and – from the point of view of mining company personnel – are a scourge as mine workers and their families (most often their wives) are challenged to unending games of cards, sometimes late into the night, making it difficult for workers to do their day jobs and wives to attend to their gardens and children. Public discourse, however, suggests a more subtle aspect of competitive card-playing, namely a provocative edge with which the have-nots (or Gende 99%) challenge the morals of the haves (mine-workers, elites and absentee landowners) with their own more egalitarian ethics. In a dust-up over a high-stakes game in Yandera village, what appeared to be a critique about card-playing as a 'loser's game' turns out to have been a public shaming of the alleged social indifference

of young mine workers who were ganging up in turn on a few older card players. Having ostentatiously tossed the young players' winnings down an outhouse hole as 'the devil's earnings', one of the older card players then asked the young workers who they thought their fathers were and who would be caring for them when the mining company left. Such discourse suggests there is more to card-playing than surface analysis suggests just as there has always been more to so-called traditional 'gift-economy' practices.

### **Anthony Pickles (University of St Andrews)**

Title: "Bom Bombed Kwin": How Two Card Games Model Contemporary Goroka

The early Twentieth Century saw the card game laki spreading across Papua New Guinea, hitting Goroka in the 1950's. The rules were simple, though regional variations proved revealing, generating new games in turn while being supplemented by waves of invention from elsewhere. In 2009, when I arrived in Goroka, I recorded 24 card games, each with a lineage traceable to this apical ancestor. Here I describe the two games that dominate the scene today: kwin ('queen') and bom ('bomb'). Their rules are complex, and their characters contrasted: one is thought slow, the other fast; one is longstanding, the other a craze; one high stakes, one low stakes; one for the old, one for the young; and one is more "Melanesian", one irresponsible. This paper analyses the indigenous history of kwin and bom, their rules, and the way they relate to each other through Gorokan eyes. While their moral status is ambivalent, each are responsive media allowing players to engage others across kinship and affinal boundaries; test and act upon their efficacy; detect the disruptive negative thoughts of others; and cultivate the thoughts they see as necessary to success. I argue kwin and bom are among a repertoire of indigenous analytics used by people at different life-stages; they model and enact Goroka because they propagate the types of thought they cater to, and fall victim to that thought in turn, so for example: fast games make fast thoughts that get bored with the game and invent others to take their place.

### **John Cox (University of Melbourne)**

Title: Fast Money Schemes are Risky Business: Gamblers and Investors in a Papua New Guinean Ponzi Scheme

Gambling and investment have a long shared history, with many convergences and many moments where each defines the other as its opposite. In the Pacific, particularly among evangelicals, gambling is often understood as wasteful entertainment and even as an irresponsible vice while investment is seen as a productive activity for both individuals and society at large. These moral concerns reflect gendered discourses of proprietorship of the self, of money and of risk. The tagline above, "Fast Money Schemes are Risky Business", is taken from warnings put out by the Bank of Papua New Guinea in its efforts to alert the public to the dangers of losing their money in the fast money schemes (Ponzi scams) that have proliferated in PNG over the last fifteen years. In this paper, I present research drawn from fieldwork with middle class investors in fast money schemes. They present a range of modern dispositions towards gambling, investment and risk that intersect with Christian transformations of moral personhood and disillusionment with the project of national development.

### **Geir Henning Presterudstuen (University of Western Sydney)**

Title: Horseracing, gambling and the economy of bad money in contemporary Fiji

Since emerging in Fiji in 1964, betting on Australian horseracing has become an increasingly common pastime for Fijian men. Being a recently introduced practice, this type of gambling is associated with modern, urban social settings and ideologically situated outside the traditional Fijian paradigm. As an economic activity it consequently faces widespread condemnation, with money circulated through

the betting shops often being labelled 'bad' or 'dirty' money. Paradoxically, this negative valuation of gambling also appears to be one of the most alluring aspects of it. As a social arena, the betting shops provide a social space in which Fijian men interact on the basis of overt egalitarianism, disorder and rowdiness, principles and behavioural patterns largely discouraged within the traditional boundaries of the village. Similarly, as an economic activity gambling is unique as money generated from these pursuits is unsuitable for the official village economy and thus become available to spend freely on consumer goods, namely alcohol, tobacco or take-away food, otherwise largely inaccessible. Gambling on horse racing is consequently gaining increasing social importance for Fijian men who wish to negate the social constraints of traditional social systems and partake in social and economic activities governed by individual desires and consumption rather than communalism. While it has largely been ignored by anthropologists, this paper proposes that this practice is a salient point of study to understand the complex social dynamics that emerges at the interface of notions of tradition and modernity in Fiji.

## SESSION 5: OUR WEB OF ISLANDS – (RE) ARTICULATING PACIFIC VALUES ONLINE

Sina Emde (Free University of Berlin) and Agnes Brandt (Ludwig-Maximilians-University)  
Amundsen, Thursday 6, 14.00 – 16.45

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

14.00 - 14.15 Introduction by Sina Emde and Agnes Brandt

14.15 - 14.45 Sina Emde: From race to racism in cyberspace? - debating the Fiji coup 2000 online

14.45 - 15.15 Jorun Bræck Ramstad: Broadcasting indigeneity: Maori Television on ethnic relations

15.15 - 15.30 BREAK

15.30 – 16.00 Agnes Brandt: Keeping in touch: friendship and the internet

16.00 – 16.30 Marianne Franklin: The Online Lives of Others: New 'New Media' & Postcolonial  
Diasporas

16.30 – 16.45 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

“There is a world of difference viewing the Pacific as islands in the far sea and as sea of islands. The first emphasizes dry surfaces in a vast ocean far from the centers of power ... The second is a more holistic approach in which things are seen in the totality of their relationships”, wrote Epeli Hau’ofa in 1993 in his seminal essay ‘Our sea of islands’. Highlighting the mobility and historical interconnectedness of Pacific Islanders in their sea of islands he spoke against the (neo)colonial belittlement that people in the Pacific have experienced through outsiders until today. In his essay he already highlighted the role of modern telecommunication for people’s connections across islands and places in the modern Pacific. Today these possibilities are even more enhanced through the means of the World Wide Web and Internet communication. Since the mid 1990s websites, mailing lists, discussion forums and more recently twitter and facebook have connected Pacific Island Diasporas and their homelands. As research has shown Pacific Islanders are (re)articulating and negotiating Pacific values and identities online (see Franklin 2004, Lee 2003). This entails a wide range of virtual forms from discussions of everyday lives across the Pacific, to transnational traversals, mailing lists, blogs and discussion forums on recent political, social and economic issues in the region. These practices constitute transnational public cyberspheres where narratives and discourses of history, culture, tradition, democracy and identity are created. Web postings debate socio-political issues, rearticulate values and norms and construct transnational communities. These non-embodied communication processes are not necessarily disconnected from offline lived lives, histories, institutions, rituals and societal processes. Neither are they simply about information but have to be seen as emotion-laden and creative spaces. Through engagement in online and offline communities and networks Pacific Islanders (re)articulate practices and experiences of intra- and inter-subjectivities in-between and across multiple places, cultures, nations, and ethnicities. The World

Wide Web thus becomes a powerful means of connecting and empowering Pacific Islanders across their ocean. This session invites contributions that explore these processes within the following themes:

- Diaspora, transnationalism and homeland
- Self/group identities
- Inter- and intra-subjectivities
- Conflict and conflict resolution
- Political imaginaries and practices
- Insecurities (e.g. climate change, security issues, violence)

ABSTRACTS:

### **Sina Emde (Free University Berlin)**

Title: From race to racism in cyberspace? – debating the Fiji coup 2000 online

During Fiji's political crisis in 2000 that arose from an attempted ethno-nationalist coup and the hostage-taking of the government and ended in an interim administration backed by the Fijian military, nation and nation-state were not only the object of discussion and imagination of residents and citizens in Fiji. Fiji citizens in the diaspora also discussed the national events and articulated their positions through computer-mediated communication (CMC). In this paper I look at these online debates related to the political crisis in Fiji in 2000 and compare them to offline discourses in Suva, the Fijian capital, at that time. I argue that online and offline communities may have been very different, but online and offline articulations were nevertheless connected. I suggest that the forums on the internet reveal much underlying aggression and racism that exist between the two main ethnic communities in Fiji, but are not voiced in the real world because that could potentially have violent consequences. In cyberspace, unlike in the offline reality of the Fijian nation-state at that time, indigenous Fijian notions of political hierarchy and paramountcy were publicly and pervasively challenged by voices of equality and multicultural citizenship. This provoked a more democratic, but also a more polarised debate than that which took place in the offline context.

### **Jorun Bræck Ramstad (University of Tromsø)**

Title: Broadcasting indigeneity: Maori Television on ethnic relations

It is widely acknowledged that relations between media, culture and society are complex empirical matters, both 'here' and 'there'. Indigenous peoples, such as the Maori of Aotearoa New Zealand, have for many years opposed biased representations of indigenous realities by the dominant media. This fact, among many things, aroused a dream among Maori working in the media industry and Maori ethnopoliticians of gaining more control over the public images that were employed in portrayals of Maori and/or reports about cross-cultural encounters of sort. In the context of what is often termed postcolonial nation-making, a separate Maori television channel, Maori Television, was opened in 2004 under the preamble to a) promote good ethnic relations and b) to articulate (alternative to mainstream) images of indigeneity, Maoridom and nationhood from Maori perspectives to a broad viewing audience. Based on empirical examples, the paper will examine the 'double vision' that Maori Television workers appropriate in their attempts to accomplish their 'double mission', i.e. one, to broadcast indigeneity and, two, to suggest agenda for social-, political- and economic transformations in overall society. The latter task can be looked upon as a token of the legacy of biculturalism, thus honoring the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi that was meant to regulate indigenous Maori and Crown (Pakeha) 'partnership' in processes of nation-making. As seen, technological innovations can also assist the global re-formulation of 'indigenous issues' – across nations and oceans – for the benefit of 'everyone'.

## **Agnes Brandt (Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Germany)**

Title: Keeping in touch: friendship and the internet

Written and verbal communication has always been an important part of maintaining social relations across distance - in the Pacific and in other parts of the world. Without denying the mobility and historical connectedness of Pacific peoples, modern telecommunication in general, and the internet in particular, have diversified and accelerated the ways in which individuals and groups keep in touch with their significant others. While these others span different social relations (“friends”, “family”, “lovers”, “acquaintances”, “neighbours”, “work relations”, “contacts”, etc.), the notion of friendship has become a particularly often cited formula to subsume a vast range of ties spanning symmetrical and non-symmetrical, private and not-so-private relations. This has raised important questions about the nature and the place of the internet in people’s social worlds and about the values and practices attached to the notion of friendship. What role does the internet play in the process of keeping in touch in the lives of Pacific actors? What does this mean for the ways in which they experience themselves and their significant others? And what are the implications for their notion(s) of friendship and the associated values? This “work-in-progress” paper raises some of the implications of these questions. It draws on material collected as part of my previous research on friendship in Aotearoa New Zealand and connects them with some insights stemming from an emerging project on trans-pacific indigenous connections.

## **Marianne Franklin (University of London)**

Title: The Online Lives of Others: New ‘New Media’ & Postcolonial Diasporas

This paper develops explorations of the impact of the Internet in general, and web-based products and services in particular on Pacific Island societies and their diasporas; Tonga and Samoa mainly. Based on a chapter in *Digital Dilemmas: Power, Resistance and the Internet* (OUP 2013), the paper looks at the interplay between so-called older and newer media generations in two ways: (1) arguing that the inroads made by “new” media’s social networking sites and micro-blogs have not supplanted ‘older’ forms (discussion forums, websites, blogs). Nor has either meant the demise of conventional Pacific media outlets. All co-exist in a volatile and globally interconnected online/offline media ecosystem. (2) Despite burgeoning work on the “Web 2.0” uptake worldwide, including mobile phones, ‘traditional’ web-accessed discussion spaces show evidence that longstanding concerns still matter for Pacific Island communities; e.g. living between/with two or more cultures, sex-gender roles, religion, politics, living standards. The paper concludes by considering these issues in the context of “ICT for Development” and Foreign Aid discourses in the Pacific where the Internet and its social media remain unevenly distributed, politically and economically contested despite increases in access and use. Undergirding these broader changes in the Internet’s design, access, and use, in the postcolonial Pacific a deeper tension undercuts these attempts to bridge the “digital divide” between Global North and South. As incumbent powers seek to tightly control “old media” outlets and messages in the face of longstanding criticism at home and abroad all protagonists find themselves confronted by the mixed blessings of a double generational shift; namely the latest opportunities for freedom of expression and information online that the “Google Generations” of the Pacific Islands and their children now take for granted.

## SESSION 6: THE GENDERED POWER OF THE CHURCH IN MELANESIA

Annelin Eriksen (University of Bergen)  
Room 711, Thursday 6, 10.15 - 16.15

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 10.15-10.30 Welcome and introduction by Annelin Eriksen  
10.30-11.00 Alice Servy: Church, gender and sexual health in Port-Vila: A comparative approach to SDA and Presbyterian churches' sexual health programs in Seaside Tongoa area.  
11.00-11.30 Xandra Miguel Lorenzo: The Power of the Sisters: Performing Personhood and New Forms of Relatedness in Solomon Islands.  
11.30-12.00 H el ene Nicola: The Christian moral code of law as a new leadership. The case of Lifu, New-Caledonia (1842-1864)  
12.00-13.00 LUNCH  
13.00-13.30 John Barker: The Mothers Union Goes on Strike: Gender Politics in a Papua New Guinea Village Church  
13.30-14.00 Craig Lind: Henry has arisen: gender and hierarchy in Vanuatu's Anglican Church  
14.00-14.30 Richard Eves: Governing men's conduct: New forms of masculinity in Pentecostalism in New Ireland  
14.30-14.45 BREAK  
14.45-15.15 Pascale Bonnem ere: Consequences of the presence of Churches on gender relations in the Wonenara valley (Eastern Highlands Province, PNG).  
15.15-15.45 Annelin Eriksen: Caring for the Christian nation: Gender and Christian nationalism in Vanuatu  
15.45-16.15 Discussant: Ruy Blanes

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

Although the topic of Christianity is to some extent novel as a main focus in anthropological analysis generally (Robbins 2007) and from the region in particular, Christianity has a long history in Melanesia (Barker 1990). The church, whether it is a colonial mission church, an independent church or a new Pentecostal church, is of fundamental importance for social organization on the village level as well as for concepts of the nation and the state. This session calls for papers that will enhance our understanding of the gendered dynamics of churches in the Pacific. There has been an increasing focus the last couple of years on how Christianity challenges established concepts of personhood (Robbins 2004), on the economic aspects of this process (McDougall 2009), on the connection between ideas about money, nation and Christian apocalypticism (Eves 2003), of the connection between Christianity and politics (McDougall and Tomlinson forthcoming). These are all important contributions to an understanding of how Christianity shapes new formations of personhood, ideas of nationhood and state forms. However, we have to a lesser degree included the gendered dynamics of these processes in our analysis. This session encourages papers that both look at the concrete way in which gender relations affect church organization; how gendered roles and behavior in church enhance or challenge established gender relations. We also want to encourage a focus on how a gendered Christian discourse sets the premises for ideas of what a Christian community is, both at the level of single churches and at the level of the nation. In other words; we encourage a focus on ideas of what "the social" is in a Christian Melanesian world. How are ideas of nationhood, unity, and "new life" connected to fundamental constructions of gendered ideals within a Christian universe? For instance; to what extent are Christian gendered discourses connected to ideas of social order, of a morally good way of organizing social relations, of leadership and government. Might the idea of nationhood for instance be related to certain ideas of femininity; of fertility, motherhood, caring and nurturing, within a Christian cosmology?

## ABSTRACTS:

### **Alice Servy (CREDO Marseille, France)**

Title: Church, gender and sexual health in Port-Vila : A comparative approach of SDA and Presbyterian churches' sexual health programs in Seaside Tongoa area.

Since their arrival in the Melanesian archipelago of Vanuatu in the 19<sup>e</sup> century, Churches have been closely associated with health. In effect, the first missionaries were also biomedical healers or at least drug distributors. Nowadays, Churches sustain a prominent place in the maintenance of health including sexual health thanks their programs and facilities. All debates about health are suffused with morality. But all the forty-nine Christian Churches and Ministries present in Port-Vila (Eriksen and Andrew 2010) do not share exactly the same representations of what it is to be a righteous person and do not promote the same healthy practices. The Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Church is well known for its health code and numerous dietary restrictions, whereas the Presbyterian Church is more permissive. Both SDA Church and Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu have healing practices and health promotion programs including about Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI) and family planning awareness. But health activities and material supports of the SDA Church seem more western centric than the Presbyterian ones due to its international hierarchical system while the Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu has been independent since 1948. Even in Port-Vila, customary medicine sustains a prominent place in healing processes and women play an important role as divins, masseurs or kastom doctors. But what is the position of women as healers and health promoters in the SDA Church and the Presbyterian Church? In this paper I will explore the conceptions of what it is to be a righteous person in SDA and Presbyterian Churches from data collected in the informal settlement of Port-Vila named Seaside Tongoa where, in June 2012, around fifty members of this mainly Presbyterian community joined the SDA Church. I will also compare women's roles in their respective healing activities and health promotion programs, with a focus on sexual health programs because the archipelago records an increasing number of "prema-ture" and unwanted pregnancies and cases of STIS, revealing a high rate of unprotected intercourse. Moreover, whereas the government officially declares only five cases of HIV in the country, detection procedures are rarely put in place, and the presence of HIV among the population of Vanuatu is most probably dramatically underestimated.

### **Xandra Miguel Lorenzo (London School of Economics)**

Title: The Power of the Sisters: Performing Personhood and New Forms of Relatedness in Solomon Islands.

In the past few years the two Sisterhoods of the Anglican Church of Melanesia – the Sisters of the Church and the Sisters of Melanesia – have made important contributions to national policies and reports concerning violence against women, gender equality, and family health and safety in Solomon Islands. Through their work in founding a shelter for abused women and children and their participation in the stakeholder's national network advocating against violence against women and children, the Sisterhoods have brought national and international attention to the health problem of domestic violence in the Solomons. This is the result of the Sisterhoods' religious Ministry of caring for families. In this paper I argue the Sisters have been able to make a significant impact on the Solomon Islands national politics by performing a particular personhood and engaging in new forms of relatedness that are enabled by the Anglican Church of Melanesia. These have allowed them to "speak out" about female experiences of violence and to negotiate new forms of female agency within the church. In order to do this, this I examine the Sisters relations with their families of origin, the forms of relatedness created by joining the Sisterhoods, the Sisters' views on marital life, and the Sisters special status as single women working for the church.

## **Hélène Nicola (CREDO, Marseille)**

Title: The Christian moral code of law as a new leadership. The case of Lifu, New-Caledonia (1842-1864)

This paper wishes to examine the process of the Christianization in Lifu, one of the Loyalty Island of New-Caledonia, during its twenty first years, with a major focus on the gender policy. Indeed, as M. Jolly and M. Macintyre already demonstrated, converting people was often tied with civilizing, which implied major changes in the local gender system (Jolly and Macintyre 1989). The Melanesian Island of Lifu is a typical case of how the conversion, considered as a « success » by the two main churches, the L.M.S. and the « Pères Maristes » missions, introduced at the same time new modes of governance as well as new gendered relations. As G. Malogne-Fer demonstrated about Tahiti, the transformations of the gender system was the proof of a « deep and true conversion » (Malogne-Fer 2007). From 1842 to 1864, missionaries of the L.M.S. introduced a new way of settlement (different clans began to live together in villages around the church), new politics (the main chief dictated a code of laws focusing on the moral attitude of his people, with a Christian police - the « blue men »), new forms of socialisation (in the single-sex schools) and new ways of being a family (both women's and men's houses were prohibited and new conjugal relations were established). I will try to demonstrate how the new moral code of the gendered relations was a new kind of governance of the Anga Joxu (big chiefs) on their subjects, a « bio-political » (Foucault, 1975, 2004) way of power.

## **John Barker (University of British Columbia)**

Title: The Mothers Union Goes on Strike: Gender Politics in a Papua New Guinea Village Church

Since its founding in 1902, the Anglican church in the Maisin village of Uiaku in Oro Province has provided a key point of reference for identity, in active and creative tension with customary practices and (since 1975) citizenship. Within this triangle of points of reference, Anglo-Catholicism in general and the banning of a female priesthood in particular works to reinforce formal male dominance within the village and, by extension, in Maisin notions of political representation to the nation. Yet as elsewhere in Melanesia, the local church in practice is very much dominated by women and has thus served as a space that challenges and periodically undermines the political dominance of men. On occasion the challenge has been direct; more often, it takes the form of a counter-discourse that draws upon elements of indigenous tradition and citizenship that recognize the fundamental power of women. This paper presents a case study of the role of gender politics within and without the village church in Uiaku and its bearing upon local conceptions of tradition, leadership, citizenship and civil society.

## **Craig Lind (University of St Andrews)**

Title: Henry has arisen: gender and hierarchy in Vanuatu's Anglican Church

In 2003, after a life spent with criminal gangs, Henry Crowby followed his mother's lead becoming a member of the Anglican Church. In time, he rose to a position of authority which lead him to his matri-lateral ties again. This time he did so to elicit support from his Paama Island kin, thus inflating the scale of his influence during his public inauguration. In return Henry promised to spread the name of Paama so that the island would become synonymous with Anglicanism in the region – directly, Henry promised to take over the diocese in the name of Paama. The events present interesting questions and insights regarding how ni-Vanuatu enable and perceive varying expressions of 'male hierarchy', 'sociality' and 'territoriality', made possible by drawing on female relationalities. For example, since his inauguration Henry has embarked on an evangelical process of 'church planting' and, in June 2012, he publicly encouraged Vanuatu's diverse urban populations to imagine themselves under the singularising presence of 'God' – the appeal blurs evangelical aspirations for inclusive forms with Vanuatu's national agenda.

Beginning from Henry's matrilateral associations with church and kin, this paper considers the place of gender in understanding emergent expressions of sociality perceived through engagements with Christianity in Vanuatu.

**Richard Eves (Australian National University)**

Title: Governing men's conduct: New forms of masculinity in Pentecostalism in New Ireland.

Historically, the churches in Papua New Guinea have been concerned with what today is termed gender. Their concern was to govern and reform the conduct of both men and women, thus challenging the existing forms of femininity and masculinity. This has continued from the first missionaries who arrived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to the present day. This paper examines the way in which the Pentecostalist church of the Lelet endeavours to reform gender, particularly masculinity, by promoting alternative ways of being a man that involve different attitudes towards women. In seeking to understand the Pentecostal process of reforming men, in addition to contemporary theorising on masculinity, I take my cue from Michel Foucault's work on governmentality.

**Pascale Bonnemère (Aix-Marseille Université, CNRS, CREDO)**

Title: Consequences of the presence of Churches on gender relations in the Wonenara valley (Eastern Highlands Province, PNG).

Since 1951, date of the First contact with the Baruya, Wonenara valley (in Eastern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea), now inhabited by 2,000 people divided into some ten villages, has twice been a pioneering frontline for Protestant missions. First in the 1960s, when several Lutheran and SDA pastors moved in, and the second time at the turn of the 2000s, when three « New Evangelical Churches » (namely the Evangelical Brotherhood Church, the Church of Christ and Revival) settled in the valley, arriving after a thirty-years-long period during which several events took place (move by the Lutheran mission to the other main Baruya valley, armed conflicts with neighbors, etc.) that kept the inhabitants of Wonenara valley from abandoning initiations and replacing them with Christian rituals. During their services or in discussions, the pastors of these five churches express ideas about practices they associate with a past world (especially male and female initiations), or about the place of women in daily life and in church. The observation of church services, too, reveals a way of dividing space and organizing tasks between men and women that recalls past ways but also and importantly a possibility of women speaking in public that was hitherto unknown. Moreover, the pastors' origins (Baruya or non Baruya) apparently play a role in the way they talk about women during their services, whatever their Church may say. Based on this ethnography of church services and discourses, the present communication addresses the question of change in gender relations. In this society that is still a pioneering frontline of Christianity (through the medium of New evangelical churches) and in which some people resist changing their way of life, it is worth asking whether or not the conditions for such a change actually exist.

**Annelin Eriksen (University of Bergen)**

Title: Caring for the Christian nation: Gender and Christian nationalism in Vanuatu

This paper explores the connection between rhetoric of the nation and values of Christian motherhood and nurturing. The first part of the paper is an analysis of the changing nature of femininity and ideas of motherhood as Ambrym migrants move to the capital of Port Vila. I show how ideas of domesticity and of stillness has become central for a new idea of what a moral woman in town is. The second part of the paper is an experimental effort at comparing these new values of femininity to conceptualizations of the Christian nation.

## SESSION 7: (AD)DRESSING THE NATIVE: MISSIONARY MATERIAL INTERVENTION, ISLANDER APPROPRIATION AND CREATIVITY

Organizers: Grant Mc Call (University of Sydney) and Anna Paini (Università di Verona)  
Room 706, Thursday 6, 10.15 - 16.00

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 10.15-10.45 Anna Paini: Clothing as a significant space for change and innovation: Kanak women's response to Christian remoulding of daily local life, Lifou (Loyalty Islands)
- 10.45-11.15 Fanny Wonu Veys: "It pleases me as much as the more flaring and more costly habiliments of the 'great ones' of more civilised parts of the earth" – Missionary influence on backcloth production and use in Tonga
- 11.15-11.45 Elena Franchi - Stefano Girola: Missionized Indigenous Peoples in Eighteenth century Northern Australia
- 11.45-12.15 Grant McCall: Missions and the Chilean Navy: Religious, civil and proper clothing on Rapanui
- 12.15-13.15 LUNCH
- 13.15-13.45 Elisabetta Gnechi Ruscone & Jan Hasselberg: Ad-dressing and de-vesting the bodies: changing practices in body adornment, coastal Oro Province, Papua New Guinea
- 13.45-14.15 Patrick Glass: Sewa and the Rock: Traditional Beliefs, Habitus, Practice, and Christianity on Normanby Island.
- 14.15-14.45 Andrea Seelenfreund: Material exchanges and clothing in Rapa Nui at first contact
- 14.45-15.00 BREAK
- 15.00-15.30 Deborah Pope: Clothing and the "civilising mission" on Rurutu, French Polynesia: The agency of missionary wives
- 15.30-16.00 DISCUSSION

Discussants: Grant Mc Call and Anna Paini

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

European missionaries came to the Pacific Islands to save souls. Along with Church liturgies and stories, those "God's Gentlemen" and their wives as well as their Catholic counterparts sought other changes in everyday behaviour and values, such as house construction, school attendance and clothing. Missionaries had very clear ideas about how "their natives", both women and men of all ages, should be ad(dressed). So, missionary histories have also been histories of material transformations that have yielded complex, ambiguous intersections of resistance, appropriation and creativity by Islanders. We propose that re-localized cultural forms, linking values, materials and images, occupy a central place in the lives of Pacific Islanders and that amongst these culturally significant practices, dressing should take centre stage in this session. We invite colleagues to explore missionary pasts and the power of Pacific Islander presents; how Pasifikans were required to conform to missionary demands of daily life concerning especially transformations in the area of dressing. These values, materials and images became culturally significant objects where elements of agency, continuity and transformation often coexisted in manifold ways remaining today at the core of local power, practice and cultural ownership claims. We welcome also contributions addressing the dressing through visual material as revelatory to complement and question the textual record.

## ABSTRACTS:

### **Part One**

Chair: Grant Mc Call

#### **Anna Paini (Università di Verona)**

Title: Clothing as a Significant Space for Change and Innovation: Kanak Women's Response to Christian Remoulding of Daily Local Life, Lifou (Loyalty Islands)

In the second half of the XIX century the determined efforts of the British London Missionary Society and of the French Marists to gain Lifouans' loyalty to their respective missions, fostered a strong local sense of inclusion/exclusion to one of the two churches, both still very alive. And yet both groups of missionaries shared similar convictions about the necessity to intervene in Kanak daily life. An area which has fostered Kanak women's response to missionary imposition and in which creativity has taken different and innovative forms through time is clothing. It has assumed a dense meaning, becoming one of the cultural arenas in which women express their specificity, allowing them to mediate between the inside and the outside worlds, at different levels. Clothing, in particular the robe mission, continues to serve as a medium through which to counter these new imposed boundaries by stressing the local as well as the national levels, at the same time accommodating outside elements. Through ethnographic and archival materials the paper addresses these issues and the shifts that today make the robe mission an intergenerational interisland interconfessional cultural object.

#### **Fanny Wonu Veys (Museum Volkenkunde – National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden)**

Title: "It pleases me as much as the more flaring and more costly habiliments of the 'great ones' of more civilised parts of the earth" – Missionary influence on barkcloth production and use in Tonga

Formal dress in contemporary Tonga, consisting of a layering of Western and Tongan-style clothing, fosters a way of being in the world. From the early 1820s onwards, Methodist, Catholic and Anglican missionaries have played a crucial role in introducing European dress, while at the same time contributing both consciously and unconsciously to the perpetuation of barkcloth production and use. Using evidence from missionary diaries, ethnographic photographs, documented barkcloth pieces and 21st century fieldwork, I will argue that Tongans over the past 200 years have taken up barkcloth dress as a way of strategically expressing Tongan Christian values and negotiating their way in a globalizing world.

#### **Elena Franchi (Università degli Studi di Trento) and Stefano Girola (University of Queensland)**

Title: Missionized Indigenous Peoples in Eighteenth Century Northern Australia

The Cobourg Peninsula (Port Essington, Northern Territory) was, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a paradigmatic example of how missionary activities have been appropriated creatively by Indigenous peoples as part of their Indigenous identity and practice. There are interesting documents which support this view: the writings of Don Angelo Confalonieri, i.e. his letters, preserved in the Propaganda Fide Archives in the Vatican City, and two drafts of a bilingual themed phrasebook in a local indigenous language and English. Confalonieri was born in Riva del Garda in 1813, in what was then the southern part of Austrian Tyrol, and was a Catholic missionary in the Cobourg peninsula from 1846 to 1848, where he died. We will propose a historical and anthropological analysis of these documents and of the information they contain regarding the changes which occurred in the material culture and the way of life of the Indigenous peoples he encountered. The experience of Confalonieri as reflected in the phrasebooks and letters resonates strongly with present-day cross-cultural experiences. As examples of this, he was able to acquire "religious clothes" for the "povera gente" (letter of a missionary of Kaltern

(BZ) June 1850) and it is likely that he traded Indigenous clothes and ornaments (pearls, and so on) for boiled rice and tobacco (phrasebook; Sweatman).

## **Part Two**

Chair: Anna Paini

### **Grant Mc Call (University of Sydney)**

Title: Missions and the Chilean Navy: Religious, civil and proper clothing on Rapanui

The 19th century Catholic missionaries to Rapanui came both from French Polynesia and Chile, bringing with them ideas about how people ought to dress. As part of the conversion, people were taught the desirability of proper clothing, comportment and other elements of European and, later, South American of what Norbert Elias has called The civilizing process. The missionaries and other actors brought not only religious conversion, but also a way of life, based on their countries of origin. From 1862 to 1888, the influence was French and coming from French Polynesia. With the imposition of Chilean authority in 1888 and the demolition of indigenous government, the civilisers became Chilean. As Rapanui was forcibly isolated from its Polynesian neighbors and kept closed to other influences, it was the annual visit of Chilean Naval ships that provided what constitutes proper dress for the Islanders: different civilisers lead to different process, resulting in different clothing.

### **Elisabetta Gnechi Ruscone (Università Milano Bicocca) and Jan Hasselberg (freelance writer, Bergen)**

Title: Ad-dressing and de-vesting the bodies: changing practices in body adornment, coastal Oro Province, Papua New Guinea

This paper is based on fieldwork among the Korafe of Tufi district (Oro Province, PNG) in the 1980's, on photographs taken by Jan Hasselberg in the 2010 and on his extensive research into historical photographs taken in the area. It concerns the changing practices of clothing and body adornment since early colonial times and today, taking in consideration the practices linked to different occasions. It appears that Anglican missionaries in this area were not overtly preoccupied with changing the natives' dress style, and photographs of the colonial period, up to the Second World War show Korafe and Maisin wearing 'traditional' style clothing and adornments. By the 1980's however everyday dress had definitely changed, western t-shirts, skirts and shorts being everyday attire, with tapa skirts and loincloths being reserved for ceremonial and feast occasions. It is unclear however if this change can be attributed to mission pressure or to a more general drive to modernization which included an interest for western style schooling, business, etc., and associated to the assumption of a new identity which included a very strong Anglican Christian ethos, but also a perception of belonging to a wider social world. In this context we are interested in investigating the process that seems to run parallel to the adoption of western-style clothing, that is, the de-vesting the body of a whole range of other items of adornment, most notably those tied to exclusive clan identity. While some such adornments have been for some time reserved for feasts and dances, organised on different sorts of occasion, the more recent development of local tourist activities has created yet another set of occasions for decorating the body in explicitly 'traditional' style. The practice of tattooing the faces of girls at puberty is also considered, as it is strongly associated to this area and attracts much attention by outsiders, yet in some villages now most girls choose not to be tattooed.

### **Patrick Glass (Independent Scholar)**

Title: Sewa and the Rock: Traditional Beliefs, Habitus, Practice, and Christianity on Normanby Island.

'Why didn't the Dimdins (Whitemen) sort out their religion (Christianity) before they came to convert us...?' (Informant, Calvados Islands, 1990). In Sewa Bay, there are three forms of Christianity practised within a few hundred yards of each other. My paper will address these differences and their interesting histories - and their relevance to how the people think and behave today. Most Sewa are United Church (ex-Methodists) and they consider themselves the most authentic Sewa, the guardians of traditional Eyagu (Sewa) ways and identity. The Roman Catholics are less traditional and largely live at the mouth of Sewa Bay. The Seventh Day Adventists (SDAs) are a significant, but small minority, and live in one village in the south eastern corner of Sewa Bay. They have rejected Sewa traditions and have, and do, suffer persecution for this. Their village high in the mountains was burnt down by United Churchmen - and they have found refuge in the corner of Sewa Bay. Central to traditional beliefs is what happens after death. All Sewa Churches, and most churches on Normanby and beyond, face Bwebweso, the Mountain of the Spirits of the Dead. Death rites are at the heart of traditional Eyagu life - and so it is with the United Church Sewa. How this is manifest in symbols, dress, and material culture, will be examined; also 'skin' and 'born again' United Christians; the yearning for solid churches - churches which do not fall down and have to be constantly re-built; the perception that the Catholic Church don't think Papuans are worthy to be priests; and the organisation of a parish with a permanently 'absentee priest'.

### **Part three**

Chair: Grant McCall

### **Andrea Seelenfreund (Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Santiago)**

Title: Material exchanges and clothing in Rapa Nui at first contact

This paper examines some of the information concerning cloth and clothing on Rapa Nui as disclosed in the travel logs of the voyages to the island by Roggeveen, Gonzalez and Cook. Through a deconstructive exercise I wish to analyze some aspects of the material exchanges between the Rapa Nui peoples and Europeans which were crucial from the first moments, particularly issues concerning textile and clothing in order to understand their role within Rapanui culture. I will consider the context of social organization and beliefs in which textiles, particularly tapa and European cloth were given and received at the time of these encounters, and in which ways European textiles and clothing in modern day Rapa Nui maintain some of the symbolic associations with the earliest contact period. This analysis of an aspect of material culture from the perspective of both sides of the isle may help us understand or catch a glimpse of what Rapanui people thought when they first encountered Europeans, an exercise into indigenous insights that has rarely been attempted for this island.

### **Deborah Pope (CREDO, Marseille)**

Title: Clothing and the "civilising mission" on Rurutu, French Polynesia: The agency of missionary wives

Rurutu has a long experience of missions taking as a "civilising mission" in French Polynesia. I explore the traces there are today of the early missionary wife's labours in which dress seems to have played an important part, as evident in my fieldwork and found in archive research. The traces of LMS missionary wives in modern Rurutu are discussed on the basis of recent fieldwork.

## SESSION 8: CONSULTANT ANTHROPOLOGY AS AN ART OF GOVERNMENT

Stuart Kirsch (University of Michigan) and Andrew Lattas (University of Bergen)  
Forskjønnsen, Thursday 6, 10.00 - 16.30

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

10.00 – 10.15	Welcome and introduction by Andrew Lattas and Stuart Kirsch
10.15 – 10.45	Andrew Lattas: Knowledge, Power and the anthropology of consultancy
10.45 – 11.15	Anthony Redmond: The confluence of academic and applied anthropology in native title claim research in Australia.
11.15 – 11.30	DISCUSSION
11.30 – 12.00	Guido Carlo Pigliasco: A Tortuous Path: Cultural Heritage Policy Talk in Fiji
12.00 – 12.15	DISCUSSION
12.15 - 13.15	LUNCH
13.15 – 13.45	Heather Young-Leslie: Capacity Building, Community Consultations and Capillary Relations as Arts of Governmentality
13.45 – 14.15	Stuart Kirsch: Transformations in anthropological knowledge production and praxis: rethinking engagement in all its forms
14.15 - 14.30	BREAK
14.30 – 15.00	James F. Weiner: The Dilemma of Tradition: Aboriginal Culture and Native Title
15.00 – 16.30	DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

Anthropology is increasingly incorporated into a variety of projects intended to have instrumental effects. This entails a radical remaking of anthropological knowledge production in the form of consultancies. These forms of anthropology are oriented towards the provision of practical advice to government institutions, corporations, and the public. They promise better policies and practices for managing minorities, diverse stakeholders, and dissenting views. These new forms of anthropology have become integral to the production and management of society. The intellectual field of anthropology is being radically instrumentalized, made into a technology for producing the social, including particular kinds of people, relationships, meanings, values, and desires. This session will examine these transformations in anthropological knowledge production in the Pacific and Australia.

### ABSTRACTS:

#### **Andrew Lattas (University of Bergen)**

Title: Knowledge, Power and the anthropology of consultancy

All systems of power and domination require forms of knowledge to legitimise, rationalise and mediate their operations. The historical, social and cultural specificity of particular regimes of power is grounded in the specificity of particular intellectual fields and the knowledge and truths that particular discourses provide. Today anthropology is increasingly being drawn into assisting state and commercial institutions, with many anthropologists becoming private consultants whilst private consultants draw on anthropology and its truths about society, culture and human nature. In part, anthropology is here being used within new assemblages of power that require its truths to mediate new ways of governing indigenous peoples. Using two different contexts, the Australian Federal government's Intervention in the Northern Territory and Asian logging companies in Papua New Guinea, I analyse the new kinds of knowledge that contemporary practices and technologies of governmentality require as they seek to use local structures, institutions, cultural practices and personnel to create regimes of power that can induce people to participate in their own domination. These neoliberal experiments in socio-cultural

engineering produce new forms of exploitation and domination whilst claiming to reduce poverty, violence and social dysfunctionality by offering instead more humanitarianism, prosperity, independence, national strength, and social order.

### **Anthony Redmond (ANU)**

Title: The confluence of academic and applied anthropology in native title claim research in Australia.

Recent debates in Australianist anthropology concerning the merits or otherwise of consultancy anthropology (e.g. Trigger 2011; Lattas 2012; Morris and Lattas 2010) have highlighted concerns about the potential impact of consultancy work on the scientific capital of a discipline which has always placed long-term participant-observation fieldwork at the core of the ethnographic project. Potential degrading of the discipline through reliance on relatively short-term fly-in-fly-out fieldwork is just one of the concerns raised in the recent critiques of consultancy anthropology. Others include the ethical and political problems of anthropologists offering expert advice and assistance to governments openly articulating and implementing policies involving long-term social engineering projects to transform what are seen to be pathological aspects of social life in contemporary Aboriginal settlements. This paper draws upon my experience conducting anthropological research for Aboriginal land claims under the constraints of the Australian Commonwealth's Native Title Act (1993) and explores the historical basis of the alleged opposition between academic and applied anthropology in some of these recent critiques. Building on some recent commentary on ways in which the state is involved in framing, containing and constituting native title claimant groups (Correy 2006; Correy, McCarthy and Redmond 2010.; Redmond 2011) this issue is partly approached by contextualising the recent debates within a broader framework of ongoing inter- and intra-disciplinary competition over scientific and social capital (Burke 2011) and partly by questioning some of the assumptions which are being made about the nature of native title directed anthropological research in Australia.

### **Guido Carlo Pigliasco (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa)**

Title: A Tortuous Path: Cultural Heritage Policy Talk in Fiji

Drawing upon fieldwork and consultancy among Fiji culture and heritage institutions, in this paper I discuss how cultural heritage policies in particular the intangible one, acquired a new social and political value in Fiji and in the Pacific Island region. Until a decade ago, traditional knowledge and expressions of culture were not regarded as the proper concerns of any intellectual property laws, or policy. This perception has now been radically challenged and changed by contributions from Pacific Island nations like Fiji and Vanuatu. However, after ten years of endless consultations, declarations, overlapping conventions, treaties, and regional workshops the gap between a complex web of prospected abstract laws and the communities' needs seems only getting broader. Anthropologist involved in cultural heritage projects in a rapidly changing Oceania maintain the advantageous point of understanding at local level how difficult the elusive concept of policy becomes when the government is addressing a public issue, or a prospected sui generis legislation to protect traditional knowledge and expressions of culture. At the same time, cultural mapping and national inventories become more than just creating an inventory of cultural sites and cultural rituals. While these projects show that advocacy and consultancy are often circumstantial, they should never be separated from ethics. Anthropologists are at the forefront of facilitating the collaborative process involving the dialogue with the stakeholders, consultation, and information gathering. In Fiji, only recently policy makers realized the necessity of a policy to inform the legislative drafting process after setting up a body of self-contained rules, to indigenize the problems, players, and policy approach. Policy talk in Fiji and Oceania should guide the application of law in a way that achieves the purposes of the law in shaping social events. To be successful in achieving its functions, policy must address both the subjective and objective realities at stake. To avoid policy misrepre-

sentation between law and policy talk, collaborative heritage projects in Oceania have been employing anthropologist to indicate how policy can become cultural, an artifact to structure collective action. In Fiji, cultural policy could eventually become a model to mobilize rules and government decision-making towards explicit guidelines for the regulation, management and governance of cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) in the service of positive nation-building, and development of cultural and creative industries.

### **Heather Young-Leslie (University of Alberta)**

Title: Capacity Building, Community Consultations and Capillary Relations as Arts of Governmentality

This paper focuses on the experience of being a capacity building advisor, drawing in particular on the processes involved in planning and drafting strategic plans and project proposals related to the HIV response in Papua New Guinea. The planning processes are intended to ensure cross-sectional public participation and representation, by drawing on consultations with community-based stakeholders, civil servants and potential recipients. Ironically, the processes intended to ensure representation of community voices also work to instantiate governmentality in otherwise governmentality-naive groups. From 2007 to 2009 I worked as a Capacity Building Advisor, mostly with Provincial AIDS Committees [PACs] in Papua New Guinea. The provincial AIDS committees are statutory bodies mandated to “mobilize the response” — providing information about HIV, promoting access to testing and treatment services, and attempting to transform public perceptions of HIV infection and those who tested seropositive for the human immunodeficiency virus. The PACs do this with funds received via federal governmental budget allocations and in partnership with local stakeholder groups, local and foreign charities, religious groups and development agencies. While federally distributed, most PAC budgets were (at the time) only re-allocations of foreign-received funds, and while federally mandated, all PACs were expected to operate at the provincial level and in particular, with the Provincial Health Administrator as the Committee Chair, but without being incorporated into the provincial budgetary or administrative structure. Philosophically, the role of the PACs and the activities of their membership are potentially insidious and unlimited, reaching as they can into relations between spouses, parents and children, employers and employees, church and health professionals and their clients, teachers and pupils. Yet as statutory bodies the PACs have no formal legal or political power. They therefore operate in a world of moral suasion built by the individual personal networks of the employees. These capillary relations provide an avenue for the instantiation of the arts of governmentality as, in the guise of community consultations and project participation, stakeholders are taught to think in terms of proposals, logical frameworks, goals, objectives, inputs, outputs, outcomes, monitoring and evaluation, financial tranches, reconciliations, project under-spending and deadlines. The role of the PACs involves instantiating and acting upon what Foucault called capillary relations to effect governmental goals, but without any of the encumbrances or advantages of a true governmental body. This produces a set of tensions for the PAC members and stakeholders, but also for the federal government itself, which ends up being perceived as an obstacle rather than a partner in the HIV response. For an anthropologist, there are also tensions produced when the position of capacity building advisor requires teaching, modelling and promoting these arts of governmentality, especially when it becomes clear that stakeholder consultation methods are intended to produce pre-planned project ‘buy in’ and donor-impression management more than community-based project design.

### **Stuart Kirsch (University of Michigan)**

Title: Transformations in anthropological knowledge production and praxis: rethinking engagement in all its forms

This paper examines transformations of anthropological knowledge production and praxis from en-

gaged anthropology to consultancies that provide practical advice to government institutions, corporations, and the public. The paper proceeds by means of an analogy suggesting that debates about engaged anthropology are to the present as the writing culture paradigm was to the 1980s. Whereas the writing culture paradigm was about reflexivity within the text, engaged anthropology is about reflexivity beyond the text, i.e. the consideration of how to make anthropology politically useful and relevant. The writing culture paradigm was deeply influenced by postcolonial and postmodern debates. Similarly, I see engaged anthropology as emerging out of new understandings of the relationship between science and society that make engagement central to the field. Despite the common assertion that engaged anthropology and corporate consultancies are located on opposite sides of the political spectrum, they share structural parallels. Another parallel may be the controversial role of anthropologists embedded the military through human terrain systems. But are there also significant differences between these modes of anthropological engagement? This paper calls for sustained critical discussion in the manner of the writing culture paradigm of the ways in which the discipline of anthropology is being radically transformed into a technology for remaking the social. It examines these questions about anthropological knowledge production and praxis in the context of the mining industry in Papua New Guinea.

**James F. Weiner (Australian National University)**

Title: The Dilemma of Tradition: Aboriginal Culture and Native Title

Some consultant anthropologists have continued to be vexed by the findings of the Australian High Court in the Yorta Yorta appeal of a decade ago, in which the High Court upheld the findings of the Federal Court that the Yorta Yorta, an Aboriginal people of the Murray River region of Victoria, had been so dispossessed of their culture that they were unable to maintain a traditional attachment to their country in Aboriginal terms, as required under the terms of the Native Title Act (1993). In this paper I argue that the Courts of Australia have moved beyond Yorta Yorta, and that a too persistent focus on Aboriginal tradition threatens to distort our ability to keep responding ethnographically and politically to the demands of Aboriginal sociality and landedness in the 21st Century. In this paper, I point out some of the negative effects of an anthropology of tradition driven by the demands of State sponsored notions of continuity and culture, identify some anthropological shortcomings within the practise surrounding the Native Title Act (1993) and speculate on the effects of Native Title on Aboriginal ethnography more generally.

## SESSION 9: ENGENDERING PERSONS, TRANSFORMING THINGS: CHRISTIANITIES AND COMMODITIES IN OCEANIA

Margaret Jolly, Rachel Morgain, Anna-Karina Hermkens (Australian National University)  
Terminus Hall, Friday 7 and Saturday 8

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

#### Friday 7 (10.15 – 16.30):

- 10.15-10.25 Welcome and introduction by Margaret Jolly  
10.25-10.50 Mark Mosko: The Dividual Melanesian Christian 'Individual'  
10.50-11.15 Heather Young-Leslie: Sex, Trauma, Diatribe: transformations in the time of AIDS  
11.15-11.40 Anna-Karina Hermkens: Hyphenated Identities: Place and Person in 'Post-conflict' Solomon Islands  
11.40-11.55 Joseph Foukona (in absentia) and Jaap Timmer: Homo Duplex in Agreement-Making for Access to Natural Resources in Solomon Islands  
11.55-12.15 Discussion  
12.15-13.15 LUNCH  
13.15-13.40 Latu Latai: 'The way we do things change, but the foundations remain': Faa- Samoa in the face of increasing commoditization  
13.40-14.05 Michelle MacCarthy: Doing Away with Doba? Women's wealth and shifting values in Trobriand mortuary distributions  
14.05-14.30 Katherine Lepani: Doba and ephemeral durability: the enduring material value of women's work in the Trobriand regenerative economy  
14.30-14.45 Discussion  
14.45-15.00 BREAK  
15.00-15.25 Christine Stewart: The Good, The Bad and the Outsider: constructions of gender in modern Papua New Guinea.  
15.25-15.50 Christina Toren: 'They all have their duties': Fijian children's ideas of the person and sociality  
15.50-16.15 Katerina Teaiwa: Body Pacifica: Rugby League, Mana and Mass Media in the Pacific Diaspora.  
16.15-16.30 DISCUSSION

#### SATURDAY 8 (09.30-12.00):

- 09.30-09.55 Margaret Jolly: Braed Praes in Vanuatu: Gifts, Commodities and Domestic Moral Economies  
09.55-10.20 Hélène Nicolas: The ceremonial exchanges of Christian marriages in Lifu (New-Caledonia). A demonstration of the tensions in conceiving personhood  
10.20-10.30 Discussion  
10.30-11.00 BREAK  
11.00-11.30 Jack Taylor: Discussant  
11.30-12.00 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

This session explores the conference theme by focusing on a core question in the historical anthropology of Oceania: has there been a fundamental transformation in indigenous models of personhood associated with Christian conversion, and how might this connect with transformations in relation to 'things' material and exchange? Indigenous models and values of personhood in Oceania have greatly advanced the theorization of sociality, challenging Western notions of gender, the person and exchange. For example, Marcel Mauss' work on 'personnage' and gift exchange, and Marilyn Strathern's *The Gen-*

der of the Gift (1988) proved very influential in Oceanic research and beyond. In current anthropological scholarship, evidence of both continuity and rupture in Indigenous models of personhood has been hotly debated, particularly in the wake of recent conversions to evangelical Christianity in many parts of Oceania. But this contemporary experience needs to be situated in the *longue durée* of Christian conversion, colonialism, and commoditization in Oceania. Moreover, approaches to the person have often been haunted by projects of radical alterity, which in stressing the profound differences between 'us' and 'them' diminish the importance of cross-cultural connections and historical relations. In *Wayward Women* (2006), Holly Wardlow suggests the co-presence of dual modes of personhood, relational and individual, but deliberates as to which contexts and which forces of modernity are eliciting more individualistic and autonomous modes of agency and how expressions of an 'incipient individualism' might be gendered. This session will ponder similar questions and invites papers that might address the following themes:

- Influence of Christianities and commodity economics on personhood
- Objects as 'persons' and 'things', including shifting patterns of exchange and conceptions of subject-object relations
- Co-presence and tensions between relational versus individual models of the person - The significance of mobility and new technologies of modernity on personhood.

#### ABSTRACTS:

##### **Mark Mosko (Australian National University)**

Title: The Dividual Melanesian Christian 'Individual'

The coming of Christianity in Melanesian anthropology in recent years is widely regarded as having ushered into the region a new kind of person, the Christian individual. Amidst the other sorts of persons that ethnographers have argued populate the archipelago – egocentric, sociocentric, relationalist, dividual, partible – the Christian individual stands out, signalling for converts and investigators alike a profound rupture or break between the past and the present—the transformation of one distinctive genre of personhood, agency and sociality into another. My purpose in this paper is to examine the individualist credentials of Melanesian Christians by reference to the authoritative anthropological texts on which most claims of Christianity's inherent individualism rest. First, I shall consider the writings of Louis Dumont and Kenelm Burridge who have been frequently referenced by ethnographers of the region to substantiate claims as to the Christianity's inherent individualism. Ironically, upon careful reading of the key texts, I show that Dumont's and Burridge's formulations of Christian individualism actually presuppose a model of the total Christian person whose constitution and agentive capacities closely approximate those of the composite 'dividual' or partible person central to the New Melanesian Ethnography which, like it, differs radically from the canonical bounded 'possessive individualism' of Western politico-jural discourse. Moreover, I argue that this formal similarity between Christian individualism and Melanesian dividualism has had a certain historical effect, that is, that the transformation of many Melanesian religions to Christianity has been greatly facilitated through the shared mechanics of personal detachment, attachment and elicitation. With these clarifications in mind, I then turn to review several of the more influential ethnographic characterizations of Melanesian personhood, Christian and otherwise, and conclude that the numerous claims that Melanesian Christian conversion represents a profound cultural rupture or break are fundamentally mistaken.

##### **Heather Young-Leslie (University of Alberta)**

Title: Sex, Trauma, Diatribe: transformations in the time of AIDS

That sexuality is locus of personal transformation and a highly transactional practice wherein persons part with aspects of themselves is well established and a highly effloresced aspect of Melanesian eth-

nography. That control of the exchanges associated with sexuality has been of major concern for Christianity is, again, a point uncontested. But in Papua New Guinea, the pandemic of sexually transmitted infections, including but not limited to human immune virus, and the related personal, social and state-based interventions, transactions and exchanges, both material (such as condoms or pathogens) and immaterial (such as accusations), are transformative at levels unprecedented since the era of Christian conversion. In this paper, I examine the transformation of “Joe”, a man of Sepik ethnicity living in Madang province. Joe’s path from pre-HIV sero-positive status as a nominally Christian, sexually active rogue, through illness, diagnosis and pariah status, to living-with-AIDS evangelist is both icon of, and analogue for, some of Papua New Guinea’s transformations in the time of AIDS.

### **Anna-Karina Hermkens (Australian National University)**

Title: Hyphenated Identities: Place and Person in Post-conflict Solomon Islands

The conflict in Solomon Islands has often been analysed in relation to competing ‘settler’ (Malaita) and ‘landowner’ (Guadalcanal) identity narratives. While these narratives do exist, they also obscure much more complex notions and dynamics of personhood and identity. Taking Gustavo Pérez Firmat’s (1994) concept of Life on the Hyphen, I aim to unravel how the Are’are ‘settlers’ and Mbirau ‘landowners’ living in Marau Sound (Guadalcanal) have constructed a hyphenated culture wherein Marau-Are’are and Marau-Mbirau people perform a precarious balancing act between two parts of the hyphen as well as with each other. In this culture, place is not just static and important in terms of land, land rights and access to development, as is often argued, but also fluid and entangled with various changing relationships and identities. Instead of entailing only two ethnicities and related cultural identities, the hyphenated culture of Marau-Are’are and Marau-Mbirau shows that Identity is multiple and a process of lived social relations, rather than an accident of birth or geography. Marau Sound, with the Catholic Mission at its centre, has become a melting pot for Are’are and Mbirau people, creatively mixing patrilineal Malaitan with matrilineal Guadalcanal culture, custom and modernity, and notions of the individual and the relational. While Firmat argues for Cuban-Americans that; “having two cultures, you belong wholly to neither one” (Firmat 1994: 7), the Marau case shows how people also seek new terms of reference for themselves as ‘cultural-hybrids’ in trying to deal with the reality of generations of mixed marriages, sharing of place, and conflict.

### **Joseph Foukona (Australian National University) and Jaap Timmer (Macquarie University)**

Title: Homo Duplex in Agreement-Making for Access to Natural Resources in Solomon Islands

This paper examines the Durkheimian notion of homo duplex in the context of written agreements for access to natural resources in contemporary Solomon Islands. Based on research on the way people approach agreements presented to them by forestry, fishery and electricity ventures, we see that people do not negotiate the contents of the agreements. A general fear of being confrontational and strategies of conflict avoidance seem to prevail, not just with respect to the foreign investors but more so in relation to the broker who is a member of ‘the community’ that is specified in the agreement. When realizing that the agreement-making processes happens largely within the domain of social relations within the group, the agreement-making process opens an interesting window into looking at how the double existence – the individual broker as well as the ‘representative of the community’ (as the signatory) and the group as related to land, ancestors and church – play out. An investigation of this double existence will also allow us to ponder the larger question of how society is constituted ontologically in terms of morality, knowledge and religion, in communities that are affected by resource extraction.

### **Latu Latai (Australian National University)**

Title: 'The way we do things change, but the foundations remain': Faa- Samoa in the face of increasing commoditization

E sui faiga ae tumau faavae – 'The way we do things change, but the foundations remain', is a commonly uttered saying that Samoans often use in dealing with the changing nature of the Faa-Samoa – the Samoan 'way' or culture. Since the colonial contact period, there was much truth in this saying as the Samoans incorporated and appropriated western materials and goods in their systems of cultural exchanges. However, since the 1990s there has been increasing protest to this truth, as Samoans debate and question how the so called 'foundations' of their culture has been altered due to the relentless impact of western commodities and money. At the forefront of this challenge, was the increasing cost associated with cultural exchanges. This paper attempts to investigate how commodity economics has impacted on the FaaSamoa and its systems of cultural exchanges, but more importantly the impact this has on the transformation of Samoan indigenous ideas of personhood and gender. This is situated in ongoing debates between relational and individual models of the person in Oceania, and the roles of Christian conversion, colonialism and commoditization in cross cultural processes.

### **Michelle MacCarthy (University of Auckland)**

Title: Doing Away with Doba? Women's wealth and shifting values in Trobriand mortuary distributions

The importance of banana leaf bundles (doba) in the Trobriand mortuary distributions called sagali are well documented, and have been the subject of considerable anthropological discussion. In this paper, I return to the role of doba and its production as a defining aspect of proper Trobriand womanhood, as well as being essential to maintaining social relationships through its distribution at sagali. Today, however, amidst pressure from the leaders of several newly established evangelical churches in the Trobriands, some villages are choosing to abandon the production and exchange of doba in mortuary distributions (and, indeed, to curb or cease the practice of sagali) in favour of smaller exchanges, using cash and store goods instead of the locally produced doba. Disparate discourses are employed to justify on the one hand, a "waste not, want not" attitude as espoused by the church which characterizes doba production as a waste of time better spent in more "productive" activity; and a competing argument based on both the unique identity of Trobriand Island women who manufacture their own wealth, and on the democratizing effects of such production as outside the cash economy (to which most people have limited access). I argue that at the base of these discourses is a fundamental tension between competing regimes of value. On the one hand is a reflexive and determined effort to maintain "culture" and the social obligations entailed therein, as part and parcel of an essentialized Trobriand identity looking to the past; and an equally reflexive but forward-looking, "from darkness to light" discourse that emphasizes modernity and a conscious move away from what both church officials and some Trobrianders characterize as their "primitive" past. I explore here how these alternate discourses reflect competing obligations to Christianity and the ancestors; individual priorities as against inter- and intra-clan obligations; endogenous and exogenous forms of wealth; and globalization/modernity vis à vis regional specificity and a unique anthropological/economic heritage.

### **Katherine Lepani (Australian National University)**

Title: Doba and ephemeral durability: the enduring material value of women's work in the Trobriand regenerative economy

Doba, the bundles of dried banana leaves that comprise the central transactions in Trobriand mortuary feasts called sagali, signify the regeneration of matrilineal identity through the production and

exchange of material goods. This paper considers the durability of *doba* as both the subject and object of women's work which activates relationality between persons and things and heralds the enduring value of gendered agency in the collective project of social reproduction and cohesion. I situate *doba* in relation to the deep sedimentation of Christianity in Trobriand cultural forms by tracing recollections from the early years of the 20th century when Trobriand women first introduced pieces of cotton fabric, and garments made on Singer hand sewing machines, into *sagali* distributions on the Methodist mission station under the watchful eyes of expatriate missionaries. Called *karekwa* after the English 'calico,' fabric has been fully integrated into *sagali* over several generations and is now regarded as an essential exchange item. Purchased from shops or acquired through elaborate networks of obligation, *karekwa* augments *doba* transactions in a number of forms, whether by the bolt, cut into two-metre lengths, or sewn into skirts, blouses, shirts, and pillow slips. The commensurability of pieces of cloth with banana leaf bundles raises the question of the inevitable replacement of one form for the other through the increasing commoditization of *sagali* and what this signals about the role of women in the Trobriand regenerative economy. Yet the changing materiality of *sagali* distributions, where manufactured goods and cash have produced an efflorescence of new forms of exchange, has not supplanted the ephemeral bundles of dried banana leaves. Women utilise the organizational framework of the church to acquire banana leaf bundles for their *sagali* projects by making cash donations to the Women's Fellowship. *Doba* retains centre stage in signifying the material value of women's agency and matrilineal identity in articulation with Christian models of domestic productivity and individual and collective patterns of modern consumption.

### **Christine Stewart (Australian National University)**

Title: The Good, The Bad and the Outsider: constructions of gender in modern Papua New Guinea

Power is everywhere, as Foucault reminds us, and it is immanent in all kinds of relations. It clusters around certain groups and is used to oppress others through culturally constituted processes of stigma and discrimination, which are essential to the establishment and maintenance of social order. Social hierarchies of domination and subordination are created and maintained by naming subordinate groups and attributing values and qualities to them. For example, in the West the Anglo-American construction of 'woman' as a chaste, middle-class white housewife is the standard by which rape cases are judged, domestic violence awareness campaigns are prepared and pornography is censored. As the attribution of values and qualities is a culturally determined process, it is conceivable that different factors such as culture, religion or epoch will produce different constructions of social groups over varying times and places. In Papua New Guinea, such factors as class, colonialism and post-colonialism, the spread of fundamental Christianity and modern constructions of traditional values combine to produce idealised qualities of the 'good woman' and the 'real man', and to locate women in modern PNG society in ways which differ somewhat from those of the West.

### **Christina Toren (University of St Andrews)**

Title: 'They all have their duties': Fijian children's ideas of the person and sociality

*Veiqaravi*, meaning 'attendance on each other' is the key organizing idea of Fijian sociality – at once moral, aesthetic and spiritual. It is evinced in the most routine aspects of daily life – whenever people gather together to eat, to drink *yaqona* (called *kava* elsewhere in the Pacific), to worship, to work *vaka-vanua* (in the manner of the land), and to celebrate life cycle ceremonies. In the light of material gathered by means of long-term participant observation, this paper examines Fijian village children's ideas of *veiqaravi* as these are evident in drawings and essays by 113 children aged between six and fifteen years old collected in 2005. The analysis shows how, with increasing age, children's understandings of *veiqaravi* come to be focused in *yaqona* ritual and discusses their ideas alongside adult ideas with

particular reference to Christianity – that is to say, what is vakalotu (‘according to the church’) – and to apparent transformations in ideas about kinship that appear to be the result of increasing commoditisation of village life.

### **Katerina Teaiwa (Australian National University)**

Title: Body Pacifica: Rugby League, Mana and Mass Media in the Pacific Diaspora

This paper is a preliminary exploration of the vision behind and impact of Body Pacifica, an exhibition held by Casula Powerhouse in Sydney featuring the portraits of 12 elite rugby league players of Pacific descent. Produced by Leo Tanoi and Carli Leimbach in collaboration with Pacific artists including former NRL player Frank Puletua, and featuring the photography of Greg Semu, Body Pacifica won the 2011 IMAGine award for public engagement after attracting thousands of visitors, many of whom were not regular museum or gallery goers. For the Pacific communities who attended these men, dressed in Pacific costumes from a variety of islands, embodied, I argue, a form of mana described by Keesing (1984) as efficacy, success, and potency, and often attributed to sporting or musical icons of Pacific heritage in the diaspora. This attribution is entangled in complex ways with what Hokowhitu (2004) describes as the commodification of the “raw material” of the male body and by Tengan and Markham (2009) as “racialized and hypermasculine spectacle.”

### **Margaret Jolly (Australian National University)**

Title: Braed Praes in Vanuatu: Gifts, Commodities and Domestic Moral Economies

The debate about braed praes as either gift or commodity has a long and complex genealogy in foreign scholarship on Oceania, engaging anthropologists, Christian missionaries and state officials. Debates between ni-Vanuatu have been equally protracted, passionate and complicated, creating an echo chamber of resounding conversations. This paper situates such debates in the context of the celebration of kastom ekonomi by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and the Vanuatu government in the last decade. In April 2005 the Malvatumauri (the National Council of Chiefs) announced that braed praes, for which they had previously set a ceiling of 80,000 vatu (c. \$A800), should in future be paid in locally produced valuables such as pigs, pandanus textiles and shells rather than cash or commodities. Although this national ban was widely discussed in the media and in international reports by aid donors, NGOs and United Nations agencies, it appears to have had little effect in rural or urban parts of the archipelago. Such debates and political contests about bride price address deep questions about the value of a woman – as a worker, sexual partner and mother – and engage profound philosophical questions about the local traction of imported distinctions between subjects and objects, persons and things and how indigenous categories have been transformed by the longue durée of Christian conversions and simultaneous processes of commoditization, complicit and conflictual (see Wardlow 2006, Keane 2007, Mowbray 2011). How have these transformed the ‘value’ of woman as bride and the character and significance of braed praes? Can the entrenched binaries in such debates be eclipsed by seeing braed praes as both gift and commodity in the hybrid moral economies of modernity?

### **Hélène Nicolas (CREDO, Marseille)**

Title: The ceremonial exchanges of Christian marriages in Lifu (New-Caledonia). A demonstration of the tensions in conceiving personhood

In New-Caledonia, M. Leenhardt, anthropologist and pastor, wrote that the Christianization of Kanak people, would help them to gain the notion of the individual person. To him, they didn’t seem to have the

notion of a «self»: in fact, they didn't distinguish themselves, the others and nature (Leenhardt 1949). This conception was highly criticized by, amongst others, A. Bensa (1955), who argued that in competitive Kanak societies, there surely was a conception of both the person and the «self», and by M. Strathern (1988), who stressed that in Oceania, people had a relational conception of personhood.

In order to understand how Christianization and commoditization transformed the local conception of the person, the analysis of the abundant exchanges which occur during marriages on the island of Lifu (New-Caledonia) is extremely interesting. In this paper, grounded on my PHD work, I wish to demonstrate that it is after the Christianization, the colonisation and the engagement of the Lifuans on trade boats (in the 1840's) that the intense marriage ceremonial exchanges really began. Currently, these exchanges testify the importance that, still today, the Lifuans give, in order to maintain, honour, transform and build relations with their kinship. Each year, during the three months of ceremonies, these gifts lead them to bankrupt. Have these Christian exchanges rituals, in spite of being elaborated by Polynesian missionaries (1841-1865), contributed to maintain or strengthen a relational vision of personhood, against the will of the European missionaries? How did the English and French missionaries of the L.M.S and the Pères Marists Congregation encourage the individualization (particularly by relieving the power of the eldest on marriages) into these rituals of marriage? This paper will try to answer these questions, using a contemporary perspective, which focuses on the apparition of marriages which don't imply many exchanges, in the town of Nouméa or in the new churches, showing the current tensions between an individual and a relational model of personhood in the Kanak people.

## SESSION 10: APPROPRIATING CLIMATE CHANGE: PACIFIC RECEPTION OF A SCIENTIFIC PROPHECY

Peter Rudiak-Gould (McGill University) and Tony Crook (University of St.Andrews)  
Welhaven, Friday 7, 10.15 - 16.15

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 10:15-10:20 Peter Rudiak-Gould and Tony Crook: Introduction
- 10.20-10.40 Cecilie Rubow: Enacting cyclones: The mixed response to climate change in the Cook Islands
- 10.50-11.10 Emilie Nolet: Waluvu: The floods of March-April 2012 in Nadi, Western Fiji
- 11.20-11.40 Hans Thulstrup: Climate frontlines
- 11.50-12.10 Mark Stege Planting resilience: Harnessing climate change for cultural preservation in the Marshall Islands
- 12.20-13.15 LUNCH
- 13.15-13.35 Jennifer Newell: Losing culture: Exploring islanders' expectations surrounding climate change
- 13.45-14.05 Maria Louise B. Robertson: Crafting certainty in liquid worlds – Inhabiting changing environments in Kiribati
- 14.15-14.30 BREAK
- 14.30-14.50 Marion Struck-Garbe: Reflections on climate change by contemporary artists in Papua New Guinea
- 15.00-15.20 Joeli Veitayaki: Discussant
- 15.20-16:00 DISCUSSION

## SESSION ABSTRACT:

Climate change in Oceania is not only observed locally as a physical impact, but also received from abroad as a scientific concept and environmental 'prophecy'. This panel explores the power of Pacific actors to appropriate and refashion - rather than passively accept - this climate change message, and indeed in some cases to harness it as an opportunity. Recent work has explored the radical reinterpretations of climate change that result when dominant scientific understandings of the issue are communicated to Pacific citizens. Climate change may be dismissed as a non-issue; disavowed on Biblical grounds; embraced as an opportunity to win migration rights; reimagined as a cultural and cosmic, rather than merely 'environmental', threat; or conflated with pre-existing concerns about, for example, water. It can bolster confidence in identity-based agendas or undermine trust in local expertise, strengthening attachment to homeland or severing ancestral ties. Climate change can strengthen local critiques of global power relations, or alternately inspire self-blame. 'Climate' can be understood as something far more general than meteorological conditions, and 'change' can come to embrace modernization in general, of which global warming is merely a part. The goal of this session, then, is to begin to fulfill the research agenda cogently imagined, but left unfinished, by such authors as Mike Hulme, Jon Barnett, and John Campbell, who encourage us to appreciate the diversity of understandings of climate change, and, in the Pacific region, to move beyond disempowering notions of 'canaries in the coal mine', 'sinking islands', and 'paradises lost' towards more locally resonant and empowered discourses. Rather than seeing such Pacific transformations of the climate change concept as mistranslations, this session will explore the potential for these interpretations to lend insight to global understandings of climate change. The resulting reframings, when communicated back to Western and scientific audiences, may subvert the dominant technocratic, neoliberal approach to climate change; but they may equally problematise the radical understandings of global warming favoured by many anthropologists. Pacific citizens thus give voice to both counter narratives and counter-counter narratives. The power of Pacific appropriations of climate change, then, is to inform, complicate, and challenge almost any conceivable conceptualization of the climate crisis.

## ABSTRACTS:

### **Cecilie Rubow (University of Copenhagen)**

Title: Enacting Cyclones: The Mixed Response to Climate Change in the Cook Islands

In February and March 2005 the Cook Islands experienced a swirl of five strong cyclones having a devastating impact through high winds, storm surge, and damaging waves. Subsequently, on many occasions, residents and outside observers have linked these incidents of extreme weather with climate change. Since then it has been 'all over', an officer at the National Environment Service explained five years later. At this point, numerous NGOs working in the area had taken up climate change as a priority area, and the National Environment Service and external consultants had produced a long series of vulnerability assessments on the main island, Rarotonga, and on several of the 14 outer islands, among them several low-lying atolls, concluding that climate change is observable in a number of ways. The local newspapers had started to report from workshops, sites, and projects related to climate change, and many people on the islands had increasingly become aware of global warming as a threat to the islands and their inhabitants. In a turn, the cyclones made climate change present. In this paper, starting from the 2005 cyclones I will show how scientific climate scenarios have been received, employed, and modified in various policy settings in the Cook Islands. Secondly, I will explore how cyclones and other instances of bad weather have become intertwined with tourism, traditional leadership, and emerging Christian eco-theologies. En route, I advocate for taking the whirl, the rotating quality of the cyclone as a topological way to think about the mixed social-natural life of cyclones. As it turns out, the links between the 2005 cyclones (and future cyclones) and climate change grow strong, but the evolving cyclone exegesis is also seriously contested in both scientific and public domains.

## **Emilie Nolet (CREDO)**

Title: Waluvu: The floods of March-April 2012 in Nadi, Western Fiji

Fiji is exposed to a wide range of natural hazards, but suffers especially from cyclones, which sweep the country during the austral summer extending from November to April. In addition to damages directly caused by strong winds, cyclones and tropical depressions tend to generate floods, with rivers and streams overtopping their banks after intense rainfall. Nowadays, most scientific experts and international agencies reckon that this situation may worsen in the future, under the influence of climate change. In February 2012, the United Nations News Centre explained that: “heavy rains are predicted to occur more frequently in the archipelago nation”, while in Western Fiji, “high-intensity floods would become more frequent”. The 29th of March, 2012, the town of Nadi (Western Fiji) was hit by a catastrophic flood, considered as one of the worst in local history. This disaster occurred three years after the great floods of January 2009 and only a few weeks after a previous serious flooding event in January 2012. The unusual repetition of those large-scale flooding events (which caused in parts of Nadi “utter and complete” devastation) has led experts and journalists to denounce the effects of development and climate change, and to a flow of propositions for “climate change adaptation”. This paper will examine how the flooding event and its potential association to climate change are being interpreted at community level, relying on a case study led in Narewa village (which is incorporated to the town of Nadi). We will analyze the local approaches of the origins of floods, the solutions implemented (or not) to mitigate future risks, and how those can conflict with expert or political discourses and question them.

## **Hans Thulstrup (UNESCO)**

Title: Climate Frontlines

The impacts of climate change on indigenous peoples are anticipated to be both early and severe in part due to their location in vulnerable environments, including the small islands of the Pacific. As the Pacific island context differs considerably from the norms and scale of the global mainstream climate change discourse; decisions, policies and actions undertaken without consideration of Pacific island local and indigenous knowledge - even if well-intended - may prove inadequate, ill-adapted, and even inappropriate. There is therefore a need to understand the specific vulnerabilities, concerns, adaptation capacities and longer-term aspirations of the peoples of Pacific – as well as indigenous peoples throughout the world. Pacific societies have over centuries elaborated coping strategies to deal with unstable environments, and Pacific local and indigenous knowledge and coping strategies provide a crucial foundation for community-based adaptation measures. While this has been recognized internationally - indigenous knowledge was acknowledged in the Fourth Assessment Report (AR4) of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) as ‘an invaluable basis for developing adaptation and natural resource management strategies in response to environmental and other forms of change’ – the inclusion of local and indigenous knowledge perspectives in global assessments has to date been limited. With particular emphasis on the Pacific island context, this paper/presentation discusses the work undertaken by UNESCO’s Climate Frontlines project, the United Nations University and other partners towards ensuring the availability of relevant literature to the authors of the IPCC’s 5th Assessment Report due for publication in 2014, and highlights recent examples of Pacific island research on observations of environmental change and related adaptation strategies.

## **Mark Stege**

Title: MarTina Corporation, Republic of the Marshall Islands

### **Planting Resilience: Harnessing Climate Change for Cultural Preservation in the Marshall Islands**

The climate change prognosis in the Republic of the Marshall Islands is severe. Dwindling water resources, coastal erosion, coral bleaching, and ocean acidification already affect livelihoods and are expected to challenge the country's habitability in the medium- to long-term. In recent years, Marshallese educators and activists have devised climate change communication strategies that avoid the unhelpful alarmism and assumption of inevitable resettlement that characterize Western representations of 'disappearing island nations.' This presentation discusses one such communication project in which the presenter has been personally involved. The Jaññōr Project at Marshall Islands High School is designed to raise awareness in schools and the communities that surround them by building in situ school laboratories in the traditional jaññōr shoreline protection method. As an indigenous education initiative, the project aims to support development of original teaching modules with which teachers can cross-teach Marshallese ecological knowledge with Western science, effectively instilling environmental and cultural values into school curriculums. Not simply an adaptation initiative, the Jaññōr Project is representative of Marshallese attempts to harness climate change as a positive opportunity to revitalize Marshallese traditional culture and address the immediate needs of the national education system.

## **Jennifer Newell (American Museum of Natural History)**

Title: Losing culture: exploring Islanders' expectations surrounding climate change

The rhetoric surrounding Pacific climate change in international media is focused on the dramatic submerging of low-lying islands and the coming necessity for Islanders to relocate. This is of course a key issue, but Pacific perspectives on the urgency and magnitude of climate change are highly varied. The common attitude to climate change in the Tuamotu atolls, for instance, is unconcern. In Tuvalu many are stating they would not leave their drowning homelands. And others, including those on high islands like Samoa, are expressing alarm about threats to their ways of life, identity, and their ability to transmit their culture to future generations. The impact of climate change on cultural continuity has been little researched. However, when Islanders speak about their future, in social media, youtube videos, artworks and in international fora such as climate change conventions, cultural continuity is as important an issue, sometimes more of an issue, than the degradation of their physical environment. Islanders can see themselves facing losses of sacred sites, tangible and intangible heritage, and, within the growing diaspora, the loss of relevance and vitality of cultural traditions, modes of connecting to land and sea, and the know-how and materials needed for making objects of significance. It is an aspect of climate change that has not been much imagined in the international arena. Pacific Islanders' statements have the potential to introduce these concerns to global narratives. Using a variety of oral and written testimony from a selection of islands across the Pacific, and engaging with diaspora communities' interactions with museum collections, this paper is the initial step in a longer-term investigation of cultural continuity in the face of climate change. A key dynamic under consideration is the extent to which environment and context defines culture.

American Museum of Natural History

## **Maria Louise B. Robertson (University of Copenhagen)**

Title: Crafting Certainty in Liquid Worlds – Inhabiting Changing Environments in Kiribati

In this presentation I will explore how people in the Pacific live in and make sense of changing environments. I argue that both certainty and uncertainty are key to understanding how people inhabit the world, and that understanding how the environment works, and anticipating how the future will unfold are still vital to people despite the volatility caused by climate change. When considering places affected by climate change they have been described as inherently uncertain for people as matter and energy, the environment, are reconfigured in unfamiliar ways, and tremendous scientific efforts are invested in trying to model the impact of future climate change despite many uncertainties and unknown factors. On a local level, cultural orientations and symbolic frameworks are tested when people are faced with the instability of global climate change. Peoples' orientation within landscapes is disturbed when climate change unfixes landscapes into unknown forms, and populations across the world are losing 'the very totem plants, animals, and landscapes that are central to their spiritual orientation' (Crate 2011:180). Anxiousness about the future prevails in Kiribati, an atoll nation in the central Pacific. Sea levels are rising and encroaching on the shores of the small islands, and, according to research, climate change will make the islands uninhabitable within this century (Barnett & Adger 2003, Bedford & Bedford 2010:91). Nevertheless, people still try to understand the environment; they, so to speak, try to make sense of the emerging patterns of the environment. For this presentation, I want to unfold the skills of one particular person, Teueroa, who is an I-Kiribati navigator. Her knowledge, which rest on generations of knowledge passed down through family lines, have continually been tested and adapted to changing natural and social environments, enabling interaction with environments and connecting islands throughout the history of the region. She engages with astronomical elements, the stars and the moon, to anticipate the unfolding of local island environments. What caught my attention about Teueroa's knowledge was that, although being an authority of environmental knowledge in Kiribati, she refuses the idea of global climate change. To me this was surprising: How can we begin to understand that a woman who is sensitive to the slightest change in her surroundings, who has intimate knowledge of the waves, the wind, the ocean currents, and the animals on the land and in the ocean, rejects the idea of climate change. I want to demonstrate that Teueroa's skills, knowledge, and stories can help us understand how certainty and uncertainty are established in places affected by environmental change.

## **Marion Struck-Garbe (University of Hamburg)**

Title: Reflections on Climate Change by Contemporary Artists in Papua New Guinea

My presentation shifts the discussion on climate change in Papua New Guinea from a mere scientific or policy discourse to one, which takes an artistic and cultural perspective on the issue. It aims to draw attention to climate change as seen through the eyes of its contemporary artists. Artistic explorations are not restricted to illustrate scientific discoveries but represent how people think and feel about the threat of climate change. Papua New Guinea artists are conscious of local issues and through their contribution they are documenting major social and environmental concerns of their people. Art can challenge perceptions of and the relationship with climate change and environmental modifications by deconstructing common views and revealing alternative perceptions. The consequences of climate change are already felt in Papua New Guinea, especially on the atoll islands. Between 3,500 and 6,000 dwellers will need to resettle due to increasing land loss, salt-water inundation and growing food insecurity. Once resettled as 'climate refugees' at nearby Bougainville Island, they face to losing their self-sufficiency as well as their cultural identity. Contemporary art has been a focus of local artist since the 1970s. Usually, themes and motives are dealing with changes in society, depicting scenes of traditional and cultural events or body art and decorated dancers. More recently, some artists started to focus explicitly on environmental issues. Losing ones home and culture due to the consequences of climate change, losing the forest due to logging by multinational companies or staying hungry because of fish shortage

due to over-fishing have become their concern. By presenting and commenting on the motives I want to show how this fear of loss is reflected in their artwork and discuss as well as art's role in building public awareness on the issue.

## SESSION 11: THE POWER OF THE PACIFIC IN EUROPEAN MUSEUMS

Nicholas Thomas (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge)

Bull, Friday 7, 10.15 - 15.00

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

10.15 – 10.30 Introduction by Nicholas Thomas

10.30 – 11.00 Steven Hooper: The Flow of Fijian Ivory: continuing value and changing practices as evidenced in museums collections

11.00 – 11.30 Fanny Wonu Veys: 18th century artefacts at the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden

11.30 – 11.45 BREAK

11.45 – 12.15 Andrew Mills: Helping Weapons to Speak: Neglected Sources of Western Polynesian Ethnohistory

12.15 – 13.15 LUNCH

13.15 – 13.45 Maia Nuku: Artefacts of Encounter, 1765-1840 – Unwrapping Polynesia

13.45 – 14.15 Roberta Colombo Dougoud : Engraved bamboos as ambassadors of Kanak culture

14.15 - 15.00 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

The Pacific is represented in Europe by the historic legacy of some hundreds of thousands of artefacts and works of art, dispersed among great metropolitan, provincial and university museums. Though research around such collections is gaining momentum, they represent extraordinarily rich, but still largely unexplored resources, of great potential significance to scholars, artists and communities. The Pacific is also now represented by highly publicised exhibitions in major European museums. Indeed, in Europe, the region is far more visible in museums, than it is in general in scholarship, or in other public domains such as the media. This session will explore the challenges and possibilities raised by these historic and contemporary presences within museums. It will showcase new work on historic collections, and debate current collaborations.

### ABSTRACTS:

#### **Steven Hooper (University of East Anglia)**

Title: The Flow of Fijian Ivory: continuing value and changing practices as evidenced in museums collections

Whale ivory was highly valued in Western Polynesia in the late 18th century, but it was rare, mainly deriving from sperm whale strandings in Tongan waters. The arrival of traders in the early 19th century, who quickly realised that whale's teeth were valued locally "more than gold", led to a rapid influx of whaling-derived teeth into the region and their deployment in regional, especially Fijian, cultural affairs. Examination of museum collections in Fiji, Europe and elsewhere, employing art-historical and anthropological approaches, allows us to develop nuanced understandings of Fijian/Western historical processes embodied in various types of whale ivory artefact, notably breastplates, necklaces and presentation teeth called tabua.

### **Fanny Wonu Veys (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden)**

Title: 18th century artefacts at the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden

The National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands, holds about 33.000 objects from Oceania, some of the oldest of which are registered as originating from New Caledonia, Tonga and Australia. This paper will explore the evidence available to surmise that two thirds of the 34 objects of the collection of vice-admiral A.A. Buyskes were obtained during the French voyage of Antoine Raymond Joseph de Bruni d'Entrecasteaux who sailed to the Pacific between 1791 and 1793 in search of his fellow countryman Jean François de Galaup de Lapérouse.

### **Andrew Mills (University of East Anglia)**

Title: Helping Weapons to Speak: Neglected Sources of Western Polynesian Ethnohistory

Ethnographic museum collections are full of weapons from Western Polynesia, but what can this material tell us about immaterial culture and social transformations in this region over the 18th and 19th Centuries? Historical sources and modern Polynesian authorities clarify the culturally rich nature of Western Polynesian weapons as metaphysical persons, ritual devices and symbols of authority, but we have struggled to fully accept them as sculptural forms, vehicles of fashion and ethnohistorical texts. Drawing on 18th & 19th Century art collections and parallel historical sources, I explore some new perspectives on cultural interaction and change in Western Polynesia.

### **Maia Nuku (MAA, Cambridge)**

Title: Artefacts of Encounter, 1765-1840 - Unwrapping Polynesia

This paper reflects on the research initiatives of the Artefacts of Encounter project team who have viewed a wealth of Polynesian artefacts in collections across Europe (including St. Petersburg, Vienna, Florence, Madrid and Paris). Addressing the complex materiality of a selection of Polynesian artefacts, Nuku demonstrates how these can be deployed to recover crucial and often eclipsed aspects of early encounters between islanders and Europeans. Taking seriously the richness of knowledge embedded in artefacts themselves, Nuku considers the pertinency of rehabilitating the 'odds and ends' of museum collections which sit at odds with masterpiece narratives of pristine Pacific art so current in museology.

### **Roberta Colombo Dougoud (Musée d'ethnographie de Genève)**

Title: Engraved bamboos as ambassadors of Kanak culture

In museums from all over the world are stored and exposed several thousand objects from New Caledonia collected during and since the contact period. From the 1980s an inventory of what is known as "dispersed Kanak heritage" was undertaken. In the discussion between the Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture (ADCK) and the elders it was stated that these objects would be considered as "ambassadors" of Kanak culture. Therefore, instead of actively seeking their return, they would continue to play their role of ambassadors to let the rest of the world know that Kanak exist. A close collaboration between the MEG and the Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie gave birth to a more elaborated exhibition on engraved bamboos which opened in Noumea in March 2010: "Entre-vues sur Bamboos kanak, de Genève à Nouméa ". This was a great chance for curators to experiment forms of collaboration and knowledge sharing, for people from New Caledonia to see for the first time such a rich presentation of engraved bamboos, but also for the MEG bamboos to get a new strength and power, to revitalize themselves back home before continuing to play their role of ambassadors of the Kanaks' existence.

## SESSION 12: WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT RAPANUI?

Grant McCall (University of Sydney) and Olaug Irene Røsvik Andreassen (Oslo)  
Amundsen, Friday 7, 10.15 - 12.15

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 10.15 – 10.45 Grant McCall: History and development: The Birth of the Clinic in the control of the people of Rapanui (Easter Island)  
10.45 – 11.15 Erik Thorsby: An early Amerindian contribution to the Rapanui population  
11.15 – 11.45 Olaug Irene Røsvik: From Aku-Aku to Mana Rapanui  
11.45 – 12.15 Sonia Haa Cardinali: The role of rocks and stones in the evolution Rapanui ancient culture: Some new views of settlement archaeology on Easter Island

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

In terms of the “Power of the Pacific”, there is no more recognisable symbol of the cultures of that region than the moai ancestor figures of Easter Island. The moai are the tiki of quaint nostalgia and part of the ever present adjective “mystery” attached always the world’s most remote inhabited place called “Rapanui”, as the people of that place refer to their Island, their language and themselves. The session seeks to explore from an interdisciplinary perspective what we know about Rapanui, intending to feature papers by Rapanui themselves as well as by those who research in collaboration with that local group. The values, materials and images of the power of Rapanui all are part of the embrace of this panel.

### ABSTRACTS:

#### **Grant McCall (University of Sydney)**

Title: History and development: The Birth of the Clinic in the control of the people of Rapanui (Easter Island)

An often neglected topic in the Pacific Islands is the extent that medicine has been used to control people’s behaviour in the Pacific Islands. Since 1888, when Rapanui was annexed to Chile, medicine has been used to control the Islanders and prevent them from either leaving their island or having much to do with the few visitors permitted to land there. The reason for this control was to mask the very exploitative development of Rapanui by a private sheep ranch company. A light use is made in the analysis of Michel Foucault’s essays on control, *The birth of the clinic* (1963) and *Madness and civilization* (1961).

#### **Erik Thorsby (University of Oslo)**

Title: An early Amerindian contribution to the Rapanui population

Whilst the bulk of the population of Rapanui undoubtedly comes from Polynesia, there are other early genetic influences that have been observed over the last few decades. Recent molecular genetic investigations of HLA genes of some highly selected Easter Islanders fully support a Polynesian origin of its population, but also revealed that some carried HLA genes which have previously almost exclusively been found among Amerindians. Family data reveal that these Amerindian genes were introduced prior to the Peruvian slave trades in the 1860s that led to an admixture of genes from other ethnic groups in the area. The molecular genetic data further suggest that these Amerindian genes may have been introduced before the island was visited by Europeans in 1722. This is a summary and evaluation of this detective work on the world’s most remote place that nevertheless shows influences far beyond its shores.

## **Olaug Irene Røsvik Andreassen (National Museum of Arts, Architecture and Design, Oslo)**

Title: From Aku-Aku to Mana Rapanui

Through short clips from two documentary films on Rapanui heritage (1960, 2010) and on the basis of my work on a contemporary Rapanui youth generation, I discuss ideas on heritage management and the symbolic importance of Rapanui culture.

## **Sonia Haoa Cardinali (University of Chile)**

Title: The role of rocks and stones in the evolution of Rapanui ancient culture: Some new views of settlement archaeology on Easter Island

In the archaeology of Easter Island, a great deal of attention has been paid to the impressive megalithic architecture in platform and statue, but little notice has been taken how rocks and stones have influenced the evolution of this remote island that has so fascinated so many people. Recent research is surveyed and some suggestions for further approaches are made.

## **SESSION 13: WHO OWNS MY PLACE?**

Marc Tabani (CNRS- CREDO)

Amundsen, Friday 7, 13.15 - 16.45

### **SESSION PROGRAMME:**

- 13.15-13.45 Andrew Lattas: Normalizing states of exception: Corruption, logging and land appropriation in New Britain
- 13.45-14.15 Mike Wood: Between resistance and royalty dependence: re-negotiating permit conditions in a PNG logging concession.
- 14.15-14.45 Nick Bainton: Contested Places: divergent interests in a relational landscape
- 14.45-15.00 BREAK
- 15.00-15.25 Marc Tabani: When kastom is used for land alienation purposes in Vanuatu
- 15.25-15.50 Cato Berg: Land as contested value: a view from Solomon Islands
- 15.50-16.15 Paul Sillitoe: Prehistory of place
- 16.15-16.45 DISCUSSION

### **SESSION ABSTRACT:**

Land and sea as sources of livelihood, identity, and creativity are basic for the citizens of the independent island nations of the South-West Pacific, i.e. the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea. Senses of emplacement within landscapes, both created by human activity and seen as belonging to a wider cosmos of being, are vital parts of these islanders' perceptions of themselves through time and space and in relation to Outsiders. Spatial movement and emplaced fixity combine to produce dynamics of historical consciousness and adaptation to change. Indigenous creativity has for long dealt with various kinds and degrees of external intrusions and internal stresses caused by labour recruitment, trade, missions, tourism, and colonial and post-colonial governmental forces. A particular challenge is confronted when transnational and globalising business conglomerates impinge on local populations, seeking to exploit, or gain access to, very large forms of resources, whether in mining, plantation development, forestry, ranching, fishing and/or tourism. Confrontations between local populations and these transnational company actors, or inter-group conflicts among local groups themselves, frequently lead to threats of, or the actual outbreak of, physical violence. Demands for compensation are another

pathway that is sometimes followed, with mixed results in practice. Problems of this order have been experienced separately in the Solomons, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea, and they have generally been studied separately by experts on these three nation states. However, the people of these South-West Pacific societies share a considerable number of basic cultural and social features, amongst which a tenacious set of attitudes towards the land itself is prominent, including the local and wider cosmological attachments to Place. Particularities of colonial and post-colonial history, as well as of cultural diversities, mean that their historical trajectories have diverged in certain ways; but the problems of dealing with transnational companies bring these histories together in terms of comparative analysis. In this session we propose that an explicitly comparative framework, centering on the three countries selected, be pursued, and that both applied and theoretical perspectives be kept in focus. As a way of condensing the concerns at stake in a phrase that can be meaningful both to anthropologists and to the people at large, we have proposed the overall, actor-oriented, title of 'Who owns my Place?' (This session call was originally authored by Pamela Stewart and Andrew Strathern, but the organization of the session was handed over to Marc Tabani since they unfortunately could not attend)

#### ABSTRACTS:

##### **Andrew Lattas (University of Bergen)**

Title: Normalising states of exception: corruption, logging and land appropriation in New Britain.

In contemporary PNG, logging by large scale Malaysian companies has gone hand in hand with corruption and an expanded use of militarised policing that uses state violence and terror to intimidate local opposition. Today, in Pomio, the riot squad is deployed to protect not just the export of logs but also the massive and indeed fraudulent appropriation of local land. Australian aid directed at strengthening the police force, good governance and law and order has helped to train and equip a police force which is hired out so as to become a private army that shows little respect for human rights. Earlier, in the 1990s, the Malaysian loggers were unable to gain the support of local state officials such as councilors, magistrates, and district administrators in the Kaliai area. Today this is not so in Pomio where it is no longer politicians who are seen to have been compromised. Many local state officials also participate in fabricating a law and order problem that can justify extra-judicial state actions. A new kind of capitalism is producing a new kind of state structure and also new kinds of resistances.

##### **Mike Wood (James Cook University)**

Title: Between resistance and royalty dependence: re-negotiating permit conditions in a png logging concession.

Through an analysis of a public meeting this paper outlines how landowner's decided to place a ban on all felling operations in the Wawoi Guavi logging concession in the Western Province, PNG. At issue were negotiations with landowners over the renewal of the concession's permit. Once the permit had expired the government gave the company an 'indefinite grace period' allowing it to operate without a permit. The paper contributes to on-going debates about the role of the PNG state and corporations in maintaining relationships with landowners that are fundamentally exploitative and 'legal'.

## **Nick Bainton (University of Queensland)**

Title: Contested places: divergent interests in a relational landscape

This paper explores the divergent interests in land and natural resources in the Lihir Islands of Papua New Guinea. I will focus on Lihir sacred topography, particularly the dwelling places of local chthonic spirits. These spirits provide both a source power and trouble to local custodians, but also reflect or 'mirror' the relational world of Lihirian society. The presence of a large-scale mining operation adds an additional layer of complexity to this landscape, fundamentally realigning society-environment relationships. My particular interest here lies in the way landowners negotiate and rationalise, among themselves and with outside agents, how their lands, especially those areas where local spirits reside, are to be used in the context of resource development. I argue that while the wealth generated out of this landscape creates unprecedented economic and social opportunities for local landowners, the issue at stake is the way that this new wealth (or capital) ultimately constrains choice, as landowners are required to choose between incommensurable systems of value.

## **Marc Tabani (CNRS, CREDO)**

Title: When kastom is used for land alienation purposes in Vanuatu

"Mama graon" and "kastom governance" are two projects managed simultaneously and interactively by the World Bank and by Ausaid. The National Council of Chiefs (Malvatumauri) and the Vanuatu Cultural Centre are the main national institutions that have been targeted by these projects. In return for their moral caution, consequent funds have been promised to them. But since these projects have been engaged both institutions are trying to back off. Mama Graon seems to be mainly oriented toward developing indigenous lands for business purposes, while Kastom governance is especially concerned by the power of chiefs and their responsibility and control/influence over land. Despite recent claims made at VBTC radio talkback by the Senior Program Manager for AusAid, that "Mama Graon is not a project to make it easier for Australian investors to acquire land in Vanuatu" the situation is becoming locally more tense. Behind this statement which sounds like a usual denegation, this paper will try to provide a survey of the challenges faced by Ni-Vanuatu peoples in regard of such neo-colonial processes.

## **Cato Berg (University of Bergen)**

Title: Land as contested value: a view from Solomon Islands

The constitution of Solomon Islands grants full local ownership through customary laws and land tenure for all Solomon Islanders. At the same time, land and resources are alienated from these very same corporations both in urban and rural areas. In this paper I address themes such as 'landholding unit', 'customary land law' and critically assess trends in land usage by examining a series of cases from Vella Lavella in the Western Province and Honiara, the capital of the island nation. I am particularly interested in two trends. The first is the fate of matrilineal land holding groups in Vella Lavella as they face transnational logging corporations and changing inheritance rules for land and chieftainship. The second pattern is land inheritance among urban youth battling the complexities and costs of urban living. These are people who have lived all their lives in the capital of Honiara and who do not have strong land rights in their home islands. Based on this series of cases I critically analyse concepts such as 'ownership', 'appropriation' and 'corporation' and their relevance for contemporary debates on space and place.

Title: Prehistory of place

It is widely known that land features prominently in the livelihoods, identity and cosmos of South-West Pacific peoples, as the session outline describes. The outline goes on to state that “Senses of emplacement within landscapes . . . are vital parts of these islanders’ perceptions of themselves through time and . . . combine to produce dynamics of historical consciousness”. This paper probes this temporal aspect of place further. Similar to people across Melanesia, those living in the Was valley of the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea evince strong connections to their suw ‘place’. But their interest in the history of places is strangely nonchalant, not extending beyond recall of relatively recent events within living memory. This was brought home to me when we came across an ancient settlement site and my friends responded to my eager questions with disinterested shrugs and protestations of ignorance. It is arguable that their behavior is of a piece with their lack of interest in ancestry generally, as evident in their shallow genealogies and their traditional conceptions of time. The apparent indifference to their region’s prehistory, even arguably the absence of such a notion, raises the question of the relevance of archaeology to such people’s worldview, and hence the relationship between archaeology and anthropology. This is an issue that has intrigued me for some time; following some fruitful collaboration with archaeological colleagues that has not fully yielded anticipated intellectual returns. Both anthropology and archaeology are interested in place. How can they more fruitfully complement one another?

## SESSION 14: RESILIENCE AND RESISTANCE TO THE LOCAL-GLOBAL DICHOTOMY

Laurent Dousset (CREDO-EHESS) and Mélissa Nayral (CREDO-AMU)

Room 711, Friday 7, 10.15 - 16.20

### SESSION PROGRAMME :

- 10.15-10.20 Introduction by Mélissa Nayral and Laurent Dousset
- 10.20-10.40 Pierre Lemonnier: The paradox of marginal changes: event, structure, threshold
- 10.40-11.00 Jean-Louis Rallu: Elites, churches and international organizations in Pacific Island countries
- 11.00-11.15 Discussion
- 11.15-11.35 John Burton: Resistance to benefit-sharing and the resilient rights of landowners to common pool resources in Papua New Guinea
- 11.35-11.55 Dolorès Bodmer and Yves Zoa: What governance for cliffs (and zones plugs) registered on the UNESCO world heritage? Case of the northern Province in New Caledonia
- 11.55-12.10 Discussion
- 12.10-13.15 LUNCH
- 13.15-13.35 Yasmine Musharbash: A Story in and on Signs: Resilience, Resistance, and Acquiescence in central Australia
- 13.35-13.55 Laurent Dousset: Independence from independence: the aborted attempt to establish a Melanesian metropolis in Malekula, Vanuatu
- 13.55-14.15 Maxi Haase: Confronting Centuries Of Narrative Convention – Present Negotiations of Foreign Imagery in Easter Island Tourism
- 14.15 - 14.30 Discussion
- 14.30 - 15.00 BREAK
- 15.00 - 15.20 Mélissa Nayral: Resisting UN ideals to make men and women equal in politics: the French parity law-enforcement in Ouvea (New-Caledonia), when a humanist concern turns into arithmetics
- 15.20 - 15.40 Christian Gasharian: Reformulating & recentering external models and structures in Rapa
- 15.40 - 16.00 BREAK
- 16.00 - 16.20 DISCUSSION

## SESSION ABSTRACT:

Throughout the Pacific people are faced with global changes in economic, political, religious and ecological domains. One important aspect of the encounter between the local/regional and the national/global is the confrontation of divergent political and legal systems. On the one hand there is a significant diversity of so-called customary modes of conceiving and reproducing social and political hierarchies, land tenure systems, social interdependence and solidarity, and systems of rights and obligations. While these systems have been in competition since colonization, people increasingly experience the presence and impact of more or less imposed and exogenous structures and institutions (democracy, elections, lawyers, tribunals...) that attempt to standardize local hierarchies, rights and obligations. In many cases, this confrontation is locally enacted or mediated by the presence of the state and its apparatuses, administrative institutions, non-governmental institutions and the development of industrial plantations and tourism, for example. This session invites contributions that reflect on the strategies and processes that are developed by local communities in response to external legal and political standardizations, as well as those that analyze the pressures and transformations these systems have on local socio-cultural structures and practices. Research has predominantly been interested in the impact globalization has on local situations and in how external phenomena are integrated into local ways of conceiving and adapting social relations ('acculturation', 'transculturation', 'structures of conjuncture'...). In the light of the conference's general theme and to go beyond the well-known 'local/global' dichotomy, we wish to investigate the phenomena from a different perspective and focus on local societies' and cultures' capacity for resistance and resilience. What strategies are locally set up to go beyond the contradictions and conflicts inherent in the confrontation between different political and legal worldviews and systems?

## ABSTRACTS:

### **Pierre Lemonnier (CREDO – CNRS / AIX Marseille University)**

Title: The paradox of marginal changes: event, structure, threshold

Sixty years after discovering the physical and moral powers of White people, part of the Baruya people (Eastern Highlands, Papua New Guinea) put forward particular practices and aspects of their thought systems – namely: male initiations, shamanism and interactions with a series of bush spirits – in resistance to the package of changes Pentecostal churches are trying to impose. Conversely, the leaders of these churches, in their crusade for new forms of personhood enlightened by the Holy Spirit, target these same “ancestral practices”. In the last decades, together with other pillars of the Baruya pre-contact social organization (sister exchange as the dominant form of marriage and an overwhelming interest for collective work), these representations and practices linked to male rituals have been marginally modified: for instance, as a result of the Lutherans' emphasis on schooling in the early 1960s, the initiations are now presented as making warriors and as an education system. Yet, they can be fully understood only by referring to pre-colonial times, and not to “modernity”, because their logic goes back to those times. Moreover, they remain embedded in a system of non-verbal communication anchored in several collective technical activities (garden-fencing and house-building), which are easily readable in the local landscape. By contrast, the situation observed in other Anga groups shows that, once male rituals and marriage with sister-exchange are abandoned, the collective activities fall apart. In terms of anthropological theory, this ethnography provides some clues about thresholds of change, about the circumstances in which a social structure adapts to marginal changes (and why these changes can be glossed as “marginal”) or, conversely, is profoundly modified, and locally considered to be so. The ethnography also shows the role of particular objects and technical activities in the maintaining of key aspects of a culture, system of thought and social organization.

## **Jean-Louis Rallu (INED, France)**

Title: Elites, churches and international organizations in Pacific Island countries

This presentation will address the discourse of the elites, mostly from chiefly lines - supported by strong influence of Churches - who currently lead most of Pacific Island states, and the international and regional organizations that try to promote democracy and good governance. At stake is the social and economic development of Pacific island populations that are now characterized by increasing income inequity and poverty (reaching 40% of the population in Fiji in 2008, according to UNDP). However, it is not extreme poverty, but 'poverty of opportunity' that keep large proportions of families and their children away from quality education and health. There is no starvation, but 'malnutrition' is increasing in sub-urban areas. The situation also affects the health situation: for instance, the Pacific Regional Strategy on HIV-AIDS has seen little implementation while researchers estimate that real figures of HIV positive people are at least 5 times as high as official figures. Altogether, Pacific countries show little progress towards the attainment of the MDG (Millennium Development Goals) and the region has the lowest share of women seating in national parliaments of all regions of the world. High GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth is sometimes based on land leases that deprive families of land for generations, like in some islands of Vanuatu and Fiji. Among the strategies of elites to maintain their position are the denials of the situation with regard to poverty as well as health issues. With respect to governance, local elites use Pacific 'cultures' to claim that democracy and human rights should be adjusted to local customs, such as allowing chiefs (which include most of higher officials) to receive gifts. International Organizations and their monitoring of the socio-economic situation through the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) project of the United Nations and other international projects advise governments and help develop civil society and awareness of developmental and governance issues. According to the International Organizations, progress toward democracy is necessary to avoid a continuous decline in the socio-economic situation of the population and the associated increase in political instability, particularly in Melanesia and Tonga.

## **John Burton (Australian National University)**

Title: Resistance to benefit-sharing and the resilient rights of landowners to common pool resources in Papua New Guinea

Twenty five years after a court case that settled the present configuration of ownership of the Hidden Valley gold mine in the Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea, the operation of the landowner association raises many questions. Introductory texts stress the supposedly egalitarian nature of Melanesian societies, and this is complemented by the intent of government policies for the mining sector in PNG and social responsibility frameworks that the mining industry endorses in respect of the distribution of mining benefits. Mining benefits, however, resemble common pool resources and the way these are appropriated resemble a game-theoretic model in which various kinds of 'defect' strategies enable some players to appropriate larger shares than others. The paper looks at these strategies and whether, in the context of modernisation, landowners show cultural 'resistance' and 'resilience' or are merely solving a familiar form of collective-action problem.

**Dolorès Bodmer (Direction du Développement Economique et de l'Environnement, New-Caledonia) and Yves Zoa (Ministère de la recherche scientifique et de l'innovation, Caméroun)**

Title: What governance for cliffs registered on the UNESCO world heritage? Case of the northern Province in New Caledonia

Since the Agreements of Matignon with the Provincialisation movement in 1988/1989 (the division of the Territory of New Caledonia into three Provinces) and the Agreement of Noumea in 1998, France organizes the transfer of power from Paris to the New Caledonian authorities. Some of these powers – in the economic and environmental domains in particular - are also redistributed to each of the three Provinces. The transfer of authority from the State to regional and local bodies creates a situation of superposition of different levels of powers and rights on top of various preexisting local modes of governance, which react in the form of resistance, adaptation or transformation. Since July, 2008, some New Caledonian cliffs are listed as UNESCO world heritage sites. These cliffs are however also registered as owned property in six different sites administered by the three Provinces. They are also managed by the New Caledonia general authorities. In the application of its environmental policies, New Caledonia has thus added yet another level to the already complex situation: an international authority. Environmental issues are thus administered by rules and laws of various levels, including two governments (France and New Caledonia), three Provinces among which the policies and rules diverge, 33 municipalities competent in offshore safety and security, as well as various levels of traditional modes of management subdivided into chieftainships (stemming from the colonization), clans, chalk-linings and lineages. These are, at the scale of the Territory (New Caledonia) usually represented by the (customary) senate as a consultative authority, which is itself stemming from the Agreement of Noumea. Taking as example the North Province and its listed World Heritage areas and marine protected areas, this paper proposes to analyze the complex situation that results from the coexistence of these various levels of political and legal powers. It will investigate the ways through which Kanak people attempt to manage their territory today in the light of the multiplicity of authorities and legal forms superimposed onto their “traditional” territorial management. Despite the more than 150 years of French colonization with its successive governments, we shall see how Kanak people resist and adapt, and sometimes even apply official regulatory means and processes to assert their primary interest in managing these areas.

**Yasimine Musharbash (Sydney University)**

Title: A Story in and on Signs: Resilience, Resistance, and Acquiescence in central Australia

In 2007, the federal Australian government announced and began to implement the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER, locally called “The Intervention”), a sweeping and often draconian policy ostensibly addressing disadvantage in Aboriginal communities across the Northern Territory. Warlpiri people living in and around the central Australian Tanami Desert overwhelmingly oppose the Intervention and the resultant legal and political standardisations in process of being implemented in their home settlements. In this paper, I discuss Warlpiri attitudes of resistance, resilience, and acquiescence through analysing local reactions to signs. Road signs are erected by the NTER, billboards are announcing policy, and signs are also erected by Warlpiri people. My case studies include so-called ‘Intervention Signs’, erected across the Northern Territory at every location where a public road enters Aboriginal Land and announcing alcohol and pornography prohibitions; signs erected by Indigenous and non-indigenous locals as a response to ‘Intervention Signs’, and the erection of signs requested by Warlpiri people from the Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority to signal entry restrictions to sacred sites. I take signs as sites of struggle of authority and control over local lives and land, but also show how the local erection of signs is a mimetic strategy. The latter reveals aspects of an easily unnoticed kind of transformation of local socio-cultural structures and practices.

## **Laurent Dousset (CREDO - EHESS / Aix Marseille University)**

Title: Independence from independence: The aborted attempt to establish a Melanesian metropolis in Malekula, Vanuatu

From the late 1990s onwards, the inhabitants of several villages in South Malekula engaged in a particularly ambitious project fostered by national and foreign investors and Father Leymang, one of the two leaders of the independence movement of Vanuatu in the 1970s. The ambition was to create an independent state within the state, a metropolis as modern and as ambitious as Singapore, New York, London or Kuala Lumpur. It was intended to have its own passport and borders, police and political structures, university and financial City. It was supposed to become a State of the Melanesian way, where local inhabitants would share the benefits and profits, where they would have been involved in decision-taking processes and educated to become citizens of the world while keeping their Melanesian characteristics and *kastom*. Agreements were signed; young men recruited and trained to become police officers, custom officers, accountants and managers. Coconut trees were chopped down to make room for buildings. Small houses were erected to host the new city's political infrastructure. While "everyone" was enthusiastic about this quasi-utopian project at the beginning, it soon faced increasing criticisms from parts of the local population itself. Through its "democratic" ideology of sharing and distributing rights and benefits, obligations and profits, it was also going to override existing oppositions and hierarchies that had previously articulated the relationships between local and not-so-local inhabitants, and between individual lineages and clans. It soon fostered the expressed will for reconstructing and clarifying who is and who is not a traditional inhabitant and owner, an authentic owner, and for what reasons. The project was finally (and at least temporarily) abandoned. Far from levelling out social distinctions, relationships between families and kin-groups, which was the original aim of the project, the result was an eager fight for regaining resilience and restabilising pre-colonial hierarchies between the inhabitants, resisting, at least for some, what they believe to be an imposed definition of the Melanesian way.

## **Maxi Haase (University Hospital Heidelberg)**

Title: Countering the mystery: Local negotiations of foreign imagery in Easter Island tourism

Since its European discovery in 1722, Easter Island has been regarded as a place fraught with enigmas and secrets. Countless theories about its famed stone statues, the initial colonization of the island, the ethnic origin of its first settlers and the alleged demise of their traditional culture are based on a colonial discourse perceiving Easter Island as an isolated speck of earth inhabited by a population ridden by warfare and ecological mismanagement. As a stylized epitome of mystery, Easter Island has been appropriated by heteronomous ideological projections albeit the genuine perspectives and cultural condition of its indigenous inhabitants. A flourishing local tourism industry has challenged these foreign depictions and facilitated a more self-determined local presentation of the island. Principally in local hands, contemporary tourism on Easter Island opposes the distortions and omissions in the island's traditionally anachronistic representations and propagates alternative views of the place. The elaborated concept of a "living culture" plays a key role in these reformulations and has become a major impetus towards discussions of cultural identity and self-determination. My paper discusses contemporary responses of Easter Islanders to the distorted foreign image of their homeland as it manifests in the island's tourism context. Booming in proportions unknown elsewhere in the Pacific, I argue that Easter Island tourism represents a crucial setting of local empowerment over present and future perceptions and treatments of this much misinterpreted place and its inhabitants.

## **Mélicca Nayral (CREDO / Aix Marseille University)**

Title: Resisting UN ideals to make men and women equal in politics: the Loi sur la parité bill-enforcement in Ouvea (New-Caledonia), when a humanist concern turns into arithmetics

In 1995, during the 4th women UN world conference in Beijing, improving women's place in politics was made a necessity. As a consequence to this, including women in decisional processes was meant to become a priority of many countries. A year earlier, in 1994, the platform of action for the Pacific had ratified in Noumea, the necessity of educating many more women, of giving them more possibilities to obtain qualified jobs with high responsibilities, as well as the necessity of promoting the election of skilled women. The « Loi sur la parité » bill, voted in France on the 6th of June 2000, tends to promote equal access for men and women to both election mandates and elective positions. On that aspect, it also satisfies the requirements of articles 7 and 8 of the Convention of The Committee on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW Committee – CEDEF in French), which France had previously signed in 1985. This so-called « Loi sur la parité », was progressively extended to all French overseas territories (DOM, TOM...) and its enforcement in New Caledonia started in 2004. It is beyond questions that this bill had immediate consequences on the New-Caledonian political scene, in particular regarding the composition of the Congrès (local parliament). As a consequence, several women such as D. Gorodee, who had actively been involved in politics for many years, were finally offered eligible positions on electoral lists, which led them to accessing some of the highest local political responsibilities. In Ouvea, remote Island of New-Caledonia, over 90% of the population is Kanak and custom, where men have the monopoly of public speeches and politics, is not an exotic hobby. The political context is quite gendered, and women do not get their say in the so-called political life of chiefdoms. In fact, they are not even allowed to attend some of the meetings where only chiefs and prestigious men are invited. However, most of the major community-related decisions are made within the various state institutions. With this law enforcement, women are now widely welcome to be a part of them. But to which point can we consider that attending a meeting equals being a part in the political debates? And apart from family and education, what fields do women really end up being in charge of? How come some women only found out they had been elected in the Mairie (local Council) on the Election Day? In Ouvea, the « loi sur la parité » bill seems to have had applications and consequences that Paris and the Assemblée nationale had obviously forgotten to consider when elaborating it. This paper therefore wishes to investigate the various ways this bill was locally experienced.

## **Christian Ghasarian (Institut d'ethnologie, Université de Neuchâtel)**

Title: Reformulating & recentering external models and structures in Rapa

This paper will address the specific social and cultural situation of Rapa, the remote and southernmost Island of French Polynesia (in the Australes archipelago), regarding global forces and influences. It will first describe how the main State and religious unavoidable institutions (municipality, school, hospital, church) are, in the neo-colonial context of what is today qualified as a French Overseas Country, locally adjusted for benefit of the community. After examining the impact these institutions have on the local population, I will point out the communal management of land tenure in a system, unique in French Polynesia today, according to which the Island is conceived a common property to everyone with a Rapa blood. Anybody with a Rapa ancestry from bilateral descent can actually request to a Council of the Wise (composed with fourteen elected elders) a piece of land to build a house and/or to make plantations. Although they are prized by the population, these council's principles are in total contradiction with the French jurisdiction that – through its “civil code” – favours private properties. But interestingly, a local strategy to reinforce the power of this customary institution is expressed in the continuous support it officially receives from the local State representatives that are the City council members. The Rapa society then manages its plural system of right and duties through a fluid double system of reference that allows them to go beyond the inherent contradictions resulting from its official political situation.

In this respect, the claim for independence, at stakes in urban Tahiti, is not a local concern. People actually say they “already are independent” as they consider to have a certain political autonomy regarding their social governance; the reference to a remote territory and to specific cultural ways being the two main reasons explaining this situation. My presentation will finally address the systematic reference to the idea of “protection” of (and in) the Island from external threat, as a rhetoric strategy that expresses and generates a daily constructed bound between the islanders.

## SESSION 15: RELIGIOUS SENSATIONS IN OCEANIA

Christine Dureau

Room 706, Friday 7, 10:15 - 16:30

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 10.15-10.30 Introduction by Christine Dureau  
10.30-11.00 Franca Tamisari: “Action Dancing”: Movement and Feeling with Others and for Others: Cultivating the Senses in a Christian Context, Northeast Arnhem Land, Australia.  
11.00-11.30 Terry M. Brown: Offering all the Senses to God: Anglican Church of Melanesia Offertory Processions.  
11.30-11.45 BREAK  
11.45-12.15 Eric Venbrux: The Senses and Sense Making in Tiwi Ritual  
12.15-13.15 LUNCH  
13.15-13.45 Rodolfo Maggio: “A Song of Love is Not a Love Song”: Pentecostal Conversion, Worship, and Emotional Transactions in Honiara, Solomon Islands.  
13.45-14.15 Tomi Bartole: Transforming Religion – Transforming Bodies: An Approach to Religion through the Senses of Touch  
14.15-14.45 Bård R. Aaberge: Aboriginal Dreamings and Existence: Søren Kierkegaard, Anthropology and the Paradox of Truth  
14.45-15.00 BREAK  
15.00-15.30 Christine Dureau: It’s Durkeim! It’s Durkheim!: Participant Observation in Christian Services  
15.30-16.30 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

The senses are prominent in religious phenomena throughout Oceania, a region of diverse experiences of and experiments with social and cultural forms. Yet the conjunction of religion and sensoriality is rarely explicitly analyzed. At a time of growing interest in religious diversity and in the senses across the social sciences and humanities, this session highlights their interplay in contexts of rapid change, culturally distinctive phenomenologies, ontologies and epistemologies, and the creative interplay between indigenous and exotic forces. This session takes a broad approach to religion to include ritual and ceremonial, sacred/profane distinctions, indigenous and world religions, secular rituals, and so on.

Topics might include, but are not limited to:

- Culturally proper relationships between sensoria and religiosity (including culturally defined senses)
- Multi-sensoriality and conscience collective
- Reflexive accounts of sensory experiences in researching religious phenomena • Sensation, discipline and religious authority
- Sensory continuity and discontinuity in conversion contexts
- The deployment of sensation in rites of passage
- The efficacy of particular senses, such as sound in chant, hymns, glossolalia, etc.

While rich ethnographic and empirical accounts are welcome, participants are asked to explicitly consider the place of the senses in religious life. How might religious efficacy depend upon sensation? In what ways might the senses and religion reciprocally constitute or define each other? What part does sensoriality play in stereotypes of sensational Oceanic religious forms? Are particular religious practices characterized by particular sensory practices? How, in short, might we understand religious sensations in context of the shifting values and imaginations in and of Oceanic social worlds, and what might Oceanic sensoria contribute to broader theoretical understanding of relationships between sensory and religious being in the social sciences and humanities?

ABSTRACTS:

**Franca Tamisari (Ca' Foscari University of Venice and University of Queensland)**

Title: "Action Dancing": Movement and Feeling with Others and for Others: Cultivating the Senses in a Christian Context, Northeast Arnhem Land, Australia.

Considering the senses as a subject of study as well as a methodological tool, from a kinaesthetic perspective, I explore Yolngu Christian narratives and practices in which the divine is identified, known, evaluated, interpreted and made authoritative through a wide range of sensory experiences. Particular attention will be given to a form of liturgical dance, called "Action" that is performed mainly by women to Gospel songs in a variety of contexts such as prayer meetings, Christian revivals, music festivals, mortuary rituals, and welcoming ceremonies. Drawing upon the centrality of the body, movement and affect in Yolngu cosmology, epistemology (rom) and ritual performance (bunngul), I focus on "Action" in terms of a "cultivated body logic that entangles mind and body in a particular dynamic" (Brahinski 2012; Luhrmann 2004), and as a kind of prayer that attunes the performers and the spectators' attention (Sklar 2000; Csordas 1993) to invoke, recognize and feel the supernatural.

**Terry M. Brown (Anglican Church of Melanesia)**

Title: Offering all the Senses to God: Anglican Church of Melanesia Offertory Processions.

In Roman Catholic and Anglican religious practice in recent decades, the Offertory has assumed a significant role in the Eucharistic Liturgy. In the Anglican Church of Melanesia, the Offertory procession on special occasions might include bowls of burning incense, dance, pan pipers, a traditional orator, choirs and other musical accompaniment, as well as the presentation of gifts. All the senses are engaged: touch (the Offertory begins with the Exchange of Peace among the congregation), sight, sound, smell and (eventually) taste (the reception of the Sacrament) and a multi-sensory sensual experience engulfs the congregation. For those who participate in or experience such Offertory processions, the experience is often a deeply-moving one of relationship with the divine. This paper explores different approaches to these multisensory religious events: (a) theological, likening them to the Greater Entrance of Eastern Orthodoxy; (b) cultural, as the inculturation of Pacific practices of sacrifice and exchange, integrated with Catholic theologies of Eucharistic sacrifice; (c) anthropological, in terms of a uniting and united religious and cultural community; (d) aesthetic, an attempt to produce a beautiful piece of art for God; and (e) a combination of all these factors working to support one another. I argue that the continuing multiplication and elaboration of these multisensory Offertory processions is a way in which the Anglican Church of Melanesia continues to grow and develop in response to the challenge of new religious movements such as Pentecostalism and secularism (e.g., western rock music).

**Eric Venbrux (Radboud University, Nijmegen)**

Title: The Senses and Sense Making in Tiwi Ritual

This paper addresses the deployment of the senses, both with regard to the management of emotions and to sense making, in Tiwi Aboriginal ritual. The sensibility to religious sensations, a prerequisite to the acquisition of deeper religious knowledge, increases with greater ritual experience and involvement. As participants differ in their sensory grasp and related cognitive understanding the exegetic meanings also differ, and the paper focuses on how these participants make sense of the religious content of rites of passage in different ways.

**Tomi Bartole (University of St Andrews)**

Title: Transforming Religion – Transforming Bodies: An Approach to Religion through the Senses of Touch

This paper explores religion through the sense of touch, which has been characterized by many authors as multifaceted, to the extent that it makes sense to use the plural form – senses of touch. This is because touch, or the haptic sense, relates to different forms including proprioception (vestibular, kinaesthesia, coetaneous) and the tactile. Moreover, the sense of touch is intrinsically related to intimacy, distance and space, but above all, it is the sense of the body as the perceiving human being directly engaged in the world. Touch, which is the body itself, is at the same time sentient and active. In the present paper touch is used as a descriptive-analytic tool. Touch renders religion concrete: it is felt and experienced. The body that senses and acts assimilates an exterior knowledge and structure in the very process of constituting its forms. This paper analyzes prohibitions and prescriptions related to the sense of touch amongst the Urapmin people studied by Joel Robbins. Besides considering how touch is (or is not) entailed in relations between people in meetings, ceremonies and rituals, I discuss different modalities of touching that characterize such relations. The paper draws on existing literature to explore modalities of touch that, on the one hand, build authority in the community and, on the other, inter-communal relations.

**Rodolfo Maggio (University of Manchester)**

Title: “A Song of Love is Not a Love Song”: Pentecostal Conversion, Worship, and Emotional Transactions in Honiara, Solomon Islands.

“There is a difference between singing a love song and singing because you are in love”. This is how a Malaitan man explained why he decided to leave his previous Christian denomination to join one of the Pentecostal churches that have been mushrooming in the Solomon Islands over the past four decades. In this maxim I read the conjunction of religious beliefs and sensorial motifs that can help to explain numerous aspects of conversion and adherence to, and participation in, these new charismatic denominations. Honiara, the site of my fieldwork, is a context in which the culture of Kwara’ae labour migrants is subject to rapid change. Their way of being Christian is altering too, and the growing range of possible religious experiences constitutes an opportunity for anthropologists to look into what Pacific islanders seek, feel and value when they practice a form of religiosity. The spectacular phenomenology of Pentecostal churches provides a set of concrete and observable data that can help to interrogate these issues. In this paper, my aim is to describe how emotions and sensations are keys to understanding the transactional character of Kwara’ae religious experience in Pentecostal churches. Furthermore, I will claim that it is not possible to appreciate the meaning of conversion to Pentecostal ethno-theologies without an understanding of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit as a rite of passage fundamentally constituted by sensations, emotions, and the absorption of the senses.

## **Bård R. Aaberge (James Cook University)**

Title: Aboriginal Dreamings and Existence: Søren Kierkegaard, Anthropology and the Paradox of Truth

In 1846, Søren Kierkegaard stated that “subjectivity is truth”, arguing that truth can be reduced to neither universal truth, nor relative or multiple truths, but is inherently paradoxical. It is experienced and lived, it is passion, and it is existentially transformative. Religious and mystical truth can only be known and sensed individually. A state of becoming, it cannot be known objectively or in abstract reflection. I draw upon Kierkegaard to illuminate the disparity between Indigenous and Western relations to the Australian Aboriginal Dreaming. His notions imply that the experiential and sensory dimensions of the Dreaming can only be known through the anthropologist’s experience, in “inderlighed”, a sincere, passionate inwardness. Ultimately, religious experience and appropriation depend on an existential leap of faith to informants’ religious reality. I argue that knowing radical otherness is possible with a subjective, experiential approach, culminating in a leap of faith. For me, this was predicated on a revelatory dream early in my fieldwork, which was soon followed by waking encounters with dubu, spirits or ghosts. My sensory experiences of dubu were mainly visual, but also involved hearing and touch. My experiences parallel personal stories given by many Yalanji people, and I was as a result seen as becoming one of them. Kierkegaard did not write about religious sensory experience, but his thinking points to faith as a prerequisite for it. A leap of faith can in other words yield access to existential and sensory aspects of an Aboriginal Dreaming otherwise inaccessible through more orthodox anthropological methods.

## **Christine Dureau (The University of Auckland)**

Title: It’s Durkeim! It’s Durkheim!: Participant Observation in Christian Services

On 1990s Simbo (Western Solomons), Uniting Church services often included sonorous, intensely moving hymns or “United Prayer”, both of which saw the congregation progressively caught up in a collective, emotional sense of Christian being and truth. Participating in such services as one raised in a devoutly Catholic family, I found myself on the verge of accepting that “the spirit had come down on me”, as Tinoni Simbo phrased it. My response was one of retreat, clutching the rough wooden seating to force splinters into my fingertips and chanting sotto voce, “It’s Durkheim, It’s Durkheim; conscience collective, conscience collective” in my efforts to resist the moment. This paper draws on these contending elements of sensory engagement to address the relationship between researchers’ religious histories and sensory being, and anthropological approaches to Christian belief. I review some of the historical literature on the relationships between sensory being and knowledge which variously claim the senses as impediment to, versus means of achieving, understanding. Drawing on these alternative approaches to sensoriality, I address recent questions about the significance of one’s own religious position to the kinds of ethnographic understanding it is possible to achieve, questions which have particular salience in anthropological approaches to Christianity. Finding the answer more complex than many arguments allow, I refuse to advocate any particular approach, stressing auto-critical reflexive consideration of both the possibilities and impossibilities of understanding.

## SESSION 16: PACIFIC TIME(S)

Steffen Dalsgaard (Aarhus), Ton Otto (James Cook University) and Rolf Scott (Bergen)  
Forskjønningen, Friday 7th, 10:15 - 16:30

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 10:15-10:30 Introduction by Dalsgaard and Scott  
10:30-11:05 Michael French Smith: Bloody Time Revisited  
11:05-11:40 Borut Telban: Temporality: A Karawari Perspective  
11:40-12:15 Anders Emil Rasmussen: The Dead Are Like the Japanese - They Work on Time, They Do What They Are Told: Hopes for Time Management in Manus  
12.15-13.20 LUNCH  
13:20-13:30 Brief Summary by Dalsgaard and Scott  
13:30-14:05 Anke Tonnaer: Stone Age Imaginaries in Tourist Performances in Indigenous Australia  
14:05-14:40 Steffen Dalsgaard: Election Time  
14:40-15:00 BREAK  
15:00-15:35 Alexis von Poser: The Kayan Calendar - a Religio-Spatial Phenomenon  
15:35-16:10 Rolf Scott: The Global as a Reality Machine  
16:10-16:30 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

In his 1994 novel, *L'Isola del Giorno Prima*, Umberto Eco describes how a young nobleman travels to the Pacific in search for the Dateline, which separates today from yesterday. One of his preoccupations is that by crossing it, he can travel back in time. While this fascination with the International Dateline is out of the ordinary, it does exemplify how a globalized modern imaginary of time, based on 'grids' and point-based measurability, forms a basic epistemology for Europeans' encounters with the Pacific. But to what extent have such modern temporalities and imaginaries of time, and the consequences that they entail, transformed Pacific societies and the way they are organized? This is just one of many questions, which could address how 'time' is structured and interpreted in contemporary Pacific societies, and how temporalities or temporal orientations take part in forming people's lives either individually or at the level of society. Are there 'Pacific alternatives' to 'Western' time, or adaptations to the latter? And how are these – or the dialectic between them – formulated? Time has configured prominently in scholarship on the Pacific, albeit not always with a focus on perceptions of time or temporalities as such. Yet, the ethnography of the Pacific is laden with temporal references in cosmology, mythology and religious practice. Millenarian movements and ideologies of tradition and heritage furthermore turn temporality into a political issue – sometimes in turn adopted as strategic essentialisms (as for instance eloquently formulated in Epeli Hau'ofa's novel *Tales of the Tikongs*), or as competing valorizations of visions for either the past or the future. The advent of 'empty clock time' and the grid of the world map have also had profound effects on perceptions of space and navigational practices, and likewise it has impacted on values, work practices etc. through rational-bureaucratic norms and scales (including that of 'development' and 'evolution'). In short, we want to ask how 'time' is part of political, economical, religious, traditional or spatial imaginaries, and how these are expressed in practice – whether through speech, discourse, ceremonial action or everyday interaction. This panel thus invites contributors to address notions of 'time' in the Pacific by analysis of the above mentioned as well as other cultural, spatial, historical, archaeological or linguistic phenomena.

## ABSTRACTS:

### **Michael French Smith (Michael French Smith Consulting, Silver Spring, Maryland)**

Title: 'Bloody Time' Revisited

During my first field work in Kragur Village (Kairiru Island, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea) in 1975-76, many villagers complained that time was scarce, and some were trying to establish greater time-discipline in village. Yet many villagers were ill at ease with the notion of time as an autonomous entity, market incentives to use time more economically were negligible, and distaste for speeding up and rigidifying the pace and pattern of daily life was widespread. The situation made more sense to me once I understood the intense anxiety surrounding the recent advent of national independence; the millenarian energy abroad in those days, apparent, for example, in the bent of village Catholicism; and, the intersection of these phenomena with competition for leadership in a fluid political environment. This concatenation of circumstances and the heightened interest in time it provoked did not last. In today's Kragur – as observed in 2008 and 2011 – Catholicism is still vitally important and some villagers seek union with the Holy Spirit in charismatic worship, but millenarianism has, at the least, gone underground. Fear of the consequences of national independence has given way to mere disappointment. And most villagers are now quite at ease with the concepts and tools of Western time management. They still, however, have little scope for using them. Practices pertaining to time, including modes of work, differ little from those the would-be prophets of greater time discipline inveighed against decades ago. In thinking about changes I think the following forces are among those at play: the remaining symbolic and ritual significance of time order and discipline – even absent their relatively overt religious associations of the 1970s; the utility of an ideology of time order in the struggle to redefine and reallocate power in Kragur, present in the 1970s but now appearing in an updated guise; and, indifference or perhaps mere blindness to the redefinition and re-valuing of all aspects of village life inherent in restructuring Kragur's time world.

### **Borut Telban (Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts)**

Title: Temporality: a Karawari perspective

In 2011, during my last long-term fieldwork among the Karawari people of East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea, some men, when asked about the main differences between them and Europeans, wittily said: 'You, the Whites, eat on time, we, the Blacks, eat anytime!' This was just one of many local observations, quite typical for Papua New Guinea generally, confirming people's continuous engagement with the external world. Their basic temporal concept remains 'period' or 'season', characterized by the repetition of sameness. Time is then created between the periods of sameness and spatial markers, that is, between times themselves (defined periods) and places (defined spaces). I would like to explore correlation between grammatical markers of continuity, long duration and repetition in verbs, ways of talking and singing – where individual 'periods' are defined and framed by parallelisms and repetitions – and actual practices, either common or ritualized. This will lead me into addressing how contemporary temporal frameworks – elementary school, Christian calendar, Catholic charismatic movement, new technologies such as mobile phones, and so on – influence people's perception of and attitude towards time.

### **Anders Emil Rasmussen (University of Oslo)**

Title: The dead are like the Japanese - they work on time, they do what they are told: Hopes for time-management in Manus (Papua New Guinea)

'Community projects' is a growing concern for people of Mbuke Islands in Manus (Papua New Guinea),

but working together as a totality creates the unsettling yet appealing possibility, even necessity, of hierarchical organization of work. Continuing difficulties in working together as 'a community', rather than in smaller entities like lineages and groups of allies, are often contrasted with the social organization and willing compliance among the spirits of the dead, who are said to do what they are told, and in the most extreme versions are described as lacking personal judgment and will entirely. Like Japanese soldiers whose army discipline was experienced by older informants during WW II, the dead follow the plans laid out by their leaders, and do things at the moments in time that they were intended to, hence providing a way to imagine a social order in which constant aspirations for (and scepticism against) leadership positions and influence do not undercut and delay collective projects. In these ways the world of the dead reflects hopes and fears for the future, while at the same time providing a way of talking about contemporary transformations of leadership and the organization of work.

### **Anke Tonnaer (Radboud University Nijmegen)**

Title: Time Travels: Stone Age imaginaries in touristic performances in Indigenous Australia

Time is a constitutive element in the tourist imaginary of Indigenous Australia. An invitation to visit Aboriginal country and to experience Indigenous culture(s) is presented as a journey through time. Indeed, the typical rhetoric is steeped in allusions to antiquity, and often the suggestion of seeing the 'ancient land' and meeting its people is left open and ambiguous enough for tourists to be filled in with a keen aspiration to meet representatives of the 'Stone Age'. In view of the strongly desired sense of authenticity amongst tourists, this is not surprising. Moreover, throughout colonial and post-colonial time the emphasis on an unbroken relation through traditional cultural practices to this 'time immemorial' has been a decisive factor in the contact between Aboriginal people and non-Indigenous settlers, and has been given expression to in political, legal, social and cultural domains. In this paper I look at the impact of this persistent imaginary in the performative encounter between tourists and Aboriginal people. I argue that both parties not only suspend disbelief but also actively perform cultural difference through either embodying the clichéd image of a modern soul who has lost touch with his or her own traditions or by donning the primitive persona who lives in a timeless world. Indeed, possible tardiness or even organizational disarray was generally interpreted through a willing perspective of differing socio-cultural intervals of time. Put differently, whether the experience of cultural alterity is successful relies on an intercultural collaborative production in which the sought-after cultural gap can be established through a purposeful 'denial of coevalness'.

### **Steffen Dalsgaard (Aarhus University)**

Title: Election Time

This paper argues that the National Parliamentary Elections in Papua New Guinea have come to constitute a ritual five-year exchange cycle. The paper attempts to a) trace how this cycle has been institutionalised and b) discuss how the cycle informs a specific temporality of the PNG State, which temporarily reverses the otherwise dominant power-relationship between politician-big men and grassroots, which political commentators often describe as 'patron-client'.

### **Alexis von Poser (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg)**

Title: The pre-mission calendar system in Kayan (North Coast Niugini)

I have worked on a pre-mission calendar system in Kayan (North Coast Niugini) that used the apparent spatial movement of the sun over the year for temporal information. This calendar also had influences

on the shape of the settlement and the social structure. Parts of this calendar have been abandoned after the turn to the Christian calendar but there are still various links in existence that lead to the old system. Furthermore, the calendar has been used recently as part of a local revival movement that promoted everything considered crucial to Kayan identity.

### **Rolf Scott (University of Bergen)**

Title: The Global as a Reality Machine

This paper will present how the world and the Pacific became defined through the global grid of latitude and longitude, which enabled the individual to become a positioned point based and certain centre in a measurable, point based whole and totality. The global grid was used to measure and organise space, which among others placed the Pacific at the outskirts of existence and turned the world into a giant clock. It also set forth an explorative dynamics of the virtual, enabling the Western world to define time as an intrinsic part of space and as something momentarily, which is a highly efferent and nostalgic quality, but that became increasingly localised, subjective and virtualised as the notion of grid based time evolved. Still, although Western and now global space-time is a power tool that is used to expand and control the past, present and future, it also creates a space-time that distances the motion based human being from his, hers or the groups relationship with their own selves and contextual pasts and in particular beyond the potential of grid based space-time positioning. The latter part of the paper will thereby present how elites on the Hawaiian Islands transformed Hawaii with success by mimicking the power of the West, the nation state and its spatiality (hence time), but whose momentum was lost due to high death tolls caused by disease and after being annexed by the USA. Further it presents how present day Hawaiian based Polynesian Voyaging enables Hawaiians to connect with a cultural past, by engaging a reality and collectively human dynamics described through the concepts and use of the ritual, the rite of passage and the event. Polynesian ocean voyaging has by disregarding the use of Western navigational/ time instruments when out at sea, connected with a voyaging past beyond that of Western influence. This has on the one hand changed the past, and created cultural beacons of Hawaiian origin which are framed and positioned by the grid, and that function as instant windows or portals to the associative potentialities of a Hawaiian pasts and whose force may be drawn upon in particular when constructing a grid based present.

## SESSION 17: GREAT THINGS OF OCEANIA: THE LARGE SCALE NATURE OF THE LOCAL

Lissant Bolton (British Museum), Edvard Hviding (University of Bergen), James Leach (University of Aberdeen)

Welhaven, Saturday 8, 09.00 - 15.00

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 09:00-09:15 Welcome and Introduction by James Leach  
09:15-09:45 Lissant Bolton: Looking to the foundations: the historic basis of contemporary Melanesian inter-connections  
09:45- 10:15 Katarina Schneider: Traditional Leaders and the Making of Inter-Island Relations and Difference in Bougainville  
10:15-10:30 BREAK  
10:30-11:00 Edvard Hviding: In the Tens of Thousands: Conceptualizations of the large-scale in New Georgia  
11:00-11:30 Almut Schneider: Questions about exteriority  
11:30-12:00 Judith Bovensiepen: The large-scale nature of land claims in East Timor  
12:00-13:00 LUNCH  
13:00-13:30 Joachim Goerlich: The “Kalam Cultural Festival”: scaling up of an initiation ritual in the northern fringe of the Highlands of Papua New Guinea  
13:30-14:00 Mike Poltorak: From ‘Evil Spirits’ to ‘Brain Disease’: Shifting Agency, Humor and the Establishment of a Tongan Public Psychiatry  
14:00-14:15 BREAK  
14:15-14:45 Gaia Cottino: The greatness of beauty: the large scale nature of Miss Heilala  
14.45-15.00 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

What is it about the practices of Oceanic peoples that allow those practices to be scaled up, to include and expand through widening areas of operation? Inviting reflection on the many historical and contemporary examples of initiatives that are truly large scale – initiatives of local social/political/economic/religious (etc.) character, often inter-island, and usually inter-cultural in terms of local cultural/linguistic specificity – this session foregrounds such Great Things of Oceania. From regional trading networks or political and social movements, to the borrowing and exchange of styles, rituals and knowledge, irrigation systems for agriculture, traditional systems of knowledge management, and recent industrial initiatives in logging and mining, it would be erroneous to think of the Pacific and its peoples as either atomised or inward looking. With this session, we wish to highlight and examine how the life outlook for many people in the islands of Oceania is distinctly inter-island (also noting Epeli Hau’ofa’s Sea of Islands), while in Island Melanesia in particular there are the large issues of local organisational responses to the expansion of mining, court cases encompassing all levels from village to High Court, and the adaptation of customary land tenure systems to changing political and economic circumstances etc. The Power of the Pacific is, then, apparent in these Great Things. What can the organisation and execution of ceremonies that draw in and bind others in growing networks show us of modes of expansion and organisational re-creation that are different from current orthodoxies? We do not propose this session as in any way an idyllic discussion of the Pacific, but as a comparative debate about local potentialities that have reaches far beyond the local, for good or bad.

## ABSTRACTS:

### **Lissant Bolton (The British Museum)**

Title: Looking to the foundations: the historic basis of contemporary Melanesian inter-connections

Archaeological research is revealing more and more of the early history of Melanesia, as the fine-grained revelations from different sites demonstrate what people were doing in the region over millenia. This research is developing a picture not just of how people settled the region, but also how they continued to travel within it in subsequent centuries. These insights provide a perspective on the linked nature of the region and on some of the enduring characteristics of social life across it. For example, rock art in Arnhem Land dated to the last Glacial Maxima (around 20,000 years ago) depicts figures carrying netbags. These paintings were made at a time when New Guinea and Australia were part of one continent. It seems likely that if such bags were made in Arnhem Land, they may also have been made further north: that the contemporary PNG bilum, and Indigenous Australian looped netbags, have a common origin in the far distant past. Such insights provide a partial foundation for understanding the more recent interconnections that will be discussed in this session. This paper sketches the picture that is developing of the long history of this region, and argues that a better understanding of this history may strengthen our understanding of Melanesia.

### **Judith Bovensiepen (University of Kent)**

Title: The large-scale nature of land claims in East Timor

Potential and actual relations that are embodied in specific sites in the landscape seem to epitomise the local. Complexly entangled social and ancestral relations with the land can take on such localised forms that their replication at supra-local scales seems impossible. Yet, this is precisely what is attempted when land claims are nationally registered and customary land tenure becomes a category of national law. In East Timor – situated at the crossroads between Asia and the Pacific – overlapping claims to the land often remain hidden potentialities that are only actualised in particular contexts. Nevertheless recent national programs to include customary land tenure in the legal system and to register land claims across the country are met with enthusiasm as they promise to represent local interests at a larger level. This paper discusses the challenges of these recent political and legal transformations in East Timor, which involves the ‘scaling up’ of localised relations with the land by incorporating customary land tenure into the national sphere. The comparison between East Timor and the Pacific will generate valuable insights for understanding local adaptations, changes of political identity and the potential conflicts that these changes bring about.

### **Joachim Goerlich (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle)**

Title: The “Kalam Cultural Festival”: scaling up of an initiation ritual in the northern fringe of the Highlands of Papua New Guinea

In the Schrader Mountains of the Madang Province in Papua New Guinea some Kalam local groups perform initiation rituals that are in many respects similar to those that were practiced when the colonial impact started about half a century ago. Since 2005 one of these groups has staged such an initiation ritual as the core of the “Kalam Cultural Festival”. The festival takes place in the neighbourhood of a newly established guest house and a cultural museum. And for its attendance worldwide advertisement is made with the help of a tourist agency. In the paper the transformation processes related to the festival will be discussed. On the one hand the ritual construction of the socio-cosmological network is scaled up through the “globalization” of the ritual, which involves also new organizational forms like a

charismatic movement. On the other hand the Kalam self-reflection on the festival is taking place within a discursive field that increasingly takes into account the tensions between “tradition/authenticity” and “modernity/commodification”.

### **Edvard Hviding (University of Bergen)**

Title: In the Tens of Thousands: Conceptualizations of the large-scale in New Georgia

In both vernacular, colonial and academic terms, the history of the New Georgia group of islands in Western Solomons is dominated by accounts about the large-scale, inter-island nature of warfare, head-hunting and trade. While the colonial narratives emphasize the high degree of violence, local traditions give more space to the cyclical occurrence of huge ceremonial feasts involving food distribution and shifting alliances among hosts and guests. Recent research which has highlighted the important role in the New Georgia of irrigated taro cultivation with potentially massive surplus allows for a reappraisal of feasting cycles. This connects in interesting ways to the term *vuro*, used in the predominant regional languages of Roviana and Marovo as the distinctive numeral ‘one ten-thousand’. Not widely used today, *vuro* was used in particular to count accumulated taro before converting it into puddings during the making of feasts. Letting a small observation speak loudly, I shall further discuss the *vuro* numeral in terms of its capacity to generate conventionalised representations about large-scale power relations and exogenous phenomena in New Georgia, from the pre-colonial through to the post-colonial, thereby pointing to some wider Oceanic patterns of drawing wide boundaries for the ostensibly local.

### **Mike Poltorak (University of Kent)**

Title: From ‘Evil Spirits’ to ‘Brain Disease’: Shifting Agency, Humor and the Establishment of a Tongan Public Psychiatry

Critiques of the global expansion of psychiatry are informed by studies of curtailment of patient freedom typical in colonial contexts or totalitarian regimes and the depoliticisation through medicalisation of the wider social forces and inequalities embodied in the mentally ill. In this ethnographic contextualization of the key historical interventions of the indigenous Tongan Psychiatrist, Dr Mapa Puloka, I examine the key influences and negotiations during the decade that established the mandate for a Tongan psychiatry, that faced little resistance from the Tongan population and successfully increased patient admissions. His attempt to shift public understanding of the locus of causality for mental illness from exteriorized ‘evil spirits’ to interiorized notions of brain disease was grounded in the promulgation of hybrid translations of psychiatric terms and diagnoses, key media and grassroots interventions, and regional collaborations. The assumption or expectation of resistance to his interventions and the humor with which many of his translations were received are central to an epistemologically sensitive explanation of why people chose to bring their sick relatives to him. This suggests a valuable point of confluence between histories of medicine, transcultural psychiatry and medical anthropology of critical interest to a growing global mental health movement.

### **Almut Schneider (University of Heidelberg)**

Title: Questions about exteriority

For the Gawigl-speakers of the Western Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, exteriority is a creative focus in a number of different contexts, namely in relation to the regeneration and reproduction of human beings, “social units”, pigs and food-plants in itinerant gardens. An example for the importance of exteriority is ritual knowledge that travelled in the region till some thirty years ago. The movement

of the ritual knowledge, always considered to be an innovation, resulted in a regional network by constantly maintaining a certain degree of difference through reference to a foreign “outside”. This case of “scaling up” will be juxtaposed with certain characteristics of the kinship system, where a somewhat reverse movement – scaling down – can be observed, when admitting an approach from the exterior. Here, the creation of difference is a matter of time as well as space and instead of the expansion we see in the ritual, what seems to be at work in the context of kinship is rather a contraction.

### **Katharina Schneider (University of Heidelberg)**

Title: Traditional Leaders and the Making of Inter-Island Relations and Difference in Bougainville

This paper explores the role that tsunon and hahini, male and female “traditional leaders” play in inter-island relations in the Buka area in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, from the particular perspective of Pororan Island. Pororan Islanders argue that they are “all one” with people on the neighbouring larger island of Buka, who are their matrilineal kin, political allies and trade partners. At the same time, however, they claim that they are “entirely different people” from those who live on the Buka “mainland”, with different habits, attitudes, everyday lives and styles of engaging in social relations. Tsunon and hahini play an important role on Pororan in verbalizing and explaining those differences to their own followers, as spokespersons in relations with mainlanders, and as mediators in cases where frictions occur. This paper investigates their work in creating and protecting inter-island connections as well as differences. It shows that inter-island relations, both within and beyond the Buka area, depend to a significant degree on the life histories and highly contingent social relations of particular persons of rank. The paper thereby contributes ethnographic detail to current debates in Bougainville about the value of reviving the institution of traditional leadership as a means of preserving Bougainvillean *kastom*, creating connections, and promoting highly localized autonomy – all three, of course, Oceanic concerns par excellence.

### **Gaia Cottino (Università La Sapienza di Roma)**

Title: The greatness of beauty: the large scale nature of Miss Heilala

Every year the beauty pageant “Miss Heilala” takes place in the Kingdom of Tonga. This event is a “creative” moment in which not only beauty is on stage: different beauty ideals and body size preferences become central in a negotiation discourse that sees the Island Kingdom far from being atomized or inward looking. Within the event, which involves a large number of diasporic Tongans, family ties and local hierarchies are strengthened and inter-island links are created or reinforced, in a borrowing and exchange of styles reaching the local. The competing pageants, in fact, embody a wide spectrum of ideals (Tongan-Polynesian-Western) and the winner should represent their perfect synthesis, in order to have access to the Miss South Pacific contest. The paper aims to illustrate, through the results of ethnographic work carried out in the Kingdom, on the one side how being in the network of the South Pacific beauty contests scales up local practices and on the other side how beauties embody, for good or bad, such local, inter-island and eventually global ideals.

## SESSION 18: POWER AND PERIPHERY IN OCEANIA

Ane Straume, Kristine Sunde Fauske and Thomas Mountjoy (University of Bergen)  
Bull, Friday 7, 09.00.- 15.00

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 09.00 – 09.10 Welcome and introduction by Kristine Sunde Fauske  
09.10 – 09.40 David C. Ryniker (University of British Columbia): The Proliferation of Big Men in Guadalcanal  
09.40 – 10.10 Dave Robinson (London School of Economics): “My mountain Hikurangi does not move”: The Bifurcation of Spiritual Power and Psychic Power on the East Coast of Aotearoa-New Zealand  
10.10 – 10.40 Domenica Calabrò (University of Messina): Māori and Rugby: sport as a site to express Indigenous power within a colonized landscape  
10.40 - 11.00 BREAK  
11.00 - 11.30 Tom Mountjoy (University of Bergen): The Power of Namba Tri: Notes from a big house in Chinatown  
11.30 – 12.00 Kristine Sunde Fauske (University of Bergen): Challenging ideas of the peripheral: constructing place in Vanuatu.  
12.00 - 13.00 LUNCH  
13.00 - 13.10 Introduction to afternoon session by Thomas Mountjoy  
13.10 – 13.40 Ane Straume (University of Bergen): The role of a clinic: Exploring power relations through a local epidemic  
13:40 - 14.00 Melissa Demian (University of Kent): Courts on the Edge  
14.00 - 14.15 BREAK  
14:15 – 14:45 Knut Rio (University of Bergen) Formulating central power in a pluralist universe  
14.45 - 15. 00 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

The vast Pacific has long aroused visions of remoteness and vulnerability. Images of savagery alongside tranquility have drawn successive waves of explorers, missionaries, colonists and researchers to a region which never has broken free from the shackles of an array of simplistic connotations pertaining to its geographical isolation. This session aims at exploring alternate ways of looking at and analyzing power in the Pacific and to problematize the idea of center and periphery. Small places deserve their own frame of interpretations and these interpretations should include a study of local dispersal of power that avoids utilizing pre-conceived ideas of what exactly power is. In Pacific societies manifestations of power are found in a wide range of contexts and take place in a variety of locations. Drawing on our own recent ethnographic work from island Melanesia; we attempt to examine contrasting approaches to the analysis of value, strength, worth, power and power relations. We do not deny the influence and impact of state power, or of capitalist expansion into these regions, nor do we wish to downplay the importance of analyzing these power relations or the impact of modern transnational flows. We call for an ethnographically grounded perspective that seeks to avoid descriptions based upon often western-oriented models of the dispersal of power. We wish to explore ways of understanding the power inherent in local agency as part of a longer history which includes, but is not entirely encompassed by, introduced forms of power. The session explores local forms of power. Such an exploration can include, but is not limited to, the study of the interplay between local and external versions of power. In creating this session we have been inspired by the writings of, amongst others, Sahlins, Foucault and Hau’ofa. They have each provided, in unique ways, the possibilities for new approaches to understanding structures and expressions of power. We welcome recent ethnographic research on a broad range of issues that highlight ways in which power can be theorized, conceptualized and experienced throughout the Pacific. Although this

session proposal originates with researchers working in Melanesia the session would benefit greatly from including participants with knowledge and experience from other regions throughout Oceania.

#### ABSTRACTS:

##### **David C. Ryniker ( University of British Columbia)**

Title: The Proliferation of Big Men in Guadalcanal

During my field research in the Vaturanga District, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands, I encountered the traditional “big man” (in the local language *mane loki*) who builds his power base through feasting and traditional exchange systems. But interestingly, I found that other men were also regarded as “big men” and most of these emerged through non-traditional routes—via new institutions and patterns of life. The Vaturanga District is one with many intrusions of the modern world, including a major road, plantations, a residential school, a mission station, several monastic communities, a nurses station, and a local market. So it is possible for locals to engage in both traditional economic practices, and non-traditional ones. The title of “big man” has clearly been expanding in the region. For instance, the President of the School Board was called a “big man” as was the Head of the Water Committee and the Warden of the Anglican parish. These men also were charged with organizing community action and work. But they also had to have other skills... ones associated with modern systems: literacy, competency in Standard English, familiarity with tools and budgeting. These men were highly esteemed but would probably never have had the opportunity to become traditional “big men” due to their familiar backgrounds or positions within the local matrilineages. Thus, they found alternate routes to power. My analysis is based in Barth’s transactionalism, in which different individuals have different opportunities and constraints based in the historical as well as structural patterns.

##### **Dave Robinson ( London School of Economics)**

Title: “My mountain Hikurangi does not move”: The Bifurcation of Spiritual Power and Psychic Power on the East Coast of Aotearoa-New Zealand

Māori chiefs are acknowledged by their tribe as the individual, usually male, who relative to competing claims, possesses the greatest stores of ‘mana atua’ (spiritual power from the gods), in tandem with dual stores of psychic power found in ‘mana tangata’ — authority accrued through leadership talents as recognised by the people — and ‘mana whenua’ — authority derived from the lineage of the chief’s occupation and control over ancestral land. Importantly however, each tribe also identifies with a sacred ancestral mountain that is often personified as a chief and regarded as the cornerstone of the tribe’s mana (ancestral authority). In the case of Ngāti Porou, the tribe situated on the east coast of Aotearoa-New Zealand’s North Island, that ancestral mountain is Hikurangi Maunga. Sheltering in the shadow of Hikurangi Maunga sits the small, predominantly Māori-populated township of Ruatoria. Bathed in the ‘ihi’ (psychic force) and ‘wehi’ (awe) of Hikurangi Maunga, Ruatoria was selected as the ideal base for the Ngāti Porou tribal authority, ‘Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou’, upon its formation in 1987. However, when in 1993 the tribal authority and by extension, the tribe’s chieftainship relocated 103 kilometres south to the city of Gisborne, dissatisfaction spread amongst many residents of Ruatoria with the chief’s mana whenua and mana tangata being called into question. Set against the backdrop of protests over the alienation and resultant mismanagement of ancestral land and its resources, this paper explores tensions that have emerged between a group of Ruatoria-based Ngāti Porou Rastafari, who self-identify as ‘The Dread’ and their distant tribal authority.

### **Domenica Calabrò (University of Messina)**

Title: Māori and Rugby: sport as a site to express Indigenous power within a colonized landscape.

The Māori participation to rugby, a key-element of New Zealand national identity, tends to be viewed in terms of assimilation. I have instead observed the relationship between Māori and rugby as the expression of Indigenous agency, for Māori have used this sport to attempt eluding the colonial and postcolonial control, and thus fulfil their aspirations to socio-cultural continuity, political acknowledgement and self-realization. By looking at the process whereby Māori have embraced rugby as a phenomenon of indigenization, rugby becomes a site of Māori power. The way the dominant group tends to approach this phenomenon – minimising the Māori contribution to national rugby, controlling Māori self-determination within rugby, and using this sport to construct discourses which affect Indigenous representations – seems to confirm the manifestation of Māori power in rugby. We certainly cannot ignore the impact of power relations on the Māori involvement into rugby. It is indeed an ambiguous process, whose negotiations and effects mirror the tense dialectic between the Indigenous attempt to assert their agency and the colonial/dominant strategy to rein such agency. However, in this case it is my intention to pause over the aspect of indigenization and the ways rugby has been used to express Indigenous power.

### **Tom Mountjoy (University of Bergen)**

Title: The Power of Namba Tri: Notes from a big house in Chinatown

Much has been said of the problematic discourses surrounding Melanesian states as being irrevocably tarnished by greed and internationalized Western cultural flows. In this paper, I use a particular house in Honiara as an example of the complex interplay between constructions and expressions of power which are not indicative of reductionist notions of social change. Instead, my ethnographic experience has dwelled in the diverse mediations between family members intimately involved with Christianity, politics, sport, modernity and tradition. Much of what is experienced as power in Solomon Island lies in non-institutionalized forms of knowledge and practice that are manifested in experimental and often hard to fathom theoretical ways. Having spent the majority of my time in the capital hosted by the eminent Tausinga family, my experiences of the everyday life there provided me with an alternative insight into the multiple realms of power which resonated within the house simply known as Namba Tri. I draw upon my field notes in an attempt to analyze power as an ongoing process of creativity which involves more than elements typically highlighted in neo-liberal discourses for transforming struggling nation-states. The power of Namba Tri, as an approach to the modern condition in Solomon Islands, lies not in mere imagination, but through an elaborate interplay of emotions and domestications that provide a nuanced approach to local understandings of power in contemporary Melanesia.

### **Kristine Sunde Fauske (University of Bergen)**

Title: Challenging ideas of the peripheral: constructing place in Vanuatu.

In mid-Malekula, the small island of Uripiv has long held an important position in the region, especially when it comes to areas such as politics, Christianity, language, moral values and health. I argue that these types of small, but significant, places are relevant arenas when trying to assess the “state of” Melanesian social, political and economic organisation today. In this paper I explore the discursive construction of place on Uripiv. Using material from my recent fieldwork, I elaborate on how people perceive places (in particular small islands) to be important or significant. I hold that such an exploration can be a fruitful approach to discover how the nation is being imagined. One way of constructing place in Vanuatu is to ascribe value to certain types of places. This assigning of normative worth of an area is being expressed in, among other things, discourses on sorcery, kinship obligations and food. For

the purpose of this paper I have chosen to differentiate between what I consider to be three different types of places in Vanuatu; the small islands, the big islands, and the towns (of Luganville and Port Vila). People in Vanuatu themselves differentiate between these different types of places. How Uripiv people imagine and position their place in relation to other places can, and should, challenge notions of what is “central” and what is “peripheral”.

### **Ane Straume (University of Bergen)**

Title: The role of a clinic: Exploring power relations through a local epidemic

According to the Solomon Islands National Health Strategic Plan of 2006, Solomon Islands has experienced a significant increase of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) since 2002. Areas with the most significant increase are Western and Guadalcanal provinces, and especially the capital Honiara. This development has been commented on by the Ministry of Health on many occasions, and the simultaneous increase in the spread of HIV/AIDS in the Pacific region has been a source of grave concern for health authorities. As a point of departure I will focus on a village in Isabel province, a part of the Solomons which for a long time seemed to have been spared from the increase of STIs seen in other areas. However, at the end of 2007 this particular village experienced a dramatic increase in STI cases. This posed a major challenge, certainly to the people infected, but also to the community as a whole and especially to the clinic and their medical staff who was in charge of curbing the spread of the infections. By using the case of STIs I wish to explore the role of the clinic in rural Solomon Islands, as well as exploring power relations that became visible during the time following the initial recognition of a possible “STI epidemic”.

### **Melissa Demian (University of Kent)**

Title: Courts on the Edge

This paper is an experiment in describing a legal system as if it had no centre, either spatially or in terms of power and its distribution from the centre to the periphery of a state system. My ethnographic grounding for this inquiry are Village Courts on the Suau Coast of Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea, as well as the experience of the Village Courts more widely. Based on previous work with legal elites in Papua New Guinea, the metropolitan understanding of the Village Courts is that in the absence of sufficient state oversight, they have ‘gone feral’, exceeded their jurisdiction, or otherwise departed from the proper domain of the law. In the view of Village Court practitioners and litigants, however, the picture shifts significantly. The state stands as only one possible source of law, alongside the church, *kastom*, and other even more transitory sources of power. In addition, the state is perceived as only occasionally and capriciously interested in the affairs of rural people, especially people inhabiting physical and infrastructural margins, as my Suau interlocutors imagine themselves to be. Law must therefore be reinvigorated and even reinvented with each sitting of a Village Court or more informal reconciliation meeting. The state may briefly be made to appear at such meetings, or it may remain as a latent or quiescent capacity of the law. Law as it is elicited through Village Court and other dispute-resolution forums thereby offers a particular set of insights into the way peripheralisation can become its own source of efficacy and create a different context for the exercise of power than that imagined by state apparatuses.

### **Knut Rio (University of Bergen)**

Title: Formulating central power in a pluralist universe

This paper is a meta-discussion about the concept of poly-ontology or pluralist cosmology introduced by Michael Scott for the Melanesian world. The ethnography from Makira in the Solomon Islands reveals

how parts come into being before wholes, instead of parts being ranked or organized from the point of view of hierarchical totality as in a mono-cosmology. The Melanesian world produces creations that do not have their place defined by a larger structure of being. If we depart from the idea that the contrast of centre and periphery belongs in mono-cosmologies; such as the kingdoms of India, China or Europe; then we can find an interesting contrast when trying to find a comparative axis for Melanesian poly-ontologies. The paper reaches into a cargo-cultish movement on the island of Ambrym, Vanuatu, which approaches conceptions of nation, state and central organization and tries to de-centre and replace these institutions in the periphery of the island nation.

## SESSION 19: IN THE WAKE OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS: ANGLICANISM IN MELANESIA

Thorgeir S. Kolshus (University of Oslo) and Michael W. Scott (London School of Economics)  
Amundsen, Saturday 8, 09.15 - 15.00

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 09.15 – 09.30 Welcome and introduction by Thorgeir S. Kolshus  
09.30 – 10.00 Terry Brown: Tobacco, Mana and the Gospel: A century and a half of holistic human development in the Anglican Church of Melanesia.  
10.00 – 10.30 Jane Samson: The “Sleepiness” of George Sarawia: Energy and Masculinity in the Melanesian Mission  
10.30 - 11.00 BREAK  
11.00 – 11.30 Michael W. Scott: Parcels and Proverbs: Charles E. Fox as Prophet of Makira  
11.30 – 12.00 Johanna Whiteley: Cleaning up Kastom: Some observations on the Melanesian Brotherhoods’ struggle against sorcery in the West Gao region of Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands.  
12.00 - 13.00 LUNCH  
13.00 – 13.30 Xandra Miguel-Lorenzo: The Sisters’ Visions: Divine Power and Gendered Transformations in the Anglican Church of Melanesia  
13.30 – 14.00 Thorgeir Kolshus: Home is where your soul goes: Anglican safe havens in a sea of sorcery  
14.00 – 14.30 Carlos Mondragon (IN ABSENTIA): Notes on (the Anglican history of) the TorresIslands: The revival of authority and ritual agency in North Vanuatu  
14.30 – 15.00 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

Most of the Solomon Islands and northern Vanuatu have in some way or the other been influenced by the over 150 years presence of Anglicanism. A number of the most prominent missionary ethnographers, such as Robert Henry Codrington, Walter Ivens and Charles E. Fox, were long-serving members of the Melanesian Mission, and have left a lasting ethnographic and historic legacy to the discipline of anthropology. It also made the Melanesian Mission’s approach, particularly in its first fifty years, more sensitive to local cosmologies and more attentive to the importance of culture preservation than its main competitors, the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians. Its Anglo-Catholic dogmatic orientation seems to reflect, and expand upon, a number of phenomena associated with pre-Christian Melanesian cosmologies – perhaps most visible in the interchange between central Melanesian mana-notions and the powers and abilities of Anglican clergy. In spite of the impact of new Christian denominations, Anglicanism still in many ways provides a common cultural denominator in these islands, which otherwise are characterized by great cultural and linguistic diversity. The training of village teachers in the Melanesian Mission Central Schools contributed to the dissemination of a number of overarching dogmatic principles. Today, the Church of the Province of Melanesia’s centralised theological training maintains this structure of relative uniformity, while postings of clergy, which frequently disregard the individu-

al cleric's island of origin, enforces 'Anglican' as a super-local identity. After the independence of the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, a touch of the "methodological nationalism" criticised by Wimmer and Glick-Schiller (2002) seems to have made itself known also in the anthropological approach to central and south Melanesia. Attention to Anglicanism and other phenomena that transcend rather than reify arbitrary political boundaries is therefore necessary as well as potentially highly rewarding. We invite papers based on ethnography from both within and without the traditional Anglican area that address Anglicanism as a socio-cultural phenomenon. Topics for comparative engagements can be:

- The interplay between Anglican dogmatism and local spiritual agency
- Notions of modernity and 'development' with reference to Anglicanism and new Christian churches
- New readings of the ethnographic works of Anglican missionaries
- Relations between Anglicans and the rapidly spreading international Pentecostal and independent Charismatic Churches
- Perceptions of the monastic orders within the Church of Melanesia, for instance the Melanesian Brotherhood and the Sisters of the Church, and their work and the nature of their abilities
- The use of various denominational backgrounds as an asset for political mobilisation on local and national level

ABSTRACTS:

**Terry M. Brown (Honiara, Church of Melanesia)**

Title: Tobacco, Mana and the Gospel: A century and a half of holistic human development in the Anglican Church of Melanesia.

Beginning with Bishop George Augustus Selwyn's defining description of the purpose Melanesian Mission as "true religion, sound learning and useful industry", a mantra that continues to be repeated widely in the Anglican Church of Melanesia (ACOM) today, I shall briefly examine the history of the church through the lens of holistic human development, characterised by eight fundamental interacting concerns: Christian faith ("true religion", including worship, doctrine, evangelism and ministry), education ("sound learning"), practical skills ("useful industry"), autonomy (personal, political and ecclesiastical), reconciliation, health (including women's health), financial self-support, and material prosperity. The accomplishment of this Melanesian Christian modernity required the conversion and cooperation of Melanesians, sometimes given, sometimes withheld; indeed, these goals were absorbed and inculturated by Melanesian Anglicans in ways unexpected by missionaries. Nor did the church consistently promote these goals, relying on the interests and skills of its leaders; indeed, sometimes the goals came into conflict with one another or were even rejected. I shall identify some significant historical movements in the church associated with these goals, particularly as they interacted with the local cultures and the government, both colonial and post-colonial. Finally, in light of this history, I shall reflect on the ACOM's current struggle with implementing a plan of holistic human development, including its relations with many aid donors who seek to use the church's networks for their service delivery.

**Jane Samson (University of Alberta)**

Title: The "Sleepiness" of George Sarawia: Energy and Masculinity in the Melanesian Mission

Ordained priest in 1873, George Sarawia was one of the pioneering indigenous Anglican clergy of the Melanesian Mission. Having established a mission village on Mota with great initial success, Sarawia's subsequent work was often found wanting by his fellow missionaries. The word "sleepy" occurs frequently in comments about Sarawia and his flock, especially in the writings of British members of the

mission. In the context of Victorian discourse about masculine energy and missionary zeal, my paper will examine the “sleepiness” of George Sarawia as a comment with gendered dimensions as well as racial and missiological ones.

### **Michael W. Scott (London School of Economics)**

Title: Parcels and Proverbs: Charles E. Fox as Prophet of Makira

‘Fox saw the future, but put it in parcels and proverbs.’ This idea, expressed to me in 2006 by a university educated Solomon Islander from the island of Makira, well reflects the attitude of many Makirans to the memory of Dr Charles E. Fox (1878-1977). A long-time member of the Anglican Melanesian Mission, Fox served as a teacher and missionary priest on Makira (also known as San Cristobal) between 1911 and 1924. Like other members of the Melanesian Mission, such as Robert H. Codrington and Walter G. Ivens, Fox turned his immersion in Melanesian life into significant scholarship on the region. What set Fox apart, however—negatively in the eyes of some of his European colleagues, but positively in the estimation of Makirans—was the way he went beyond empirical study and lived like an Islander. In the decades since his residence on the island, Fox’s radical participation in Makiran life has earned him a local reputation for having been more than just an uncommonly fraternal and sympathetic European. In stories about him and in rumours about his writings, he is now credited with amazing abilities and esoteric insight into the nature and destiny of Makira. In the words of the Makiran quoted above, ‘Lots of missionaries come to the Solomons, but he was very unique because of the power he commanded.’ Based on field and archival research, this paper documents this lesser known Fox—Fox the prophet—analysing claims such as: that Fox’s books are full of hidden or ‘parcelled’ predictions and truths about Makira, including clues that the island is a remnant of the ‘lost paradise’ of Mu; that Fox acquired the quintessential power of Makira from beings known as kakamora, dwarf-like quasi-humans said to be the original people of Makira; that he secretly passed this power to the Melanesian Brotherhood of which he was the true founder via an antecedent community he organized on Makira; that he (and his dog) could be in two places at once; and that he anointed Solomon S. Mamaloni, a Makiran-born former prime minister of Solomon Islands, to become the leader of his country while Mamaloni was still a child.

### **Johanna Whiteley (London School of Economics)**

Title: Cleaning up Kastom: Some observations on the Melanesian Brotherhoods’ struggle against sorcery in the West Gao region of Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands.

The Melanesian Brotherhood, or Tasiu, frequently operate at the edges of Christian influence, dealing with powers that fall outside of the ontological terrain of the Christian God. In the West Gao District of Santa Isabel, such ‘positionality’ places them in relation with what I call ‘pre-Christian kastom’: a non-uniform domain of knowledge and techniques utilised before the coming of the Anglican Church or lotu. The paper below explores how, throughout West Gao, the Tasiu’s relationship to the domain of ‘pre-Christian Kastom’ is ambivalent. In some cases villagers describe the entropic and occasionally outright destructive influence of the Tasiu on pre-Christian kastom. In others however, Tasiu are presented as revitalising, albeit unintentionally, pre Christian loci of power. The paper explores how Tasiu have contributed to the shaping of contemporary experience of pre-Christian kastom for Gao Villagers through the exploration of two ‘missions’ undertaken by small groups of Brothers in 1996 and 2009. The two ‘missions’ are alike in their overall rationale: to expose and neutralise the malign influences of ‘sorcery’ that erode community life. Sorcery here is used as an umbrella term, including not only the employment of magical means to inflict illness (known in pidgin as green leaf) but also the manipulation of ancestral knowledge and practices to render unproductive the projects of others, for example gardening or fishing. In seeking to explore the interrelationships between Tasiu and sorcery, this paper seeks to enrich discussions of how rural Solomon Islanders understand and experience kastom in terms of questions

about the boundaries between the Christian and the pre-Christian. By showing how Tasiu, as crucial historical actors, are shifting and redrawing the contours of these worlds, the paper ends by calling for more ethnographic research into the contemporary operations of the Melanesian Brotherhood in Isabel and beyond.

### **Xandra Miguel Lorenzo (London School of Economics)**

Title: The Sisters' Visions: Divine Power and Gendered Transformations in the Anglican Church of Melanesia

The Christian Care Centre, the only shelter for abused women and children in the Solomon Islands, is the fruit of Sr. Lillian Takua Maeva's vision to help victims of domestic violence. Sr. Lillian (from Anuta Island), planned that the shelter would be run by the Community of the Sisters of the Church and the Community of the Sisters of Melanesia on site, with the help of the Melanesian Brothers and the Franciscan Brothers off site. These are the four religious orders on mission in the Solomon Islands under the umbrella of the Anglican Church of Melanesia (ACOM). Sr. Lillian's vision to build a refuge was informed by her practical experience helping women and children in the Solomon Islands and in Australia and the United Kingdom. But, in addition to her service at home and overseas, Sr. Lillian's initiative was also informed by a transcendental vision in which God called her to join the Community of the Sisters of the Church, a vision similar to that experienced by the founder of the Community of the Sisters of Melanesia, Nesta Atkin Tiboe. This paper will examine in what ways transcendental visions have enabled the Anglican Sisters in the Solomon Islands to pursue social projects such as founding the shelter for victims of violence. Through a comparison of the Sisters' visions with other divine visions reported within the Anglican Church of Melanesia and a consideration of the role of visions in the Melanesian region more widely, I argue that the power the Sisters received from divine visions has enabled gendered changes within the power structure of the Anglican Church.

### **Thorgeir Kolshus (University of Oslo)**

Title: Home is where your soul goes: Anglican safe havens in a sea of sorcery

According to local history on the island of Mota in northern Vanuatu, around 1950 status rivalry within the Suqe graded male society caused an eruption of unrestrained sorcery that decimated the population. Acting on the request of two prominent women, the local priest, Lindsay Wotlimaru, summoned the survivors and made a covenant between them and God that they should never again use harmful sorcery. In return, God would protect them from any outsider's attempts to reintroduce it to the island. This covenant continues to protect people on Mota from sorcery and is highlighted by everyone as a factor that makes Mota an island apart. In the sixteen years that have passed since my first fieldwork on the island, concerns over sorcery has grown exponentially, reflecting the rapidly developing national discourse described by Rio (2010). June this year saw the death of a young Mota man in diaspora on Santo who seemed to have committed suicide. However, two diviners from the island of Maewo identified his father-in-law from Ambrym as being responsible, killing the young man by magic and sending him back as an empty shell. The news caused great fear among people on Mota and the approx. four hundred mainly young Motese living on other islands, many of whom tried to raise the funds to return to Mota. Those who remained sought, and seek, the protection of Anglican clergy, and in particular ira tatasiu, members of the monastic Melanesian Brotherhood. In this paper, I explore how fear of sorcery establishes Mota as an ontological Home that exceeds what is usually entailed in the pan-Austronesian notion of vanua; the consequences this has for residency choices in a time with increasing scarcity of land; and the situation for those who have left the Anglican fold and consequently believe themselves to be at least partly unprotected by the Mota covenant and the powers of the Anglican clergy.

## **Carlos Mondragón (Centro de Estudios de Asia y África, El Colegio de México)**

Title: Notes on (the Anglican history of) the Torres Islands: The revival of authority and ritual agency in North Vanuatu

This paper describes the interleaving of Anglicanism with ideas about power, agency and spirits in the Torres Islands. I begin with a brief historical outline of how Anglicanism modified the local status-alteration rituals known as Hukwe - roughly related to the Banks Islands' Suqwe. The forced dissolution of the Hukwe in the early twentieth century laid the framework for a subsequent renaissance in the 1930s, led by one of the first Torres men to be ordained into the Anglican priesthood. This renaissance was followed up by a second, more substantial revival in the year 2000 which formalised the acquisition of rank in combination with ordination into the Anglican ecumene. This revival has included the recent staging of a series of ceremonial cycles in which mediated engagements with the spirits have reinstated the local spiritscape into people's perceptions of themselves, and hence of their engagement with their circumambient world - which depends on specific, powerful forms of recognition. Importantly, the possibilities opened up by this revival were not limited to men of rank, but provoked a renewed interest among adolescent Torres people in the Melanesian Brotherhood as a 'fastrack' to obtaining social status and experience. The purpose of this paper is thus to demonstrate how Anglicanism is an inseparable part of the dynamics by which Torres islanders generate notions of themselves and their relations to the cosmos; a process which resonates at various levels with those of neighbouring island societies. In this respect I address both the 'interplay between Anglican dogmatism and local spiritual agency' as well as the need to generate an adequate analytical and comparative framework for addressing the broader North Vanuatu-South/Central Solomons area.

## **SESSION 20: CHALLENGING WESTERN NOTIONS OF PACIFIC MIGRATION**

Verena Keck (Goethe-University, Frankfurt), Dominik Schieder (Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo)  
Room 711, Friday 7, 09.15 - 15.00

### **SESSION PROGRAMME:**

09.15 - 09.30 Introduction by Keck and Schieder

09.30 - 10.00 Jane Horan (University of Auckland), Cook Islanders in New Zealand and the Cook Islands  
Ceremonial Economy: Tivaivai, Value and 'Economy'

10.00 - 10.30 Ulla Hasager (University of Hawai'i), Build upon a Stick a Bridge: Multi-ethnic Relations  
and Interaction among Pacific Islander Peoples of Hawai'i

10.30 - 11.00 BREAK

11.00 - 11.30 Rebecca Hofmann (Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich), The puzzle of Chuukese  
mobility patterns - contradictory, dualistic or pluralistic?

11.30 - 12.00 Manuel Rauchholz (University of Heidelberg), Chuukese Customary Adoption, Migration,  
and the Law of State(s)

12.00 - 12.45 LUNCH

12.45 - 13.15 William (Bill) Heaney, Return (circular) migration in the Wahgi Valley, Central Highlands  
of Papua New Guinea: A historical perspective

13.15 - 13.45 Jara Hulkenberg (University of St. Andrews), Living 'the Fijian way' in the UK: How  
migration sustains traditional lives

13.45 - 14.00 BREAK

14.00 - 14.30 Dominik Schieder (Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo), Questioning community? Perceptions  
of self and belonging among Fiji Islanders in Japan

14.30 - 15.00 DISCUSSION

## SESSION ABSTRACT:

From the first movements of people towards the Pacific Islands millennia ago to recent transnational migration in a globalized world, translocal mobility has been a central aspect of the social lives, cultures and histories of many Pacific Islanders. The last decades have seen a growing anthropological interest in exploring Pacific Islander mobility, both within and beyond the Pacific region. While early scholarship studied Pacific migrants in their new “host” environments, since the late 1990s the focus has switched to the study of diasporic and transnational communities who inhabit social scapes and networks that span the “home society” and the “host society”, as well as the “global” and the “local”. Following Lee (2009), many Pacific Island societies of the twenty-first century cannot be fully understood without a proper examination of Pacific transnationalism, which draws on manifold factors and forces such as multidirectional movements of people, money and remittances, goods and artifacts, social institutions, values and images. Despite these achievements in understanding Pacific Islander mobility, the general tendency is to explore this phenomenon through the lenses of western theories and methodologies which in turn remain mainly unchallenged. Only recently Pacific scholars such as Sa’iliemanu Lilomaiva-Doktor (2009) have begun to oppose the global vs. local dichotomy and to point out that a number of emic issues which are central to understanding the roots and routes of Pacific people continue to be virtually unexplored. Drawing on this criticism, the conveners of the session invite papers which offer insights into Pacific notions of migration that go beyond, challenge or complement western perceptions and models. Possible topics of interest include aspects of mobility as an act of self-actualization, reasons for reverse migration, local perceptions of forced migration or multi-ethnic Pacific relationships and interactions abroad, to the perspectives on mobility of those Pacific Islanders who cannot or have chosen not to migrate.

## ABSTRACTS:

### **Jane Horan (University of Auckland)**

Title: Cook Islanders in New Zealand and the Cook Islands Ceremonial Economy: Tivaivai, Value and ‘Economy’

Kinship and the maintenance of kinship relationships and networks are fundamental to the way Cook Islanders exist in the world and see the world— and make New Zealand home. During ceremonial economy events, like funerals, weddings, haircutting, birthday/anniversary celebrations, church gift-giving events, and non-kin ceremonial events in Auckland, ceremonial processes turn the “vast array of potential social relationships encoded in a person’s or persons’ kinship relationships into actual linkages traced and traceable ... by the flow of material wealth” (Evans 2001: 134). Those kinship linkages are maintained, underlined, or manifested by the act of gifting, and for Cook Islanders the paramount form of wealth for such exchanges are tivaivai. I argue that because of the way Cook Islanders configure notions of value, values, and valuable, tivaivai operate in public ceremonial economy events as semiotic media of value (Turner 2008; cf. Graeber 2001). They therefore dignify the gifting of lesser valuables, including envelope wrapped money in these events. That the gifting of tivaivai and the exchange of envelope wrapped money and the other lesser valuables are integral to the lives of many Cook Islanders in Auckland, depending on their level of involvement in Cook Islands ceremonial arenas, expands the notion of what an economy is. Such a form of economy is one that intertwines socio-cultural processes with what is considered Western economic process (Gudeman 1986, 2001, 2005, 2008). In this conference presentation I look at the way New Zealand Cook Islanders operate via an economy of the base (Gudeman 2005), in an expanded more encompassing version of economy that allows Cook Islanders in New Zealand to get by and be Cook Islanders in New Zealand.

## **Ulla Hasager (University of Hawai'i)**

Title: Build upon a Stick a Bridge: Multi-ethnic Relations and Interaction among Pacific Islander Peoples of Hawai'i

Pacific Islander immigrant communities comprise the fastest growing immigrant groups in Hawai'i, however still relatively small. The "Micronesians" in Hawai'i have over the last ten years grown to an estimated 20,000 (out of a total population of 1.4 million). Unfortunately immigrants from "Micronesia" (in popular understanding defined broadly as including the Marshall Islands, FSM, CNMI, and sometimes Belau and Guam) are the subjects of public attention out of proportion with their numbers, including discrimination, prejudice, stereotyping, and scapegoating. This situation is complicated by cultural, economic, and social differences rooted in colonial history and the current US Federal Governments and its COFA (Compact of Free Association) relations with some of the Micronesian nations. Maneuvering complex economic, political and interethnic issues, new but deeply culturally rooted ways of understanding the relationship between the many Micronesian groups and particularly the part of the host society comprised of Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) are developing -- encompassing global networks and holding a promise for improvement of the relationships. This paper presents an overview and analysis of the current situation and the creative ways of revealing and taking action to challenge the traditional divisions and the stigmas ascribed to the "new kid on the block," including through education, research, and civic engagement on the part of the University of Hawai'i faculty and students.

## **Rebecca Hofmann (Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich)**

Title: The puzzle of Chuukese mobility patterns – contradictory, dualistic or pluralistic?

Education, jobs and health-care are the three reasons given by Micronesians for ongoing flows of migrants to the United States of America. Boosted in 1986 by the Compact of Free Association, numbers of migrants have been and are increasing – parallel to decreasing inflow of US compact money. In many families, remittances constitute the only source of steady cash income and migration in these small island states is therefore generally seen as part of the islanders' subsistence strategy. Any psychological implications for the individual are hereby subsumed under the collective good. This paper will review the three migration motifs from an emic angle as experienced by different generations of chóón Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia. A focus will be put on who makes the decisions both to leave and to come back, who is going or staying and the experiences of those off and those on island, bedded against the background of Micronesian kin-relations, family values and personal notions. While 'out there', discrimination, school-dropouts and criminality are the realities many of the fortune-seekers face, in the diasporic homes, cultural traditions and customs often prevail, which can lead to psychological discrepancies within and among individuals. Many young people are eventually sent back (or deported) to have their behaviour and values 'corrected'. Back 'home', they once more find themselves to be different and to be judged accordingly. Others who make it through school and return to their islands full of enthusiasm find themselves without suitable jobs in Chuuk, while encountering inter-generational and gender related challenges. Lastly, even those who lived their lives in the diaspora, go on a last journey and return home to be laid to rest in maternal land. In sum, the movement between socio-cultural and economic spaces takes on manifold dynamics and Western spectators are often puzzled by the apparent contradictions between traditional culture and modern life, between love for land and people and the simultaneously perceived necessity to leave. This paper aims to explore if they are really contradictions or rather dualities of cultural concepts of locality and mobility and how this impresses upon those who migrate and those who do not as well as on 'their' part in the decisions on it.

## **Manuel Rauchholz (University of Heidelberg)**

Title: Chuukese Customary Adoption, Migration, and the Law of State(s)

This paper concerns Chuukese adoption, child exchange, and fosterage practices and how they are continued or discontinued when Chuukese migrate to Guam, Hawai'i, or the continental United States. By focusing on one cultural practice and the system of values attached to it, I hope to pinpoint some of the major changes that take place when key identity-shaping factors diversify and are no longer shared by an ethnic group, let alone families within that ethnic group. We will see how, for Chuukese today, "cultural citizenship" is a "dual process of self-making and being made within the webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (Ong 1996:738), but also that it is more than that: it is a dual process of self-making and being made within the webs of power linked to traditional society, their nation-state, and the United States.

## **Silja Klepp (Bremen University)**

Title: Negotiating Climate Change Migration – Kiribati' Strategies to "Migrate with Dignity" Today and in the Future

Building on concepts of a 'legal anthropology of emergence', my research discusses negotiation processes around migration strategies and new rights for 'climate change migrants' in Oceania. In 2011 I was conducting studies in New Zealand and in the Republic of Kiribati, which is globally perceived as one of the first "victims of climate change" and has been recently developing innovative "climate migration" strategies. Labelled as "climate change migration" and with the overall strategy to "migrate with dignity" the government is currently negotiating different labour programs with New Zealand and other countries. A Memorandum of Understanding with the government of Fiji regarding the issue of community relocation from Kiribati to Fiji in the context of climate change is planned for the next future. Different kinds of struggles and negotiation processes around "climate justice", postcolonial discourses and of Pacific identity, e.g. around the Pacific Voyaging movement, are considered in the research. The study aims to examine the migration strategies, their political and social context and the impacts these policies and practices have in the Pacific region, on the island state of Kiribati and on its citizens. Negotiation processes of rule-setting and law-making "bottom up" and the more general change of values in the context of climate change are the focus of my research.

## **William (Bill) Heaney**

Title: Return (circular) migration in the Wahgi Valley, Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea: A historical perspective

The people of the Pacific Islands during the last 100 years have embraced forms of movement and migration that were inconceivable before: travelling at will between home and various destinations across tribal and language boundaries; leaving home for extended periods to find employment, to obtain an education and health care, or for personal pleasure within their own countries; and across international boundaries to the lands of their former colonizers and other nations. The diversity of these and other patterns of movement raises problematic questions, among them: why were people able to leave; why did they leave, and when will they return home, or will they remain abroad; what will their children do - stay or return; how will migrants adjust to and affect their new locations and host countries; and, not the least, what will become of their island homes? Tied to these questions, but at a more personal or community level of analysis, is what have the migrants themselves thought about their experience? To shed light upon this more fundamental question, the paper will use both "emic" and "etic" approaches, as well as quantitative and other techniques, to examine forty years of predominantly circular labor mi-

gration between the Wahgi and Jimi valleys in the New Guinea Central Highlands and other parts of the country from European contact (1933-34) until 1980.

### **Jara Hulkenberg (University of St. Andrews)**

Title: Living 'the Fijian way' in the UK: How migration sustains traditional lives

This paper discusses why Fijians migrate and how, once in the UK, they manage, as they say they do, to live 'in the Fijian way' (vaka Viti)? In Fiji this is 'according to the land' (vakavanua), 'according to chiefs' (vakaturaga), 'according to kinship' (vakaveiwekani) and 'according to the church' (vakalotu). This paper illustrates how and why these component processes are maintained overseas in the absence of chieftainship and their new living environment. It describes how kinship and complex hierarchical relations are played out in the day-to-day fulfilment of ritual obligations centred on life cycles and religious events as a means to contribute to sustain and stay connected to ones vanua - land, place or country comprehending as it does relations between land, sea, people and chiefs -in contexts of change. Based on the data presented it is argued Fijian migration is not simply 'remittance motivated' (Brown and Leeves 2007:17), to ensure closeness (Voigt-Graf 2008:28), or to create a 'safety net' for future needs (Scott, 2003:188). Fijian migration is based on a conscious strategy that enables Fijians to contribute to and thereby sustain their vanua, their place of belonging and 'life source' (Tuwere 2002:36), in a globalising world.

### **Dominik Schieder (Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo)**

Title: Questioning community? Perceptions of self and belonging among Fiji Islanders in Japan

In this paper I discuss some preliminary findings of an ongoing research project with Fiji Islander migrants of various ethnic backgrounds in Japan's Kantō region. Transnational migration from Fiji to Japan is a relatively new phenomenon. It was only in recent decades that Japan's growing interest in Fiji, manifested predominantly in the form of development aid, scholarship funding for Fiji Islander students, trade and investment, as well as sport and tourism, has led to small scale migration from Fiji to the Japanese archipelago. The challenges of Fijian migration to Japan are compounded by the fact that the Japanese society – unlike other more prominent migrant destinations such as Australia or New Zealand – is still perceived as ethnically and culturally homogenous. It is against this socio-historical and economical background that I examine the lives and livelihoods of Fiji Islander migrants in Japan, mainly through the lenses of socio-cultural activities such as sports, official embassy events and informal get-togethers. Moreover, the paper discusses the many ways in which Fijian migrants of different ethnic backgrounds establish relationships with other gaijin (foreigners) and Japanese nationals in the Tokyo metropolitan area. My aim is to discuss the potential for a "Fijian community" in Japan, a notion occasionally accepted, but often strongly opposed by many of the migrants themselves.

## SESSION 21: THE POWER OF OCEANIC LANGUAGES

Svenja Völkel (University of Mainz) and Gunter Senft (MPI for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen)  
Room 706, Saturday 8, 09.00 - 15.00

### SESSION PROGRAMME:

- 09.00 – 09.30 Gabriele Cablitz, Lucien Mataiki, Edgar Teathiotupa, Matthias Tohetiaatua: Linguistic symbolism and sociocultural values in the neo-colonial world of the Marquesan people  
09.30 – 10.00 Darja Hoenigman: 'Big Talk': The language of disputes and fighting in a PNG society  
10.00 – 10.30 Gunter Senft: The Trobriand Islanders' concept of "karewaga" and the general ethics of field research  
10.30 - 10.45 BREAK  
10.45 – 11.15 Ingjerd Hoëm: Traces of Polynesian ontology in Tokelauan  
11.15 – 11.45 Giovanni Bennardo: Language, Mind, and Social Relationships: Word Order in Tonga.  
11.45 – 12.15 Svenja Völkel: Conversational maxims throughout Oceania  
12.15 - 13.15 LUNCH  
13.15 – 13.45 Petra Autio: The Story of the Story of the Ancestor without Descendants: Writing as a Medium and the Power of the Community in a Tabiteuean Village, Southern Kiribati  
13.45 – 14.15 Leslie Vandeputte-Tavo: New technologies and language shifting in Vanuatu  
14.15 - 14.30 BREAK  
14.30 – 15.00 DISCUSSION

### SESSION ABSTRACT:

This interdisciplinary session focuses on the challenges with which the indigenous belief systems, socio-cultural values and aesthetic concepts of Pacific cultures and their verbal manifestations in the languages of the Pacific are confronted in the 21st century. The Pacific is probably the linguistically most complex region in the world. About 1,400 Austronesian and Non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages - that is about one quarter of the world's languages - are spoken in the area. In addition we also find various pidgin languages and creoles as well as the languages of former and neo-colonial powers. This great variety of languages mirrors and expresses also the cultural complexity of this area. The various speech communities codify and express their distinct cultural belief systems, their socio-cultural values, their political ideas and their aesthetic concepts in and by their indigenous languages - and it is this interface between language and culture which is in the focus of anthropological linguistics. In this session we discuss how speech communities in the Pacific react to these linguistic and cultural challenges and try to answer questions like the following ones:

- What are the general and specific challenges with which Pacific languages and cultures are confronted today and in the future and how do the peoples of the Pacific cope with these challenges?
- Which powers exert these challenges on the Pacific peoples and why do they do it?
- Which linguistic and cultural ideologies are driving forces of these challenges and what ideologies are created by them in Pacific cultures and speech communities?
- How have these challenges already changed and transformed the languages and cultures of the Pacific, especially with respect to their belief systems, their socio-cultural values and their aesthetic concepts?
- Which strategies are used and/or have to be developed by the peoples of the Pacific to cope with these challenges in order to preserve (at least the more important aspects and parts of) their indigenous belief systems, their socio-cultural values and their aesthetic concepts, that is, their cultural and linguistic identity?
- Why do we think that this preservation of the Pacific peoples' cultural and linguistic identity is important for them as well as for us all?

- How much adaptation and change is necessary to cope with the political, economic, religious and ideological challenges of globalization on the one hand and what is the price the indigenous speech communities and cultures have to pay when they adapt and change their belief systems, their socio-cultural values and their aesthetic concepts on the other?

#### ABSTRACTS:

**Gabriele Cablitz (University of Swansea, UK), Lucien Mataiki (Association «Te U'i Hou o te Fenua 'Enata», French Polynesia), Edgar Tetahiotupa (Université des la Nouvelle-Calédonie, New Calédonia) & Matthias Tohetiaatua (Association «Te U'i Hou o te Fenua 'Enata», French Polynesia)**

Title: Linguistic symbolism and sociocultural values in the neo-colonial world of the Marquesan people

Since the installation of the C.E.P. (Centre d'Expérimentation du Pacifique) in French Polynesia in the 1960s, the local Polynesian languages and traditional cultural practices have been under severe threat of disappearance. A group of language activists of the Marquesas Islands together with a linguist and a local anthropologist and native speaker of the language have set out to document the Marquesan languages and remaining cultural traditions and practices (e.g. traditional lore, song and dance, secret languages, handicrafts, food and plant medicine preparation, artefacts in museums, etc.) as well as their indigenous bio-cultural knowledge about marine life and plants. Abandoned practices and forgotten objects, words and their meanings have been meticulously researched and carefully documented in form of audio-visual documents and ethnographic (encyclopaedic) dictionaries by focussing primarily on indigenous knowledge and ways of expression. This paper is going to present some of the Marquesan visions of lost and changed sociocultural values which are anchored in their language.

**Darja Hoenigman (Australian National University)**

Title: 'Big Talk': The language of disputes and fighting in a PNG society

Instead of directly addressing the question what particular challenges Pacific societies have been confronted with in the last decade, this paper is based on the premise that these societies have always faced challenges imposed by the outside world. In this vein, the paper explores how a particular society filters stressful innovations through their own cosmology, and how that cosmology is reshaped in the process. Neither their linguistic nor their cultural ideologies have been frozen in time. Rather, they are in a continual state of change. For the Awiakay people of East Sepik Province, PNG, certain types of intra-village fights are seen not only as socially acceptable, but positively desirable, since they lead to reconciliation; the re-establishment of a social order previously disrupted. It is noteworthy that the Awiakay do not actually call these altercations 'fights', but 'big talk', pointing to the centrality of the verbal, as opposed to the physical, aspects of such events. By introducing Awiakay concepts and drawing on people's interpretations, this talk brings together ethnographic data and linguistic analyses of several such village fights, including one between a local leader and a spirit during a spirit-possession event. Accompanied by observational-film excerpts, the talk will demonstrate how 'big talk' is one of the ways in which the Awiakay maintain their social order through their own, continually changing, linguistic and cultural ideologies.

**Gunter Senft (Max Planck Institute, Nijmegen)**

Title: The Trobriand Islanders' concept of "karewaga" and the general ethics of field research

The Trobriand Islanders' concept of karewaga can be glossed not only as "authority" but also as "responsibility, jurisdiction, competence, sphere of influence", and so on. After a lexical semantic analysis

of this concept based on the actual usage of the term in everyday Kilivila contexts of social interaction this paper points out that many of the ethical principles which are rooted in Western philosophy and thought and which should guide any field research - be it anthropologically, linguistically, cognitively or sociologically oriented - find their equivalent in the Trobriand Islanders' indigenous concept of karewaga.

### **Leslie Vandeputte-Tavo (CREDO, EHESS)**

Title: New technologies and language shifting in Vanuatu

During the last few years, mobile phones and social networks (an internet-based media program to make connections), have deeply changed relationships and, insidiously, the use and representations of languages in Vanuatu. Since Digicel, the most important international telecommunication operator, arrived in Vanuatu in June 2008, Melanesians have had an easy access to mobile phone while experiencing its facilities and pernicious effects at the same time. According to the 2009 National Census, 76% of households own or have access to a mobile phone. If internet access is far from being as common and popular as mobile phones, it is nevertheless also slowly becoming an urban way to 'get in touch' (nowadays internet access is an effective possibility for 8% of the population). In spite of being very recent, it seems that new ways of communication imply changes regarding the various ways of using and adapting languages, amongst which code-switching and language-shifting. On the one hand, Bislama, the national local lingua franca, is becoming more and more used in phone conversations, while on the other hand vernacular languages are slowly been adapted to short text messages. Internet and especially social networks such as Facebook or MySpace are revealing new language strategies in social intercourse. The study of language, here in the use of new technologies, turns out to be a particularly fertile tool. As such, it provides us with keys for a better understanding of social relationships in urban Vanuatu, like the ones between men and women in particular or between young people.

### **Ingjerd Hoëm (University of Oslo)**

Title: Traces of Polynesian ontology in Tokelauan

Tokelauan has been described as a "context-dependent" language, and as exhibiting characteristics such as those described by G. Grace as typical for so-called esoteric languages (i.e. opacity). This presentation will describe how an awareness of different kinds of social relationships (Tokelauan *tulaga*, position, sense of place, cf. Maori *turagawaewae*, a place to stand), as expressed linguistically through various means such as spatial deixis, ergative marking, and possessives, is a consistent feature of language use across genres. The presentation will concentrate on material taken from qualitatively different media, old and more recent, such as e.g. oral *kakai* (myths) and written comments on facebook. I compare the material with a particular focus on the linguistic markers referred to above, as indicative of what I call traces of Polynesian ontology.

### **Giovanni Bennardo (Northern Illinois University)**

Title: Language, Mind, and Social Relationships: Word Order in Tonga.

The Tongan language (Western Polynesian, Tongic) is typically classified as a VSO, that is a language in which the Verb precedes the Subject and the Subject precedes the Object of the sentence. However, both in oral and written texts, Tongans use a variety of sentence structures that include others than VSO. In order to investigate this phenomenon a number of written and oral (interviews, narratives, speeches, and conversations) texts in Tongan were scanned, digitized, and analyzed. I show how the switch be-

tween the various sentence structures used is motivated both by pragmatic parameters, that is, intentional/socio-cultural contexts and by mental habits, that is, a foundational cultural model.

### **Svenja Völkel (University of Mainz)**

Title: Conversational maxims throughout Oceania

The general Cooperative Principle reflects ‘a rational plan to coordinate our contributions during conversations’ (Foley 1997: 276). Such a plan is largely culture-specific. This becomes apparent in more concrete conversational maxims, such as Grice’s four maxims which specify the underlying conversational plan of Western European linguistic interaction but fail in most other cultures. This paper presents some of these cases throughout Oceania and then outlines considerations for a new research project in this field. Could different culture-specific maxims be revealed for various Oceanic cultures and which ones are of lesser or no relevance at all?

### **Petra Autio (University of Helsinki)**

Title: The Story of the Story of the Ancestor without Descendants: Writing as a Medium and the Power of the Community a Tabiteuean Village, Southern Kiribati.

This paper will discuss a mythico-historical story about ‘an ancestor without descendants’, who was of particular importance to the community of Buota village on the island of Tabiteuea in southern Kiribati, Micronesia, which is the focus of this research. It can be argued that the Story of Kourabi is a key narrative in the community, the Story as well as present-day practices based on it reflecting and reproducing local notions of symbolic reproductive power and particular social structures of the community. On the other hand, the story of how I, as an anthropologist, received the story pertains to both power relations in the village community, including its visiting anthropologist as well as the more global power relations implicated in this. One critical factor in the ‘story of the Story’ is that this piece of previously oral history was only given to me in writing. Through this ethnographic example I will discuss the medium of writing as one possible strategy by which a local Pacific community might be coping with the challenges to its socio-cultural values and language. The Tabiteuean case can be seen as part of a wider development of writing being used in other Pacific communities too.





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