

SESSION 1

CULTURAL HERITAGE AND POLITICAL INNOVATION: RELATIONS OF THE STATE AND ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN OCEANIA

Edvard Hviding & Knut Rio

From a Pacific perspective, we argue that cultural heritage has always been a basic ontological anchorage of human existence from which people make sense of their world. Cultural heritage relates to specific peoples, with specific collective histories, linked directly to specific spatial and social histories, as well as to objects that may stand for these histories. Across the Pacific region – but perhaps most strikingly in the culturally diverse archipelagos of Melanesia – colonial power, the construction of nations, and ideas of the global have been historically formulated within this very potent space of cultural heritage and customary codifications. Analyzing the concept of cultural heritage in the context of political innovation allows us to develop the idea that cultural heritage represents a viable counterforce to external challenges. Hence we see a focus on social movements and political innovation as descriptive of current processes in Melanesia and the wider Pacific region that defy simplistic tropes such as “failed states” or “invention of tradition”. Our use of the concepts implies not just social and politically motivated change and transformation, but also invokes the cultural creativity that goes into experimenting with social forms themselves.

In particular we need to rethink our assumptions about how the grassroots level is configured in relation to Pacific models of the social world. In this region – even on the level of the state, whether in Parliament, law or national media – decision-making and the quest for crucial knowledge or for locating important origins this will focus on local circumstances, at village and inter-personal levels. With regard to configurations of cause and effect in political life and to the tendency of locating importance at the localized level down to the scales of persons or objects, there are interesting challenges to much contemporary thought on centre and periphery. Perhaps what we see is a “no centre, no periphery” situation, wherein the varying distribution and composition of central persons (a lineage leader, a diviner, a knowledgeable person, a church elder, a holder of a potent right to an object, a magician – i.e. potentially anyone but in practice someone specific), objects (potent cultural heritage), or places (as the locations of origins and rights) will determine any decision-making process on any level including the national. This bottom-up perspective of political life can serve to exemplify alternative ways of organizing the state. In recent years there has been – for example in Fiji (with its coups d’état and the support from the chiefly ranks) and Vanuatu (with the importance of the National Council of Chiefs vis-à-vis parliament, government and legal system) – notable discomfort and discord with a centre/periphery model of political life with parliament as the centre of political authority. In these nations a model based on chiefly authority, and above all, authority located on the level of the individual person as a beholder of rights and knowledge, works in parallel to the democratic state. In this Introduction to the session we therefore highlight the potential in local social movements for influencing major cultural and political processes on the national levels of Pacific island countries. With “social movement” we understand a broad spectrum of organizations which, in shorter or longer term, mobilize people around shared desires, objects, ideals and goals.

STEFFEN DALSGAARD & TON OTTO, Dep. of Anthropology and Ethnography, University of Aarhus

ALMOST LAPAN: LEADERSHIP, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND MODERNIZATION IN MANUS PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The Tannese already have a long tradition of political inter-manipulation with different categories of outsiders: missionaries, traders, colonial agents, anthropologists, tourists, journalists, film-makers etc. Nowadays we could add ni-Vanuatu coming from other islands in the archipelago to work in Tanna: public servants, medical staff, clergymen, teachers, politicians, neo-colonial foreign official or NGO volunteers. Inter-manipulation has become even more of an issue with the adding of rivalries between Presbyterians and Catholics, British and French to former local socio-political oppositions. The strategic aspects of Tanna's proximity with New Caledonia have also contributed to increase the complexity of the local political game characterized by persistent reshaping or disruption of older social divisions. The John Frum cult, famous millenarian politico-religious movement, provides good illustrations of these inter-manipulations. At different periods of its already long history, cult leaders and inspired followers have produced new sets of symbolical representations in order to gain control over foreigner's hegemony. Both ritual and political means have been used for this struggle. In the context of a multiplication of different revivalist offshoots of the John Frum millenarian movement since the year 2000, this paper will try to investigate the reciprocal influences between, on the one hand state, parties, churches, outside "lobbies", and on the other Tannese chiefs, political representatives and cultic leaders.

LINUS S. DIGIM'RINA, Dep. of Anthropology, University of Papua New Guinea

FISHERMEN DO NOT FISH WITHOUT OBLIGATION: PROSTITUTION OF VOTERS, CANDIDATES, KASTOM, AND STATE PROCESSES – THE CASE OF KIRIWINA-GOODENOUGH ELECTORATE IN THE 2007 ELECTIONS, PNG.

For the first time Papua New Guinea officially trialed a new electoral process nationwide through its scheduled 2007 general elections. There had been prior widespread skepticism however, over its ability to ensure fairness and success. The main areas of concern were at the implementation level starting with the Electoral Commission and all its technical support through to the susceptibilities of officers, candidates and voters alike largely stemming from their own biases and corrupt predilections. Despite all the misgivings however, PNG went through a fairly smooth election event with minimal technical setbacks, which perhaps only time will uncurl. While describing the author's experience and observations as a first time candidate in national elections, the paper highlights some principal technical applications of Limited Preferential Vote (LPV) method that should require subsequent attention and improvement at policy level. In so doing, a full and fair (i.e. democratic) electoral process may become a reality for PNG through the Limited Preferential Voting method. Applied as it is however, election results are still vulnerably plagued by the ugliness of abuse through vote buying, rigging, and an increasing exploitation of the poverty-stricken rural voters as was previously experienced in the First Past the Post (FPP) electoral method hence, its prostitution!

Notwithstanding, and drawing from previous experiences, commentaries and existing literature on elections in PNG, the author recognizes that people/voters are in charge and actually dictate the meaning and expression of culture in relation to introduced state functions as in elections. People's perceptions of culture and elections are intertwined rather than distinct from each other. The evolving competing legitimacies between the state through its constitution and that of 'kastom' is distinct only to the scholars but not the people, it seems. To the voters, 'kastom' praxis is imperative and candidates with their resources, and even their role in Parliament must be subjected to the whims of 'kastom' – share the loot by feasting. This is a subjective-objective commentary of the author's experience as a candidate in the 2007 election in Papua New Guinea.

DANCING DIPLOMACY: PERFORMANCE AND THE POLITICS OF PROTOCOL

This paper provides a comparative analysis of a number of performance events revealing how Indigenous Australians and Pacific Islanders innovatively draw on the power of dance to negotiate relationships among themselves, with the State, and in response to 'the challenges of global political economy'. I begin with a birthday celebration on Thursday Island, Torres Strait and then move on to a number of public dance performances by Pacific Islanders from the Cook Islands and Tokelau, who have recently settled in north Queensland. I then explore the idea that the value of dance as diplomacy lies in its potential to hide as much as it reveals. I illustrate this through analysis of a particular dance performed at the Laura Aboriginal Dance and Cultural Festival in Cape York. My final example concerns the opening of the Australian Federal Parliament in February 2008, when for the first time in Australian history, the official opening began with a traditional welcome to the country by Indigenous elders

NAN MADOL A MICRONESIAN EXAMPLE OF HERITAGE AND HISTORY AS INNOVATION

Located off the southeastern coast of the island of Pohnpei in the Eastern Carolines, Nan Madol is a visually stunning site of megalithic proportions. Nan Madol, mistakenly understood by some as the "Venice of the Pacific," consists of 93 human-made islets linked by an elaborate canal system. The individual islets vary in size, internal structural complexity, and architectural style. The immediate complex of ruins at Nan Madol covers two hundred acres, and was part of a larger political configuration called Deleur that extended for about 18 square miles along Pohnpei's eastern coast, and approximates the boundaries of the modern-day chiefdom of Madolenihmw.

There exist multiple, partial and contested histories of this incredible site that speak of the foreign identity of its builders, the system of political and religious rule established there, the assertion of that rule over Pohnpei proper, and the varying responses from different areas of the island that included a complex mix of acquiescence, appropriation, and resistance. Like Pohnpei and the larger Micronesian geographical area, Nan Madol has survived several colonial regimes over the last one hundred and twenty years. It persists as a site that speaks to issues of identity, history, culture, heritage, government, and on-going engagements with foreign or imposed systems of rule. Nan Madol remains very much a site of power and struggle in contemporary times. In what some might understand as the ultimate colonial act, Nan Madol is listed on the United States National Register of Historic Properties. The current contestation around Nan Madol possesses local and national as well as neo-colonial dimensions. The US National Park Service, the historic preservation offices of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) and Pohnpei State, the paramount chief of Madolenihmw, and individual families all claim jurisdiction over the ruins. It remains to be seen how these conflicting claims will work themselves out. This study of Nan Madol looks at a complex, contested, and colonially affected cultural property whose past may yet inspire a future that offers local and alternative possibilities to reigning assumptions about development, governance, and political stability.

It offers lessons that are at once about continuity, adaptation, and innovation.

EDVARD HVIDING, University of Bergen

**LAND, RELIGION AND WAR CANOES IN THE WESTERN SOLOMON ISLANDS:
THE POLITICAL RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP CHURCH**

During 1998-2003, Solomon Islands experienced civil unrest, fights between armed militia groups, a spiralling decline of government services, and a near collapse of the national economy. Meanwhile in the country's resource-rich Western Province, the Christian Fellowship Church (CFC) – a somewhat secretive indigenous movement founded in the 1950s as a breakaway movement from the Methodist mission – efficiently supported and stabilized large rural areas in the face of state collapse. This process is one where a social movement that bridges the secular and the religious, the “modern” and the “traditional”, as well as the “local” and the “global”, exercises traditionally-derived authority over land with resources desired by global extraction economies, while pursuing agendas of rural social stability and appropriate economic development in a situation of government absence. In this paper, I discuss this rapid rise into a political force by what was long viewed as a remote rural cult, and I examine particular aspects of the CFC's political practice that rely on spectacular public displays of pre-Christian, pre-colonial elements of characteristically New Georgian cultural heritage. Classic models of Austronesian hierarchy play a central role in these developments.

GRANT MCCALL Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales

RAPANUI (EASTER ISLAND) IDENTITY AND AUTONOMY

Rapanui, as the people of Easter Island call themselves, their language and their home, is unique in Oceania in that it is part of, Chile, a South American state and has been so since 1888. Rapanui and Chilean are aware that more people know "Easter Island" than "Chile"; at the same time, owing to rapid social and cultural changes on the island since the "revolution" of 1966, more Rapanui feel an identity with their Latin American metropolis. Tourism, soon to hit 50,000 visitors annually, has brought wealth and complications to Rapanui, an intensification of local cultural performance, a loss of the Polynesian language for Spanish and conflicting identities as most Islanders born since 1980 have a non-Rapanui parent. Since 1992, as part of a national plan – and that is how this paper presents Rapanui, as part of Chile – the central government has been urging historically informed autonomy, forces which will grow with the country's bicentennial in 2010. This paper explores the background to these changes, the ambiguities of contemporary Rapanui identity and maps how they might congeal

GUIDO CARLO PIGLIASCO, University of Hawai'i at Manoa

**VOYAGING BEYOND EPISTEMOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES: INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE PROTECTION IN FIJI
AND OCEANIA**

Fiji's coups d'état (in 2000, 2006) show that the rule of governmental law along with customary law and the centrality of chiefly authority are at stake. The coups were not simply single events in which different factions competed for political or economic power. Rather, they were part of an ongoing transformative process rooted in contested views of the past that are forcing local actors to compromise and renegotiate their conceptions of their tradition, identity and cultural

heritage in light of new constitutional requirements. The issue of ownership of cultural property is becoming a prime moral issue in legal anthropological parlance, a condition *sine qua non* to understand the socio-cultural evolution of indigenous traditional knowledge and expressions of culture (TKEC). The combination of the two notions, cultural heritage and cultural property, is particularly relevant to the reification of identity in the case of intangible, immaterial TKEC ownership. Pacific islanders have had their concept of 'intellectual property' for centuries. Several landmark cases recognize a pre-existing system of law among indigenous peoples inseparable from the concept of 'identity'. These cases also suggest that neglected non-western epistemologies may provide us with new concepts and modes of organizing and protecting TKEC. Collaboration with the stakeholders, and legal anthropological research points to an intensification of the meta-local, cross-border interactions and growing interdependence between local, national and trans-national actors through a de-localizing process in which social spaces, borders and customs lose some of their previously overriding influence.

MICHAEL W. SCOTT, London School of Economics and Political Science

THE STRONG ISLAND: CULTURAL HERITAGE, INSULAR IDENTITY, AND DIVINE ELECTION IN SOLOMON ISLANDS

The Arosi of the island of Makira in the postcolonial nation-state of Solomon Islands experience their island as geographically, politically, and economically marginal, underserved, underdeveloped, and vulnerable to social and environmental degradation by outsiders. Since the period known as 'the tensions' (1998-2003), which saw violent clashes between Guadalcanal landowners and Malaitan settlers around the national capital, Honiara, this sense of marginality and vulnerability among Arosi has become legible to analysis in transformations of Arosi discourses about Makiran *kastom*, the essential character of Makirans, and the global—even cosmic—significance of Makira—also known as Hanuato'o, 'the strong island'.

These transformations include: rumours of a secret military base under Makira that gains its power from *kakamora*, dwarf-like creatures represented in *kastom* stories as autochthonous guardians of Makira; references to an original Makiran language and *kastom* that has become corrupted by 'mixing' with outsiders but is preserved underground by the *kakamora*; essentialisations of Makiran temperament as 'soft as wool, but strong as iron'; claims that the underground army is covertly working to fragment the Solomon Islands nation-state and lead Makira to statehood; and predictions of *kastom* restoration that will bring peace, prosperity, and power to Makira as the fulfilment of a divine plan. This paper will analyse selected examples of these discourses as articulated by diversely positioned speakers. While not constituting a unified religious or political movement, taken together these and other dialogically related examples are producing an insular Makiran identity that claims a 'cultural heritage' of spiritual, moral, and political chosenness.

MARC TABANI, CNRS/CREDO, Marseilles

DREAMS OF UNITY, PROCESSES OF DIVISIONS AND INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS: INTER-MANIPULATION AS CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TANNA (VANUATU)

The Tannese already have a long tradition of political inter-manipulation with different categories of outsiders: missionaries, traders, colonial agents, anthropologists, tourists, journalists, film-makers etc. Nowadays we could add ni-Vanuatu coming from other islands in the archipelago to work in Tanna: public servants, medical staff, clergymen,

teachers, politicians, neo-colonial foreign official or NGO volunteers. Inter-manipulation has become even more of an issue with the adding of rivalries between Presbyterians and Catholics, British and French to former local socio-political oppositions. The strategic aspects of Tanna's proximity with New Caledonia have also contributed to increase the complexity of the local political game characterized by persistent reshaping or disruption of older social divisions. The John Frum cult, famous millenarian politico-religious movement, provides good illustrations of these inter-manipulations. At different periods of its already long history, cult leaders and inspired followers have produced new sets of symbolical representations in order to gain control over foreigner's hegemony. Both ritual and political means have been used for this struggle. In the context of a multiplication of different revivalist offshoots of the John Frum millenarian movement since the year 2000, this paper will try to investigate the reciprocal influences between, on the one hand state, parties, churches, outside "lobbies", and on the other Tannese chiefs, political representatives and cultic leaders.

SESSION 2

MOVEMENT, PLACE MAKING AND MULTIPLE IDENTIFICATIONS

Elfriede Hermann, Wolfgang Kempf & Toon van Meijl

The aim of this session is to explore changing relations between people(s), places, and identities in contemporary Oceania. Following globalization and large-scale migration in the region the concept of place has acquired different meanings, especially in relation to identity. Place is no longer localized and identities have diversified, which has changed people's sense of belonging. In this session we seek to examine people's multiple belongings to places and social networks. The focus will be on personal as well as collective articulations of local attachments, translocal entwinements, and multiple belongings within global contexts and power relationships. The question how mobility and migration impact on the cultural construction of places and identities deserves special attention. In addition, we invite papers on the cultural formation of selfhood through multiple identifications with places and social collectivities.

The scope of the session also extends to studies of Pacific discourses on diaspora and displacement. Displacement for present purposes does not have to be viewed solely as a physical movement from one place to another. Rather it can also be construed as a process of alienation from, and devaluation of, one's place in the world, even if one never moves from that place – a process that derives its dynamics from the effects of hegemonic policies and the forces of global capitalism. But the other side of displacement, i.e. place making (and such is not opposed to, but inherently associated with, movement) will concern us no less. Papers analytically addressing the reciprocities of place making and multiple identifications will be particularly welcome in this session.

AGNES BRANDT, Freiburg University

CROSS-CULTURAL FRIENDSHIP AND MULTIPLE BELONGINGS IN NEW ZEALAND

This paper draws on empirical data collected during fieldwork in New Zealand between February 2007 and June 2008, focusing on the dynamics of cross-cultural friendships between Maori and non-Maori New Zealanders. Particular attention is given to the dynamics of actors' multiple identities and senses of belonging in friendship constellations (both intra- and intercultural) and how these relate to the wider socio-political context in which they occur.

In postcolonial New Zealand processes of identity making are influenced by popular and political debates evolving around Treaty settlements and immigration. The official espousal of biculturalism since the 1980s has meant the acknowledgment of Maori cultural difference and has led to ongoing debate on both Maori and non-Maori New Zealand identities. How do these processes bear on New Zealanders' personal relationships with each other?

As relatively voluntary and informal personal relationships friendships provide an interesting site for the study of cross-cultural relations. In particular in cross-cultural friendship constellations the actors' respective values and norms as well as their often multiple senses of belonging to groups and places become apparent. Friendships, it is argued, constitute highly situational social constructs in which contesting conceptions of self and other are contextualised and (re)constructed by the actors.

WINIFRED CROMBIE, University of Waikato, New Zealand

MĀORI AND PAKEHA IN AOTEAROA/ NEW ZEALAND: DIFFERENT PERSONAE, DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

As the only Pakehā (white European) member of academic staff of Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (The School of Māori and Pacific Development) at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (The University of Waikato) in Aotearoa/New Zealand, I necessarily adopt different perspectives and identities at different times and in different places. With a recent decision by the University's Vice-Chancellor to create a 'federal organizational model' (effectively removing the autonomy of the School of Māori and Pacific Development) and attempts by the New Zealand police to charge a number of Māori under the Terrorism Suppression Act (decisions that appear to be indicative of a tightening of colonial control), unease and disunity within the school have increased and my ability to negotiate an already complex situation in relation to identity and place has been undermined.

My position, although somewhat unusual, is not very different from that of others who attempt to live harmoniously in a country where there are significant tensions between colonial, hegemonic policies and practices, and indigenous views on the right to autonomy and self-determination. The aim of this paper is to explore some of these tensions as they relate to questions of identity and alienation in contemporary Aotearoa.

SABINE DEIRINGER, University of Cambridge

"I JUST GOT HERE" / "YOU JUST GOT HERE": THE U.S. AMERICAN INDIVIDUAL MEETS HAWAIIAN LOCALS AND NATIVES

This paper discusses instances of determining place, culture(s), people(s), and their relations in contemporary Hawai'i. In particular, the pedagogy of place making of the anthropology faculty of a local liberal arts college, its effects on students, and emic analyses thereof will allow an exploration of the multiple reciprocities of place making and identifications at stake. At the core of the ethnography are service learning field trips organized by the anthropology faculty to encourage their diverse student body to "build a sense of place and relationship interacting with people possessing different experiences from themselves."

Based on two years of ethnographic research on defining 'common ground' in Hawai'i (2005-06), the paper highlights Kanaka Maoli, local and U.S. American discourses of place making as they are formulated and probed relative to each

other. I am especially interested in fathoming impasses of U.S. individualism and multiculturalism in relation to contemporary Hawai'i, as well as the local alternatives as formulated by cultural practitioners, activists of the Hawaiian movement, and scholars.

EVELINE DÜRR, Inst. for Social Anthropology, Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich

CULTURE AS EXPERIENCE: CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES THROUGH TRANSCULTURAL ENCOUNTERS

This paper explores the social construction of culture and cultural difference in intercultural encounters between Māori and Mexican secondary school students. It analyses how face- to- face relationships and lived experiences shape the perception of the constructed 'other,' how alterity is created and understood. This research also explores the impact of these encounters on cultural identity formations, perceptions, imaginations and representations of one's own 'culture' and on the understanding of cultural differences. Based on translocal fieldwork in Mexico and New Zealand, this paper concludes that concrete cultural experiences have ambivalent outcomes. While tolerance for cultural otherness increases, it also re-enforces one's own cultural patterns, identities and viewpoints, which tend to be based on an essentialist notion of culture. This research also reveals transcultural processes and shows the complex ways of both mutual and interactive constructions of culture as they emerge from concrete experiences and identity formations in pluri-cultural contexts.

SINA EMDE, Australian National University

VISIONS OF PLACE AND BELONGING: URBAN WOMEN ACTIVISTS IN FIJI

In Fiji, notions of place and belonging differ for the different ethnic communities. While Fijians refer to their ownership of land and their belonging to the *vanua* as crucial for making their place in the nation, Indo-Fijians cannot refer to the land itself, because they do not own it. They cannot belong to the *vanua*. Instead, they refer to their labouring on the land, first in indenture and later as farmers, as crucial to claims of belonging to the nation. Both notions are exclusive to other ethnic communities. But what about those who try to go beyond ethnicity in their visions of place and belonging? This paper explores visions of place and belonging of urban feminist activists in Fiji which are accompanied by a specific tension between gender, religion, ethnicity and ethno-nationalism. Individuals and groups must constantly negotiate their feminist ideals with their identity as members of an ethnic group, local community, or religious group. Because of the dividing experiences of ethnicity that never disappears from activists' lives, women activists in Fiji who believe in feminism, multiculturalism and democratic values choose their identity as women as a uniting principle above ethnicity and class. Trying to overcome ethnic divisions they also construct new visions of place and belonging that can accommodate all Fiji Islanders in a multicultural nation and try to enact shared emotions of belonging and placemaking regardless of ethnicity and religion.

YANNICK FER, GSRL/CNRS, Paris, AND GWENDOLINE MALOGNE-FER, GSRL/CNRS, Paris

PROTESTANTISM AMONG PACIFIC PEOPLES IN NEW ZEALAND: MOBILITY, CULTURAL IDENTIFICATIONS AND GENERATIONAL SHIFTS

In 2006, Pacific peoples in New Zealand numbered 266 000, making up 6.9 per cent of the New Zealand population. Coming from Samoa, Tonga, Cook, Niue, Fiji, Tokelau and Tuvalu, they generally continue to attend Christian churches in a context of secularisation and religious diversification of New Zealand society.

This communication aims to analyse, in its first part, to what extent 'historical' Polynesian Protestant churches have helped Pacific migrants to find their own place in New Zealand society by strengthening cultural identification – notably through liturgical language and the development of pre-schools in Polynesian languages – and maintaining transnational links with the 'mothers-churches' in the Pacific Islands.

In the second part, we will look at the trajectories of young New Zealand born Pacific peoples converted to Evangelical Protestantism. Evangelicals tend to emphasise movement rather than territorial roots and the 'new identity' brought by conversion rather than cultural heritages. But globalisation also fosters the construction of new Evangelical indigenous networks promoting a kind of cultural re-identification ('Island Breeze'). The emergence of churches combining Evangelical identity with the promotion a 'horizontal' multiculturalism, not initiated by the dominant Western culture but by Pacific peoples themselves, can also be observed (Hosanna Outreach Centre).

LISE GAROND, EHESS & James Cook University

THE PATHS WILL COME BACK TO THEM': PERFORMING DIFFERENCE AND RESEMBLANCE IN THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY OF PALM ISLAND, NORTHERN QUEENSLAND, AUSTRALIA

This paper deals with the many possible sources of identification Australian Indigenous people may 'articulate' today as inhabitants of those lately renamed 'Indigenous communities' - such as Palm Island in Northern Queensland, which was designated as an 'Aboriginal Reserve' and penal settlement in 1918 by the Queensland government, and where people were deported from '40 different tribes'.

I will refer to moments and performances at the Naidoc Week celebrations on Palm Island, during which, through dancing and what is called the 'Banner march' (in which people carry and march with banners referring to their different tribal and/or territorial origins), the diversity of people's territorial and tribal origins are performed at the same time as what unites them and what differentiates them collectively from 'the mainland'. The way participants position themselves is subjected to multiple choices, and individuals engage in a complex play of balance, with likely tension, between concepts of diversity, singularity and unity in redefining themselves within a collective yet multidirectional 'home'.

HELENE GOIRAN, Université de la Nouvelle Calédonie

THE POSITION AND ROLE OF THE INDO-FIJIANS IN THE FIJI MILITARY FORCES

This paper deals with the many possible sources of identification Australian Indigenous people may 'articulate' today as inhabitants of those lately renamed 'Indigenous communities' - such as Palm Island in Northern Queensland, which was designated as an 'Aboriginal Reserve' and penal settlement in 1918 by the Queensland government, and where people were deported from '40 different tribes'.

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KATHERINE GOUGH, JYTTE AGERGAARD, TORBEN BIRCH THOMSEN AND ANDREAS EGELUND CHRISTENSEN

MOBILITY IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS: PLACE, LIVELIHOOD AND IDENTITY ON BELLONA, ONTONG JAVA AND TIKOPIA

This paper analyses the differing mobility patterns and processes of the populations of three islands located within the Solomon Islands. The aim is to explore how and why these mobility patterns vary and the ways in which mobility both reflects and affects the relationship between place and identity. The paper starts with a conceptualisation of mobility, place, livelihood and identity, and their interlinkages. Following a presentation of the three islands of Bellona, Ontong Java and Tikopia, the research methodology is outlined. The bulk of the paper draws on empirical (both quantitative and qualitative) data collected on all three islands including details on the movement of people and goods to and from the islands. The mobility praxis for the three islands is traced and the role of transport, social networks and cultural practices in carving out the differing mobility patterns and processes, including remittances, are analysed. The ways in which place, livelihood opportunities, inequality and identities influence, and are influenced by, mobility are then discussed. In conclusion, it is shown how mobility is tightly interlinked with place, livelihood and identity but in complex and varying ways. It is argued that widespread mobility in the Solomon Islands is not necessarily a sign of crisis but is partly a response to opportunities and forms part of a dynamic system. The paper thus contributes to a growing body of literature which is exploring the changing relations between people, places and identities.

SABINE HESS, University of Heidelberg

THE ASSUMPTION OF 'COMMUNITY' ON VANUA LAVA, VANUATU

The word 'community' is used by ni-Vanuatu and foreigners in a variety of contexts. For example in development projects donors often stipulate what they give and what the 'community' is expected to contribute (usually free labour). But what is people's understanding of 'community'? Who is included, and who is not? Before the arrival of Europeans people on Vanua Lava lived in kin groups in dispersed hamlets on their clan land. Since then, they were made to settle by the coast in village 'communities' - with a church in the middle. Today, some but not all villages have a 'community hall', a building which is used for a variety of functions such as announcements, fundraisings, court cases and string band concerts. This paper explores the complex relationship between different ways to imagine people's identity as simultaneously individual and dividual through tropes such as kinship, place, and denomination. How do they contribute, overlap or jeopardise the understanding of the introduced concept of 'community'?

INDIGENOUS OR GLOBAL CITIZEN? THE ISSUE OF HYBRID IDENTITY FOR INDIGENOUS STUDENTS IN MAINSTREAM EDUCATION IN AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

As a result of a more liberal national migration policy, school communities in Aotearoa /New Zealand are increasingly multi-cultural, with both students and teachers coming from a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In these global village environments, managers and governors strive (with varying degrees of success) to acknowledge, value and accommodate the heritage of new-migrant groups and to address the particular educational needs, interests and aspirations of the individuals within them. While seeking to be inclusive of those students who are newly-arrived in the country, there is an equally important imperative, within an increasingly global, educational the special status of indigenous Māori students, particularly those in mainstream education, as they explore and shape the hybrid identity (part indigenous / part global citizen) that will undoubtedly characterize their lives in the 21st century.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some identity-building strategies which one central-city, state, single-sex secondary school has initiated to support its indigenous students. While the strategies must be considered as part of an ongoing, evolutionary process, indications are that the approach adopted is having a significant impact on the personal, social and academic development of Māori and Pasifika students.

MIGRATION AND IDENTITY: COOK ISLANDERS' RELATION TO LAND

What does migration and living far from their land of origin mean to Cook Islanders living overseas? Do they perceive New Zealand or Australia as part of a great Oceanic 'Sea of Islands' (Epele Hau'ofa) that they see as an all embracing homeland of Oceanic people? What role play traditions that are perceived as specific from the Cook Islands (or Rarotonga, Atiu, ...) in this context?

Land tenure as well as identity is for Cook Islanders based to a high degree on membership in a particular family, its history, ancestors, and the associated places. This is also true for many Cook Islanders who live for shorter or longer periods in countries like New Zealand or Australia. These Cook Islanders living abroad not only maintain relationships to their relatives but also retain contact to their land, to their place of origin, by travelling and by various means of communication. At the same time many Cook Islanders are strongly bound to social collectivities in the urban centres of their new places of residence. Some developments suggest that Cook Islanders in New Zealand create and revitalize institutions that not only maintain and reproduce established connections to places at home but also establish new ones in New Zealand

WORKING OUT ABJECTION IN THE PANAPOMPOM BÊCHE DE MER FISHERY: CONSTITUTING RACIAL GEOGRAPHY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Men from Panapompom, in south-east Papua New Guinea (PNG) indulge in 'negative nationalism', devaluing their own place in the world relative to America, Europe or Australia – places associated with white people. In this paper, I

examine this process of alienation from, and devaluation of, black people's place in the world, and suggest how it becomes forceful in the embodied, emplaced *work* of Panapompom people.

Men from Panapompom dive for *beche de mer*, work which they regard as being particularly hard and dangerous. Diving has profound effects on the skin, blackening and hardening it, leading Panapompom men to liken themselves the machines that create the wealth that white people use. These 'mechanising' effects that diving has on the black body lead men to ascribe subject positions to white people, the beneficiaries of the *beche de mer* industry, and abject positions to black people as mere tools or extent. For *beche de mer* divers, these distinctions map subjectivity and abjection onto the geography of race: value and desired forms of life are lodged in Australia, Europe or America, while PNG is despised and denigrated from a perspective that Panapompom men attribute to white people.

HILKE THODE-ARORA, University of Auckland

INVISIBLE VILLAGES: NIUEAN CONSTRUCTIONS OF PLACE AND IDENTITY IN AUCKLAND.

With 90 % of all Niueans living in the New Zealand diaspora, 80 % in Auckland alone, and only 10 % remaining in the tiny Central Polynesian island state, Niueans are an extreme example of a translocal and overwhelmingly urban ethnic unit. Based on fieldwork in Niue and Auckland, and following Harvey's and Lefebvre's theoretical framework of space as experience, perception and imagination, this paper explores the dynamics of Niuean 'place-making' in New Zealand's largest city. Structured by Auckland's polyethnic setting of Euro New Zealanders, Maori, Asian and Pacific immigrants of different origins, by New Zealand's socio-economic status hierarchy versus Niue's egalitarian social organisation, and by Niuean concepts of land and status rivalry, Niuean space and identity are re-located, re-invented and negotiated in an ongoing process of interaction and ascription of meaning. In this context, representatives of the churches, elders, and especially elder women can be identified as the actors who predominantly articulate or manipulate the symbolic order of 'Niuean places' in the city.

GABRIELE SCHÄFER, AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, NEW ZEALAND

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF CROSS-CULTURAL COUPLE RELATIONSHIPS IN NEW ZEALAND

This research explores cross-cultural intimate couple relationships in New Zealand. The study focuses on the dynamics in cross-cultural intimate relationships between Maori and Non-Maori. The intercultural as well as interdisciplinary nature of the research informed my decision to apply several research methodologies including participant observation techniques and in-depth interviews with 38 participants. Findings indicate that the majority of participants perceived that cross-cultural relationships are challenging and complex because of a lack of identification with the partner's culture. Different conflict styles, communication patterns, racism, values about privacy, hospitality, ideas about family life and parenting are seen as constant sources for difficulty and conflicts. Findings also indicate that participants found cross-cultural relationships rewarding. The opportunity for exploring new ideas and values, the exciting "otherness" of the partner and curiosity about different lifestyles have been identified as the strengths of bicultural relationships.

GENDERING PLACES: GENDER AS A CATEGORY OF ANALYSIS IN THE FORSTERS' REPRESENTATION OF OCEANIA

Since Pacific Islanders have been influenced by European discourses on the Pacific in various ways, it is interesting and important to address European ascriptions of identities in Oceania. From the outset Europeans have interpreted Oceania with reference to gender. Jolly has demonstrated that the situation of women is crucial in both Cook's and Forster's evaluations of western Pacific societies. According to Thomas this tendency has even resulted in the creation of 'Melanesia' and 'Polynesia'. So far most research has focused on women instead of the ways in which differences between the sexes are constructed. In addition, it has usually been assumed that explorers' remarks regarding women serve as a standard of civilisation.

This paper will compare gender in the Forsters' representation of place with regard to the western and eastern Pacific. Their view of the New Hebrides islanders' treatment of women is well-known. But Georg Forster also anticipated Tahitians' abuse of women. His analogies with Asian despotism suggest a complex view of gender and civilisation which transcends the longstanding identifications of the western Pacific with ferocious savagery and the south Pacific with alluring civility.

FRANCO ZOCCA, Melanesian Institute, Goroka

THE MULTIPLE IDENTITIES OF THE WEST PAPUA REFUGEES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Since the annexation of West Papua by Indonesia in 1963, there has been a stream of West Papuans crossing the border to seek asylum in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Their number peaked in 1984, when 12,000 West Papuans crossed the border almost at the same time. At present it is reckoned that a bit more of 20,000 West Papuans are settled in PNG. The majority live still along the border and they are considered "illegal Border Crossers" by the PNG Government. To a minority, who lived in the official Refugee Camp, or are scattered in several urban areas, a certificate of Permissive Residency was granted in 2002.

The paper, based on field research, examines the multiple identities which at present characterize the refugees, namely their allegiance to their original descent group, their sharing of cultural features with the PNG tribes, their identification with the land and people of West Papua, and their growing sense of belonging to the land in which they now live, PNG. However, multiple identities have created confusion especially in the mind of young people, who have been discriminated as far as access to education and employment opportunity is concerned. Sometimes resentment and deviant behaviour have been the outcome.

SESSION 3

THE POETICS OF EXISTENCE: WORDS AND IMAGES

Borut Telban

Peoples of Oceania have always had a rich repertoire of verbal and visual expressions of their life-worlds. These expressions were not simply reflections of their cosmologies and cultures but were also inseparable from their

continuous creation. Whenever some outside information reached a particular community, people addressed these new words and images, mimicked, moulded and modified their meanings, and adjusted them to their current social and cultural understanding of the world. There are, however, stronger external impacts that challenge the habitual existence of local communities, their daily practices and their whole worldview. These include large scale financial investments of foreign companies, the application of new technologies, and the intrusion of different religious movements.

The session participants are welcome to address "traditional" expressive forms: either oral-aural (songs, chants, myths, stories, etc.) or visual (architecture, carvings, paintings, body decoration, etc.). Moreover, verbal and visual expressions are often tightly interwoven and complement each other, as for example, in the actual practice of song-dance, and are firmly embedded in the landscape. Participants are also welcome to address social and cultural changes that alter people's attitudes towards their "traditional" lore, which leads them towards changes in perception and expression of their life-world. With a particular sensitivity for alterations in verbal and visual expressions in particular contexts one can detect social and cultural changes in their making.

EMMANUELLE CRANE, EHESS & Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology

ESTABLISHING MEDIA NETWORKS IN OCEANIA: A NEW CONCEPT FOR INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND IMAGING THE FUTURE

For its fifth edition, the FIFO (Oceanian International Festival of Documentaries) opened its doors in Papeete, French Polynesia, to documentaries on Oceania, directed and produced in New Zealand, Australia, Vanuatu, French Polynesia and mainland France. Alongside the projection of documentaries, the festival was set up to play an educational role towards young directors and the general public, and serve as a space for exchange enabling film/documentary directors to make Oceania's voice heard and to introduce their production to television executives in Oceania, who might buy and broadcast it. An initiative taken by Kanak TV director Wallès Kotra, the creation of the FIFO is also the opportunity to get an Oceanic TV network boosted: the executives from Oceanian televisions invited to the conference represented this year (January 2008) 11 South Pacific countries or territories: the Cook Islands, the Fiji Islands, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, Papua-New-Guinea, French Polynesia, Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu and Wallis and Futuna. The very thrust of the conference is to foster dialogue, opening up opportunities for joint productions and the pooling of talents. Given the cultural and geographical challenges of the region, technological progress offers new possibilities for all to contribute to certain projects. There is a host of historic, political, sports and cultural events in Oceania. However the modest resources available to individual televisions for covering one of these events alone obviously hinders the smooth flow of regional information. The same goes for the promotion of local cultural diversity, which is mostly pared down to only major events. The first edition of the "Conference for Oceanian Televisions" has already led to synergy between these televisions. By relying on this dynamic, born during the coverage of the South Pacific Games in Apia, new projects for regional coverage will see the light of day (Arts Festival, 2011 Games etc.).

GEORGIA CURRAN, School of archeology and Anthropology, Australian National University

THE CONTEMPORARY IMPORTANCE OF A WARLPURI INITIATION CEREMONY

In Central Australia, where the performance of many ceremonies is in decline and becoming less important to the

functioning of Aboriginal life than it has been in the past, initiation ceremonies are still performed annually and are considered to be essential for the transition of boys into manhood. In the settlement of Yuendumu, the sequence and dance movements required to perform the *Kurdiji* initiation ceremonies are well known to most participants. However the songs that need to be sung during the all-night part of this ceremony in which the boys are actually initiated are only known by seven or eight older men.

In this paper I explore how the themes of the *Kurdiji* initiation song cycle have maintained their contemporary relevance in a situation where many other songs and ceremonies have not. I examine some of these central themes of the *Kurdiji* song cycle and their associated meanings by analysing the song texts. In considering the literal translations with Warlpiri exegesis, I highlight the ambiguous nature of the language used and hence the reliance on interpretation for a full understanding of the meanings of the songs. Discussing the format in which these songs are passed on, I pose questions as to what form this ceremony will take when the singers of these songs are gone.

ANTJE DENNER, Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia

MEMORY MACHINES' FOR THE FUTURE: *AM FURIS* PERFORMANCES IN SOUTHERN NEW IRELAND

the context of the rituals of the mortuary cycle, the people of the Anir/Feni Islands in the south of New Ireland (Papua New Guinea) stage men's house performances they themselves refer to as a 'key' to their culture. These performances, called *am furis*, are multimedia events that involve actors that present songs, speech acts and dramatic actions. The performances are newly created for each particular occasion, but embedded within a clearly defined ceremonial context. They represent a sphere in which art and ritual merge.

Am furis contain important information on the history and present situation of the men's house community staging it. They combine past and present, unite groups of people, and are directed towards the future. They are one of the most important media the participants of a ritual employ to give it topicality, thus endowing it with meaning and making it effective. *Am furis* also are highly ambiguous performances that entail multi-layered verbal and visual images, metaphors and allusions which have to be decoded.

The presentation of this paper includes an analysis of ethnographic material that examines how verbal and visual elements corroborate each other in the creation of meaning in *am furis* and how the referential/representational dimension of these performances interlinks with the corporeal/presentational dimension. This is combined with an exploration of the way *am furis* simultaneously are 'memory machines' as well as fields of innovation and creativity.

SVEINN EGGERTSSON, Department of Anthropology, University of Iceland

CARVING THOUGHTS: SOME THOUGHTS ON RAPA NUI WOOD CARVING

In this paper I will discuss how the Polynesian folk on Rapa Nui (*Easter Island*) have adapted to social and cultural change brought on by the arrival of Europeans to the island in the early 18th century and continuing today in interaction with tourists and an international community with great interest in the cultural heritage of the island. The discussion focuses on the tradition of wood carving and how this practice provides, for many contemporary Rapanui artists or

artisans, a dialogue with their ancestry through which Rapanui contemporary identity becomes manifest as a hybrid of present-day concerns and what is perceived to be an essence of a past ('traditional') cultural existence.

JOACHIM GÖRLICH, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle

THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF WORDS AND IMAGES IN KOBON INITIATION RITUALS

The paper deals with the initiation ritual cycle among the Kobon people in the Northern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. It shows how in the performances of the initiation rituals verbal and visual expressions are tightly interwoven in order not only to reflect but also to construct the socio-cosmology of the Kobon. This interconnection between verbal and visual expressions varies among the rituals. The mythical stories, for example, that are connected with the rituals, can be performed in different verbal and visual ways. In the first ritual the myth is explicitly expressed through singing and body decoration. In the second ritual singing, dancing and body decoration are connected in a more indirect way in order to perform mythical scenes. And in the third ritual, although mythical relations are put in the foreground through body decorations, use of paraphernalia and other performances, the connected mythical stories are not told in an explicit way within the ritual context. So it should be shown how in the initiation rituals through the interplay of different verbal and visual performances the socio-cosmology of the Kobon is built up and how, as a result, the participants' relational positions are transformed. Moreover, it should also be shown how these processes are themselves transformed through the impact of external forces.

VOLKER HEESCHEN, Inst. of Ethnology and African Studies, University of Munich

THE SONGS AND DANCING-SONGS OF THE EIPO AND YALENANG (EASTERN MOUNTAINS OF WEST PAPUA)

In this contribution I will present form, function and contents of the songs and dancing-songs of the Eipo and Yalenang, who live in the Eastern Mountains of West Papua. The appearance of songs and dancing-songs in myths and non-sacred tales is evaluated. Their languages and communicative genres have been studied since 1974 by the present author, research on their music was realized by A. Simon and E. Royl. The Eipo's and Yalenang's singing and dancing will be illustrated. The actual contribution concentrates on asking two questions, first, how do authors and poets succeed in expressing individual needs and emotions, though the genres have been said to be only suited for the expression of a "synecdochic self", second, do the Eipo's and Yalenang's narrative and poetic genres serve the function of tracing alternative worlds ("Gegenwelten")?

RAUKURA TE RANGEMARIE ROA, School of Māori and Pacific Development Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, University of Waikato

TWO TRADITIONS IN *NGA MŌTEATEA* (MĀORI LAMENTS)

There are many different types of composition that characterize traditional Māori society. Among these are *nga mōteatea* (often translated into English as 'songs' or 'song poems' but more accurately translated as 'laments'). There are four main types of *mōteatea*: *tangi* (laments for the dead); *aroha* (laments for the absence of a lover); *oriori* (laments

that teach children about their ancestry and lament the loss of generations past) and *pātere* (abusive songs that lament the loss of reputation). Most of these *mōteatea* were composed by women. Some are sung some chanted.

In traditional *mōteatea*, there is evidence of oral formulaic composition: the language is highly specialized, there are many short oral formulae, often occurring in particular sequences; the themes and the sequencing of themes is generally predictable as is the sequencing of speech acts, and the symbols arise directly out of the social and cultural life of Māori communities. Following the arrival of Europeans, objects and images associated with European culture began to appear in the *mōteatea*, including Judeo-Christian references and symbols.

With the coming of Europeans to Aotearoa (the land of the long white cloud), commonly known as New Zealand, the *mōteatea* began to be collected, translated and written down. During this process, they were often altered, these alterations frequently involving the removal of explicit sexual references, especially those in *mōteatea aroha*. Some of them began to be sung to European music.

In this paper, I explore, through word and music, traditional and more recent *mōteatea*, demonstrating the emergence of what now appear to have become two parallel traditions, one still firmly rooted in traditional Māori culture; the other strongly influenced by European culture.

JAN RENSEL, University of Hawai'i at Manoa AND **ALAN HOWARD**, University of Hawai'i at Manoa

YOUTHFUL VISIONS: PLACE AND IDENTITY IN TEENAGE ROTUMAN POETRY

This paper consists of an analysis of three poems by Rotuman teenagers in different settings. One is by a female student at Rotuma High School, another is by a young woman who left Rotuma at age ten and wrote a nostalgic poem while attending high school in the United Arab Emirates, and a third is by a part-Rotuman male in Australia who has never been to Rotuma. We explore the relevance of place and spatial imagery in these poems and the role that it appears to play in shaping the cultural identity of these young people. We will reflect the imagery in these poems against the significance of place in Rotuman oral legends and customary ritual.

ALAN RUMSEY, Dep. Of Anthropology, RSPAS, Australian National University

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SUNG NARRATIVE GENRES OF HIGHLAND PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Across a large area of Highland Papua New Guinea, there are traditions of ballad-like sung tales. Composed and performed by specialist bards, these are a highly valued cultural resource. From a comparative viewpoint they are remarkable both for their scale and complexity and for the range of variation that is found among regional genres and individual styles. I will describe and exemplify one such genre as performed in the Ku Waru and Melpa regions of the Western Highlands Province, and compare it with other genres from the Southern Highlands and Enga Provinces. Focusing on aspects of the plots, settings and meta-narrational framing of the tales, I will show that there is considerable variation in the manner and extent to which the various regional genres have been transformed to adapt them to contemporary circumstances, and attempt to relate this variation to other differences among the regions.

MODIFICATION OF PERCEPTION IN A SEPIK COMMUNITY

The customary life-world of Ambonwari people from the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea was created around their landscape and perceived both visually and verbally through patterns, spatial relationships, continuity, and simultaneity. What (and how) was seen was also talked about, and what (and how) was talked about was also seen. Visual and auditory domains of Ambonwari existence were interwoven in a kind of synesthesia, a fundamental unity of the senses. Following the advent of Catholic charismatic movement at the end of the 20th century and people's overwhelming rejection of their relationship with the spirits – who were important in their ancestral cosmology, social organization, and regional dealings with other groups – the restraints and values of the past began to disappear from people's visual and verbal perception and exposition of their life-world. One could say that the current attitude towards the past is characterized by de-contextualization and de-narrativization of the ocular which goes hand in hand with de-contextualization and de-ocularization of the verbal. In their dealings with the present, however, Ambonwari Catholic preachers and especially Catholic charismatic leaders mainly rely upon transmission of verbal messages and the emphasis on rhythm, temporal relationships, discontinuity, and sequence. If the customary past was characterized by synesthesia, the modifying present is characterized by significant priority given to the verbal medium.

PAULINE VAN DER ZEE, Dept. of Ethnic Art, University of Ghent

'ROMEO AND JULIA' OF WEST PAPUA. A MYTHICAL EXPLANATION OF THE DECORATION OF PADDLES OF THE ASMAT

The life of the Asmat people of New Guinea is structured by ceremonial feasts in which art objects play an important role. Ritual practices, songs, chants, as well as art production are based on mythology. Although a relation between myths and woodcarving is not directly traceable, Asmat verbal arts and visual arts are interwoven. In former times headhunting secured the spiritual continuity of the society and art objects urged living relatives to revenge their recently deceased. However two myths, one related to ancestor poles and the other to paddles, do not endorse to the headhunting ideology, but seem to stand for an inversion of it. The latter story has a high 'Romeo and Juliet' calibre; the living Jamar-ipitsj (Romeo) longs desperately for his beloved deceased Mbi-Aotsj (Juliet). Nowadays headhunting practices are forbidden by the government and Asmat woodcarvings no longer provoke headhunting raids, but attract western collectors. The myth of the woodcarver Jamar-ipitsj and Mbi-Aotsj might offer a clue why the continuous search for life force of the Asmat still culminates in their woodcarvings.

PAUL VAN DER GRUIJ, Université de Lille, CREDO

THE POETICS AND POWER OF *MANA* IN WESTERN POLYNESIA

The pan-Pacific notion of *mana* may be defined as supernatural inspiration or energy that manifests itself in persons, objects, places and natural phenomena. Polynesian chiefs have *mana* because of their descent from ancient gods. The question in the paper is: What is the role of *mana* in past and present configurations and reconfigurations of chiefly

power in the Pacific? I will in particular refer to recent population uprisings in Tonga and Wallis Island (Uvea), during which the *mana* of the highest chiefs has been challenged.

SESSION 4

CONCEPTS AND UNFOLDING OF THE PERSON IN THE PACIFIC

Françoise Douaire–Marsaudon & Laurent Dousset

Identity” and “person” are not reflections of persistence and permanence, for no identity or person is identical to itself at two places or moments. Inherently relative, these notions are based on a dynamic accumulation of socially and historically produced characteristics that trespass, underpin and divide the individual according to socio-political, socio-economic and socio-historical situations. The idea of the person as a local discursive and conceptual entity and its real-world counterpart (that of actual experiences, individual trajectories, personal agency and interrelation processes) are at least partly – dialectically – tied in particular ways according to their socio-cultural and historical background. To take in account the subjective and existential aspects of the person implies that we also consider the person as gendered. Questioned is not only how Pacific societies construct the sexual dichotomy and which roles are assigned to it, but also how one is becoming (“subject to become” as expressed by M. Foucault or J. Butler) a gendered person in a particular society.

This panel wishes to examine both the local conceptions of, and discourses about the “person” (or the “human being”), as well as these concepts’ applications in actual situations. In view of the many theories that originated from Pacific studies, we invite contributions that analyse discrepancies and congruencies between observable life-situations and its emic interpretations and discourses. While interested in formal and structural aspects of indigenous conceptions of the (gendered) person, we are particularly encouraging papers that analyse actual people’s trajectories and their efforts to comply with – or resist – normative systems within a fast changing world. These perspectives, as we conceive them, have also the ambition to question (and go beyond) some of the classical paradigmatic oppositions used in the field of anthropology (*nature/culture; self/society; etc.*).

PASCALE BONNEMERE, CREDO, MAP, Université de Provence

GENDERED RITUAØ PROCESSES: BECOMING A PARENT AMONG THE ANKAVE-ANGA OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Turning into a parent among the Ankave-Anga of Papua New Guinea does not involve the same processes for female and male persons. A girl reaches puberty and becomes fertile spontaneously, as an outcome of what we might call her “femaleness”, while a boy has to go through collective and painful rituals – initiations – to attain a similar state. Such rituals are prerequisites for him being able to procreate but this does not make him a father. He will be considered as such at the end of a ceremonial day held after the birth of his first child. The day starts with a secret ritual for each of the two parents and their companions of the same gender and ends with a public one during which a new parental couple is established and celebrated. But, as the paper will show, focusing the study on this particular day only would be

misleading as prohibitions, prescribed rules of conduct and tasks, as well as exchanges between specific categories of kin take place as soon as pregnancy is known and for all its duration.

MICHAEL DICKHARDT, Institute for Ethnology, University of Goettingen

SEE, AND YOU WILL CHANGE YOURSELF! THE MORAL PERSON AND THE SHIFTING GROUNDS OF MORALITY AMONG THE QAQET-BAINING OF RAUNSEPN, EAST NEW BRITAIN, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The processes of colonization and “missionization” changed not only the socio-political and socio-economic structures of the Baining of East New Britain, but also their moral praxis. Tradition, Catholicism, the administrative framework of the state and a new economic structure brought together different normative systems, the difference of which cannot be reduced to single different values. Rather, the moral practices which interconnect those values with different normative systems in different contexts and from different perspectives have to be studied closely to achieve a deeper understanding of the moral persons, their struggle for a good life and the meaning of morality therein. Against this general background, specific cases of moral and social conflicts in Raunsepna, a village of the Qaqet-Baining in the north-western Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain, will be discussed in the paper from an ethnographical as well as from a theoretical perspective, based on fieldwork of altogether 17 months in the years 2004 - 2007. From an ethnographical perspective, the cases discussed show in different contexts (the relationship between in-laws; sorcery; marriage) how values and moral attitudes (*Haltungen*) such as work, respect, shame, sharing and caring or humility are pragmatically formed and used in a moral praxis by moral persons highly sensitive to the uncertainty of moral orientation between tradition, Catholicism, the state and the monetised economy – thrown into contexts, to speak with Nietzsche, where “our actions are MOTLEY-COLOURED (bunt)” (Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* § 215). From a theoretical perspective, the different cases are discussed to address epistemological and conceptual problems in regard to a possible cultural anthropological approach to morality. Central to this approach are the concept of basic structures of morality, comprising transcendent spheres and basic values and attitudes (*Haltungen*), and the concept of pragmatics of morality, conditional upon “contextuality” and “perspectivity”. Whereas the basic structures of morality allow the moral persons to refer to certain values, the pragmatics opens way to decide which values actually are considered to be desirable in a specific situation.

ILANA GERSHON, Dept. of Communication and Culture, Indiana University

WHEN YOU MARRY A SAMOAN, YOU MARRY THE WHOLE CONTEXT

In this paper, I turn to questions of intentionality and how different models of intentionality would underlie people's accounts about when their marriages were explicitly cross-cultural marriages, especially when one spouse was a Samoan migrant to New Zealand. By turning to accounts of others' intentions in cross-cultural extended families, I am examining how people reflexively understand others' relationships to social orders, and asking how this understanding recursively shapes their own actions and social strategies. Focusing on accounts of intentionality can lead to the Eurocentric assumption that people elsewhere attribute meaning to utterances and actions in the same ways that Euro-Americans do. Yet, as various ethnographers have pointed out, not everyone attributes intentionality to others in the same ways. People engaged in being Samoan use roles as an interpretative schema to determine both the texture

of a social order and the nuanced possibilities of others' social strategies. They engage with roles on the ground as blueprints of social orders and their strategies, not as paths towards understanding others' personalities. To be a daughter-in-law has clear expectations embedded in this role – for example, upon entering one's Samoan mother-in-law's house, one should immediately go to the kitchen to help cook. This creates a captivating social paradox from a Samoan perspective. How should one interpret behaviour that lies outside of the guidelines social roles provide? From a Samoan perspective, the moments that occur outside of the social gaze can be moments of disorderly and even socially hazardous freedom—moments, in short, to gossip about. People engaged in being Samoan make certain epistemological assumptions in which explanations that invoke culture and those that invoke intention belong to two distinct, and often oppositional, discourses for understanding people's behavior. By analyzing Samoan mixed marriages, I can argue, along with Roy Wagner (1995), that the common Euro-American presupposition that culture and intentionality are mutually constructive is precisely that, a presupposition that others, with their own perspectives on what having a culture means, do not share.

KATIE GLASKIN, School of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Western Australia

ANATOMIES OF SELF AND RELATEDNESS

In 1986, anthropologist Fred Myers spoke about the tension between autonomy and relatedness that he identified as intrinsic aspects of Pintupi society. More recently, Keen (2006) has written about the extension of Yolngu persons in time and space, and, with reference to concepts of the dividual and partible persons, has argued that Yolngu of Northern Australia similarly extend aspects of personhood relationally. Drawing on the ethnography of Indigenous Australia, this paper seeks to interrogate the self/society divide that both Myers and Keen point to. Here, I draw upon the metaphor of the body (and its substances) to attempt to describe the relationship between the extensible dividual and the person as self. Following this metaphor I argue that these aspects of personhood are best understood as anatomies (rather than a single anatomy): if self is constituted relationally, then, rather like the different avenues that are open to Aboriginal people when reckoning kinship relations, that different anatomies may be an apt way to understand the same but different selves that are both relationally constituted and highly individuated.

JACQUELINE LECKIE, Dept. of Anthropology, Gender and Sociology, University of Otago

SELF AND SANITY: NEGOTIATING PSYCHIATRY IN FIJI

This presentation explores two aspects:

First: the making of the colonial person in Fiji, through the lens of those institutionalised as insane. Building upon existing literature, I suggest that another lens to consider concepts of self is to investigate those designated outside 'self' and the legality and autonomy or any sense of self to those considered mad, marginal, lunatics. These ranged in Fiji from those who committed extreme acts of violence against themselves to others who refused to conform to accepted notions of the person.

Second: How could Pacific peoples, designated as crazy, resist, possibly negotiate, being insane? Did they consider their legal classification as insane and treatment as an affront to conceptions of self? This raises issues over how we consider resistance (both historically and present) within sites, such as a psychiatric hospital.

Self and sanity is examined here primarily through research at the former Public Lunatic Asylum in Fiji, founded in 1884, currently operating as St Giles Psychiatric Hospital. Existing archives from then to present, as well as oral histories add to this.

YASMINE MUSHARBASH, Sociology and Anthropology, University of Western Australia

"WE WALK AT NIGHT": ON THE QUEST OF WARLPIRI YOUTHS FOR THEIR PLACE IN THE WORLD

In a 2007 project, 36 Warlpiri youths from the remote Aboriginal settlement of Yuendumu in central Australia documented 'what is important to them' by taking photographs with disposable cameras. Analysis of these photographs (and accompanying interviews) in terms of age and gender differences and similarities serves to explore forms of personhood experienced and developed by contemporary Warlpiri. Taking into account the particular juncture (being citizens of a first world nation state, living in fourth world conditions) that contemporary youths find themselves in, their ideas of self are contrasted with those of mainstream Australian youths and more traditional Warlpiri ideas of the person. In the photographs and interviews, the paper looks for metaphors of emotional and spiritual viability equivalent to those of the older generations ('the land') which are available to youths today.

Key themes thus emerging are sociality, performative kinship, shame, the body, and the 'Warlpirisation' of settlement space and time. The conclusions drawn from these themes are re-enforced by the presentation of a counter-example, that of a young man, whose ways of belonging can be described as marginal and whose photographic images express a different, haunting, reality.

MARY PATTERSON, PASI, the University of Melbourne

DESPERATELY SEEKING SELVES: HISTORIES, TRANSFORMATIONS AND ONTOLOGIES IN VANUATU

Theories of personhood, self and their gendered salience have been prominent in the Anthropology of the Pacific as the session organizers note. This paper examines where such theories take us through a longitudinal analysis of the lives of three generations of North Ambrymese encountered in the course of the author's fieldwork. It seeks to demonstrate that life histories inevitably bridge the artificial divide between the self and the social by eliciting the historically contingent context in which the self is made and transformed. That anthropologists are also inevitably, implicated in this process is a theme of this paper.

SIMONNE PAUWELS, CREDO

NEGOTIATING HIERARCHY AND EQUALITY IN A FIJIAN VILLAGE

Wives' inferiority to husbands is the norm in Fiji. Conformity to the rules of conduct and silence in both public and private circumstances signal subservience which is the standard condition of wives. On Lakeba island (Lau archipelago), however, there are some women proving to be exceptions to these strict rules. For these women of chiefly descent,

conjugal relations are less hierarchical, more egalitarian and power relations are sometimes even inverted. For instance, since both wife and husband are of chiefly descent, their marriage is no longer the sole institution defining their hierarchical relationship. Their case exhibits a reverse mode of calculation where the husband / wife relationship may be converted into a same sex sibling relationship, in which the wife can be the elder and hence superior. Furthermore, when the wife's ascent line is shown to be stemming from the eldest sister of the first Lakeba chief's generation and her spouse's line from this same Lakeba chief or his brother, her status is definitely superior to that of her husband. The woman whose couple provides the framework for the present paper has fully exploited the possibilities inherent to her position throughout her life and today she is manifesting the keenest sense of hierarchy. She has become an accomplished manipulator, not hesitating to inverse the birth sequence of two pairs of opposite-sex twins she gave birth to. She has occasionally even succeeded in keeping at bay the wife of the High Chief who was of course none other than her classificatory brother.

MÁIA PONSONNET, Université Paris 8-Saint Denis

SEMANTICS OF MIND IN CENTRAL ARNHEM LAND: FROM DALABON TO KRIOL CONTEMPORARY SHIFTS

An AIATSIS grant recently allowed me to carry out field research on the semantics of reason and mind in Dalabon language, a threatened language of Central Arnhem Land, Australia. Considering the Dalabon community has now widely adopted Kriol as its mother-tongue, I chose to make Kriol part of my research and to gather information not only about Dalabon but also about Kriol translations of Dalabon expressions, words and concepts. An interesting observation is that, at first sight, Kriol seems to have developed a wider range of words and concepts to describe one's mind, thoughts, beliefs, etc., i.e. subjective components of a person - many of those words apparently resembling English semantic tools. What does analysis teach us about this supplementary development of Kriol? What is specific in the way one can describe persons and their subjectivities in Kriol, as compared to what one can or cannot tell when speaking Dalabon? As compared to what English speakers can or cannot tell? Are Kriol developments mainly formal extensions, having little to do with a broader cultural evolution of the concepts and practices of persons and their subjectivities? Or does it seem to match transformations of these concepts and practises? This paper will account for a few results, but will also raise further questions that can be explored during future fieldwork.

MANUEL RAUCHHOLZ, University of Heidelberg

CONCEPTS OF PERSON IN CHUUK, MICRONESIA

The goal of this paper is, first of all, to pull together the vast amount of (often implicit) material dealing with aspects of "person" in Chuuk, Micronesia: Goodenough (1951) described the social structure. Gladwin/Sarason (1953) looked at the relationship between culture and personality, while Mahony (1970 unpublished dissertation) gave a good description of the Chuukese theory of sickness and medicine. Caughey (1977) describes cultural values related to dimensions of (individual) character and Käser (1977) first analyses the local concept of "soul" and later adds a study on the concept of the "body" (1989). Marshall (1979) gives insight into local concepts of manhood while Moral (1996) did her research on womanhood. Next to the fact that much of this research was done some 30-60 years ago, all of these studies have in

common that they have focused on singular aspects of person. What is lacking until today is a comprehensive synthesis of this material on how persons or human beings constitute themselves in Chuuk.

Therefore, in a second step, this paper traces and approaches local conceptions of, and discourses about the „person“ in Chuuk in the context of adoption. Some 200 adoptions that took place between the 1940ies until the present provide the ethnographic data and necessary historical correspondence with past research on the person in Chuuk. By taking a deeper look at the ideals surrounding the widespread practice of adoption and the realities of how adoption has been and is experienced and lived out in the everyday lives of the people affected by it, a dynamic, more comprehensive and conflict laden view of „person“ in Chuuk emerges.

SERGE TCHERKÉZOFF, CREDO

GENDERED IDENTITIES IN SAMOA: INHERENTLY RELATIVE OR PERSISTENT AND PERMANENT?

The discussion will be centred around the question of "how one is becoming a gendered person in a particular society" and will discuss, in reference to the subtitle of the whole symposium, what kind of "intercultural dialogue" there can be between Samoans and a Westerner who comes with question on gender roles. The topics addressed within this "dialogue" will be:

Why do some Samoans say that there is "no gender" in the role of "chiefs" matai, while there is defacto a clear gendered bias, as a vast majority of matai are men and not --women?

- A study of the vocabulary applied to the age groups boys-men and girls-women, which reveals at which stages there is a gendered orientation and at which there is not.

The composition of the social-ceremonial groupings that are said to be each of them "a community" nuu and which, taken all together, compose a village (same word nuu). Literature has that a Samoan village is composed of "a village of men" and "a village of women". We shall see why this is not the case, and we shall be confronted again with the question: in which precise contexts does the gender dimension appears, within the list of the social groupings constituting a village.

Finally, the logic of the relationships between men and women as "spouses" (or sexual partners) and as "sisters-and-brothers" will be contrasted in terms of "inequality" versus "hierarchy" (in a holistic sense). Both relations are opposed to what we conceptualise as "equality", while both are themselves sharply opposed one to another.

ANNE-CHRISTINE TRÉMON, EHES

DILEMMAS OF IDENTITY AND ETHNIC AMBIVALENCE : PROCESSES OF SELF-IDENTIFICATION IN FRENCH POLYNESIA

This paper draws on Anselm Strauss' (1992) notion of 'dilemmas of identity' and his suggestion to study how individual identification is embedded in historically changing social structures, as well as Bentley Carter's use of the concept of habitus in a practice theory of ethnicity, as exemplified by his account of ethnic ambivalence in the Philippines. I will try to bring the analysis of identification in a multiethnic context a step further by using the notion of a plural habitus, understood not as the mere incorporation of social structure, but as the outcome of contradictory processes of socialization. The conflictuality of social relations between ethnic groups finds its expression in competing habitus at the

individual level. These latter play a part in self identification insofar as they are grafted on the split of the human subject, caught in an oscillation between being in-itself and being for-itself (Ricoeur 1990). Within this framework of analysis, I will focus on individual dilemmas that are inscribed in the persistent ethnic divisions inherited from the colonial period. These divisions can be found among métis, persons born from a Chinese father and a Tahitian mother. I will examine how these dilemmas are in some cases resolved by claiming membership to the autochthonous, ma'ohi sphere.

SESSION 5

EXPENSIVE' WORDS – CONTEMPORARY INTERPRETATIONS OF VERBAL VALUE IN OCEANIA

Susanne Kuehling

In any society, words are a powerful resource for strategising, in politics as well as in everyday interaction. In Oceania, where relational agency is “putting people first”, speech and spells, names and notes, texts and tax forms are interpreted in local ways and may be modified in order to fit into the overall patterns of interaction. With increasing literacy, written texts may be privileged to orality in a number of contexts; new forms of speech, like theatre, may gain importance, and – as predicted for more than a century – old words may be forgotten in the new worlds of the islanders. This session seeks to explore the world of words from a symbolic/economic perspective, focussing on both verbal and written words. By focussing on the ascribed value of words and their meaning(s), the underlying notion of knowledge as intangible possession (that only a fool shares carelessly) is a starting point into a variety of topics. An edited volume of Brenneis & Myers (1984) gives examples of contexts in which words can be dangerous. The accelerated speed of language change in Oceania justifies a fresh look at contemporary metaphors and interpretations. The (Melanesian) expression of ‘expensive words’ encompasses both old and new notions of value. It can be used to describe local value, intangible ownership such as navigation, medicine, genealogies, place names etc. Alternatively, it is a metaphor for wealth in a globalised sense: certain words are codes that enable the participation in specific groups (e.g. youth gangs, entrepreneurs, academics) that are associated with “the West”.

If ‘expensive’ words are written down, they may be de-valuated in a number of ways, and there are many examples that give evidence of the need to ‘handle with care’ sensitive information (see e.g. Jaarsma ed. 2002). Spell-books and genealogical drawings are a frozen version of ‘expensive’ words, raising the debate on authenticity in the world of paper, theatre, and research projects. Some words are ascribed to gender, others are not used within respectrelationships, like ‘eating’ in the Carolines. When their synonyms are used, they give proof of the speaker’s manners and status as well as the relative rank of the addressed. Such ‘expensive’ words gain their value purely from the social context as they are neither secret nor personal property. Words, when spoken, may mean their opposite, depending on context. Can the written word tell a lie? Can such words be void of value and yet be written in a glossy book? Is silence also ‘expensive’ in certain context?

Official letters, often phrased in a complicated way, are frightfully ‘expensive’ to an islander. An analysis of such documents may show that the use of the thesaurus to replace ‘cheap’ words with ‘expensive’ synonyms is a common practice amongst public servants and aspiring academics. ‘Expensive’ relates here to both the oral sense of ‘rare, unknown’ and to the English ‘elaborate code’. Written words feature in a number of ‘expensive’ contexts, as in

Christianity, as cynically described by Epeli Hau'ofa's short story on a man who (by accident) smoked a page of his Bible and greatly suffered from the spiritual consequences (1983: 35ff; The wages of sin).

The session also invites papers analysing internet sources like chat-rooms, where icons and codes create both 'expensive' and 'cheap' new words in the fast-typing spontaneity of the world wide net. Pacific graffiti may be another field where 'expensive' words are found, e.g. in group-specific code words amongst urban gangs. Islanders' letters to Western friends often follow a certain pattern with 'expensive' and 'cheap' passages. I was told by a teenager on Dobu (PNG), and this is the reason for the session's title, that information on HIV/Aids was 'expensive' knowledge that he would certainly not pass on to his mates but keep to himself.

MARSA DODSON, Dept. of Anthropology, Social Work and Anthropology, University of Otago

ROCKING THE VAKA: CROSS-CULTURAL PRESERVATION OF AN ENDANGERED DIALECT

Polynesian customary adoption is widely practised in the Cook Islands. The people of Mangaia refer to their tradition and the children involved in the custom as *tamariki 'angai* or 'feeding children'. The term is 'expensive' because it represents both incentives and dilemmas for the practitioners who have the right to shuffle 'pawns' of progeny, blurring genealogies of their kin. Just as the ancient Mangaian warriors were lashed together back-to-back to strengthen both fronts of the combatants, ideally, Mangaian adoption secures children to their extended family. However, the two are facing different directions and sometimes different agendas. Being a *tamariki 'angai* demotes the status of the firstborn. It invites land tension in families: The practice is intended to link a child to the land, but often exiles children from their natal family and land security. Birth children of deceased feeding parents may refute land inheritance bequeathed to the *tamariki 'angai*. The practice compounds reciprocities to include the 'angai family. It absorbs children into the society that are caught in the web of social disadvantage and community ridicule. Mangaian *tamariki 'angai* are expected to care for their aged feeding parents. Now the island elders find the generation they once nurtured is rocking the *vaka* by demanding the same secure future expected by non-*tamariki 'angai* Mangaians.

KATARINA FERRO, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University

ABORIGINAL INTELLECTUALS AND COUNTER HEGEMONIC DISCOURSES IN AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS POLICY

Language is a tool, but it is also an instrument of power and dominance which is used by individuals to pursue their interests as Pierre Bourdieu remarks in his book on 'Language and symbolic power' (Bourdieu 1992). Bourdieu emphasises the connection between power and language as something inseparable and so powerful that it creates a certain status quo of how communication must be conducted in order to achieve the targeted objectives. Australian indigenous intellectuals have often spoken out for Indigenous rights in all areas of Indigenous policy, which is rarely acknowledged in scholarship. They are involved in academia, in policy-making and in the media, shaping the nature of discourse and placing issues on the political agenda.

Larissa Behrendt and Noel Pearson are such Aboriginal intellectuals in the forefront of political debate, in the academic field, in the media and as opinion writers. Both share a legal academic background and so know about the importance

of words and placing them effectively. In doing so, they have contributed to a range of discourses in the field of Australian indigenous policy although standing on different sides of the political spectrum. So far, no in depth research has been undertaken with Aboriginal intellectuals whose stage is one of public policy and academia.

This paper explores Larissa's and Noel's intellectual development and their varying approaches to Indigenous rights, based on their corpus of academic and journalistic publications. Furthermore, the question of a possibility for the creation of a counter hegemonic discourse based on Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony will be examined. Questions about definitions of leadership, strategies, and development of core topics to push items on the political and media agenda are examined in connection to the 'language of rights'. These cannot be assessed without taking personal development into account and exploring the connection between advocacy and political commitment.

This paper presentation highlights a part of the PhD thesis on the "Language of Rights with Aboriginal Intellectuals in the 21 Century".

SABINE HESS, Institut fuer Ethnologie, Rupert Karl Universitaet, Heidelberg

GIVE TO GOD WHAT BELONGS TO GOD': ORATORICAL STRATEGIES AND EXPENSIVE WORDS AT A LAND RIGHT MEETING IN RURAL VANUATU

At a land dispute meeting in Qakê, a remote village on Vanua Lava, Vanuatu, speakers switch between the local language Vurês and Bislama and English. This paper examines speakers' discursive strategies, use of vocabulary, and choice of language to create 'truth'. For example, English is used for Bible quotations, both Vurês and Bislama are used to emphasise social relations. There are different degrees of intentionality ranging from unconscious interference to deliberate code switching. Whole sentences are repeated in different languages to reinforce their effect; individual words are often used to mark difference between the white man's court *decisions* and the black man's way of finding an *agreement*. Other oratorical strategies include shaming through reminding people of their kin ties or indirect threats to look into the family tree with the help of a *blackboard*.

ASTRID DE HONTHEIM, Université Libre de Bruxelles

IS WRITTEN TEXT TRADITIONAL? CONSIDERATIONS ON ASMAT ORALITY

In the Asmat society, oratory talent is fundamental to get involved in political decisions, taken in the ritual house, the *jeuw*. Often standing and gesticulating, the speaker produces floods of words in the name of a few others, who sometimes correct him with a glance or with a word. A convincing speech also requires improvising, and this latter aptitude progressively comes after a long training. However, oratory talent is not only a question of practice: parenthood gives access to the speech. Before being fathers, young men are considered as idiots, like women, and their only right is to prepare the elders' food in silence. When questioned, they answer not to know anything; taking them into account even irritates older men, who do not understand why they could be of some interest. It can be different for foreigners. In the village of Ayam, nobody wanted to talk to me; villagers behaved as if I was transparent, even after my official introduction. In the *jeuw*, men only began to talk to me when they get the evidence of our common nature: I was eating the same food. At last, some particular words represent an intrinsic danger. For instance, some names should not be pronounced in vain or in rainy climate, because bad entities could use them to harm their bearer. This belief justifies the

grotesque name given to the child just after birth, in order to divert bad entities, this name preventing them to recognize him. Some names are only known by a handle of people in order to avoid sorcery. And there are other examples of the danger assigned to words.

One can wonder whether written text has the same functions. When the first tourists came in the area in 1959, the Crosier fathers established a rule to buy carvings through the mission in order to avoid exploitation of the people, who had no idea of the price they could ask. In 1983, these missionaries began to organize an annual auction; for the non-selected carvings, they wrote a "first price" on a sheet of paper, given to the carver in order to prevent gaps due to different languages on both sides (carvers and potential buyers). However, these papers were often kept and brought home, apparently representing something more than information about a price. In 2004, I gave a sample of my Master's thesis to an Asmat friend. The names of people and locations written in it seemed to be crucial; many other Asmat came to see those names, pronouncing them several times collectively, as being written on a paper gave them a more tangible existence. Some special consideration is also given to the bible taken as an object (not for its content: it is not read). In some villages, influent men brandish the bible to justify the needlessness of missionaries' settlement. Some people also use it as a powerful object to cure diseases. Even not used (many believers consider it as too complex), the bible translated into Asmat by Protestant missionaries often accompanies its version in Indonesian. Despite this attraction for written text, it is generally felt as coming from outside. When tradition specialists from the entire Asmat area created the LMAA (Lembaga Musyawarah Adat Asmat) in 2000 to defend their traditions, they refused to legalize it by a notarial document because written text was not considered to be compatible with traditions. To be traditional, it had to be oral.

REGINA KNAPP, RSPAS, Australian National University

"AUDIT? EM WANEM SAMTING?" THE CHURCH OF SCIENTOLOGY IN BENA, EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA"

In my paper I want to investigate anti-syncretic Bena reactions to the Church of Scientology - a new body of belief that has only recently arrived in the Highlands of PNG - and explore the roles that specific Scientology phrases and vocabulary play for its rejection by Bena people.

Cultural change as it is expressed in Bena syncretism and anti-syncretism, is, I argue in my thesis, a strategic temporal process that develops in dependence on the agentive, dividual and partible concept of Bena person. In this paper I show that the rejection of the Church of Scientology by Bena people can also be interpreted in terms of indigenous ideas of exchange and personhood. The Bena and the Scientology notion of person can both be understood as agentive, dividual and partible. However, in spite of this conceptual compatibility, Scientology failed in Bena. The reasons for this failure lie partly in the way Scientology belief is communicated verbally and how Bena persons interpret its specific terminology. Scientology terms like for example *MEST* (an abbreviation for *Matter, Energy, Space and Time*), *Thetan* (a person's 'spirit') or 'Auditing' led to confusion and suspicion. Further, the realisation that IHELP - the name under which the CoS operates in PNG - does not mean "I help" (promising "development") but is an abbreviation for the 'International Hubbard Ecclesiastical League of Pastors', and the fact that IHELP's understanding of "development" differed from that of Bena persons led to gradual disappointment and even anger.

In my paper I describe reactions of Bena persons to the arrival of the CoS and analyse some Bena interpretations of its terminology and concurrent practices. Short, filmed sequences will supplement my presentation.

THORGEIR KOLSHUS, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo

M.O.A.'s, CRP's AND OU2'S: THE MANA OF POLITICAL VOCABULARY ON MOTA, NORTHERN VANUATU

Mota island was the main ethnographic reservoir for Robert Codrington's discussions on the nature of *mana*. In the later debates over his rendering of the concept, an emphasis on the difference between Polynesian and Melanesian notions of *mana* has overshadowed an important parallel, namely how *mana* serves as a principle for social stratification: no one rises to power without it. Today, authority, and consequently *mana*, on Mota runs through the inaugural structure of the Anglican Church, while secular leadership remains volatile. In this paper, I address the attempts at mystifying the origins of secular power by showing the past twelve years' evolution in the vocabulary of local level party politics. Since access to *mana* constitutes true authority, the main challenge for the Mota political elite has been to introduce concepts that will effectively serve as tools for differentiation, i.e. to which access will be sufficiently restricted while the notions themselves remain suitably elusive, and thereby by inference claiming an association with *mana*. 'Development' is one such key concept, which can be achieved only through knowledge of the proper procedures for meetings and the correct organisational structure. In this way, the key party political players ensure that even when they are at each others throats and discredit each other at the vilest, the know-nots remain effectively sidelined, since knowledge of the required procedures and vocabulary has become indispensable – as is the case with the Anglican clergy today and was with the high ranking men of the *Suqe* graded male society in earlier times.

SUSANNE KUEHLING, Institut fuer Ethnologie, Georg August-Universitaet, Goettingen

A FAT SOW NAMED 'SCHOOLFEE': WORDS OF VALUE IN CONTEMPORARY DOBU ISLAND SOCIETY

This paper argues that names for gifts are a useful vantage point to study the dynamics of change. Beginning with examples of today's exchanges, it looks at the social value of terms for exchanges on Dobu Island, Papua New Guinea. On Dobu, the monetary system has been adapted to fit into local conditions of gift-giving. At the same time, the islanders' needs for monetary wealth rather than local prestige have an impact on the exchange of gifts. As the complex system of old, with its specific terms for ceremonial gifts, has lost its appeal as a road to power in today's world, 'expensive' words of old are devaluated and new terms of 'expensive' context, like *mani* (money) are gaining social value in everyday practice. The dichotomy of gift and commodity is too narrow to explain the creative ways in which the islanders come to terms with globalisation.

ROPATE QALO, University of the South Pacific, Suva

VAKASAMA: A WORD LEFT OUT BY COLONISTS

Two dictionaries were written for colonial consumption in Fiji. Hazelwood (1914) was for conversational purposes. A. Capell (1941) was printed by the Government Printing Press up to 1991. The latest 2007 dictionary like Hazelwood had

the word *vakasama* which basically means *to think*. However the word was given a colloquial meaning by the 1914 and 2007 publications. They gave a meaning that connotes recalling or reminiscing. The 1941 publication left the word out altogether.

The usage of *nanuma* for *thinking* was unwittingly accepted by Fijians. Their usage of recalling something from their own origin was deemed better. It was used by colonists and clergies from Hazelwood or Capell to learn the vernacular. The policy of assimilation at the time assumed or condoned the view that Fijians do not or cannot think. This created an evolution where *vakasama* and *nanuma* were used synonymously. The words *nanuma* (to recall) and *vakasama* (to think) were used interchangeably like a number of other words. This suggests that Lutz's (1988) and Rasmussen's (2006) view that the western mode of thought was imposed on indigenes they studied, applied to emotions and particular biomedical categories. This presentation highlights that it also applies with words in Fiji.

A pivotal word like *vakasama* in the Fijian rational world exercises the neural circuits from socialization and local epistemology as the basis of our present knowledge, reasoning, logic, empathy and actions. This view highlights an uncomfortable degree of ambivalence if not confusion. The ambivalence of one of the very few technical words that is vital to clarify thought on a day to day basis (or technically) has been ignored in education and development. The proper use of the word as a *verb* or *noun* will emancipate *thinking* in the vernacular instead of being constricted by a word (*nanuma*) that recalls or reminisces. Herein lays the value of the word *vakasama* today suggesting "thinking" that may be innovative or futuristic.

MANUEL RAUCHOLZ, Institut fuer Ethnologie, Rupert Karl-Universitaet Heidelberg

ADOPTION OR *ACHEEMWIR*? A CASE STUDY ON JUDICIAL AND CUSTOMARY INTERPRETATIONS OF WORDS IN CHUUK, MICRONESIA

It is the intention of the constitution of Chuuk State, one of four States that comprise the Federated States of Micronesia to "*establish a unified judicial system that gives due recognition to the traditions and customs of the people of the State in the resolution of disputes and provides for a means of resolving disputes where traditional and customary means are not satisfactory*" (Chuuk State Judiciary Act of 1990: §1002).

Many years ago two old men and their barren sister were the sole remainders of their clan in their district. To prevent the land from going to another clan after their death - patrilineal descendants have no rights to lineage land in Chuuk - they resorted to the practice of *acheemwir*. That is, they went to the district on the island their clan originated from in search of a female heir which they brought to their lineage land. Sometime later though, the barren sister adopted a daughter from another clan and shortly before she died the mother and adopted daughter sold the lineage land without the knowledge and consent of the *acheemwir* sister and her children. The case was taken to court. The court argued that it had never heard of the word and concept of *acheemwir* until then and ruled the "*acheemwir* girl" as having been adopted by the male lineage head instead, thus rightfully excluding her and her offspring from any rights to the lineage land..

The further discussion of this case which later went on to the appellate court builds the backbone of this paper. It looks at the relationship between "law" (*énnúk*) as expressed in the judicial system of Chuuk State and the customs (*ééreni*) of the people of Chuuk as expressed in the practice of adoption and *acheemwir*.

THE KNOWING IN INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE: ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO TALK ABOUT DEVELOPMENT FROM A NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS' PERSPECTIVE

The indigenous knowledge (IK) initiative in development has met with only limited success. This paper seeks to further understanding of the implications of its effective integration into development by asking what the term might mean to others, namely New Guinea Highlanders, ultimately with a view to intimating the outlines of an alternative to the capitalist idea of economic development. After discussing criticism of the propriety of the adjective 'indigenous', and some synonyms, it focuses on the 'knowledge' noun. The Highlands' concept of knowing points up the individual and subjective nature of understanding, as something potentially open to disagreement. The grammar of a Highlands language – that spoken by the Wola of the Southern Highlands Province is taken as an example – particularly verb conjugations, reflects these concerns, notably the consideration given to indicating the source/reliability of knowledge imparted in any utterance. Some languages elsewhere such as Latin America and Australia pay similar attention to evidence. We can relate this evidential interest to oral traditions, the significance of enskilled knowing and individual knowledge variability. It also relates to the trust one can have in any knowledge under discussion, which has a particular salience in an acephalous culture that does not recognise expert authorities. The development implications of such a view of knowledge are considerable, for a stateless political context precludes the imposition of views, such as capitalist state ideas of economic development. While it is currently unclear what an alternative 'acephalous development' might look like, it will likely feature people's contrary understandings of *developman* (development) and *bisnis* (business) as it emerges from the region's current confusion, where they seek to accommodate their egalitarian values to the hierarchical market order.

LANGUAGE OF RESPECT – HONORIFICS IN TONGAN

Tonga is a highly stratified society with an absolute societal ranking system and a relative *tu'al'eiki* status distinction. As this hierarchical structure is of central cultural importance, it is expressed by linguistic categories, such as the language of respect.

The language of respect is a referent honorific system, i.e. it consists of three lexical levels (a common language and two limited sets of polite vocabulary: kingly and chiefly words) to honour the difference of rank between speaker and referent. This linguistic means is deeply anchored in the social structure: A semantic analysis of honorific vocabulary reveals that the language of respect has probably developed as a verbal avoidance system in close association with the ritual avoidance system of *tapu*. Both systems are designed to honour and respect higher rank. However, the use of the language of respect demonstrates that the three lexical levels do not only reflect or mirror the societal hierarchy but that the language of respect even constructs or maintains this stratified system.

This example demonstrates that some linguistic structures have obviously developed to express fundamental cultural values, and consequently, language can be regarded as a powerful instrument to express, maintain or negotiate those values.

SESSION 6

RE-FORMING THE LAND

Tony Crook & Susan Farran

Oceanic, anthropological and legal conceptions of land are under-going reform. Despite constitutional barriers, in some cases, to the alienation of land, pressures for land reform in Oceania are increasingly arising from internal and external agents responding to ambitions for development and the forces of capital. Reforms are at different stages in different Oceanic states, each of which has its own colonial history, particular legal framework, and commitment to international trade partnerships. Moreover, land reforms operate differently when the resources concerned are minerals, forestry, agricultural, riverine, marine or real estate.

As with other 'social groups', to appear as 'landowners', a collective has to mask their internal differences by eclipsing or cutting other possible connections and identities, and thereby also appear to have wealth at their disposal. These divisions of interest, making land a contested site for cultural and legal claims, may have precedents in kinship, yet they face transformation when encountering capitalist relations founded on the division of use-value and exchange-value. Although the social and legal identity of the person differs in the perspectives of these relations, people are able nonetheless to make these transactions work for themselves.

Some measures designed to meet external expectations, such as leasing, may appear in the short run to fall short of alienation, but questions are bound to arise for some people over the long run. Proposed and enacted land reform measures then, capture much more of social life than just property ownership, and much less than the wider connections people make through land.

in light of debates over work and labour, possession and property, gift and commodity, does 'alienation' remain an appropriate anthropological or legal description of these transactions?

do Oceanic descriptions of 'land' as a source of bodily substance, kinship resource and as a moral, malleable agent with a life of its own, bring into question the usefulness of taking land as 'tangible' rather than 'intangible' property?

1- How do land reforms connect to contemporary urban drift, voluntary disenfranchisement and narratives of there being no land to return to?

2- Are there precedents in the divisions of kinship (ie paternal, maternal or affinal connections, residence and movement) that are serving as resources for the kinds of claims and counter-claims being made over land?

3- As a counterpart to providing new legal definitions, land reform gives rise to new social forms and shapes group membership and definition? does this suggest that provisions in law are being taken on as innovative principles or idioms of kinship?

This session will consider land and its re-formations in the round-drawing together indigenous and exogenous perceptions, anthropological and legal perspectives.

LAND PERCEPTION IN AMERICAN SAMOA: COLONIAL HERITAGE AND SHIFTING PERCEPTIONS.

In American Samoa the present legal system around land is a legacy from the islands' colonial past. Historically we find the *Land Commission* installed in Samoa by Germany before the partition among Americans, English and Germans in 1889. This commission was in charge of regulating access to land to the European settlers. Americans, after assuming authority for the eastern side of Samoa (American Samoa today) kept up this institution. The present legal system also derives from United States legislation enforced in all of the American states. Finally the American Samoan legislation is the depository of regulations enacted from 1900 by the first American governor in American Samoa, to protect Samoan land and culture, notably the *Native Land Ordinance* which forbids land alienation to any non-Samoan.

Nowadays the American Samoan legal system is not under reform unlike other South Pacific states, nevertheless changes are taking place in people's practices. The traditional Samoan conception of land as the birthplace of the peoples' identity has shifted. Instead Samoan people talk about their land in terms of family estate, communal wealth or patrimony, and insurance for the future. Although in American Samoa land is still about 85 per cent communally owned, individual ownership has been developing for decades. In the Tafuna plain in the main island of Tutuila, for instance, there is almost no communal land any more.

If like in other Pacific states some leaders are blaming the loss of the Samoan culture on the individualisation of land, the issue is not yet being debated. In contrast we can observe a strong competition around communal land and its control. The selection of a new holder for a *matai* title; the person who will become the head of the extended family in charge of the family land's management for the benefit of the whole family today, and future generations; has been made harder and harder for that reason and more often the family ends up in Court to have a final decision; especially if the *matai* title is an old and powerful one. Another factor participates in the process of shifting perception over land and ownership in the American Samoa population, the creation in 1993 of a national park under American federal administration. Indeed this institution had necessitated adjustments into the American Samoan legislation to make its creation legally possible. Furthermore, because protected lands are still the property of local extended families, the national park signed a lease contract with them through the village council of villages situated within the park boundaries. In that the park also plays an important part in the reinforcement of the current tendency as it "puts a price on land" like some people there used to say.

In this paper, after explaining the present legal system and regulations in American Samoa and its historic construction, I would like to describe the state of land perception and concept of ownership proposed by the local population today. I will talk about the spread of individual ownership as well as the strong will of extended families to carefully keep their land. This dichotomy reflects on the whole American Samoa situation, a state between two culture, to direction to take in the future: the Samoan way, *faa'samoa* or the American way. I will show the repercussions of that situation on the social cohesion and will illustrate that by describing two different places, the main island of Tutuila, and Ofu and Olosega, two islands of the Manu'a group. I will also discuss the role of the National Park of American Samoa in that process. From all this I would like to conclude on the evolution, if not in the legal system at least in people practices, of the American Samoans perception of land, either their communally shared idea and definition of land, which today differs from what

has been observed in the past. Traditionally land was, in American Samoa like in other Pacific islands, the reference in terms of people identity and its perception was for a large part symbolic. Nowadays, as I would try to show the common perception of lands is more in terms materialistic if not capitalistic although the symbolic remains in the background and reappears from time to time when reference is made to family history and ancestors. That is what I call a shift in American Samoans perception of land.

JENNIFER **CORRIN CARE**, CPICL, University of Queensland
'LAND, LAW AND THE 'PACIFIC WAY': SAMOA AND SOLOMON ISLANDS'

Independence Constitutions in most small island countries of the South Pacific acknowledge the significance of customary law by giving it official status in the hierarchy of laws recognised by the State. More particularly, many of those Constitutions make special provision for customary land, limiting its alienation and allowing it to be governed by customary law. However, in practice, the philosophy underlying these provisions has been betrayed. Whilst paying lip service to customary law, changes have been introduced through the written law, particularly by allowing registration of land by individuals. More subtle changes have also crept in, for example through inaccurate representation of customary concepts in common law terms. Using examples drawn mainly from Samoa and Solomon Islands this paper seeks to demonstrate that, in spite of the constitutionally enshrined intention to protect customary land and the customary law governing it, the operation of the common law has led to significant changes in custom and society in the South Pacific.

EMMA GILBERTHORPE, Department of Anthropology, Durham University
'LAND OWNERSHIP AND RESOURCE EXTRACTION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA'

The issue of land ownership has become prominent in Papua New Guinea's resource extraction sector and raises socio-cultural concerns about alienation, urbanisation, kinship networks and conflict, whilst also raising questions about third-world exploitation, global capital expansion, capitalist enclaving and the sustainability of short-term development. In Papua New Guinea's oil extraction sector all these issues come to the fore as local populations remain 'owners' of the land whilst simultaneously manipulating their own land tenure principles to maximise the benefits of industry. In this proposed paper I want to discuss the efforts of the Fasu language group of Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea, to generate capital as hosts of the country's largest oil extraction industry. I will discuss how already existing principles of organisation, movement and interrelationality underlie the reorganisation of membership, group affiliation, marriage exchange and the extension of identity and ties through the extension of (often conceptual) pathways. It is suggested that kinship is the primary resource for landowner claims whilst being the primary tool for maintaining the exclusivity of that ownership. Issues of cultural heritage are here juxtaposed vis-à-vis that of individual/family identity. The discussion also highlights how perceptions of the land retain their 'traditional' foundations of movement and connectivity in opposition to imposed notions of land as 'tangible property'. The concern raised in this paper is the long-term impact of the extension of interrelationality and coterminous retraction of consanguineal kinship on livelihoods and well-being in this part of Papua New Guinea, where the resource extraction industry is necessarily short-term. It raises

issues of a post-industry phase of poverty, ill-health, urbanisation and stratification that can be linked to broader models of international development in a global arena.

ALEX GOLUB, University of Hawai'i

EVERYONE HAS A GARDEN: RELATIONS TO LAND AMONG PAPUA NEW GUINEA ELITES'

Customary land tenure and the privatization of land has a long and complicated history in Papua New Guinea which spans Independence-era ambitions for development to post-colonial articulation with the World Bank and other globalizing forces. As a result there is a large literature on the interaction of customary forms of sociality and the bureaucratic and legal forms with which they interact. Less studied, however, is the way that policy regarding customary land tenure is inflected by the ideas that policy elites in Port Moresby have of 'what customary landowners are like'. This paper studies the relationship that highly educated policy elites have (or imagine themselves to have) with customary landowners. How do landowners fit in PNG's national imaginary? What sort of identity work do internalized images of landowners do for elites? This paper argues that land policy in Papua New Guinea is not only about concrete policy outcomes, but is also importantly shaped by policy elites attempts to understand their own position as highly-educated urban professionals in a country where images of patriotism and authenticity revolve around subsistence agriculture and customary lifeways.

HARTMUT A. HOLZKNECHT, School of Environment and Society, Australian National University

DILEMMAS OF DEVELOPMENT: CUSTOMARY / REGISTERED LAND – THE CASE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA'

Customary tenure systems in Papua New Guinea (PNG; and other Melanesian counties in the region) have always been seen as problematic – studied by ethnographers and geographers and critical systems linking people with their environments and livelihoods, recognized and enshrined in state constitutions as necessary expressions of Melanesian identity and existence and abhorred by economists and business people as 'roadblocks to development'.

PNG has arguably gone through five stages in its land development and land reform process: a *laissez faire* colonial period, a 'modernizing' period leading up to self-government and independence, a period of 'nationalist' reaction, a 'liberal' period, and a time when the World Bank was strongly influential in land matters. Finally, the present stage may be described as a 're-assertive' national approach to land. Neighbouring Melanesian countries such as the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu will also have gone through similar stages.

This presentation begins by capturing the main developments and the essence of these stages. A longer discussion follows setting out current land reform developments (fitting into the final stage above) and their implications and impacts. Noteworthy amongst such developments are the Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters (1972-1973), incorporated land groups (and their enabling act, the Land Groups Incorporation Act 1974) and the recent National Land Development Task Force Report (2007).

What are the significant issues that emerge through this process in PNG? Does everything in Melanesia need to be reduced to a western-style individualized commodified and essentialized land tenure and land use systems through which customary tenure systems will eventually disappear? Could (or should) there be another way?

HOW THE POLITICAL AGENDA DEFINES THE ORDER OF LAND IN NEW CALEDONIA

New Caledonia, still a French possession, has a new constitutional framework since the Nouméa treaty was signed in 1998. At this stage a land reform, started in the late seventies, was well underway. Due to political upheavals this reform has changed its aim, direction and adherence several times. The original purpose, namely repairing some of the damage caused by the colonial land alienation in the 19th century, had been joined by new tasks, such as providing space for housing development, creating jobs and offering opportunities for young farmers. According to the local and national politics the priorities changed back and forth. The ADRAF, the institutional body responsible for the redistribution of land and originally created by a socialist French government, was later handed over to the local administration, only to be taken back into the national fold after another change of government.

Within a continuously changing constitutional setting, land was re-formed on a much larger scale than only by redistribution of allotments, as new political, cultural and administrative divisions cut through the landscape and competences over natural resources, building law or seafront crown land went from national down to territorial or provincial level. Land was reshaped into a commodity and at the very same time sacralized in the newly expanded tribal reserves. A rapidly increasing population joined by an economic boom started up with metropolitan funds after the Nouméa treaty and then put into overdrive by the hausse in nickel prices added substantial pressure on the already fast pace of change.

As the price of building plots in the city is soaring, young people forgo traditional marriage and trade in customary for civil law to avoid inheritance rules, tribal areas are soaked up in the city spree and mining development profoundly changes the countryside, new conflicts arise. New issues are entering public discussion and the question of land and to whom it belongs, is more important than ever. Today, ten years after the Nouméa treaty, the process of re-forming the land is still going on as further competences are to be transferred and a final decision on the relation between New Caledonia and France is expected for 2014.

Based upon material from extensive fieldwork in the Bourail area of New Caledonia in 2004/05 and again in 2006 I want to look at the re-forming of land in this non-independent island group. I am particularly interested in the connection between the constitutional changes in the relation of New Caledonia to France and the restructuring of land through the state with its administrative levels, the different institutional bodies and the citizens. The study of how claims of ancestral propriety, of right for housing, of economic advancement and political strategies joined to re-form the land in New Caledonia provides insights into its changing economic, social and identity-generating role in New Caledonia.

RESISTANT TO THE FOSSILIZED "TRADITION": LAND DISPUTES STUDY IN PALAU'

This paper investigates the Palauan response to conflicts between Western laws, economic influences, and 'traditional' culture which foreign administrators shaped. In particular, I consider whether these external influences have altered the existing concepts of kinship by detaching them from the land.

The pattern of land use in the matrilineal society of Palau was flexible before European contact. Title and clan land usufruct were obtained through the mother's clan, while the land ownership was inherited from the father's clan, or obtained from other village chiefs in return for services. During the Japanese period, the administration created a land registry (*Dochi Taicho*) for taxation purposes, but these volumes included many errors. Such as they wanted to nationalize the land and registered 70% of land as public land. When the succeeding American administration tried to protect the 'tradition' by law, this included the already compromised land tenure system, giving these errors further force. The American administrators also imported an American-instituted disputes system, which brought land conflicts into court with its emphasis on documentary evidence.

In response to foreign law and economic relationships, and attempts to fossilize the 'tradition', Palauans invented a new land tenure status, 'tenancy in common', which could incorporate the non-kinship members. This case study might help us to consider whether the kinship group in Palau have detached from the land or whether there are forming another landowner class. It can also investigate whether the concept of alienation is appropriate to analyze the contemporary Pacific societies.

DANIELE MORETTI, British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Cambridge

PUTTING WHICH PEOPLE FIRST? COLONIAL LAND ALIENATION AND PRESENT DAY CONFLICTS BETWEEN SMALL MINERS AND CUSTOMARY LANDOWNERS IN THE WAU-BULOLO DISTRICT OF MOROBE PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

In essence, most current mining leaseholders in the Wau-Bulolo District are people who migrated there from other parts of the country to work as labourers for white miners, or are the descendants of such migrants. Many of these migrants travelled to, and settled down in, the Morobe Goldfields because they were in a politically weak position back home and found it hard to defend their land from more powerful claimants. Moreover, most non-landowner miners have lived and worked in the leases alienated during colonial times for many decades. Indeed, many were born there and have never known their supposed "homelands". As most have failed to maintain ties with their original communities, they are now unable to claim land rights in their districts and provinces of origin, and in any case, most of them now regard themselves as Wau-Bulolo landowners because of the many decades of hard labour they have invested in their lands. On the other hand, the legally recognised Watut and Biangai customary landowners for the area still regard these first, second, and even third generation settlers as "squatters" and, as a Biangai landowner put it, "internal exploiters". As a result, they want these small miners to pay them compensation for the use of their land or, even better, for the leases that were originally given them to be returned to local landowners, thus displacing those who have worked them for many decades. Indeed, over the past few years a number of leases have been forcefully repossessed by customary landowners. These demands, by the way, are encouraged by the new Mining Act (1992), which was designed to confine alluvial mining to customary landowners.

PAUL SILLITOE & ABRAM POINTET, Federal Polytechnique, Lausanne

'ETHNO-ENVIRONMENTAL GIS RESEARCH IN THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS.'

Geographical information science (GISc) comprises a powerful range of methods and tools that offer us an opportunity to organise and present ethnographic data in ways unimaginable until recently. It can not only interlink spatially referenced text, diagrams, maps, photographs, film and statistical data but it can also afford users the opportunity to explore these data for themselves, asking their own questions. It takes us way beyond static texts, be they monographs or journal papers, in affording unparalleled access to the ethnographic data behind any argument. It promises to revolutionise ethnographic documentation.

In this paper we shall detail our current work linking together ethnographic and environmental research through the innovative use of GISc technologies, using information from the highlands region of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The research is part of a programme that seeks to further our understanding of the impact of local farming and population growth on the environment from both the viewpoint of local people and according to scientific data. The objectives are threefold. Firstly, to produce an interactive GISc archive on land use and demography in the Was valley of the Southern Highlands Province of PNG. Secondly, to undertake preparatory work to develop this archive into a participatory environmental monitoring tool involving the local population. And thirdly, to explore the scope for expanding the initial archive into a comprehensive ethnographic database and the methodological implications for anthropology. In this paper we shall be focusing on the first of these objectives. We shall demonstrate ground-breaking on-going work incorporating a body of ethnography collected during the last three decades in the Was Valley region into a GISc database. The data include demographic information on human and pig populations, households, residence etc.; data on land use, areas under cultivation, tenure arrangements, crops, garden site characteristics; and also vegetation communities, including secondary regrowth and forest cover at different times.

A GISc can also incorporate aerial photographs and satellite images to document on-going land use change over time, correlated with demographic data. This relates to a proposed participatory monitoring programme of land use, demography and vegetational change, that will include a satellite monitoring component to document future changes and achieve a longitudinal on-going study of human-environment relations in the PNG highlands. The plan here is to develop an innovative ethnographic environmental monitoring methodology involving the local community. We are striving to maximise analytical capacity for users, with due regard to ethical issues. The system will be interactive, allowing users to view and analyze data according to their interests in human-environment interactions. It will for example permit the generation of 3-dimensional images of places, which together with associated photographs of land, gardens, vegetation communities etc. will allow users virtually to enter the Was region. It will have different levels of access depending on the user's familiarity with GISc. An accessible icon driven Web/GISc interface will make it available to those unfamiliar with GISc, whereas a GISc specialist will be able to go further and interrogate the database as s/he wishes. The incorporation of such information into GISc database demands the skills of a specialist and we shall discuss issues surrounding collaboration between such an expert and an anthropologist.

SESSION 7

CULTURE IN PERFORMANCE – PROBING THE POSSIBILITIES OF CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IN TOURISM

Anke Tonnaer, Franca Tamisari & Eric Venbrux

Whenever tourism attracts the attention of both scholarly and popular critique, the nature of these reflections usually hinges on ambivalence. Indeed, although many people enjoy travelling, few desire to carry a label as unattractive as that of a 'tourist'. Nonetheless, the trade of cultural tourism is not only increasing; it has also gained momentum in international diplomatic environments, as for instance UNESCO's 'culture programme' attests to (UNESCO 2006). In this particular programme UNESCO is lauding cultural tourism and 'intercultural dialogue' rather boldly, for the straightforward yet essential question of what actually happens in the meeting between indigenous 'hosts' and tourist 'guests' appears to be generally overlooked in this diplomatic setting. A desire to believe in the benevolence of (sensible) tourism initiatives impedes the posing of epistemological questions pertaining to the possibility of really encountering and comprehending the Other. In this session we will accordingly question the dynamics of the tourist interface by not only exploring what is being shared, but especially how this is shared. In particular, we invite papers that address the performative aspects of the tourist meeting from an ethnographic perspective, in which tourists are perceived no less as the 'Other' than their indigenous hosts. The ethnographic scope could include a wide range of social phenomena, from festivals to road-side sales of paintings, from glossy cultural tours to youth movements, from theatre to pop concerts. We are interested in how 'cultures', both indigenous and Western, are presented and re-presented on the touristic stage. How do forms of 'auto-exoticism' relate to imaginaries of the 'Other', and how do these affect their joint performance? How does commercialisation (and objectification) of 'culture' relate to the inter-subjective engagement or lack thereof? What other factors (economical, political) may impinge on the interaction? In short, does the interchange allow for creating a deeper insight into one another's perspectives on the world in which they, tourists and indigenous people(s), in Geertz's pointed phrasing, are 'tumbled into an endless connection'?

ALEXIS CELESTE BUNTEN, Dept. of Anthropology, UC Berkeley

INDIGENOUS TOURISM: THE PARADOX OF GAZE AND RESISTANCE

Based on comparative research looking at Native Alaskan and Maori cultural tourism venues, this paper explores the paradox of representation that indigenous tour guides face in commoditizing their living cultures and ultimately, themselves. Operating in an industry governed by Western tropes of representation, indigenous tour guides feel enormous pressure to deliver a competitive product that appeals to perceived consumer desires, while confronting stereotypes that persist in popular culture. These conflicting motivations are played out throughout the touristic encounter between indigenous hosts and non-indigenous guests.

Self-commodification (or auto-exoticism) is a highly self-conscious and discursive practice with the potential to alienate hosts from both themselves as well as their guests. This paper challenges simplistic critiques of self-commodification as "selling out" or "being exploited" and argues for a more agentive perspective on the processes involved. Throughout their tours, hosts perform numerous acts of covert resistance that challenge the tourist gaze while remaining hospitable. These acts shift the power to define Native identity from a hegemonic perspective to an indigenous one, as well as affirm an indigenous persona constructed in respect to tourists. By paying attention to processes of self-commodification and the significance of the hosts' imagination of the tourist gaze, this paper focuses on the social re-positioning that takes place through the tourism encounter.

FAULTY TOURS: A STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN TOURISTS

This paper is an extract from a work that follows the experiences of a group of Australians touring Malawi and Zambia organised by an international charity. A typifying Australian moment is revealed as well as a core of comedy in the idea of enjoying touring in the third world while making a contribution to a struggling economy. We travelled in faulty vehicles, on poor roads, staying in primitive facilities and in physical danger. In addition a chronic Australian preoccupation was apparent in the deep moral anxiety about money because we were people of goodwill but modest means, travelling among the truly poor. There was also discomfort about being interpellated as English; our African hosts assumed that our desires and demands mimicked those of the earlier colonial masters. The paper focuses on the tour's highlight, 'the village stay'. While we received generous hospitality and solicitude from our hosts, there were serious barriers to our enjoyment. I try to recreate our visceral responses, which suggest that the nature of these barriers are embedded in our Australian physiology and psychology, while our conscious minds are confused. The ever-increasing disillusionment with the gormless and insensitive Australian tour guide added to the comedy.

BOUNDARIES AND CROSS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTER

This paper examines the encounter between local residents and tourists in the setting of cultural tourism in East Arnhem Land in reference to notions of symbolic and physical boundaries in the contexts of the Garma festival in the community of Yirrkala, the cultural tours ran in Bawaka homeland, and the production of artefacts to be sold to tourists in Ban'thula homeland, Elcho Island. The notion of boundaries is thought to be particularly appropriate for the cultural and geographic space under observation, for boundaries are an intrinsic part of Yolngu discourse about their relationship with their homelands, those places to which they have ancestral connections, revalidated at each birth and death, and into which they own identities find their foundation. Drawing and transgressing boundaries are actions which configure patterns of relationship with the Other that are reproduced virtually in all aspects of social life, included tourism ventures and commercialisation of art. Boundaries can operate at many levels, from instructions explicitly given to tourists not to wander around certain areas, to the need to respect local laws that regulate the crafting of art objects. How do these boundaries shape the meeting? How do Yolngu on one side, and Western tourists on the other side, transgress and draw boundaries? How do they retrospectively construct the narratives of their encounter? The discussion is based on observations and informal interviews made in Elcho Island and Yirrkala, and in a number of narratives collected by means of semi-structured interviews, conducted in Darwin with tourists and with both Yolngu and non-Yolngu tourist guides who have participated to the Garma festival and/or to the Bawaka cultural tours.

THE BUSINESS OF PLACE: A PERSPECTIVE FROM NORTHERN AUSTRALIA

John Greatorex is Coordinator of the Yolngu Studies Program at Charles Darwin University, Northern Territory, Australia. In 2003 a group of Yolngu women established a small scale tourism venture 'on country' at Mapuru in Eastern Arnhemland. The women being ancestrally connected to Mapuru feel confident inviting visitors to place with whom they share kinship. Participants, usually small groups of women travel to participate in the week long workshops three or more times a year, where instruction is personal and informal. In this talk John will attempt to present the views as presented to him by the Mapuru women and visitors. This paper will discuss the motivations that led to the establishment and continuing success of the business. It will also discuss the ensuing encounters resulting in unexpected outcomes and opportunities, often unavailable through other avenues. Interactions with visitors occur in 'place' through non verbal means and seemingly enhanced possibilities for intercultural dialogue. How do the women engage the visitors? What does respectful negotiation mean in the context a weaving workshop? How are interactions moderated? What constitutes a worthwhile interaction to the women and visitors?

CLAUDIA PASOTTI, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia

SUCCESS AND COMMUNICATION IN THE DISPLAY OF CONTEMPORARY ABORIGINAL ART: THE NATIONAL ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER ART AWARD

The appreciation of Aboriginal art has grown rapidly during the last few decades and numerous works have been exhibited in some of the major collections around the world. Similarly, the turnover of the art industry has also increased yearly from the \$2.5 millions estimated in 1981, to the latest estimation of \$500 millions made in 2007.

As visual arts are generally considered to be one of the most effective ways for improving the understanding of Aboriginal culture among the broader public, their appreciation should suggest a deeper recognition and acknowledgment of the culture they represent. While the growth of interest has certainly been determined by the shift of Aboriginal arts from the ethnographic categories to the western aesthetical standards, the most relevant role in the art market in terms of sales is played by the so called *tourist art* rather than by the more renowned *fine arts*. Walking around every Australian city today, we are exposed to a high number of objects decorated with traditional Aboriginal patterns and readapted to the most diverse circumstances. The frequent approach with visual elements has various repercussions on the representation of Indigenous culture in the public eye and therefore on its communication to occasional and local viewers.

In this paper I will investigate how the contact with figurative elements influences the interchanging roles of "observers" and "observed" within the cross cultural context of the Australian art market and which possibilities are given to the viewers to deepen their knowledge within the framing of a tourist experience. To this end, I will analyse how the most prestigious Australian Indigenous art exhibition, namely the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art Award, approaches the creation of a dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous public and integrates the visual experience of the audience with the social and political context in which the works are set.

FRANCA TAMISARI, Studi demoetnoantropologici, Ca' foscari Universita' di Venezia

DANCE IN BORDERZONES. A VISUAL AND EXPERIENTIAL APPROACH

Dance is always featured in formal and informal intercultural encounters between Australian Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples at national and international levels: early corroborees for British colonists, recent diplomatic meetings (land rights claims hearings, court decisions), public events (art exhibitions, conferences, sport events, festivals), shows in theatres and tourist performances in theme parks as well as on the side of the road. The paper compares and contrasts the forms and meanings of dance in different borderzones where (self)representation, interpretations and expectations of Culture meet in the space of the performance. The paper approaches dance in its physicality as a modality of experiential knowledge whose impact, effects and affects cannot be entirely explained in terms of stereotypical (self)framing of the exotic, the authentic and the entertaining simply aimed at commercial or political ends.

JOHN TAYLOR, Simon Research Fellow, Social Anthropology, University of Manchester

AUTHENTICITY, AND THE SPEC(TAC)ULAR: REFLECTIONS ON TOURISM AND PHOTOGRAPHY IN VANUATU

This paper explores issues concerning the much-debated 'tourist gaze' and concept of authenticity in relation to two instances of tourism-related practice in Vanuatu. In the first, tourists attend the South Pentecost 'land dive' (gol) to see boys and men hurl themselves from wooden towers with vines tied to their ankles in death-defying displays of masculinity and richly 'authentic' culture. Here, however, the at once alluring and troubling distance of such authenticity is eclipsed by awesome spectacle and the I-witness 'experience' of human bodily limits. In the second, when cruise ships visit Luganville town, ni-Vanuatu children are displayed by their parents in gaudy, doll-like costumes, to be photographed by the visiting tourists. Here, from the co-mingling of an apparently 'inauthentic' image of faux-'nativeness' with that of a happy, prelapsarian innocence emerges a peculiar sense of uncertainty and friction. This paper juxtaposes these two instances to reexamine the fraught relationship between gaze, authenticity, experience, and cultural difference.

ANKE TONNAER, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Aarhus/ Radboud University Nijmegen

A RITUAL OF MEETING: 'SHARING CULTURE' AS A SHARED CULTURE BETWEEN TOURISTS AND AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

Tourism is enchanting. In Australia Indigenous cultural tourism is presented as a goldmine of economic, social, and cultural opportunities, praised as it is in policy documents, advertising campaigns, travel brochures, and, for instance, in the invitation of an Aboriginal tourism enterprise in North Australia to 'come share our culture'. This type of tourism thrives on the continuous appeal of otherness. However, just how 'Aboriginal culture' is conceptualised in the tourist encounter is part of ongoing interpretation, in which the perspectives of tourists, Aboriginal people and cultural intermediaries can be seen to coalesce as well as collide. In this paper, the focus will be placed on the actual, interactive encounter, conceptualised as the gripping stage of an intercultural touristic theatre. Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in North Australia, it is shown that the touristic interface should be regarded as a living social activity with an efficacy of its own. Although there is not one definite reading of what is being performed, all players contribute to the reproduction of stereotypical images of 'Aboriginal culture' as well as of 'the tourist'. It will be argued

that it is in this creative process that an 'encounter culture' is revealed, which does not favour one perspective above the others, but is in essence shared interculturally.

DAVID TRIGGER, School of Social Science, University of Queensland, Brisbane

TOURISM AND THE LURE OF INDIGENEITY IN AUSTRALIA: ENCOUNTERING 'NATIVENESS' IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITIES

According to tourism industry research in Australia, there is substantial interest in Aboriginal art, craft and cultural displays among both international and domestic visitors. In 2004, for example, around a million such visitors engaged with Indigenous cultural forms or Aboriginal people themselves. A significant proportion of international visitors (16% of all tourists from overseas in 2005) participate in what are termed 'Aboriginal tourism activities'. Market research carried out by Tourism Australia, a key government tourism organisation, found particular desires among visitors for 'interaction and authenticity' in their experiences. Some argue that tourism is thus a potential vehicle for economic development among Aboriginal people. However, do such tourist expectations rely on what Bruner (2005) terms an outdated stereotype of 'integrated homogeneous entities outside of time, space and history', i.e. on a flawed expectation of an unchanging 'authentic' indigeneity? And, if the idea of such a consumable indigeneity is so alluring for tourists, is not the concept of its being 'staged' (as presented initially by MacCannell 1976) more useful than Bruner allows? This paper discusses this issue with reference to: i) a small performance by Aboriginal dancers in a southeast Queensland wildlife sanctuary -- a setting that joins the presentation of nativeness in nature to an exhibition of indigeneity in culture; & ii) the extraordinary appearance throughout urban Perth (Western Australia) in recent years of graffiti images of the famous 'wanjina' -- a circulation of a highly distinctive emblem of Aboriginality in the city context, yet one that prompts ambiguity about the image's autochthonous meaning for tourists encountering it as 'traditional art' in the remote regions of northwest Australia.

ERIC VENBRUX, Dept. of Comparative Religion, Radboud University Nijmegen

CEMETERY TOURISM: COMING TO TERMS WITH DEATH?

This paper focuses on the darker side of the tourist encounter - that is, the centrality of death in the performances, visited localities and artefacts that change hands - in the Tiwi Islands in North Australia. Why is it that for the past hundred years burial places, mortuary rites and paraphernalia in the islands appealed (and were thought to appeal) to white visitors? Cemetery tourism and death rites turned touristic events, such as also in Sulawesi (Toraja) and Bali, enable tourists to see how others are dealing with death. On the one hand, every human being has to come to terms with death, but on the other hand the cultural specific ways in which different people grapple with human finitude raise the question whether this type of tourism improves the mutual understanding of guests and hosts or not.

TERRY D. WEBB, University Librarian, Hong Kong Baptist University

THE HAGOTH FIGURE: FROM SCRIPTURE TO THEME PARK

Fascination with Polynesia has been a part of Mormonism almost from the beginning of the movement. A short passage in the Book of Mormon tells of Hagoth, a shipbuilder who, in 55 B.C., sailed with many companions westward from America, and never returned. The brief account supposes that Hagoth and his company were drowned. Mormons believe, however, that Hagoth's people found their way to Polynesia, and that modern Polynesians are their descendants. The Hagoth figure lends a special sanctity to Polynesians because God led Hagoth to start new societies for His own purposes. The Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC), a Mormon-owned ethnic theme park in Hawaii, invokes the Hagoth figure to remodel the religious identities of modern Polynesian Mormons. Through its settings, scripts, performances, lectures, and other attractions, the PCC ideologically separates Mormon Polynesians not only from millions of non-Mormon tourists, but also from other non-Mormon Polynesians. The Maori Mormons at the PCC are especially affected by the Hagoth figure. The PCC completes the Hagoth literary fragment with its version of ancient history that places Polynesians among God's most favored people.

THOMAS WIDLAK, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen

VISIT CONFLUENCE DOT ORG

There are a number of implications of the world wide web for encounters between "locals" and "tourists": It creates sizable (internet) communities of visitors even with regard to regions of the world that have a comparatively low number of individual travellers. The travel reports published on the web allow the visitors in turn to be visited (on their site) and, in principle, allow a continued dialogue beyond the event of the visit. Finally, it means that people from Oceania can – again in principle - participate in the activities of the internet community independently of their place of residence or origin and independently of their status as "host" or "guest". In this paper I reflect on these implications of web presence for tourism in Oceania on the basis of a detailed investigation of the community of "confluencers". Confluencers participate in creating a web-based record of the world's regions by visiting the intersections of full degrees of longitude and latitude (the so-called "confluences") and by documenting their visit with a narrative and with photos. What marks the www.confluence.org-community off from other internet communities is that they do have a rather specific relationship to geographical space and places. They encourage visits to remote regions and at the same time claim to be different from "tourists" since they avoid the cultural sites that are locally defined and request a specific record provided by each visitor. But is the confluence movement simply the latest version of the old imperial explorers' gaze of remote places? To what extent are the images and narratives submitted to www.confluence.org a new mode of representing Australia and the Pacific that can be appropriated by local people?

BENTE WOLFF, Copenhagen, The National Museum of Denmark

COPENHAGEN, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK

Living as the object for the guests, by letting the guests' taste and expectations shape your own activities and preferences, is a basic condition for a host population living from cultural tourism. In studies of tourism, this basic relationship has sometimes led to the conclusion that touristic culture has object-like qualities, and may be described as conscious, reified or commoditized. In some cases locals themselves share this idea of culture and tradition becoming an (inauthentic) commodity by being presented to tourists.

The notion of commoditized or reified culture, however, is probably best understood as a modern emic or folk notion of culture, commonly expressed by westerners, but also by people in other regions, especially those with education and an urban lifestyle. This notion may be studied as any other historically specific ideology, but from an analytical point of view it is not an adequate generalisation of the complex social relations and local understandings involved in tourism in any particular social setting. These must be studied empirically to find what the activities and practices involved in tourism means to people in different places.

Through empirical examples from tourism spots in Solomon Islands, New Zealand and Indonesia I wish to show some of the great variation in what it means locally to live as the object of the other, trying to make a living by accommodating to the preferences of the guests.

SESSION 8

WINDS OF CHANGE OR COUNTER CURRENTS IN PACIFIC MUSIC AND DANCE"

Raymond Ammann

As the winds of change blew across the Pacific over the last 150 years, most music and dance underwent major transformations. Especially during the last 50 years, numerous creations have emerged and thrived that were influenced by far away cultural features. In many places, the original contexts for performing music and dance were altered or abandoned, producing new contexts such as local and pan-Pacific arts festivals. Whereas many music cultures in the Pacific have adopted foreign instruments or developed foreign singing styles, some musical cultures have demonstrated more reluctance to changing their "grandfathers" music and choreography.

This session is directed to researchers who specialise in music and dance and to anthropologists who have encountered interesting information in respect to new contexts for performance. We would like to hear examples from the various Pacific communities that easily combine foreign and local music and dances styles as well as examples from communities that demonstrate strong resistance to foreign influences in music and dance. Hypotheses that explain these particularities in terms of social or general cultural features are especially welcome.

KALISSA ALEXEYEFF The University of Melbourne, Australia

SOMETHING DIFFERENT: INNOVATION AND TRADITION IN COOK ISLANDS EXPRESSIVE CULTURE

This paper examines the tension that exists between innovation and tradition in contemporary Cook Islands dance and music. It is common practice in Cook Islands cultural production to "borrow" non-Cook Islands music and dance forms and incorporate them into Cook Islands expressive culture. The value placed on originality by cultural practitioners often sits uneasily with views of tradition and authenticity promoted by government and tourist authorities. Rather than view tradition and novelty as dichotomous trends I argue that artistic innovation can be seen as central to Cook Islanders expressive traditions.

ABELS BIRGIT, International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden

AESTHETIC PRACTICE AND IDENTITY IN THE MAKING: MICRONESIAN STATEMENTS IN THE ONGOING MUSICAL CONVERSATION WITH SELF

This presentation focuses chants both as an aesthetic practice and a locus of identity negotiation in the case of the small island republic of Palau, West Micronesia, over the last century. Here, with the highly functional societal and social framework of music largely vanished and replaced with new structures, whole musical genres had to be reconceptualized. A constant flow of migrants, capital, ideas and images has been adding further implications for the process of identity negotiation of Pacific islanders; identifications abound.

But what *is* changed (and what is not) in Palauan music, why (not) and how is musical change perceived? What is Palauan anyway—and what makes Palauan music sound exactly that to the islander's ear in the 21st century, after 100 years of colonialization? How are elements of Palauan music utilized to assist in the representation of 'Palauanness'? These are some of the questions that will be addressed.

This paper will involve the presentation of wax cylinder recordings made in Palau in 1909 and more recent material recorded during fieldwork from 2005–2007

SEBASTIAN ELLERICH, University of Köln

MELANESIAN MAINSTREAM: STRINGBAND MUSIC AND IDENTITY IN VANUATU

Since stringband music originated over half a century ago, it has evolved and continues to flourish, regarded as a 'national music style' by many ni-Vanuatu. Despite other genres of popular music produced and performed using electronic equipment, stringbands, which consist of guitars and home-made instruments, are nevertheless popular among young people. The stringband music of Vanuatu is characterized by the creative innovations of its musicians, acquisitions from foreign musics as well as their modifications, and its interaction with indigenous music traditions. This paper deals briefly with marketing, different contexts of performance, various media aspects and the images of the bands. I also discuss some aspects concerning language choice, song lyrics and the organisational structures of the stringbands. This provides the basis to focus on the role of stringband music in the construction and representation of identities in Vanuatu – as in identities of place, age, or those motivated by political orientation, religion, gender or language.

NAOMI FAIK-SIMET, Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, PNG

THE CHANGING CONTEXTS OF DANCE AND MUSIC FORMS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Dance and music are two main forms of cultural expressions embedded in the ethnic cultures of the Pacific peoples. Dance and music performances make up a large part of our intangible cultural heritage. The study and documentation of dance and music in Papua New Guinea is concerned with the following elements: (1) themes (2) dance movements (3) costumes (4) lyrics and language (5) cultural context (6) observance of cultural protocols related to music and dance (7) ownership of dance and music or their elements and (8) instruments associated with music.

This paper discusses the changes in time and space associated with the above dance and music elements. The area of focus is the music and dance performances that are currently staged outside of their traditional contexts and performed

in modern settings. Questions asked and will be pursued in this paper are: What forms are these dance and music performances now in? How much of these forms remain and how much are lost? How is authenticity perceived in these performances? Does the fusing of foreign/western music and dance with local/traditional dance and music forms add to the status of their creative forms or do they spoil them?

In response to the above questions, results from field-work will be analysed to provide the necessary data for further discussions on the subject. Field-work carried out in the last couple of months involved the study of traditional dance and music performances staged at various cultural shows and festivals held in Papua New Guinea.

JARI KUPIAINEN, North Karelia University, Finland

DANCING TATTOOS: CULTURAL REVIVAL AND TRANSFORMATION OF A BELLONA TRADITION IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

In December 2007 a group of Bellona men organised in Honiara (Solomon Islands) a cultural event lasting four days. The event consisted of a series of traditional dances and a tattooing ceremony (Haka'anga), and it aroused some controversy in the Christian Bellona community: it was the first time the Haka'anga ceremony was organised in any form since 1936 - Christianity was introduced on Bellona in 1938. Both traditional tattooing and traditional dancing have been points of conflict among Bellonese throughout the era of Christianity. Despite the controversy, the event also encouraged especially the younger Bellonese to revitalise and reconstruct aspects of their customary pre-Christian culture suppressed since 1938. The presentation analyses the event in terms of the local communal dynamics, pointing out its embedded critique of the (fundamentalist) forms of Christianity present in the Bellona community. The whole event and its preparations was documented on video by the author (and his student), and excerpts of the videos will be used in the presentation.

PAULINE MCKENZIE AUCOIN, University of Ottawa

GENDER POLITICS AND THE AESTHETIC ECONOMY: PERFORMANCE IN WESTERN FIJI.

This paper explores the issue of "aesthetic coding" (Foster 1996) as it relates to dance performance, gender hierarchy, and the embodiment of space (Low 2003) in Western Fiji. Two varieties of women's dance will be considered. One variety conforms to the dominant male/hierarchical aesthetic that sets out the appropriateness of certain bodily positions, gestures, movements and relative spatial placements according to status and gender, thus representing an embodiment of its dominant spatial order, while the second contravenes this order through spatial inversion. Through their comparison, I discuss how women's dance – the movement of bodies through a politicized space – may constitute an idiom of resistance.

SESSION 9

ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUMS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY: STAKES AND CHALLENGES

Roberta Colombo Dougoud

From the first half of the nineteenth century a number of ethnographic museums were created with the intention to collect and store the material culture of non- Western populations which were considered to be condemned to disappearance. The objects issued from these vanishing cultures were meant to permit the reconstruction of mankind history. At the same time, before the creation of Anthropological Institutes within Universities, it was inside the ethnographic museums that anthropological knowledge was elaborated. These were at the same time, laboratories of research and centres for teaching.

During the last forty years, ethnographic museums have been seriously questioned. Theoretical, methodological and ethical discussions have re-examined their role and function. Scholars and curators wonder about their even existence. Few years ago, Jean Jamin published an article with the provocative title: "Faut-il brûler les musées d'ethnographie?" (Shall we burn down ethnographic museums?). Trying to solve or simply to avoid a problem of redefinition, some museographic institutions have decided to remove the term "ethnographic" from their designation. Several months after the inauguration of Musée du Quai Branly in June 2006, the debate still goes on.

This session is directed not only to curators of museums, but also to researchers interested in art. The workshop aims to explore the present-day discussion on the role of ethnographic museums, and to investigate the way to go beyond their colonial heritage. Papers should deal with the following issues:

1. changing role of ethnographic museums

2. politics of representation

3- new forms of knowledge sharing and collaboration between ethnographic museums and Oceania populations

4-changing dynamics in contemporary art production in Oceania

5-place of contemporary art and tourist art in ethnographic museums

6-role of contemporary Pacific artists in display of historical and contemporary artefacts

7-repatriation of objects

8-collections on-line

ROBERTA COLOMBO DOUGOUD, Département Océanie, Musée d'ethnographie, Genève

KANAK ENGRAVED BAMBOOS: A CONTINUING TRADITION

The engraved bamboos from New Caledonia are among the most original work of Kanak art. According to the French missionary and ethnologist Maurice Leenhardt, whenever the Kanaks ventured outside their villages they took with them an engraved bamboo that they used to ward off danger along the way. Their entire surface covered with abstract and figurative etchings, these true "illustrated strips" depict both the many aspects of Kanak life (livelihoods, architecture, myths and rituals) and the sudden arrival of Europeans (writing, modern technology, colonial oppression, criticism and derision of Western mores). Collected between 1850 and 1920, the engraved bamboos date chiefly from the 19th century. The practice was seriously eroded by the introduction of writing, and the bamboos stopped being carved around 1917. Nevertheless, in the past few years a number of contemporary Kanak artists have revived this art form to transcribe their modern-day concerns.

In February 2008 the Musée d'ethnographie de Genève (MEG) inaugurated the exhibition "Bambous kanak. Une passion de Marguerite Lobsiger-Dellenbach" showing its collection and the pioneering work of Marguerite Lobsiger-Dellenbach, who worked at the MEG from 1922 to 1967. Throughout her career, she was captivated by these objects, to the point that she became the world's specialist on them. That is the reason why the MEG owns 25 engraved

specimens, the world's second largest collection. In the exhibition not only the historical bamboos are presented, but a space is devoted to the contemporary bamboos carved by Micheline Néporon. Her works bear witness to the enduring values that underpin Kanak society, but they also denounce the new scourges afflicting the tribe, the malaise of its young people, the ill effects of alcohol and violence. In the last part of the display, visitors are invited to follow the engraved bamboos tradition and to recount their everyday life, their present preoccupations drawing on walls representing the bamboo tubes.

Through the presentation of "Bambous kanak", more general issues will be discussed, such as new forms of collaboration and knowledge sharing with Pacific peoples, as well as alternative ways of objects repatriation.

DIANE COUSTEAU, Wolfson College, Cambridge

KANAK ENGRAVED BAMBOOS: PERSPECTIVES ON VIRTUAL REPATRIATION

Over the last ten years, virtual repatriation and increased collaboration between ethnographic museums and "source communities" has become a productive field in which anthropologists have played a key role. This presentation will examine aspects of this practice when it is applied to the engraved bamboos of New Caledonia, as observed during fieldwork in 2006 and 2007. These objects, which were individual possessions, were a means to record and transmit historical and biographical events, until their production ceased around 1917. Since 1975, there has been a revival of this practice by Kanak artists. The virtual repatriation of bamboos from European museum collections allows for a discussion of colonial-era bamboos and the events they depict, shedding light on the complex interactions which characterized the colonial period and the variety of indigenous perspectives on colonization. New discourses arise from the objects' commentary by the descendants of those who produced them and by the artists who engrave today. Contemporary creation is stimulated, enriched and sometimes legitimized by the reintroduction of a long-dispersed corpus of Kanak material culture. This exchange between the museum and the field thus becomes a channel which reconnects the past and the present, allowing the engraved bamboos to fulfill the role their creators intended for them and more.

JESSICA DE LARGY HEALY, Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale, Paris

TRAVELLING SPIRITS: THE LIFE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC OBJECTS FROM NORTH-EAST ARNHAM LAND IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The proliferation in Australian Aboriginal communities of digital archives designed to store images of ethnographic objects from distant museum collections is indicative of an international trend led by indigenous groups to claim continuing rights of authorship over their cultural representations. For Yolngu people of North-East Arnhem Land, in the Northern Territory of Australia, the reinvestment of old collections means rekindling the spirit of the ancestors imbued in these objects, "making them feel free and not locked up in small boxes in a dark room" explains Dr Joe Neparrnga Gumbula, a Yolngu elder who, in 2007, travelled to several European institutions to retrace the journey of his forefathers' artistic productions. Drawing mostly on reflections from this recent research trip, this paper will argue that in their quest for meaning in the twenty-first century, ethnographic museums in Europe may well find, as is already the

case in Australia and elsewhere, that the "source communities" are putting forward innovative ways to bring these old collections back to life.

JUNKO EDO, Faculty of Foreign Studies, Kyorin University

DEVELOPMENT OF ART SEEN IN TJIBAOU CULTURAL CENTER

In Kanak identity struggle, that is, decolonization movement by Melanesians in New Caledonia, culture has become the "historical site of struggle" if I borrow the term from J. Clifford. In this sense, the Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Centre, inaugurated a day before the signing of the Noumea Accord in 1998, embodies the result of their identity struggle in the most tangible form and represents the restoration of their cultural rights in the most symbolic way, proving that culture is the historical site of struggle. At the same time this spectacular centre provides a modern arena to practice the rights and to create Kanak cultural future in post-colonial context and in the globalization of economic market. As the center marks its ten-year-anniversary this year, focusing on the development of modern Kanak art the center most energetically has been promoting among its activities, we explore Kanak cultural manifestation at this modern arena.

RANGIIRIA HEDLEY, Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, School of Māori and Pacific Development, Waikato

THE DISPLAY AND CONSERVATION OF TAONGA MĀORI: ESTABLISHING CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE DISPLAY AND CONSERVATION FACILITIES

The history of appropriation, exchange, purchase and gifting of indigenous cultural heritage has been part of the ebb and flow of relationships between indigenous peoples and others. The setting up of public museums, archives and libraries whose aim is to collect, accommodate, display and interpret indigenous heritage has been, however well intentioned, part of the colonising process, especially where these collections have been used to define and categorise indigenous cultures, often in a way that takes little or no account of the wishes of indigenous peoples.

In response to the broad advocacy of self-determination, indigenous rights, repatriation and heritage maintenance, a number of iwi (tribes) in Aotearoa/ New Zealand have been working towards the establishment of cultural centres to archive, store and display tribal *taonga* (treasures) in an appropriate manner. These include the Ngāti Porou Archive in Ruatoria and the Ngāi Tahu archive in Kaikoura.

This paper explores, in the context of a discussion of the appropriate display and conservation of *taonga Māori* (Māori treasures), issues relating to the establishment of *Mahi Māreikura*, a room in *Te Whare Pukapuka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* (the University of Waikato library) that is dedicated primarily to the conservation and display of the collected *taonga* and works of the late Dr. Pei Te Hurinui Jones. The negotiations that took place prior to and during the setting up of *Mahi Māreikura* are outlined here, as are the particular features of *Mahi Māreikura* that make it wholly different from most other collections in that it reflects, in all of its aspects, Māori cultural preferences.

JARI KUPIAINEN, North Karelia University

THE STOLEN MUSEUM: THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SOLOMON ISLANDS COLLECTIONS IN THE ETHNIC TENSION

The National Museum of Solomon Islands storage and collections were broken in four times in late 2003, when the Austr.-NZ lead RAMSI military had already taken over control of Honiara. In the break-ins, most core collections were selectively stolen and particular collections taken. This crime series in Honiara remains yet unsolved with artefacts undiscovered and lost from the museum.

In my dissertation study of woodcarving and arts (Kupiainen 2000) I spent time (esp. in 1996) documenting comprehensively all the NMSI catalogue and other data alongside my photographing of the then-existing collections in the museum, if they related to the western Solomons or Bellona - Rennell (Polynesia). In Sept.-Dec. 2007 I returned (with a student) to do video research in Honiara and, among other topics, I worked in the NMSI with extensive interviewing on video of the director & most staff and others, and visual documentation of the present collections. Staff reported damages in the museums collections, registry and catalogues; it is doubtful, if specific data of full damages can be recovered. However, my 1996 documentation specifies several of the stolen pieces. The 2007 field research materials are yet unorganised and unedited, but it is evident that something should be done to recover the museum's stolen collections. The presentation concludes with provisional ideas to this effect, and includes video clips from the museum.

ERNA LILJE, University of Sydney,

PULLING THREADS: A METHODOLOGY FOR UNCOVERING AGENCY FROM GRASS SKIRT

The project of finding indigenous agency in museum collections should consider the characteristics and attributes of material culture not simply as the product of cross-cultural interactions but also as active in the constitution of social relations and meaning-making. Ethnographic collections can reveal more than simply the objectives of the collecting society made manifest. To move from understanding the material record simply as a residue of historical processes necessitates the development of context-specific, interpretive methodologies. "Agency" provides a starting point for making sense of the materiality of social reproduction, past and present. In this paper I will use material culture from Central Province (PNG) as a case study to examine these issues, with a focus on grass-skirts from the collections of the Australian, Macleay, and Queensland Museums. This material was collected from the 1870s until Papua New Guinea's Independence in 1975. The century of collecting activities allows for changes in skirt production to be examined over a period that encompasses variable and changing cross-cultural relations.

MARION MELK-KOCH, GRASSI Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig

NEW GALLERIES FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM: THE GRASSI-MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE ZU LEIPZIG AND ITS "MODERN" TRADITION.

As every Museum also reflects the people who brought together the collections, designed the displays and transmitted their knowledge, the Leipziger Museum für Völkerkunde gives a perfect example for the development of Ethnographic Museums during the last 140 years and the politics of representation.

In my paper I will emphasize the already holistic approach in the founding collection of the Leipziger Museum and show that these ideas from the 19th century concerning a museum of mankind served as guidelines and are still not outdated

today. Founded by citizens and scholars in 1869 the Leipziger Museum was as well a place for ethnographic research as for educational and cultural purposes. Contacts around the world and generous gifts helped to acquire main collections (as the Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg) prior to German colonial power and later on. 200.000 artifacts range from the daily housewares to sacred objects. Leipzig, even in the shadow of Berlin, very early became a center of ethnographic research and teaching. The first and oldest Institute of Ethnography in Germany (founded in 1914) is an offspring of these efforts. Close ties to some mayor German publishing companies as "Meyer's" Bibliographical Institute brought knowledge of foreign cultures to an interested wider public. Displays changed in time, but still the idea of showing cultures not merely art remained. In the seventies and eighties the aim was to interconnect the displays in such a way, that visitors could learn about trade, religion or e.g. fire making in different cultures from Africa, America or Oceania by using the exhibitions as a dictionary. "Museumspädagogik", the educational program especially for museum visitors, was partly invented here. In 2000 all exhibits were closed. After a complete reconstruction of the building the showrooms are now gradually reinstalled. I will discuss the new permanent exhibitions since 2005 and their reception. Finally I will refer to the Oceania collections, our policy to collect modern art as well as "old artefacts" and the concept for the new display. The Oceania-galleries are planned to be opened at the end of 2009.

JOHN MORTON, School of Social Sciences, La Trobe University

CONSIGNED TO OBLIVION:

PEOPLE AND THINGS REMEMBERED AND FORGOTTEN IN THE CREATION OF AUSTRALIA

In this paper I discuss repatriation as a nationalist project in Australia. I distinguish four reparative "registers" in relation to Australia's Indigenous peoples – the repatriation of objects (old and new forms of material culture), the repatriation of land (land rights, native title and sacred site protection), the repatriation of people (human remains and people removed from their Indigenous families), and the repatriation of "voice" (oral traditions and written histories) – and deal with them as formally related. I argue, tracking Kierkegaard's famous statement that "life is lived forward but understood backward", that repatriation in general is prophetic of both the future and the past. In other words, it is oracular in nature and has certain mythic qualities, both heralding an ideal future state (postcolonial "reconciliation") and "retrodicting" a pre-colonial past which serves as a negative image of that future state. In that sense, repatriation as a nationalist project can be summed up in the following statement: the more exclusive Australia appears to be with the past, the more inclusive it appears to be in the present.

PHILIPPE PELTIER, l'Unité Patrimoniale Océanie-Insulinde, Musée du quai Branly, Paris

TWO YEARS AFTER. REFLECTIONS ON THE MUSEE DU QUAI BRANLY

Two years after the opening of the musée du quai Branly in Paris, it might be useful, in light of its reception by the public, to look back on the museographic choices and events that have taken place since the museum opening. Three main examples come to mind: the creation of Australian aboriginal paintings, the "Oceania" sector, and finally, the "Rivière" intended, amongst others, for the sight-impaired. These three areas question the diffusion of knowledge, the

development of the collections and the "dialogues between cultures". Each one of these three places presents a unique experience and answer with regard to globalisation and the relationship between cultures.

KARINA TAYLOR, Pacific Research Archives, The Australian National University

PACIFIC ARCHIVES – STEALING HISTORY?

RESEARCH INTO PACIFIC ARCHIVES HELD OUTSIDE THE PACIFIC ISLANDS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PACIFIC ISLANDERS ACCESSING THEIR HISTORY.

Since early European explorations of the Pacific Ocean from the 16th century, the Pacific Islands, its people and the land have held a fascination and degree of romance for outsiders. This attraction to the Pacific Islands has continued for colonial administrators and researchers (in anthropology, history, archaeology, geography or geology) over the years.

But what happens to the material collected by researchers? Examples of this material can include; field notes, oral histories and photographs from Anthropologists and Historians; human remains and objects from Archaeologists; maps, surveys and environmental samples from Geographers and Geologists. All of these materials are valuable to current and future researchers of the Pacific and to Pacific Islanders themselves. Often material of this nature records an historical event, the personality of an ancestor or changes in land ownership.

Do the Pacific Islanders have access to the material after it is collected? Generally colonial administration records have returned to the Government archives of the administrators. And research material from the subject groups mentioned above, usually involves information about the Pacific Islanders, their ancestors or their environment. A researcher generally takes this information back to the learning institution they are affiliated with and analyses it. How is it interpreted, by the researchers who are often "outsiders"? And how would it be interpreted by the Pacific Islanders themselves?

Is the history and knowledge of these people being preserved or taken away? A researcher's papers can be stored by them or in archive, usually in the researcher's country of origin. Often this is seen as a "better" option as researchers generally come from more developed countries, where archives are more established, the resources are there, the threat of environmental or political risks are lower.

This paper will examine these questions with reference to the work and collections of the Melanesian Archive is at the University of California, San Diego, the Pacific Collection at the University of Hawaii at Manoa Hamilton Library, the Archive of Maori and Pacific music at the University of Auckland, the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau and the Pacific Research Collection at the Australian National University.

FANNY WONU VEYS, Musée du Quai Branly, Paris

EXHIBITING PACIFIC ART. PASIFIKA STYLES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE REFURBISHMENT OF THE MICHAEL ROCKEFELLER WING AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

This presentation looks at the politics of display employed during two very different Pacific art exhibitions: one was a temporary exhibition project entitled Pasifika Styles which displayed contemporary Pacific art in an ethnographic university museum with strong historical collections (University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and

Anthropology); the other was the refurbishment project of the permanent Oceanic galleries which consisted of the redisplay of what could be termed "traditional anthropological collections" in an encyclopaedic art museum (Metropolitan Museum of Art). I will explore the extent to which the history of the respective museums and their collections have shaped and defined the exhibition projects. Issues such as knowledge sharing and collaboration between the museums and Pacific peoples will be examined. I will concentrate on the role contemporary art can play in the display of Pacific historical material, specifically on the interaction of contemporary Pacific artists with historical artefacts.

ALEXANDRA WESSEL, Museum der Kulturen Basel, Abteilung Ozeanien

SHARING KNOWLEDGE: CONNECTING CULTURAL ASPECTS FROM THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

The reconstruction and extension works in the *Museum der Kulturen Basel* means - next to the unpleasant fact, that the museum is going to be closed for about two years - that we can reconsider the way we will present Oceania in an European museum of anthropology: Contemporary objects (artefacts, installations, art objects etc.) will be shown in contrast to old objects from the collection, which allow retrospection on former times of cultures (and collectors, the museum, documentations).

Beside objects, the translation and mediation of knowledge seems to be of increasing importance. The museum is no longer a place where the claim of enlightenment is satisfied and the voice of the other ignored, because cultures are presented as static buildings.

An additional economical fact, like the competition of the museum with travel agencies and TV productions, needs seriously to be focused on.

The concentration on single aspects of cultures might be a way to present knowledge, for example through the change of materiality. Therefore the museum is a place where different kinds of knowledge were brought together in the presence of objects.

The future presentation will include contemporary and former cultural aspects shown on objects, detached from an all-embracing presentation of specific cultures. The objects collected during the last centuries are connected with the stories about researchers, missionaries and collectors and the contemporary objects are the voice of people from the Pacific today.

SESSION 10

FOOD, BIODIVERSITY AND LIVELIHOODS IN OCEANIA : CHANGES AND CHALLENGES IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD.

Andreas Egelund Christensen & Christine Jourdan

The session will consider social, economic and climatic challenges that affect food, biodiversity and livelihoods in the Pacific from three different, but inter-related, perspectives :1) Local food production systems, crucial to subsistence and survival, become vulnerable when global economic factors challenge their equilibrium: natural resources become depleted, eco systems are disturbed and destroyed, livelihoods are redefined. The question is how islands will adapt to future challenges of globalization and climate change which highly influence the local production system.2) Niche

production and international demands: Many island states are involved in niche productions that often include harvesting of marine resources (tuna, bêche-de-mer, trochus, for instance). Global demands for these often exclusive resources have led to an increasing globalization of small island states through integration in market economies and trade opportunities, and to increasing economic vulnerability of local economies. (3) Foodscapes: Social changes have led to the redefinition of what food is, and to the transformation of patterns of food consumption. This is particularly evident when access to food is controlled by access to money and when new desires guide food choices. While social differentiation is revealed by access to food and food choices (for an increasing number of urbanites access to food is a struggle), new ideologies and practices linked to the production and consumption of food reveal changing lifestyles and livelihoods. The organizers invite contributions on either of these sub-themes, as well as on historical studies of the transformation food production and consumption.

TORBEN BIRCH-THOMSEN, ANETTE REENBERG, OLE MERTZ, BJARNE FOG, University of Copenhagen

LAND USE AND LAND COVER - CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: PAST AND CONTEMPORARY IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE ON A SMALL ISLAND IN SW-PACIFIC

The paper focuses on the pathways of change in traditional agricultural land use systems on Bellona, a small outer-island in the Solomon's. It aims at providing insight into the dynamics of the coupled human-environmental interaction that shape the land use patterns and practices. First, theoretical lines of thoughts concerning intensification of agricultural systems in the tropics are briefly introduced. Second, aerial photography from 1966 and satellite imagery from 2006 are used, in conjunction with studies from 1960s and a contemporary household survey, to map the land use trajectories. Subsequently, the observed land use and land cover are investigated in terms of driving forces related to agricultural strategies, demographic factors, institutional actors as well as biophysical drivers or constraints. Finally, we discuss how the use of land may influence the environmental resource base and local subsistence. The paper concludes that although agriculture remains an important activity for many households, the overall demand for land to cultivate has not changed. Agriculture is contemporary merely to be seen as a supplement to the new portfolio of strategies supporting the increasing number of people on the island - changes explaining both the 'continuity' and the 'change' within land use and agricultural strategies observed.

ANDREAS EGELUND CHRISTENSEN, Dept of Geography and Geology, University of Copenhagen

MARINE GOLD AND ATOLL LIVELIHOODS: THE RISE AND FALL OF BECHE-DE-MER ON ONTONG JAVA, SOLOMON ISLANDS

Harvesting of beche-de-mer has for more than thirty years played an essential role for cash income and subsistence for people on Ontong Java. International demands for this exclusive food resource have led to an increasing globalisation of Ontong Java through integration in cash economies and overseas markets. A globalisation that has brought local development and prosperity to the community, but at the same time increased the vulnerability to external forces of fluctuating markets and national regulations.

In December 2005 the Solomon Island government imposed a total export ban on beche-de-mer due to unsustainable harvest. The main income foundation for the atoll was taken away which led to an economic collapse for the Ontong

Java community. Consequently import of food declined, and people had to seek new opportunities and change of livelihood strategies in order to survive. Some households migrated to Honiara while those households that stayed behind returned to the “traditional” production system of fishing, gardening and copra production. In April 2007 the export ban of beche-de-mer was lifted on trial for one year. The Ontong Java community responded quickly, and most households left the copra production and intensive Taro cultivation in favour of the much higher marketed beche-de-mer. This paper will look at the social- ecological- and economic impacts on livelihood in the context of the rise and fall of beche-de-mer from 1970-2008.

GAIA COTTINO, Università La Sapienza di Roma

PATTERNS OF FOOD CONSUMPTION AND BODY WEIGHT: THE NATIVE HAWAIIAN CASE

WHO published an alarming report in which obesity was seen as an epidemic disease spreading fast all over the world, in particular in Oceania, where, according to the statistics, are located the six “fattest” countries of the world (2007). Which are the factors, other than genetics, influencing this trend? How does food take place in the dynamics of globalization and localization? And how does the body get involved in the process?

The aim of this paper is to analyze the Wai’anae Coast Native Hawaiian case through the eating patterns of the local population and their transformation through history, the “trendy” case of the Wai’anae Diet and the difficulties of accessing healthy food, the new desires and the connections between body size and identity, ideal body types, power and strength.

The notion of *foodscape* can be useful to analyze the local situation, emblematic example of balance and conflict between traditions’ revival (and reinvention) and modernity: the existence of farms in which few native Hawaiians are interested to work, because of the driven detachment from the land, fast food, *luaus*, traditional food together with the hybridization of recipes and the lack of cooking, represent both sides of the same coin.

HENRY C. DOSEDLA, German Museum of Agriculture, Stuttgart

ENVIRONMENTAL DETRIMENTS, CULTURAL CHANGE AND NUTRITION SITUATION AMONG THE KUBOR MOUNTAIN TRIBES, WESTERN-HIGHLANDS-PROVINCE, PAPUA-NEW GUINEA

Having faced primary European contact as late as only fifty years ago and since the last generation having undergone a rapid series of cultural changes the inhabitants of the Kubor Range at the fringe of the western highlands consequently experienced an enormous impact on their natural environment at this time still mainly belonging to the last primary forest regions and consequently also on their traditional nutrition patterns. Since these were mainly based on the various local vegetation systems of the different altitudes, later changes also took place according to these specific conditions. When systematical investigations in that area started in 1970, first records were already collected dealing with the villagers’ awareness of marked climatic changes taking place. As a result the interdependence of bio-diversity and local food supplies could be studied over the last 37 years towards the present situation.

SIMON FOALE, James Cook University

MY RUBBISH IS YOUR DELICACY: THE GASTRONOMIC PARADOX OF ARTISANAL FISHERIES IN ISLAND MELANESIA

Two of the most lucrative inshore artisanal fisheries in Melanesia at present are beche-de-mer (sea cucumbers) and shark-fin. Both of these products are exported to South-east Asia, where they have for centuries been consumed as delicacies. Most Melanesian people don't eat either of them, and find the high value that Asian consumers place on these species perplexing. But they do buy rice and tinned fish with the money they make from the sale of these commodities. In this paper I examine the historical and contemporary role of these export commodity fisheries in the economies of small islands in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. I discuss scientific and environmentalist arguments about the ecological importance of both beche-de-mer and sharks in the light of recent widespread over-harvesting of these species. I speculate about what can be anticipated for the future of other fisheries, including subsistence fisheries, and food security generally, in the light of what has been observed for these fisheries to date.

CHRISTINE JOURDAN, Concordia University, Montreal

RICE IN SOLOMON ISLANDS : TASTE, FOODSCAPES AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

Rice has been present in the Solomon Islands for over a hundred years and has now become one of the staple foods of Honiara, the capital city, where it has displaced in importance the traditional starch staples such as cassava, sweet potatoes and yams. In some households, it is consumed at nearly every meal. As a trade store item (imported at great cost from Australia) that needs to be purchased, rice is more difficult for people to obtain in those areas where cash income is rare, yet the importance of rice as a food item has increased in rural areas as well.

The paper will trace the history of rice in the country, including efforts made by the government to increase local production, and assess its place in the urban and rural diets. Using the concept of foodscapes, the paper will propose an analysis of more general changes in food consumption patterns and tastes that are associated with social transformations, along with general considerations of what constitutes a meal within the domestic and public spheres. In addition, the paper will look at the effect of class on food consumption patterns.

OLE MERTZ, THILDE BECH BRUUN, KJELD RASMUSSEN

JYTTE AGERGAARD AND BJARNE FOG, University of Copenhagen (*forse da cancellare*)

SELF SUFFICIENCY OF ISOLATED LAND USE SYSTEMS: THE CASE OF TIKOPIA

The land use system of Tikopia – an isolated Polynesian outlier of the Solomon Islands – is analysed to determine how it has developed since it was first described in the 1930s and 1970s. Fieldwork in 2006 included a household questionnaire survey, in depth interviews on farming practices and decision making and soil samples collected from the major soil types and gardens. The Tikopian subsistence system has not undergone significant changes since the studies in the 1970s and the focus on self-sufficiency may have been strengthened over the past 30 years as ship arrivals have become increasingly unreliable. Food from local agricultural production and marine resources is essential to sustain the population and with few exceptions, farming and fishing techniques remain unchanged. Most of the island is still farmed permanently with the exception of some of the steeper parts which are occasionally fallowed 2-5 years. The intensive agricultural system has not suffered long term setbacks even by dramatic events such as cyclone Zoë in

2002. The fertility status of the Tikopian soils is generally very high and when comparing with soil analyses made in the 1960s, no change in soil fertility status was found. It is concluded that the land use system is highly resilient towards shocks such as extreme climate events and there are no indications that Tikopia should not be able to feed itself in the future.

NANCY J. POLLOCK, Depts. Of Anthropology and Dev. Studies, Victoria University, Wellington

DIVERSIFYING PACIFIC GASTRONOMIES

Pacific gastronomies have diversified as they have been impacted by new ideas over a period of some 3000 years. Using Appadurai's concept of 'ethnoscapes,' we will explore that diversification through 'foodscapes' as one dimension of the shifting world that presents new realities and fantasies to taste, to cook, to share and to imagine in many ways.

A foodscape of Pacific gastronomies encompasses many aspects of food use and food values. Three selected aspects will be used to illustrate the changing perspectives over time, as influenced by notions of 'good food' from local and global viewpoints. The umu or earth oven represents the epitome of sharing food, the coconut is local resource for drink and food and medicine, while corned beef has become a potent symbol of modernity.

Pacific gastronomic principles that gain prominence in a foodscape demonstrate the 'Out of Asia' links to the past, as well as the imaginings and desires of modern day living. Whether in Apia or Auckland, families exercise their views of good food in their daily choices within the household, or when contributing to community events. Foodscapes capture particular views of the sensual elements from smell and taste to nostalgia.

KATHLEEN C. RILEY Dep. of Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University, Montreal

MEMAI, KAIKAI! LEARNING TO NEGOTIATE FOOD INSECURITY IN FRENCH POLYNESIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Pre-contact boom-and-bust cycles of food production and consumption have, like a number of other indigenous social structural phenomena, been reproduced and transformed in the 21st century in interesting ways in French Polynesia. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Tahiti and the Marquesas over a 15-year period, this paper examines the foodways of Marquesans in three villages of Nuku Hiva and in Papeete, the capital of French Polynesia. Both ethnosemantic rituals of discourse about *kaikai* (food) as well as discourse recorded while accessing, preparing, and consuming food will be analyzed in order to comprehend how and why certain socio-emotional patterns of dealing with ideologies of hospitality and the unpredictable availability of food are articulated and negotiated in daily life at present. In particular the paper focuses on how young children are socialized through engagement in interactions with adults and other children to acquire scarce and valued foodstuffs – via economic, social, and linguistic exchange.

CINZIA SCAFFIDI, Director, Slow Food Study Center

BIODIVERSITY AS AN EXISTENCE-TANK: HOW TO PROTECT AN EVERCHANGING HERITAGE

What do we actually mean when we say that we have to "protect" biodiversity? Should we save it as a living catalogue, should we help its improvement, should we "eat it to save it"? First of all we have to understand what biodiversity is and what is its role. We need biodiversity in order to keep on evolving, in other words to stay alive. We cannot change if we

cancel our potential for change, which is biodiversity. And we cannot survive without changing. But life, and biodiversity has its own rhythms and time and methods. And different activities require very different strategies of biodiversity defence.

JUN TAKEDA, Saga University, Japan AND **KEMPIS MAD**

TRADITIONAL PALAUAN LUNAR CALENDAR AND THE FISHING-GLEANING ACTIVITIES ON REEF FLATS AND/OR IN LAGOONS IN THE WESTERN CAROLINE ISLANDS, MICRONESIA

Fishing remains the primary source of subsistence in Palau. While men carry out the fishing, Palauan women and young boys are also engaged in the gathering of edible marine fauna and flora available on surrounding reefs. Fishing takes place according to a lunar calendar that indicates the best times for resource exploitation. It closely connects the selection of optimum fishing days, months and fishing grounds to the use of particular fishing techniques and devices. Various kinds of fishing-gleaning methods are adopted according to the position of the sun, the rising and setting of the stars, the waxing and waning of the moon, the ebb and flow of the tide, etc. Nowadays, fishing for commercial purposes is on the increase throughout Palau and Palau fishermen are engaging in new fishing methods and devices that are estranged from the past and from the cultural lore of fishing. All the while, the former are challenged and threatened. This paper will look at various fishing-gathering activities from the viewpoint of ecological anthropology.

SONIA VOUGIOUKALOU, Department of Anthropology, University of Kent

EATING THE 'GOOD FOOD': SOCIO-ECONOMIC, HISTORICAL AND SYMBOLIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PREVALENCE OF DIABETES AND OBESITY IN THE COOK ISLANDS

This paper argues that the outbreak of diabetes and obesity in the Cook Islands is not a product solely of the convenience of modern lifestyle but an outcome of symbolic values placed on imported food, on failed agricultural projects and on labour shortage.

Paradoxically, while the health authorities are desperately trying to persuade the nation to change its eating habits, and nutritionists often unfairly remark on the keenness of Cook Islanders to become obese through the excessive consumption of imported food, Cook Islanders see themselves as eating the 'good food'. Imported food high in salt, fat and sugar is considered good because it was introduced by the missionaries together with Christianity and promises of modernisation. Furthermore, work on the land and certain local food products are frequently undervalued and associated with a 'heathen', tribal past whereas the village centre and shop-purchased food are perceived to symbolise the advent of that new 'good life' that has yet to come. The case of the Cook Islands highlights the value of anthropological research in identifying meanings attached to growing, buying and consuming food and establishing the link between attitudes to food, social class and colonial history. It contributes to wider debates in health and social sciences discussing diabetes and obesity in the context of marginalisation and economic deprivation.

SESSION 11
ISLANDERS' VOICES

Maria Teresa Bindella &Angelo Righetti

The session deals with the literatures in English from the South Pacific (Hawaii to PNG via Tonga, Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand, Australia...) since the foundation of "Mana" (Suva, 1976) as well as with the achievements of the performing arts - theatre, cinema, music - in English.

CHRISTOPHER BALME

NAKED SAMOANS: SELF-REFLEXIVITY AND TRANSGRESSIVE COMEDY IN AOTEAROA, NEW ZEALAND

Clichés of the Pacific provide a red thread in the irreverent humour of the successful comedy group The Naked Samoans. Constituted in 1998 by Oscar Kightley and Dave Fane of Pacific Underground together with Shimpal Lelisi and Mario Gaoa, the comedy act has gone on to attain much popularity in New Zealand but also abroad where at the Edinburgh fringe festival in 2002, the show *Naked Samoans The Trilogy* won critical accolades. Although the group is not entirely Samoan (members also hail from Niue and Rotuma), their brand of humour has been linked to the Samoan tradition of *fale aitu*, lampooning sketches that have survived colonization and continue to be practiced. In this paper I wish to explore the performative and parodistic strategies employed by this group. I shall argue that their particularly brand of transgressive humour is highly self-reflexive in that the comic attacks revolve around redefining older clichés in new configurations of power by focusing on clichéd touristic responses to Samoa and the Pacific Islands in general.

NEVAL BERBER

THE NEW SAMOAN WOMAN IN THE SAMOAN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOVEL

"I am in fact doing the same thing that my mother did and that my sister did. The sands have shifted, but the motion I carry is from them. *Waves go out. When they come in there is always a rock-back. It is not the same wave in the same place and the sands have shifted to never again be the same*".

In her valuable essay, from which the above quoted passage is taken, Bernice Johnson Reagon places the figure of woman at the centre of the Afro-American female and feminist consciousness. This affirmation can be placed within the frame of the recently created subgroup of interdisciplinary studies on ethnic minority autobiographies, within the field of cultural studies. From similar scholarly works, it has emerged that in such writings the autobiographical self narrates its story in relation to another subject who is a member of the same community. When this self is a woman, the referred to subject is frequently of female sex. It has also been observed that this literary genre is characterised by a strong political engagement and that it assumes such consciousness, due to the fact that its central preoccupation is not the sphere of individuality but rather that of community. As far as Afro-American autobiographical writing is concerned, for example, William L. Andrews, rejecting the individualistic model for the study of black people's autobiographies, has stressed that the Afro-American subject, since its very beginning, has constructed its identity through a peculiar relation with an "other", altering in this way the individualistic canons that until then represented the basis of Western autobiography. According to this scholar, a similar tendency figures as a political premise necessary for overcoming the condition of alienation within the dominant culture.

The paper that I intend to present will test both the validity and the limits of this approach and the conclusions reached in this field of studies with respect to the Pacific area, moving from the detailed analysis of *They Who Do Not Grieve*

(1999), the recent fictional autobiography by Sia Figiel, who is considered the first female voice of Samoa. Also, at the centre of this autobiographical narration, that unveils the female subjectivity and represents a premise for the construction of the *new female subject* in the Samoan society, there is the figure of woman. It is nevertheless necessary to proceed with an attentive contextualization of the novel, at the end of its analysis, avoiding an uncritical application of models and results that took shape within other literary fields. It is thus necessary to investigate either historical and cultural origins of Figiel's narration, or its contents, and this is what this paper intends to do. In fact, Figiel's work is not only strongly conditioned by cultural values of the history of the Samoan society, but is also the result of personal experiences of the main characters who are engaged in self-narrations, also characterized by the modernity of the time in which they live. This paper also intends to emphasize how this new subject, stemming from a thoroughly female narration, has also clear social and political purposes, revealing in this way certain analogies with post-1960s female 'Black literature', that aimed to revise the stereotypical image of the black woman asserted between 1800 and 1950. Thus there will be shown, with relation to the case treated here, those which are the existing resemblances with similar contemporary literatures. This will help to demonstrate the peculiar characteristics, either added or modified, nonetheless characterising the female narrations of the Pacific and of Samoa in particular.

YVONNE BEZRUCKA, Università di Verona, Dipartimento di Anglistica

PAST AND PRESENT IN SOUTH PACIFIC LITERATURE

Past values, the values of the prepalagi and pre-colonial time, collide with the new, acquired and, by now, fully established values of the nowadays Pacific region.

Nevertheless, the past is 'the other' with which artists and writers confront themselves in order to measure out their ways and modes of living and their identity. South Pacific literature is often the only place of resistance which registers and challenges the impact of the ideology of the individualistic palagi/acquired world. The issues will be analyzed in the works of some major South Pacific writers.

MARIA TERESA BINDELLA, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of Verona

MANA. A SOUTH PACIFIC JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON "THE NEWEST" LITERATURE IN ENGLISH.

My paper is about "Mana". A South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature", whose first issue made its appearance in 1976. In spite of its closing down in 1992, "Mana" was able to fulfil the expectations that were expressed by its first editor in his prefatory note: "to provide a suitable space for creative writers of the South Pacific as well as to find new directions in the innovative adaptation of a rich oral tradition to a written literature in English". Since then, the "suitable space" has widened immensely; not only, in Hau'ofa's view, the small "islands in a distant sea" are now a sea of islands", they also provide a common ground for new writers and better known ones who had previously published their works overseas.

The focus is on those cultural concerns and critical debates that through "Mana" became the distinctive features of contemporary South Pacific Literature: creativity and creative writing; the indigenous oral literature as a stimulus to written literature; the necessity to establish a distance between the European literature about the Pacific, and the

literature of the archipelagos, or, in Albert Wendt's words, of "Oceania"; the reversal of myths and the return of the ancient indigeneous gods.

MARTA DEGANI, Università di Verona, Dipartimento di Anglistica

TWO VOICES FROM THE *TANGATA WHENUA*: AN EXPLORATION OF WITI IHIMAERA AND PATRICIA GRACE'S SHORT FICTION

As Wevers highlights (1998:203-270), the emergence of Maori writing in the late 1950s is characterized by its specific collocation in the context of traditional New Zealand short story writing but with the aim of disrupting homogeneity through an engagement with cultural oppositions. Alterity, indeed, arises in Maori short fiction from a gradual but highly self-conscious process of cultural and linguistic "abrogation and appropriation" (Ashcroft et al 1999) of literary tradition.

The first Maori short stories appearing in the 1950s in *Te Ao Hou* are certainly constrained by the publishing context which also provides an aesthetic context by soliciting certain kinds of fiction. Stories are mimetic, documentary, educational, aimed at showing group identity, and otherness is expressed through an emphasis on cultural and physical dispossession resulting from primary oppositions between "old and new, rural and urban, past and present, wisdom and know-how, conservation and exploitation, *whanau* and individual, Maori and pakeha" (Wevers 1994: 27).

The solid foundations of pakeha literary traditions are first undermined in the 1970s with Witi Ihimaera and Patricia Grace, whose short fiction is the main concern of the present paper. The basic idea in their writing is that there is still a community to be left behind or to return to so that the emphasis on the urban milieu, which provides material sustenance but lacks Maori 'essential' values, indirectly reinforces the vital significance of the *whanau*. Here, the authenticity of the described experience is conveyed by a kind of writing that is predominantly oral narrative. Orality in their short stories is the manifestation of the orality of a culture and cannot be identified with the spoken idiom or the transcript of Maori non standard English in a written text. In this sense, a radical change is enacted by Ihimaera and Grace from the colonial manipulation of the written to express the oral/spoken to the Maori emphasis on the orality of the written. This form of cultural appropriation of the literary genre crucially justifies the celebration of Maori values, beliefs and social organization. Even more cogently, the literary canon is aptly disrupted by means of linguistic expression. In their texts language becomes programmatically hybrid: it contains in it the spoken idiom of an-other language and it thus has the power to (re)write cultural identity and (re)invent the Maori subject.

MARSA DOBSON

"REMEMBERING RAUMEA"

I knew Raumea Koroa the last year of his life, while I was living on Mangaia in the Cook Islands. At the time, I was compiling a dictionary of Mangaia's dialect, an endangered language. A friend suggested to me that Mr. Koroa would be an asset for the dictionary research because he was a retired teacher. When I paid a visit to the Koroa family to ask his help, I met a man of quiet wisdom and dignity. To my inquiry he replied, "I will only help you because you seem like the type that finishes what you start." His simple reply became additional motivation and brought increased accountability. Thus began my rich friendship with Raumea Koroa and his family. After our many dictionary sessions,

Mr. Koroa shared candidly about his life, his culture and his poetry, which I submit as one, huge-in-my-heart, islander's voice from the remote and simply beautiful island of Mangaia.

FRANCO LONATI, Università di Verona, Facoltà di Lingue

'ALOHA FROM HAWAII'. ELVIS PRESLEY'S HAWAIIAN EXPERIENCE

My paper is about the influence of Hawaii's traditional music on American popular music. It was during the Great Depression that many American citizens re-discovered – after Melville, Jack London and Mark Twain – the myth of these islands as paradise, an imaginary place to escape to when real life was hard to bear. Recording companies and film industry, in particular, were ready to commercially exploit this somehow artificial and stereotyped idea of Hawaii. Films set and shot in the islands, especially in Morea, with their dreamy soundtracks, gave American audience an opportunity to discover a new and fascinating kind of music, which was to influence successful American artists such as Bing Crosby, Billy Eckstine and Elvis Presley.

The focus of my paper is on Elvis Presley's 'case': Presley's many recordings of *hapa-haole* (Hawaiian traditional chants with English lyrics) performed with typical Hawaiian instruments like ukulele and steel guitar are a clear sign of his love for the culture and music of Hawaii. Moreover, the 'King of Rock and Roll' set three of his movies in Hawaii, and there he also offered unforgettable live performances like the famous 1973 show *Aloha from Hawaii Via Satellite* – seen by an audience of over one billion – which certainly remains one of the most celebrated live concert in the history of modern music.

ANNALISA PES, Dipartimento di Anglistica, Verona

K.S. PRICHARD AND SIA FIGIEL: OCEANIA'S SHORT FICTION AND INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATIONS

The paper focuses on the short story genre in the field of Australian and South Pacific literature and on different modes of writing deriving from oral storytelling. Katharine Susannah Prichard and Sia Figiel will be taken into account for the Australian and South Pacific areas respectively.

Prichard's commitment to socialist ideology and realist writing, together with a passionate involvement in the Aboriginal cause, prompts the denunciation through her fiction of the effects of white colonization on Aboriginal peoples and cultures. In a number of stories published throughout her whole writing career (mainly from 1932 to 1959), like "The Cooboo", "Happiness", "Marlene", "N'Goola", Prichard stands as a spokesperson on Aboriginal rights and tries to reflect the aboriginal point of view on issues like exploitation, ethnic relations and power structures.

If in the stories of Prichard Aborigines are "spoken for", on the other hand, Samoan Sia Figiel tells her stories from the point of view of her own people in her two novels, *Where We Once Belonged* (1996) and *They Who Do Not Grieve* (1999), more similar to short story collections in which storytelling is a form of entertainment and the oral substratum of legends, songs and popular sayings emerges as predominant.

The paper aims at drawing a parallel between two women writers, living and working at the distance of a couple of generations: Prichard as a woman writer of European origins in white Australia who takes on the perspective of

Aboriginal people, Figiel as a black Samoan woman writer of European education who conveys the point of view of her own world.

Since both writers deal with black issues from different perspectives, it will be interesting to point out how much Prichard has acquired of the modes of oral narrative, and how much Figiel has adopted of the modes of European narrative.

ANGELO RIGHETTI, Dipartimento di Anglistica. Università di Verona

POETRY AND POETICS FROM MANA, 1976-1978: ALBERT WENDT AND OTHERS.

My paper will be devoted to a reading and commentary of representative poets and poems from the seminal SP journal to ascertain how far the adoption and integration of/ and resistance to European models have shaped poetry in Oceania in the late 1970s.

GIANNI TOMIOTTI, Università di Verona, Dipartimento di Anglistica

LINGUISTIC INNOVATION AND CULTURAL SYNCRETISM IN ALBERT WENDT'S SHORT STORIES

The aim of my paper is to investigate how Western Samoa-born novelist and poet Albert Wendt represents in his early fiction the changes brought on native culture by colonialism and globalizing modernity. The issue of identity is pivotal in Wendt's fiction; different cultures coexist in the Pacific region and from this heterogeneity emerges a literature which mirrors the struggle for balance between cultures, drawing as it does both upon European sources and elements of native traditions and mythologies. My enquiry focuses then on the way Wendt challenges both racist stereotypes about Samoans and

over-simplified, glossy images of an idealized Pacific, outlining the sense of absurdity and inauthenticity which are often consequences of cultural fragmentation and struggling in a creative tension between self-assertion and self-criticism (if not self-denigration). My attention is focused primarily on the linguistic aspect of Wendt's early fiction, namely on the way deviations from Standard English, together with elements of oral storytelling, contribute to express Samoan mixed cultural history, to explore the possibilities offered by cultural syncretism, and to confirm Wendt's as a subaltern voice in post-colonial literatures. I have focused my attention on Wendt's two collection of short stories, *Flying-Fox in a Freedom Tree* (1974) and *The Birth and Death of the Miracle Man* (1986).

SESSION 12

ROY WAGNER: SYMBOLIC ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE FATE OF THE NEW MELANESIAN ETHNOGRAPHY

Sandra Bamford, Joel Robbins, Justin Shaffner & James Weiner

With the publication of his latest book, *The Anthropology of the Subject*, Roy Wagner may be said to have articulated most of the implications of his original conception of a Symbolic Anthropology, first described in detail in *The Invention of Culture* over thirty years ago. This conception of culture and social process in Papua New Guinea has had extraordinary influence on work throughout Melanesia over the last forty years. We therefore think this is a fitting time to invite anthropologists of Melanesia who have utilized all aspects of Wagner's theory and the ethnographic insights he

has offered on the Daribi and Barok religion, symbolism, and life world in their own ethnographic analysis of Melanesian societies, to assess what Wagner's work, and the New Melanesian Ethnography it played a foundational role in launching, have contributed to anthropology in general, and to speculate on the future of one of cultural anthropology's most powerful conceptualizations in the last century.

SANDRA BAMFORD, University of Toronto

ROAD BELONG 'CULTURE': DEVELOPMENT, IDENTITY AND MILLENNIAL FANTASIES IN THE HIGHLANDS OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

This paper draws upon Wagner's work (most notably the insights to be found in *The Invention of Culture*) to consider how Kamea – a highland New Guinea people – imagine and put into practice local understandings of "development." Most academic discussions of the so-called "development industry" have assumed that development represents an external agenda that is imposed on local people by outside actors (i.e., the state or international NGOs). In this paper, I describe a different situation. The Kamea have been waiting for their development ship to come in for nearly half a century. In the wake of ongoing and continual disappointment, they have taken matters in to their own hands and are in the process of building a vehicular road that would bisect nearly half of the country. In this paper, I describe the social and political ramifications of this project. In particular, I focus on how the road work is precipitating a new form of "cultural identity" and the way in which this identity is tied to local understandings of the nation state.

TONY CROOK University of St. Andrews

HOLOGRAPHIC WORLDVIEW IN BOLIVIP

Roy Wagner has a particular connection to the Min or Mountain Ok area of Papua New Guinea: as guiding hand to Barbara Jones, Dan Jorgenson and Joel Robbins (amongst others), as critic of the ritual as communication paradigm, as ethnographer of the 'black hole' effect, and as visitor, celebrant and first-hand scribe to the Queen of Telefolip. The Min area has beguiled and puzzled anthropologists with a kaleidoscope of rich materials–this paper will consider this predicament alongside another that introduces *An Anthropology of the Subject*: 'The fieldworkers who retrieved the data on holographic perspectives in Melanesia were surprised by it, and often, as in my case, it took them years to figure out what they were looking at'. In my own research in Bolivip, the bewilderment described by junior male initiates was at least some solace to my confusion, and the tactics they used to 'gather many pieces together into one' showed a path ahead. Much of my figuring out over the years has been drawn through Roy Wagner's theorizing of analogic worldviews. This paper will describe the holographic life of forms through which the *yolam* cult house is said to 'copy' a taro garden, and take up the question of 'knowledge' that gives capacity, gender and animation to the forms of life through which it flows.

ILANA GERSHON, University of Indiana

LIVING THEORY AFTER ROY WAGNER

Ethnographers have a longstanding tradition of suggesting that the people they meet while doing fieldwork parse the

world in the same way that a famous philosopher or social theorist has. Ruth Benedict saw cultures in Nietzschean terms, as having Apollonian or Dionysian tendencies, and anthropologists today still make comparable moves. Every time I read a claim like this, I wonder: what happens to social theory when a person lives it? I am not asking about living the precepts of social theory when these precepts are explicit ideological intrusions into people's lives. I am not concerned with what happened to Marxism and what happened to the Chinese when Mao governed according to his version of Marxist principles, for example. I ask a different sort of question dealing with the distinctions between social theory and social practice. Following Roy Wagner, I suggest that practicing social theory reveals paradoxes and complicities that writing social theory conceals. At stake is a question of reflexivity: how does the medium for exploring relationships to social orders, be it written or performed, affect the social strategies and maps that people develop? To begin exploring this question, I turn to my own interlocutors during my fieldwork, Samoan migrants in New Zealand and California. Other anthropologists recently have compared their interlocutors in the field to Heidegger, Bakhtin or Agamben. Alas, ethnographers can not always find people who ventriloquise the most contemporaneous or popular of theorists. In my fieldwork, I encountered people who saw the world through the currently unfashionable idiom of British structural functionalism.

MARK MOSKO, Australian National University

THE FRACTAL YAM: WAGNERIAN HOLOGRAPHY IN THE TROBRIANDS

One of the more innovative ideas to emerge from the early days of the New Melanesian Ethnography's coalescence was the notion of fractal holography, inspired largely by Roy Wagner's (1991) analysis of the Melanesian great man as a 'fractal person'. Needless to say, personhood and, particularly, the dynamics of personal partibility have figured centrally in the NMEs subsequent impressive development as a new perspective on relationships and sociality in the Pacific and beyond. But curiously, the /fractal/ dimension of personal partibility has featured only very rarely in any of the New Melanesian Ethnography. In this paper, I illustrate the untapped analytical merits of fractal self-similarity through the analysis of certain bits of Trobriand ethnography – some familiar, some new – which point holographically to properties of the culture and society as a whole.

ANDREW MOUTU, National University of Ireland Maynooth

TWINNING AND PAIRING, REVERSAL AND THE RETURNING: IATMUL DENDER IN A HOLOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

In *An Anthropology of the Subject*, the notion of twinning takes on an epistemological cast and refers primarily to a kind of knowledge that "implies an image or a reflection of something other than the self". Based on aesthetics of symmetry, twinning comes in a double: the twin and the anti-twin with their concomitant notions of gender and laterality. The gender of the twin is orientated outwards while its laterality is orientated inwards. Anti-twin, on the other hand, has a gender that is twinned inwards while its laterality is orientated outwards. This notion of twinning will be compared with *latmul* notions of pairing as it appears in the *latmul* cosmo-ontological notion of 'elder/younger brother'. Through an ethnographic focus on the *naven* ceremonial, the discussion engages with the apparent aesthetics of symmetry evident in Wagner's model of gender in a holographic worldview. If twinning takes on an epistemological character, could the

latmul notions of pairing amount to an ontological twin to twinning, and if so what do the notions of reversal (as in figure-ground reversal) and returning (as in ground-figure return) make of time and the metaphysics of representation? If "space is the only part of time that still matters", could laterality be a spatialised articulation of gender in the wheel of time? The mechanical poetics of the wheel, with its peculiarly spatialised sense of progressive and retrograde movements, described in *An Anthropology of the Subject* provides a concrete device to compare with the latmul cosmological notion of a paired 'elder/younger brother'. The notion of returning to the origin, as dramatised in the time of *naven* ceremonial, allow us to examine the nature of reversal along with the aesthetics of symmetry in relation to gender and the metaphysics of representation.

JUSTIN SHAFFNER, University of Cambridge

THE FIRST SHALL BE LAST AND THE LAST SHALL BE LAST: AN OBIATION OF BOAZI AND ZIMAKANI WORLD HISTORY

In *Symbols that Stand for Themselves* (1986), Wagner presented an obviation of Euro-American world history. In this paper, I will present an obviation of world history from the perspective of Boazi and Zimakani speakers living in the Lake Murray and Middle Fly region of Papua New Guinea. In doing so, an alternative picture of the modern world system will emerge, detailing relations not only within the Middle Fly and Lake Murray region of Papua New Guinea but also Western New Guinea and also the world of the 'waitman' in America and the Middle East.

ARVE SORUM, University of Oslo

LIMITS OF KNOWLEDGE

This paper is concerned with the limits of interpretation faced by actors in a social world. Taking the lead from two of Roy Wagners contributions to anthropological theory, the dialectics of invention and convention and the analytical use of holographic principles, the nature of symbolic self reference as a mechanism of both the closure and disclosure of knowledge is explored. Empirically, one significant and aesthetically informed ritual event in Bedamini male initiation is examined in terms of a recurrent cultural image of the negation of opposites. This problem requires a critical view of hermeneutical practices in cultural anthropology and will be related to Heidegger's perspectives on the essence of aesthetic phenomena.

ALICE STREET, University of Cambridge

ENTANGLED SYMBOLISM: DIFFERENTIATING KNOWLEDGE AND PERSONS IN MADANG GENERAL HOSPITAL

Central to Wagner's symbolic anthropology is the distinction between differentiating and collectivising symbolic action. This paper attempts to move beyond the anthropological comparison of these forms of symbolic action in order to examine what happens when people operating in either symbolic mode encounter one another and interact in practice. This convergence of symbolic practices characterises life in many modern institutions, including the Papua New Guinean hospital that is described here. Ethnography of biomedical practice in Madang Hospital therefore leads to an

exploration of how Wagner's anthropological approach might contribute to theories of social and cultural change, and the anthropology of institutions and modernity. This paper argues that different modes of symbolic action also produce particular kinds of persons and social relationships. It will examine what happens when doctors in Madang Hospital are required to do collectivising symbolisation but are embroiled in relationships that involve differentiating symbolisation. The hospital's 'holistic medicine' policy responds to the perception that different kinds of knowledge (medical/social) and the kinds of person who hold that knowledge (doctors/patients) are too separate and that relationships between them need to be encouraged and managed. This structuring of knowledge is also the basis for doctor's authority in the hospital. But in the course of their relationships with patients and their attempts to practice holistic medicine, doctors often find that knowledge and persons are not separate enough for connections to be made. Paradoxically, doctors must therefore actively differentiate these domains before they can engage in the conventionalising symbolic action that should take this differentiation for granted, and which is demanded of them by the institutional management structure. This paper therefore argues that modern institutions often involve an entangling of differentiating and conventionalising symbolism which entails negotiations over fundamental concepts of personhood, agency and authority.

KAREN SYKES, University of Manchester

THE VALUE OF A BEAUTIFUL MEMORY

What is the value of a beautiful memory? My example is the famous mortuary art, the Malanggan, a sculpture made for the funeral then destroyed. The memory of viewing the sculpture underlines the surprising fact of the ephemeral quality of the corporal life. The resignification of corporal life as an ephemeral, beautiful memory introduces a new question about its quality, and shows funeral celebrants that life has an extra social value, perhaps a beautiful if not spiritual one. This paper considers these themes in light of Wagner's contributions to Melanesian Ethnography.

SESSION 13

WAVES OF OCEANIC CHANGE: HISTORY, IDENTITY, POLITICS, RELIGION, AND MEDIA

Giovanni Bennardo & Margit Wolfsberger

The captivating world, geographic, human, and cultural, that characterizes the Pacific ocean is as fast moving and changing as the waves that shape its never resting aquatic world surface. This session tries to capture snapshots of this world in eight different moments and places. The intention is to record some of the present changes so that we might be able to forecast patterns and directions toward which this oceanic world is moving.

The first contribution by Margit Wolfsberger touches on an historical and poignant example of 'globalization' and 'transnationalism' that is bound to provide insights into contemporary similar phenomena. The second contribution by Sela Taufa focuses straightforwardly onto contemporary 'globalization' as two different groups of Polynesian immigrants to Europe cope with their newly found transnational and social situation. The third contribution by Viola Carmilla illustrates the relevance of traditional exchange practices in a diasporic Samoan community in New Zealand.

The fourth contribution by Hone Sadler dovetails with the previous ones and focuses on historical and crosscultural issues within a Polynesian country regarding funerary practices. Local and global ideologies of space contribute to the

formation of what Rapa Nui is today and will be in the future. This fifth contribution by Olaug Andreassen is followed by Giovanni Bennardo's assessment of the contemporary debate between monarchy and democracy in a riot stricken Kingdom of Tonga. Then, Jonathon Prasad depicts Fijian dissent to recent coups as articulated in a local religious movement. Anders Rasmussen explores personhood and material things in Papua New Guinea. Finally, Darrell Tryon investigate new identity formation phenomena embedded in new linguistic practices emerging in New Caledonia.

The scholarly contribution to this session provide a necessary lens for those interested in gaining a better understanding of contemporary changes in Oceania. We also hope that the limited knowledge provided may help in generating considerable insights into the near future of this area of the world.

GIOVANNI BENNARDO, Dep. of Anthropology and Cognitive Science Initiative, Northern Illinois University

DEMOCRACY IN THE KINGDOM OF TONGA: NOT SO SURE!

A series of interviews conducted with Tongan villagers (commoners), government officials, ministers, church dignitaries, and nobles reveals a conservative perspective toward democracy: monarchy is the most valued form of government in the last surviving Polynesian kingdom. More than a year after street riots left many of the capital town commercial buildings burnt down, it is not the monarchical structure that is overtly challenged, but the lack of accountability for those individuals who appear to abuse the power derived from that structure. On the other hand, direct accountability does not intrinsically belong to a monarchical system rooted in more than a thousand year of history. In this presentation I briefly summarize the content of the interviews and propose a cognitive interpretation that clearly highlights the informing role played by a Tongan foundational cultural model, i.e., radiality.

VIOLA CARMILLA, Università di Torino, Dip. di Scienze Antropologiche, Archeologiche e Storico Territoriali

SAMOAN GIFT-GIVING CEREMONIES (*FA'ALAVELAVE*) AND THEIR ROLE IN THE IDENTITY OF A "DIASPORIC" COMMUNITY

Given the importance of gift-giving practices and theories in the definition of *fa'aSamoa* or the "Samoa way", and given the rapid cultural change among the Samoan community living in New Zealand, this presentation focuses on the role of gift in the new emigration context. In particular, the persistence of a gift-giving ceremony called *fa'alavelave*, a central social institution in Samoa, can be the starting point for a reflection on the importance of exchange, sociability and solidarity in the definition of "Samoanness". Studying the practices of gift giving and identity construction among the Samoans emigrated in New Zealand, this research aims to be a contribution to the anthropology of gift, to Polynesian ethnography, and to the debate about "diasporas" in cultural anthropology.

JONATHON PRASAD, Dep. of Religious Studies, Lancaster University

RAM, SITA AND LAXMAN'S UNFINISHED JOURNEY: THE DELOCALISATION AND POLITICISATION OF THE RAMAYAN MANDALI MOVEMENT IN FIJI.

The importance of land ownership as a marker of identity and national belonging is well documented (O'Brien: 1997; Trigger and Griffiths: 2003). In the case of third and fourth generation Indians living in Fiji, their position remains

precarious due to native land laws under which 87% of land is inalienable from ethnic Fijian ownership. This leads to a sense of marginalisation and impermanence amongst the Indo-Fijians

This paper argues that in a postcolonial, post-coup Fiji, religion has become a surrogate means of articulating belonging and identification, whilst at the same time being a focus of coded dissent and opposition to discriminatory government policies. I focus on the Ramayan mandali (an informal weekly meeting at which the Ramayan is read), which is found in Sanatani Hindu settlements throughout Fiji. In an era in which land leases are expiring and communities uprooted, this paper looks at the emotional attachment of the mandali to land (some have existed in the same locale for more than 80 years), resettlement and recreation (establishing new mandalis and hierarchies), adaptation (mandali mergers in rural areas due to declining populations) and globalisation (the role and function of the overseas mandali as a reception site for newly arrived migrants and 'community cohesion'). This discussion takes place within the framework of the exegesis presented after the 2000 (Trnka: 2002) and 2006 coups to highlight the role of the mandali as a 'safe' site of debate and dissent.

ANDERS EMIL RASMUSSEN, Department of Anthropology, University of Aarhus

MATERIALIZING PERSONHOOD

The paper explores local conceptualisations of personhood constituted through both exchange and the making of material things among canoe-builders on Mbuke Island, Papua New Guinea. I discuss specific anthropological understandings of personhood in relation to material things, taking as point of departure the approach known as 'New Melanesian Ethnography' (NME). Following NME I argue that persons are partly constituted rather than individual, because knowledge and skills are conceptualised and exchanged in objectified form, as material things, among canoe-builders on Mbuke. I take the idea of 'partible personhood' beyond the context of exchange by showing that personal 'makings' may also contribute to the constitution of personhood both as distributions of personhood and as material things objectifying social relationships to others who may be persons of the past as well as persons of the present.

OLAUG IRENE RØSVIK ANDREASSEN, University of New South Wales, Sydney

WHEN HOME IS THE NAVEL OF THE WORLD: SOMEWHERE BETWEEN POLYNESIA AND SOUTH-AMERICA

Rapa Nui (Easter Island) is known as an isolated island of archaeological mysteries and ecological disaster; yet after a century of Chilean annexation, international attention and rapid modernization Rapa Nui is today a popular destination both for tourists, researchers and Chilean immigrants. This paper, based on long-term fieldwork among young Rapa Nui on the island and away, describes how it can be to grow up in and to belong to such a place. Place is seen as a continually constructed social space and is influenced by Miriam Kahn's use of Henri Lefebvre's concept "third space." Rapa Nui, as a place, people and idea, is here understood as continuously formed by global and local influences. Thus, although historical, global and national influences can seem overwhelming in such a small tourist destination with a turbulent colonial history, this study also sees the opinions and practices of the inhabitants as important agents.

A CLASH OF CULTURES: THE TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PRACTICES OF MAORI IN REGARD TO CEREMONIES OF DEATH FROM A NGAPUHI PERSPECTIVE.

On Friday 17 August 2007 a Maori man died in Christchurch, South Island, New Zealand. He was survived by two sons and a Pakeha partner of twenty five years. What followed was a bitter dispute as to where the body was to be interred. The mother of the deceased and her whanau removed the body from a Christchurch marae and returned it to his ancestral burial grounds at Kutarere on the east coast of the North Island. Despite a court order to prevent the internment of the body in Kutarere, the deceased's mother and family proceeded to interred their son and brother after holding his Huimate, funeral, at the family marae and the burial ceremony at their family Wahi Tapu.

Following on from this, the partner successfully petitioned the Ministry of Health through the High Court to grant her an exhumation order to enable her to return the remains of her partner to Christchurch. The dispute has not yet reached closure for all parties and it is hoped that they will be able to settle this issue amicably between themselves.

This paper will give an in-depth explanation as to the customary funeral and burial practices and ceremonies of the Maori from a Ngapuhi perspective. It will explain Maori Customary law in regard to these practices and compare them with New Zealand common law. It is also the intention of this paper to map a way forward for New Zealanders who are of mixed marriages, i.e. marriages between Maori and other ethnic cultures.

SELA MAFI TAUFA, Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute, A.N.U.

EURONESIAN: THE FORMATION OF POLYNESIAN CONSCIOUSNESS AND NUANCES IN EUROPE IN THE 21ST CENTURY.

The Polynesian Diaspora community in Europe has grown quite quickly since the turn of the 21st century. In this paper, I will endeavor to explain to why this trend is taking place and whether it will continue over time. I will focus the discussion on four notions of consciousness in exploring how Polynesian living in the European diaspora might go about creating new images and perceptions of themselves within these new spaces. The notions of belonging, citizenship, identity and success will be the guiding themes of the discussion. I will case-study two particular groups of Polynesian migration movements to Europe. The first case-study will focus on those sport talented Samoans and Tongans who have entered Europe based on their rugby and soccer playing skills; and the second group to be examined will comprised of highly educated second generation NZ born Samoans and Tongans who have entered Europe based on their own individual academic achievements and their multi-skill abilities, ensuring they have the necessary tools to gain employments anywhere in Europe. I will exclude from my discussion the group of Polynesian migrants who have entered Europe as a spouse or a partner of a European Union citizens, as they have entered Europe under different category and criteria from the first two groups of Samoan and Tongan migrants understudy. Finally, in this paper I will discuss how the worlds of cyber-space have contributed to these new nuances in creating new form of Samoan and Tongan consciousness and perceptions in Europe.

DARRELL TRYON, Australian National University

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN NEW CALEDONIA: STABILITY AND FLUIDITY

The Matignon Accords (1988) and the Noumea Accord (1998), granted greater autonomy to New Caledonia, and the very real possibility of independence in the next decade. As New Caledonia is now accelerating the process of forging its own stamp as a separate entity from metropolitan France, one of the key markers of this emergent identity is to be found in the varieties of French, both spoken and written, which characterise this French Pacific territory today. This paper discusses the interaction of the major interlocutors, the indigenous Kanak population, the Caldoche settler population and the metropolitan French and the emergence of a New Caledonian French which is gradually transcending the multi-faceted underlying ethnic components of the population. At the same time, non-standard varieties are being consciously espoused by younger Kanak, in place of some of the twenty-eight local vernacular languages which are fully accessible only to the older generations.

MARGIT WOLFSBERGER, Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna

CHAMOIS AND KAURI GUM IN THE MEDIA: THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE AUSTRIAN HUNGARIAN EMPIRE AND NEW ZEALAND AROUND FIN-DE-SIECLE

In 1892 a few hundred Dalmatians arrived in New Zealand in search of work in the gum fields north of Auckland. They were seen with distrust by the British and local Maori gum diggers. New Zealand newspaper articles criticized that their interests did not lay in New Zealand but in their former home county. After pressure from representatives of local gum diggers the New Zealand government passed a law to restrict the access of Dalmatian gum diggers into the gum fields. As the Dalmatians were Austrian citizens their fate caused head lines in Vienna as well and led 1905 to an inspection tour to New Zealand by the Austrian ship "Panther". The inspection and the whole affair did not result in any severe resentment between Austria and New Zealand but brought New Zealand back into the collective memory and reception of the media and readers in Austria at the turn of the century. In New Zealand the import of a few pairs of chamois from Austria as a gift of Franz Josef I. was eagerly followed by the press and this act of "chamois"-diplomacy brought Austria positive headlines in return. The Dalmatians established themselves in New Zealand and formed a transnational migrant network contributing to both countries until today. With the political changes in Dalmatia in the 20th century the link to Austria was cut and the media coverage about New Zealand in Austria focused on other aspects. The episode shows the involvement of media in the formation of bilateral relations between two distant countries, their impact on migration at the turn of the last century and intercultural dialogue before "globalization" was named so.